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SELECTIONS FROM THE SOURCES OF ENGLISH HISTORY

A SUPPLEMENT TO TEXT-BOOKS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

B.C. 55-A.D. 1832.

SELECTION?

FROM THE

SOURCES OF ENGLISH HISTORY

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO TEXT-BOOKS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

B.C. 55—A.D. 1832

ARRANGED AND EDITED

BY

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PREFACE.

THE design of this book is stated in the early part of the introduction, and little excuse could therefore be found for making the preface more than a list of acknowledgments. Two points, however, which are not mentioned elsewhere, may properly be spoken of here. Firstly, care has been taken to keep both passages and comment within the compass of boys sixteen years old. They may meet with a certain number of unfamiliar allusions, but few which a glance at the *Encyclopedia Britannica* will not clear up. In the second place, and as a kind of corollary, the spelling and style of printing have been modernised wherever I feared that an archaic guise might prove a stumbling-block. Some will consider this a piece of vandalism, like the stupid "restoration " of an old building, but, rather unwillingly, I sacrifice the pioturesqueness of a sixteenth or seventeenth century page for the sake of rendering its text more intelligible.

The friends who have assisted me with advice, information and other aid are many, and on the completion of a pleasant task I thank them cordially for their varied suggestions and services. Among those who have helped me materially are Prof. C. E. Moyse, Dean Walton, Mr. P. T. Lafleur, Prof. Frank Carter and Mr. C. H. Gould, of McGill University ; Prof. Charles Gross, Prof. A. B. Hart and Mr. T. J. Kiernan, of Harvard University; Prof. G. M. Wrong, of Toronto University; Dr. C. A. Herter and Mr. Alex. Falconer. In preparing the printer's manuscript the help of Miss Helen Fairbairn has been most grateful.

I am also indebted to several translators and publishers for permission to reprint pieces of which they enjoy the copyright. Thus the Historical Department of the University of

Pennsylvania placed at my disposal its excellent *Translations and Beprints,* from which Extracts 17, 33, 40, 41 and 110 have been taken. It is by the liberality of the Rev. W. H. Hutton and Mr. D. Nutt that Extract 23 appears in its present place. Mr. G. E. Weare and Mr. John Macqueen have kindly given me warrant to use Extract 51; Messrs. Macmillan and Company, to use Extracts 2, 3, 4, 11 and 14 B.; Messrs. G. Bell and Sons, to use Extracts 8 and 22, which are taken from works published in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library;* Mr. Bernard Quaritch, to use Extract 12; Messrs. Constable and Co., to use Extract 47; Messrs. Warne and Co., to use Extract 111. And through the courtesy of Sir George Trevelyan, Lord Macaulay's sparkling letter—Extract 116—becomes available for my purpose. Clarendon's character of Lord Falkland would have been included but for the stringency of a parliamentary statute which prevents the delegates of the Clarendon Press from sanctioning its publication.

C. W. C.

MONTREAL, *1st March,* 1899.

NOTE.—Throughout the book all bibliographical citations which follow the heading " Source " relate to the quarter whence the selection has been immediately derived. With their help the reader can in most cases go directly to the full text, of which the passage here printed is only a part. After each title comes the date of the event, while the author's date is given under the bibliographical reference. In a few cases the dates of a sovereign are attached to the instrument which was issued in his name.

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INTRODUCTION.

WHEN one comes forward with a new book of moderate bulk, and professes that its aim is to " do something " for the elements of English history, he cannot complain if he is heard with amusement and unbelief. Miss Austen in 1798 ridiculed the " nine-hundredth abridger of the history of England". What, then, must the number be now? During the century which has passed since *Northanger Abbey* was written the English race has multiplied more than fourfold, and with the growth of national school systems in Great Britain, the Colonica and the United States, text-books have kept pace, both in abundance and in quality. The modern "abridger," when successful, can depend on a vaster body of readers than is reached by any other species of author, except the popular novelist or the great explorer. Hence an ever-swelling flood of treatises by competent, and sometimes leading, historians. The standard of accuracy and of skill in condensation is constantly raised, while the demand that all studies shall be interesting has forced compilers to freshen their style, their stories and their illustrations.

But, even though we should assume that the books now offered to the sixth form and to the "general reader" are not likely to be improved upon till men of genius attempt this kind of literature, one thing is still needful. in taking up a manual, whatever may be its merits, the historical amateur feels that there is a want, which, after he begins a search for it, does not remain long hidden. An outline sketch cannot, by its nature, be more than a bare recital of facts ; or, adapting the phrase to this case, an outline 3ketch of a country's history can be little more than a chronology of politics. A

good writer will certainly explain where he can the action of cause and effect in public affairs, but such comment will be cut very short by the limits of his space. He* must either restrict his topics, or else reduce that factor of intimate detail which makes history a lively subject. As a rule he decides to give the purchaser full value of information, with the result that his pages are obtrusively dry.

One purpose of this volume is to supply an element which existing text-books lack,—not because they are in themselves deficient, but because by virtue of their conception they deal with the facts instead of with the spirit of history. On advancing beyond the earliest stage of historical inquiry, a true student finds his pleasure and profit in hearing about a period from its own lips. A double inducement prompts him to read thus at first hand. He is helped to draw his own inferences (which is better than abject dependence on the opinion of a Macaulay, or a Freeman, or a Froude), and he gets from contemporaries a certain flavour which the most accomplished moderns cannot distil into their works. There are wines which will not stand export, which lose their quality in going beyond sea. It is the same with historical writings. The special training, the comparative knowledge and the seasoned judgment of a recent critical historian are worth much. And so may be his enthusiasm or his eloquence. Yet short cuts are always deceptive. One can glean an indefinite amount of sound information about Greece and Rome and the Middle Ages from books which have been published during the last fifty years, and never gain a true consciousness of what classical or mediaeval life was. He can put solid ground beneath his feet only by learning the character of the original records.

Why should not beginners approach real authorities, and share the zest which a tale inspires before it has been twice or thrice told! Ordericus Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester are intelligible, in the main part of their chronioles, to a boy of fifteen. One must be a mediaeval scholar to understand all the allusions, but the narrative is

usually simple and direct. It would be absurd for the boy of fifteen to attack a whole chronicle before mastering the sequence of chief events,,and still it should not be held impossible to direct him, almost from the outset, towards a fitter idea of history than that which a bald abstract of occurrences can impart. A certain number of young persons will always take an interest in the past. They are like a vine which is putting forth tendrils in the attempt to climb. Points of attachment it must have, and the polished granite of the school treatise offers very few. Failing a foothold there, the latent historical instinct tries other shifts, and often twines itself about some lusty shrub of rhetoric or romance. To drop the figure an untrained ear is easily caught by bombast, and mistakes declamation for sober truth. This rapid change from the extreme of literary aridity to the extreme of literary profusion is surely harmful. If the interest begotten of modern rhetoric, whether good or bad, were replaced by the interest which springs from contact with the sources, greater fairness of attitude towards bygone disputes might soon be expected both from historians and their readers.

One can no longer feel that in speaking a word for the direct study of annalists and other contemporary authors, he will be accused of riding a bobby or praised for espousing a neglected cause. Early in the reign of George I. the antiquary Hearne, then assistant keeper of the Bodleian Library, wrote in his journal: " I had once a design of printing some of our English Historians not yet published, whereof we have several in Bodley. But our Governours here have almost discouraged me by an Order they made, when they prosecuted me, against transcribing MSS." Eventually Hearne did edit a number of mediaeval chronicles, but the action of the University in discouraging—not to say prohibiting—him, affords a contrast to the current tendency of Oxford and all other learned bodies.

We are, however, less concerned with modern willingness to publish the full text of documents (even of State papers which were long guarded in secret archives) than with the growing wish to make these documents widely known. The professed

student of history lives among them and handles them daily. Some of them become generally familiar through the use to which he turns them in his writings, while a few of the others have long been standard works of literature. But the mass of historical sources is concealed from public view, and it requires a special effort to bring even specimens before readers whose leisure is so short that they cannot waste any part of it Three reasons, apparently, have blended to give the excerpt system a recognised place in historical method. They are a desire to enliven the subject, a desire to save the time of those who are busy and of those who have no large library close at hand, and a desire, strengthened by the universal scientific impulse, to secure accuracy. One could amply illustrate the forms which these motives, separately or together, have assumed in the hands of Continental, English and American editors during the past twenty-five years. For the present instances chosen from England, Switzerland and the United States (the three homes of Teutonic democracy) will suffice Stubbs' *Select Charters* contains documents which are essential to a sound knowledge of English constitutional history from its origins to Edward I I . This excellent book—a standard of what such work should be—consciously restricts its scope to the demands of a small and special class by leaving in their original Latin form nearly all the passages which it assembles. Of a more popular nature than the *Select Charters* are Oechsli's *Quellehbueh* for Switzerland, and Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries* for the United States.

While explaining this regard for sources which is everywhere observable among historical writers and editors, one should not dismiss in a phrase the influence of science upon history. Since 1850 the humanities—and with them such allied branches as philosophy and history—have been deeply affected by the spirit which a close study of nature, of man and of matter, has aroused or confirmed. Belief in growth and belief in law have done so much towards supplanting former and more arbitrary ideas that the generation which is being educated now will find some difficulty in understanding how history was viewed and taught

in the early years of the century. It is not only on the side of negative criticism that the scientific tendency has modified our conception of the past, although a wholesale destruction of myth began in 1812 with Kiebuhr's attack on Livy's stories of Romulus and Remus, of Numa Pompilius and the nymph Egeria. New and positive convictions have shaped themselves about the process of progress, the character of institutions, the development of nations, and the immense value of comparison in estimating the sense of any single fact or group of facts. But nowhere in the historical sphere has a scientific impulse been more noticeable than in whatever relates to exactness of information and sincerity of tone. The best men of science have shown that they can follow out vexed questions like the origin of the world or the origin of species, and yet accept the facts discovered in spite of any startling import which they may have. Historians are likewise learning to keep themselves in the background and "let humanity decide". The day is past when anyone who wilfully glorifies the Whigs of the Revolution or the Tories of the Napoleonic Wars can escape being suspected and condemned.

Lord Acton in his weighty inaugural address at Cambridge, 1895, singled out Leopold von Kanke as "the representative of the age which instituted the modern study of history. He taught it to be critical, to be colourless, and to be new." This noble type of the investigator was throughout sixty laborious years a truly scientific student who examined, criticised and presented sources, to the end that correct information might be available. "His course," says Lord Acton, "had been determined in early life by *Quentin Durward.* The shock of the discovery that Scott's Lewis the Eleventh was inconsistent with the original in Commynes made him resolve that his object thenceforth should be above all things to follow, without swerving, and in stern subordination and surrender, the lead of his authorities. He decided effectually to repress the poet, the patriot, the religious or political partisan, to sustain no cause, to banish himself from his books, and to write nothing that would gratify his own feelings or disclose his private convictions. When a strenuous

divine who, like him, had written on the Reformation, hailed him as a comrade, Ranke repelled his advances. "You," he said, " are in the first place a Christian : I am in the first place a historian. There is a gulf between us." He was the first eminent writer who exhibited what Michelet calls " *le desinteressement des morts* ". A man of such calm temper, of such unselfish purpose and such splendid learning, was well fitted to spread the doctrine that history must be re-established on a sure and sound basis of scrutinised and sifted evidence. He repressed his own opinions, content if he could distinguish truth from error, and remove in part Sir Robert Walpole's reproach: " Anything but history, for history must be false".

Whatever has favoured the spread of Ranke's school has equally accentuated the value of those historical materials upon which members of his school depend—the primary and authentic memorials of any given age. Ranke himself in passing back from *Quentin Durward* to Philip de Comines took the step which a great many persons ought, but neglect, to take. He would not rest content with romance, and determining to investigate an important character approached the quarter where his doubts could best be resolved. He might find that Comines' chronicle required criticism, but at all events its author had served Louis XL while Sir Walter Scott had not. And so, however certain one may be that acquaintance with the best sources will add a desired freshness to historical study, he should see that they have another and a stronger claim. They are the stone and mortar of which not merely the foundation but the enclosing walls—if the fabric be worth anything—consist.

Having connected the love of scientific accuracy with a strict dependence on the sources, it still remains to indicate the nature of the alliance, if one exist, between scientific accuracy and selections from the sources. A fair objection may be raised at this point on the ground that no opinion worth holding can rest on a single statement. " Historical events and personages should be looked at in every light before judgment about them is permitted to form itself in one's mind." This doubtless is

a just contention when addressed to the author, who must examine and weigh each action and circumstance; but the unlearned reader cannot, if he would, check and verify as he advances. He must accept many conclusions on his authors word. It does not therefore follow that he should be wholly helpless in his author's hands. So long as he is ignorant of the manner in which historical books are prepared, he must continue in a state of painful subjection. One recommends the beginner to read passages from original sources that he may qualify himself in a measure for the office of critic. The smattering of information which he obtains will have a certain value, but it will be relatively small. The great benefit which he may expect to receive is a new perception of the difference between various kinds of materials, some faithful, others misleading. Let him once seize a few broad principles, the alphabet of historical students, and, aided in their application by common sense, he can estimate rightly the calibre of prominent authors about him. One cannot promise that technically his criticism will deserve very wide attention, but he will read with increased intelligence, and will be less apt than before to ground rigid beliefs on a slender basis. In a word, the novice will prize accuracy the more he realises the difficulties which stand in the way of securing it; and these difficulties he can most easily grasp through an elementary knowledge of the sources and of how they differ from "literature".

This introduction has the clear, if limited, design of presenting a few elementary distinctions, and of exemplifying them by reference to English history—more especially to the extracts which follow. It is not an essay on method, for whoever pushes beyond the threshold will find such treatises as he needs by Droysen and Bernheim in German, by Tardif, Chevalier, Langlois and Seignobos in French, and by Freeman in English. It is rather a declaration that history is something besides pure dulness, or pure story telling, or a means of lauding friends and reviling foes. Although a Venetian can thread the *calli* or lanes of his native city, a foreigner soon loses his way among them, and, once astray, is lucky if his sole knowledge of Italian

be *Dove e San Marco f* Likewise suggestions which an expert would deem obvious and commonplace, may assist those who have not yet mastered the rudiments.

The scope and character of history have been variously defined by opposing theorists and with equal dogmatism. Some would frankly confine it to politics, while others are so generous that they would make it embrace every authentic action of mankind. Such fluidity of opinion regarding limits alone marks it off from fellowship with the exact sciences, nor indeed is there any way of bringing it into the same class with them. The stars do not consciously and wilfully deceive the astronomer. The rocks do not perjure themselves in telling their story to the geologist. But the historian is for ever thrown back on narratives which are vitiated by prejudice, vanity and passion. In the absence of definite experimental tests like those used by the sciences, history cannot claim the precision either of physics or of biology. The conditions are never twice the same, and the human factors concerned instead of being passive objects of inquiry are emotional and intellectual agents.

One must emphasise this distinction, because along with the growing belief in law and the spread of scientific methods, a certain looseness of language has, strangely enough, become frequent. Writers imply, if they do not state, that accurate research and impartiality of tone will work the miracle of transferring history to a place among the sciences. Let us not be beguiled into any such hope -unless we are willing that the term should comprise merely facts and dates. During the course of the eighteenth century the Benedictines of St. Maur compiled a valuable series called *L'Art de Verifier les Dates.* Gibbon's footnotes testify that he used it regularly, and it is still a part of every well-equipped library. The aim of this work is to furnish an accurate synopsis of events, without the least effort at producing a literary effect or establishing a point in debate. It is possible that the business of verifying dates may hereafter be put on a scientific basis, that large sections of chronology may be determined. And under this head one

groups the settlement of numerous vexed questions as to whether a thing happened or not. But after agreement is reached regarding the actual occurrence, differences regarding the motive will arise. Here is a realm from which science is shut out, for standards of right and wrong vary according to time and circumstance and individual belief. History is less a teacher of morals than a magazine from which moralists draw their illustrations, and until there is a science of morals there can hardly be a science of history. Or, putting the matter rather more generally, even though we accept the same set of facts, our interpretation of them will depend on whether we are by temper conservative or radical, peaceful or warlike, romantic or prosaic.

in the present case, at any rate, we shall not consider the study of the sources as a means of getting at "truth," but as a means of getting at facts. The difficulties which these afford before they are run to earth will suffice the energy of most beginners. Every few years an accepted episode is attacked on the score of inaccuracy, and after being violently defended, for a greater or less period according to its importance, is at last yielded to its foes. Thus Protestants have given up the belief that a female Pope, Joan, reigned at Rome in the ninth century ; the Swiss, except in Canton Uri where the story fixed his birth, have lost confidence in William Tell; and the Welsh no longer accuse Edward I. of murdering their bards. Supported by proved errors of this kind, shallow observers have been emboldened to deny that historical reading can serve any useful purpose. Without accepting such an extreme and sceptical view, one should from the outset confront the liability to error, and regard its nature. If we begin with first principles we shall see that the vagaries of human consciousness must always occasion blunders and unwitting falsehoods. Honesty will not protect a writer against these. He may be a poor observer, his memory may fail him when he is engaged in recalling the scene, his original mental picture may be overlaid by later and incorrect impressions. An unemotional person, such as the professed critic, is likely to be the victim of tricks played upon him

by the senses, and the immense majority of historical witnesses are both emotional and uncritical. Next add to inevitable human weakness that common stumbling-block, imperfection of the record. Besides the total loss of many eminent works and the mutilated state of others—for instance the histories of Livy and Tacitus—our knowledge of a whole period may depend on a single writer. It follows that matters which should have been reported from different standpoints are reported from only one. Browning showed a sound instinct in the *Ring and the Book,* where ten dramatic monologues turn about the crime of Count Guido Franceschini, each one portraying a special aspect of it. And then, worst of all, comes bad faith. Monks forge charter deeds, politicians defend their party, autobiographers defend themselves, and the simple desire of telling a good story peoples that limbo which cannot be called the home of liars, but in which no truth is spoken. Flagrant falsehood does little damage, because it is either self-contradictory or is quickly pilloried. But masters in the art of deceit can mingle fact and calumny with a skill which often gains for them the credence they seek. So misleading is partial correctness that a shameless cynic of the Italian Renascence, Pietro Aretino, advised those who are bent on damaging an enemy's character to tell the truth about him. By grouping the inevitable mistakes of our authorities, their deliberate falsehoods and their fragmentary condition a damaging list is formed.

And yet M. Taine, who was not credulous either by disposition or training, said that there is no such thing as a bad document —*il n'y a pas de mauvais documents.* He meant that every text will, if properly studied, surrender its quota of genuine information. The great fault of those who deny the truthfulness of history is that they speak sweepingly and without discrimination. Push scepticism far enough and it becomes plain that no one living can predict how his dearest friend would act in an intricate crisis, or, for that matter, how he would act himself. Still we are continually forming estimates of character which prove serviceable. Millions of facts about the past are impregnably established. In order to deny the assassina-

tion of Julius Cæsar, or the coronation of Charlemagne at Rome, or the storming of the Bastille, one must be willing to question the very existence of matter. If lying and carelessness are raised in relief upon the historical page, the abundance of authentic evidence is equally prominent. Fact and fiction are often joined, not as an ounce of metal is embedded in a hundred-weight of rock, but as oxygen and hydrogen are combined in water. Yet here, although the gases are apparently united past hope of separation, the chemist can easily release the atoms from their intimate connection. A glance at the twelfth extract, page 29, will illustrate the possibility of getting historical fact from a somewhat unpromising source. This passage from the *Heimskringla Saga* is in certain respects a mere fancy sketch of the battle at Stamford Bridge. A legendary element, picturesque and unmistakable, pervades it. The spirited speeches of the leaders in parley before the combat are wholly imaginary, or have been coloured by a much later hand. The topography is inaccurate. One cannot feel sure that the fluctuations of the fight are properly described. On the other hand, observe how much actual framework it displays. A battle was fought in eastern England, near the Humber, between Harold, King of England, and his rebellious brother, Tostig, aided by the Norwegians under their heroic king, Harold Hardrada. All three commanders were present in person and shared the danger along with their troops. Harold Godwinson won and survived. Tostig and the King of Norway were both slain. The remnant of their army retreated, and the immediate purpose of the expedition failed. Furthermore, this saga brings out distinctly the fighting mood of the Middle Ages, and through its literary quality provides a means of judging the culture of that time. Because the story that Harold Godwinson offered Harold Sigurdson "seven feet of English ground, or as much more as he may be taller than other men," is altogether too good to be true, we must not call the entire tale a lie and throw it light-heartedly away.

Instead, then, of adopting the negative position that history is fallible to an extent which renders it unprofitable, we should

accept the principle that every record has its value. Advancing a little further, we reach the collection and classification of documents. Information must be sought wherever there is a chance of finding it, and after the authorities are ascertained they must be assorted and appraised. However firmly we may believe that each piece has some merit, it is no less clear that the degrees of value vary infinitely. Criticism has an endless task in deciding what should be kept and what rejected, how much weight certain statements should carry, and whether certain authors could have had precise knowledge or only repeated current gossip and scandal. Let us now consider the most salient features of difference which historical materials present, then pass to their accumulation, and, thirdly, examine our own sources as they group themselves into species.

Jordanes relates that when the Visigothic chieftain Athanaric stood in the market-place of Constantinople he was awe-struck by the unwonted scene, and exclaimed, " Without doubt the Emperor is a God upon earth, and he who attacks him is guilty of his own blood''. This speech—for present purposes its verbal authenticity matters little—attests the way in which Rome's ancient and imposing civilisation affected the barbarian mind. It also brings before us through one example that whole world of historical evidence wherein stories are told without words by objects mute, inanimate and impersonal. Athanaric was impressed not by what he heard but by what he saw. The density of population, the din of commerce, the lofty solid buildings about him meant wealth and power and wisdom. Had he understood every stage of imperial growth the result would have been the same in arousing his admiration. He saw what proved the Romans a wonderful people, and he could therefore dispense with details of their rise and of their conquests. Now quite outside literature former generations have left memorials in their buildings, their sculptures, their paintings, their music, their tools, their weapons, their household articles. The case of Athanaric suggests itself here from its association with buildings. He 'and his folk were not dwellers in towns, and their simple valour was unavailing against the brick walls

of a Roman fortress. Doubtless the shops, churches and palaces would catch his attention first and detain it longest. Nor are barbarians the only men who judge a people's might and majesty by architectural remains. Plutarch, writing 500 years afterwards, declares that the construction by Pericles of the public and sacred buildings at Athens " is now Greece's only evidence that the power she boasts of and her ancient wealth are no romance or idle story ". And what more convincing proofs of Roman grandeur can be named than the still extant Colosseum, Pont du Gard, and aqueduct of Tarragona ?

All the works wrought by human hands which have escaped destruction may be fairly termed historical documents ; though most require translation by specialists, just as, in the case of dead tongues, Champollion unlocked the meaning of Egyptian inscriptions and Rawlinson those of Assyria. We can even be more emphatic and state that where the hands have left no traces the bodily frame will bear cross-examination. In tracing the dim history of primitive man the shape of a skull and the dimensions of a skeleton attain immense importance. The earth abounds with "documents" other than those of language--whether the words be taken separately or arranged in sentences and books. But the sources which printing has diffused surpass every other kind if tested by popular interest and their power to reach the intelligence readily. Books are the universal means of conveying knowledge, and though history does not altogether depend on the written word, this species of record is its mainstay for the ages which have elapsed since letters were invented. We reach the heart of the present discussion in asking, " By what steps does our modern historical curiosity attempt to gain a faithful idea of distant eras or movements from the literature which they have left ?"

At the head of the subject stands the bold rubric, Bibliography. One must first learn the character of his sources and their amount. Gibbon's essay on the Roman law—chapter 44 of *The Decline and Fall*—has been praised as a marvellous performance, considering that it owes nothing to the Institutes of Gains, which were for the time lost. Gibbon's ignorance is

excusable because he shared it with his generation, but a writer who now broached that topic without having looked into Gaius would barely escape the reviewers alive. The certainty that ho will find far more chaff than wheat is no good ground why the investigator should shrink from threshing his full crop of authorities and winnowing them. The man who has "just enough of learning to misquote" is in no worse plight than the historian who knows just enough about a question to let a vital document elude him. This task of getting at the raw material often implies familiarity with several languages, with epigraphy (or inscriptions), with paleography (or old manuscripts), and extensive travel. It involves a certain acquaintance with the contents of great national collections like the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and the British Museum, of great collections like the Vatican and the Bodleian which belong to ancient institutions, and of great series like the Monumenta Germanise Historica, the Documents Inedits and the Rolls Series. And besides having a tolerable notion of where the huge warehouses are situated and what they contain, one should command a stock of bibliographical lore which will guide him through the retail shops, that is through the many special subdivisions of classical, mediaeval and modern, political, ecclesiastical and social history. According to common definition a scholar either knows a thing or can at once find it out. He does not fulfil this second condition unless he cuts a wide swath in his reading and has studied the classification of books with a view to ascertaining the cardinal features of their contents. It goes almost without saying that any writer whose aim is proof of a particular point or judgment of a particular character, must exhaust the bibliography connected therewith. There is more immediate necessity of reminding those who would read intelligently, and yet cannot devote their whole attention to history, that a degree of bibliographical training is essential. For instance, the blunder of mistaking a partisan or biassed work for gospel is both fatal and frequent. One can readily understand a beginner's belief that Thiers has said the last word on the French Revolution or

Sir Walter Scott on Napoleon, or Mr. T. P. O'Connor on Lord Beaconsfield. Unless he has heard of others he may probably suppose that the first dogmatic book he meets is a just and final authority. In the matter of sources and recent literature alike, bibliography is the handmaid of history.[1]

After accumulating the data from which our information will finally be drawn, we confront the vexed questions presented by their diverse qualities. At this stage we must seize as an axiom the principle that honest and impersonal criticism is the essence of historical scholarship. No document should expect to escape it, and those which cannot meet the test of examination from without and within may seek in vain a court where favouritism will restore the confidence which defect has cost them. At least that is the high standard of historians like Ranke. Human weakness will hinder its universal attainment, but the process of levelling up to complete candour is much more stimulating than that of levelling down to carelessness and prejudice. We may assume, then, the need of criticising each authority before using it for purposes of demonstration.

By Canadian post-office regulations articles are scheduled for convenience into classes which range from first to fifth. In this way things completely alien to each other are jostled together and pay at the same rate. The bulbs of plants and mortgage deeds are enumerated under one head, flour and razors under another, microscopic glasses and oil under a third. Similarly, in classifying historical sources, convenience may require that a single division shall include materials of the most varied nature. No attempt can be made here at distributing documents into small groups and supplying an elaborate system of cross-references which shall connect them. But one can show roughly how criticism works by making certain large

[1] Any serviceable comment upon the bibliography of English history would run into a separate article, or, very likely, into a separata volume. Limits both of scope and space exclude it here. In supplementing these selections readers should consult Gardiner and Mullinger's *Introduction to the Study of English History.* Part II., by Mr. Mullinger, estimates the authorities, while Mr. Gardiner's general sketch supplies a framework upon which portions of individual knowledge can be hung. The latest edition is preferable.

categories, each of which shall have a clearly marked character and fill a clearly marked place in the scale of values. The further analysis which specialists would require lies outside the range of the present introduction.

In assorting records according to their merits, let us first consider the most trustworthy. As ignorance and misrepresentation are deadly foes of historical accuracy, we should seek and prize the documents from which they are excluded. Now both these vices abound wherever they have a chance, and, if we would see events through the "dry light" of strict truth, we must suspect that they lurk beneath the surface unless tokens of knowledge and good faith are strong. Fortunately one class of evidence is untainted: that, namely, in which writings tell their own colourless story without ornament either from friend or foe. Take the whole body of public and official instruments; statutes, charters, legal notices, bulls, parliamentary writs and returns, memorials, articles of impeachment, and in fact the original text of any important measure, or even of any important statement. No room for distortion exists in such cases, because, once granted that the words have been honestly preserved, the writing proves itself and is final. Roger of Wendover cites the terms of Magna Carta;[1] but supposing the original parchment lost, and that he had given only a general account of the promises which John made the barons, we might doubt whether his abstract were a fair one. As we have the very charter we can feel certain of the conditions which were extorted from the king, and can, besides, use them as the solid basis of inferences concerning feudal life at that period. Magna Carta was signed nearly seven centuries ago, and has long since passed out of the controversial stage. For the sake of showing how precious is the identical form of any document, attention may be called to Extract 97, "No. 45 of the *North Briton".* Quite apart from whether Wilkes's charges against the ministry were just or not, the commotion which he raised is a piece of history in itself. Had his article perished, except for references in the pamphlets of his enemies or defenders, we could at best form an imperfect

[1] With a few variations from the precise text,

idea of his attitude. As it is, we know the exact nature of his attack on Grenville, and "No. 45," however violent and one-sided its language, is in this sense an untainted document.

In a single volume of selections (and especially in a short one like this which covers nearly 1900 years) the quality of each excerpt is designedly kept high. There is little or no room for inferior material. An editor must not waste his space in illustrating the different kinds of poor sources simply because they exist in profusion. Accordingly the reader will find among the following passages numerous examples of those sound and final authorities which have just been described. Constitutional history is always dependent on official records such as the Charter of Liberties (No. 19); John's charter to Dunwich (No. 28); the writ of Edward I. summoning knights and burgesses to the Parliament of 1295 (No. 34); Somerset's Edict against Religious Innovations (No. 58); the preliminary charges against Strafford (No. 71); William and Mary's act against papists (No. 83) ; and Napoleon's Berlin Decree (No. 110) which provoked the English "Orders in Council". In a closely allied class may be put the Bishops' oath of allegiance to Henry VIII. as Head of the Church (No. 56); the proclamation of James I. on the subject of sports (No. 69); and Anne's Speech to Parliament at the time of the legislative union between England and Scotland (No. 87). Distinct aspects of social life or economic conditions are disclosed by the statutes of a religious guild at Abbotsbury (No. 11); the manumission of a villein (No. 33); and the edict of Edward II. concerning the price of food (No. 36). The bull of Gregory XT. (No. 41) explains the papal disposition towards John Wyclif and Jenner's memorial to Parliament (No. 108) proves that the discoverer of vaccination appreciated the value of his services to the race. Other citations from original texts belong in the same class. Though tinged with the spirit of faction, they vouch for a prominent person's stand on some memorable occasion. Richard of York's manifesto to the burgesses of Shrewsbury (No. 46) indicates the limit of his claims in 1452 ; the violent tract (No. 88) which was provoked by the South Sea catastrophe voices the wrath of ruined investors;

and Junius's letter to the Duke of Bedford (No. 98) reveals the gall and wormwood of that celebrated pen. Outside political quarrels, the paragraphs from Lyly's *Euphtces* (No. 65) preserve the high-flown style of Elizabethan gallants, while Nehemiah Wellington's account of Edgehill (No. 73) is charged with the Roundhead's belief that God fought on his side and protected him amid dangers.

Speeches count among documents, for the spoken word once correctly reported is stereotyped into a bit of literature. Before shorthand abbreviations were introduced, a slow speaker's utterance was so rapid that it outstripped the hearer's pen, and the torrent of words poured out by a fast speaker was baffling. Hence Hansard's verbatim fidelity was wanting throughout the Middle Ages, and, in fact, till a recent period. What tricks memory will play may be seen by a comparison of the four contemporary reports which profess to give the address of Urban I I . at the Council of Clermont. Did the discrepancies relate solely to words one could reconcile them without difficulty, but the versions vary quite as much in structure as in detail. A part of one is printed in No. 17. The oration which Tacitus ascribes to Galgacus just before Agricola's victory over the Caledonians (No. 3) shows a wider divergence still from the right line. It is purely imaginary, and one cannot conceive that a barbarian should have used such compact and polished language. Froissart probably reproduces the substance of John Ball's arguments, dressing them up in his own terms (No. 42). The remaining selections of this sort comprise three royal speeches (Nos. 61 A, 61 B and 87); two from the bench (Nos. 68 B and 81); and two by the illustrious orators, Burke and Fox (Nos. 99 and 105). In each instance the text verges closely upon exact precision", and thus we can hold these speakers responsible for their words with a strictness which would be unreasonable in the cases first cited. Against the personal tone which marks Elizabeth's speech to Parliament (No. 61 B) it is worth while to set the officialism of Anne (No. 87), and with Burke's splendid judgment must be coupled his faith that principles have a place in politics.

Official and private letters possess an importance for the historian which entitle them to a sub-section under the most esteemed species of his documents. Of course one does not imply that they are uniformly truthful, but even when they intentionally convey falsehood they are worth much as proceeding directly from the individual and reflecting his mind or temper though they conceal his morals. Intended, too, in the majority of cases for one person or for a small circle, and often surrounded by the utmost secrecy, they convey tidings which can be entrusted to no other form of communication. Diplomatic correspondence, in particular, is stamped with this mark of privacy, and as a rule the world is kept waiting for generations, if not centuries, before independent historians can gain admission to the archives of ambassadors and foreign ministers. Three extracts which appear in close connection between pages 133-140 (Nos. 51, 53, and 54) deserve careful scrutiny, both by reason of what they contain and because they connect Italy BO closely with the beginnings of English diplomacy. They are Soncino's despatch to the Duke of Milan regarding John Cabot's discoveries; Giustiniani's description of Henry VIII. and Wolsey; and a budget of Wolsey's own instructions to Richard Pacu, special envoy of England at Venice. Another exceptional despatch is printed in No. 109—the letter sent from the British Foreign Office to Sir Arthur Paget after Mack's surrender at Ulm. With the rise of the Empire reports of generals and administrators abroad to the home government become important sources. For instance, see Clive's announcement of the battle of Plassey (No. 94); Wolfe's letter to Pitt from before Quebec (No. 95); and Warren Hastings' minute against Sir Philip Francis (No. 101). Three letters from sovereigns are included, and all of them afford glimpses of character. Canute's missive from Rome (No. 10) is a personal greeting to his people rather than a public proclamation, like the reward for the Pretender (No. 92); Mary Stuart in No. 63 speaks out with feminine emotion; and in No. 62 Elizabeth displays the full measure of her tact—or hypocrisy—in negotiation. Besides these letters which fall into little clusters, several single

specimens are given on account of their unusual interest or meaning. Alcuin's request that he may send to Britain for books (No. 7), and his urgency in advising Charlemagne to encourage learning, are proofs that the spirit of culture was not extinct in the Dark Ages; the marriage correspondence between John Paston and Margery Brews (No. 47) is a striking illustration of social usage during the Yorkist period; and Sir Henry Sidney's advice to his son Philip (No. 64) discloses the best moral standards which were set before youths in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Having glanced at formal and official documents, original texts of different sorts and letters, we pass to contemporary narratives which are descriptive of an event or episode. Description enters very largely into the subject matter of letters, but the difference between them and the sources now to be considered is that the latter are meant for publication. As compared with letters they may lack something in freshness and unreserve; by way of compensation they not infrequently gain from the care which an author devotes to style and finish. Before making mankind his confidant he considers what effect he wishes to produce. If a politician or the partisan of any cause, he must guard against the possible attacks of opponents ; if he has the masses in view, he must be clear and easily understood ; if he would reach the fastidious, he must spare no pains in pruning his ideas and revising his phrases. A man may occasionally publish without paying thought to his literary reputation, and a letter-writer may occasionally anticipate publication. The rule is, however, that a book is a much more studied performance than a letter, and tells its story with greater regard to consequences.

Autobiography is a typical form of the contemporary record at its best. The closer one comes to the act, the fuller are his chances of knowing all about it; and when one has seen a thing done or shared in its achievement, he rises to the level of an ultimate authority. He may have motives for distorting the facts and require close watching, but, unless his memory has completely failed, he will certainly set down much that is correct.

Other factors besides immediate observation which such

sources require before they can reach the highest excellence are dignity of the event, magnitude of the writer, and power to depict skilfully or with force. This splendid combination of opportunity, greatness and literary skill is rare, and its product is always a historical classic, instance the De *Bello Gallico,* Lesser luminaries shine according to their strength, and sometimes a person, otherwise insignificant, connects himself lastingly with a stupendous scene, as did Edward Grim with Becket's murder (No. 23).

All writings which reflect real life and stirring experiences have one characteristic in common: they are entertaining. When the action has been crowded, or the event, though unexciting, is of universal moment, the recital need not rely upon fine words. A simple style will suffice so long as it is unmarred by obscurity or bad taste. And then in the same class with personal recollections one may rank the comments and criticism of an eye-witness,—a foreigner's remarks about the country he visits, a biographer's opinion of the friend whom he has long known, a philanthropist's account of the evils he has lived among and studied. There is no occasion to go beyond the passages which are printed in this volume for divers examples of first-hand observation. Sir P. Warwick was present at the debate on the Grand Remonstrance when Royalists and Radicals were barely restrained by Hampden from drawing their swords (No. 72-A); John Wesley relates how he endured the attack of a Staffordshire mob (No. 91); Lord St. Leonard's accompanied Wellington through London streets amid a hooting and jeering populace (No. 117); and Macaulay cast his vote for the second reading of the Reform Bill (No. 116). Asser describes Alfred's court as he had lived in it (No. 8); Roger Ascham was intimate with Lady Jane Grey (No, 69); Jeffrey's praise of Watt's conversation bespeaks familiar acquaintance (No. 102); *The Venetian Relation* (No. 50) contains an intelligent Italian's view of English society at a time when its tone was rapidly changing from roughness to comfort; and Howard's preface (No. 100) comes from a reformer whose head and heart were alike engaged in relieving prisoners

unjustly distressed. Gervase of Canterbury watched the flames which destroyed the "glorious choir" of Prior Conrad (No. 34); Roger Bacon laments the difficulty of getting proper apparatus for his experiments (No. 32); the losses which Florence sustained when Edward I I I . repudiated his debts, is told by a chronicler who was ruined along with the Bardi (No. 38); Bradford was on board the *Mayflower* during her voyage to Cape Cod (No. 70); Thomas Harriot had gone out as a colonist to Virginia (No. 66); and Dr. Wallis was prominent among the founders of the Royal Society, whose origin he traces in No. 74.

Next in order of merit come pieces by contemporary writers who stood at a distance from the event, but who took trouble to satisfy themselves concerning it. When the original records are lost these take their place, and often through special circumstances they enjoy great credit without owing it to an accidental cause. The important points are that the author should be a competent person, and should also have investigated the matter in a proper way. During long periods, for instance the Middle Ages, autobiographical description languished, and we must thankfully accept as material any contemporary narrative which offers. Between the sixth and fourteenth centuries European history was almost wholly in the hands of churchmen, and monks secluded in their cloisters collected tidings of the outside world as they could get them. For every one abbey like St Alban's, wealthy and frequented by illustrious travellers, a score of smaller houses had their chroniclers and annalists. These Benedictines, or Cluniacs, or Cistercians were not uniformly well educated, and they lacked means of sifting what they heard. Still the common news came their way, and by preserving it they have left us the possibility of judging them and their times. Sir T. D. Hardy points out that many a credulous story of saint or martyr abounds with local touches which are above doubt because so perfectly incidental.

Of the selections contained in this volume a large number has been taken from the works of men who were living at the moment but were neither actors nor spectators. Such passages might be divided and classified under numerous heads did space

permit. As it is, the chief distinction which can be attempted is a simple and perhaps an artificial one. Some of our authors seem bent on sincere and impartial description, while others display a warmth and prejudice which at once impair our confidence in them. Controversy always exists, and the historian cannot overlook it. Therefore such passages as No. 35, " An English view of Wallace and Bruce," and No. 79, recalling the dispute over coffee-houses in the reign of Charles I I . , demand insertion here. Sir Thomas More's protest against sheep-walks (No. 55) has been charged with unfairness [1]; No. 75, though faithful in the main, does not proceed from a sympathetic source, and is probably less than just to Cromwell; Smollett's picture of life on a warship (No. 93) is coloured for literary effect; and Wakley's charge against the staff at St. Thomas's Hospital (No. 114) is the open condemnation of an abuse.

Contrast with any extract among those just cited Tacitus account of the primitive Germans (No. 4). The subject itself is removed from faction, and in the Roman's calm, disinterested tone we detect the sagacious observer and critic. No virtue or vice escapes his watchful eye, and if his armour has a weak spot it must be sought in defective knowledge rather than in mental bias. Ordericus Vitalis explains that his concern for the tragic wreck of the White Ship was prompted by no personal loss thereby (No. 20); Froissart, in spite of aristocratic sympathies, states the peasants' arguments honestly (No. 42); and, approaching recent times, we may observe a judicial attitude in the *Annual Register's* estimate of Pitt (No. 96), and in Napier's reflections on the Peninsular War (No. 111).

Several other notable descriptions by contemporaries merit attention. Among them are those selections from the *Agricola,* in which Tacitus considers the geography and inhabitants of Britain (No. 2); William Fitz-Stephen's praise of London (No. 25); Roger Hoveden's witness to the Jewish persecution at York (No. 26); Wendover's chapters on the Interdict and Magna Carta (Nos. 29 and 30); Higden's, Trevisa's, and Caxton's references to the popular speech of their day (Nos. 49 A and

[1] *E.g.,* by W. A. S. Hewins in Traill's *Social England.* Vol. iii., p. 248.

B); Polydore Vergil on the Revival of Learning in England (No. 52); Ralegh's narrative of how Grenville fought the *Revenge* against a Spanish fleet (No. 67); Blake's action at Santa Cruz from Heath's *Chronicle* (No. 76); and Southey's powerful sketch of the *Orient's* explosion in Aboukir Bay (No. 107). A further account of its source will be found in the preface to each piece.

Lastly we reach the non-contemporary selections. They arc very few, inasmuch as, after Bede, every epoch in English history can produce its own living authorities who must receive preference. From the fourteenth century onward one has seldom any trouble in deciding whether a writer was or was not later than the period of his narrative ; but confusion has arisen over many mediaeval chronicles and their dates. The *Flores Historiarum,* which long owned as its author a mythical Matthew of Westminster, presents a famous case of mistaken chronology. This work instead of being by a single hand, was patched together by different monks at St. Alban's and Westminster during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The individual monk then counted for little and the community for much. Hence a chronicler's name was quickly lost, or his composition ascribed to a more celebrated brother of the same house. The danger of making such mistakes is less now than it was a hundred or even fifty years ago, owing to improved tests and a growing skilfulness in detecting errors. In the last century slips were not uncommon. " Hume, for instance, was so little acquainted with the relative value of the monkish annalists, that he frequently adduces, without discrimination, secondary and inferior evidence, instead of primary, in support of facts he narrates. Thus he supports the authority of Beda, a writer of the eighth century, by a reference to Matthew of Westminster or Henry of Huntingdon, who copied him often without acknowledgment. Higden and Matthew of Westminster, writers of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, are placed in the same rank with the *Saxon Chronicle* as vouchers for the events of the reign of Edward the Confessor." [1]

[1] Sir T. D. Hardy in his introduction to
(Rolls Series). Vol. i., part i, p. 15.

The selections which date from a later generation than their subjects are limited to four. Bede preserves the thread of early Saxon history, and is unchallenged master of the domain which without him (and a few inferior writers) would be a blank and desert waste. Nos. 5 and 6 are taken from his principal work, and tradition enters largely into their texture. Frois sart's version of Crecy is chosen because it represents his picturesque style (No. 39); More's tale of the princes in the Tower (No. 48) not only belongs to a later date, but, it has been claimed, is marked by signs of such hostility as weakens its credit. Gerald of Wales (No. 22) and Grafton's *Chronicle* (No. 60), though a little later than their respective topics, are contemporary sources. The *Heimskringla Saga* (No 12) hap already been discussed in another connection.

By extending the number of one's passages one could easil) multiply their sub-divisions. But this rapid analysis shows all that is needful; namely, the diversity which original authorities present, and the enormous range in their values. Each document, we assume, is worth something. It is the business of a painstaking criticism to decide how much, and in the quest for well informed and honest sources comparison and classification are aids constantly used.

" Having collected a sufficient body of facts which will stand the test, how does a modern historian employ them ?" Such would be the next question in a systematic treatise on historical method. It is asked here only for the sake of introducing one final topic, the difference between sources and "literature".

The term "literature" has a narrow and artificial meaning when taken in the sense which is intended by this contrast. There are many literary masterpieces among sources, and there is much bad writing among the "literature". Turn from Thucydides to a second-rate manual on the Peloponnesian War, and the distinction will appear. Thucydides was an acute observer then living, and a magnificent stylist besides. By virtue of his closeness to the events described he is an excellent source, while the vastly inferior modern who sweeps together what facts are accepted regarding the strife between Athens

and Sparta swells the "literature" of that subject. "Literature" is later writing derived from the sources by making them supplement each other, and by distilling them through the mind of an author who himself knows nothing save what he has learned indirectly. Such an author collects facts according to the nature of his immediate purpose, weaves them well or ill according to his talent, and sends them forth bearing a certain stamp of his own. The famous historians, ancient and modern, have—with few exceptions—infused their ideas, their opinions, and frequently their emotions into their works. But we have also seen how a scientific influence has affected history during recent years, with the result that a leader like Ranke, who "banishes himself from his books," gathers about him a large band of eminent followers.

After one has given the scientific impulse hearty credit for its efforts in advancing accuracy and in creating an impartial tone, he can censure one of its defects without misgiving. Whatever creates a belief that in historical narrative the form of expression can be neglected, is to that degree harmful, and those who try to identify history with science often sacrifice style and even ideas to their craving for definite results,—that is for the proof of fresh facts. The more important a scholar's information, the more imperative that it should be clearly and strongly put: and if a beginner discovers that serious, solid history is unreadable, his curiosity about the past will turn for satisfaction towards what is flimsy but entertaining. History and literature are inseparably allied, for life is interesting and the record of it should be. Perhaps in another century the learned will reconcile charm and correctness. Then mankind will read its chastened and impartial annals with the delight which Renascence Europe took in Amyot's translation of Plutarch.

Any remarks upon the pleasures and advantages of historical study would obscure the purpose of this introduction, which seeks but to announce the authorities themselves. The editor's last word is an aphorism taken from Cicero: *Nescire quid antca quam natus sis accident, id est semper esse pucrum.*

SELECTIONS

1. JULIUS CÆSAR (B.C. 55-54).

Caesar's *Commentaries* hold high rank in a small and remarkable class of literature -- works written by generals, statesmen and other leaders about themselves. As a rule, the great men of action have been unable to produce histories, or else have failed to find leisure for such employment. Cscsar alone-among the three or four most famous conquerors has left a systematic accountt of his campaigns, and we even owe the *Gallic War* in part to accident. Some of his enemies, trying to make capital for the Roman Senate, attacked him on the ground that he had raised armies and conquered provinces without receiving orders to do so. He put his answer into the form of a historical treatise—which was thus provoked by circumstances, rather than written for the author's amusement or for the benefit of posterity. It appeared in 51 B.C., three years after his second expedition to Britain. With regard to information about the island, he had much less to depend on than in the ease of Gaul, which he had both explored and subdued. Still, first impressions are worth preserving, and when the pioneer is a man of Cæsar's stamp, they become invaluable.

SOURCE.— *De Bello Gallico.* Julius Caesar (B.C. 100?-44). Book V., chaps, xii.-xiv. Trans, (with slight changes) W. Duncan. London 1832.

The inland parts of Britain are inhabited by those whom fame reports to be natives of the soil. The sea coast is peopled with Belgians, drawn thither by the love of war and plunder. These last, passing over from different parts, and settling in the country, still retain the names of the several states whence they are descended. The island is well peopled, full of houses, built after the manner of the Gauls, and abounds in cattle. They use brass money and iron rings of a certain weightt The

provinces remote from the sea produce tin, and those on the coast iron; but the latter in no great quantity. Their brass is all imported. All kinds of wood grow here the same as in Gaul, except the fir and beech tree. They think it unlawful to feed on hares, pullets or geese ; yet they breed them up for their diversion and pleasure. The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, and the cold less intense. The island is triangular, one of its sides facing Gaul. The extremity towards Kent, whence is the nearest passage to Gaul, lies eastward ; the other stretches south-west. This side extends about 500 miles. Another side looks towards Spain, westward.[1] Over against this lies Ireland, an island esteemed not above half as large as Britain, and separated from it by an interval equal to that between Britain and Gaul. In this interval lies the isle of Mona,[2] besides several other lesser islands, of which some write that in the time of the winter solstice they have night for thirty days together. We could make out nothing of this on inquiry ; only discovered by means of hour-glasses that the nights were shorter than in Gaul. The length of this side is computed at 700 miles. The last side faces the north-east, and is fronted by no part of the continent, only towards one of its extremities it seems to eye chiefly the German coast. It is thought to extend in length about 800 miles. Thus the whole island takes in a circuit of 2000 miles. The inhabitants of Kent, which lies wholly on the sea coast, are the most civilised of all the Britons, and differ but little in their manner from the Gauls The greater part of those within the country never sow their lands, but live on flesh and milk, and go clad in skins. All the Britons in general paint themselves with woad, which gives a bluish cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle. They are long-haired, and shave all the rest of the body except the head and upper lip.

2. TACITUS ON THE GEOGRAPHY AND INHABITANTS OF BBITAIN (A.D. 78-85).

Cornelius Tacitus, the foremost of Roman historians, was brought into contact with Britain by marriage with a daughter of Julius Agricola. His command of style and his skill in portraying character are so well known that it is needless either to praise or to discuss them here. He has sketched his father-

[1] See No. 2, note 2. [2] Anglesey,

in-law's life in a piece of superb biography which deals very largely with Britain, since that was the scene of Agricola's exploits. One hundred and thirty-three years after Ceesar's coming more than half of it was independent of Roman control. The southern part had been occupied and military camps created, but beyond Humber the natives rarely, if ever, saw a tax-gatherer Agricola's arrival in 78 A.D. brought a strong man and a forward policy into play. Before seven years were over he broke the spirit of resistance, and by establishing the Roman system of provincial government would have secured what he had won, but for Domitian's jealousy, which caused his recall. It will be observed that Tacitus, besides having the advantage of Ctesar in extent of knowledge, takes the tone of a critical or scientific inquirer.

SOUBCE.—*Vita AgricolcB.* Cornelius Tacitus (A.D. 52 ?-117 ?). Chaps, x.-xiii. Trans. Church and Brodribb. London, 188G.

The geography and inhabitants of Britain, already described by many writers, I will speak of, not that my research and ability may be compared with theirs, but because the country was then[1] for the first time thoroughly subdued. And so matters, which as being still not accurately known my predecessors embellished with their eloquence, shall now be related on the evidence of facts.

Britain, the largest of the islands which Roman geography includes, is so situated that it faces Germany on the east, Spain on the west,[2] on the south it is even within sight of Gaul, its northern extremities, which have no shores opposite to them, are beaten by the waves of a vast, open sea. The form of the entire country has been compared by Livy and Fabius Rusticus, the most graphic among ancient and modern historians, to an oblong shield or battle-axe. And this, no doubt, is its shape without Caledonia, so that it has become the popular description

[1] Under Agricola.

[2] Cæsar and Tacitus agree in this mistake. "It seems that Tacitus (in common with other writers) believed both Spain and Germany to extend much further to the north than they actually do. On this supposition his meaning in this sentence would be that Britain lies opposite to Spain on the west, to Germany on the east, and to Gaul on the south. . . . It will be remembered that Tacitus included Scandinavia in what he called Germany."—Church and Brodribb.

of the whole island. There is, however, a large and irregular tract of land which juts out from its furthest shores, tapering off in a wedge-like form. Round these coasts of remotest ocean the Roman fleet then for the first time sailed, ascertained that Britain is an island, and simultaneously discovered and conquered what are called the Oreades,[1] islands hitherto unknown. Thule[2] too was descried in the distance, which as yet had been hidden by the snows of winter. Those waters, they say, are sluggish, and yield with difficulty to the oar, and are not even raised by the wind as other seas. The reason, I suppose, is that lands and mountains, which are the cause and origin of storms, are here comparatively rare, and also that the vast depths of that unbroken expanse are more slowly set in motion. But to investigate the nature of the ocean and the tides is no part of the present work, and many writers have discussed the subject, I would simply add that nowhere has the sea a wider dominion, . . . that it does not merely flow and ebb within the limits of the shore, but penetrates and winds far inland, and finds a home among hills and mountains as though in its own domain.

Who were the original inhabitants of Britain, whether they were indigenous or foreign, is, as usual among barbarians, little known. Their physical characteristics are various, and hence conclusions may be drawn. The red hair and large limbs of the inhabitants of Caledonia point clearly to a German origin. The dark complexion of the Silures, their usually curly hair, and the fact that Spain is the opposite shore to them, are an evidence that Iberians of a former date crossed over and occupied these parts. Those who are nearest to the Gauls are also like them, either from the permanent influence of original descent, or, because in countries which run out so far to meet each other, climate has produced similar physical qualities. But a general survey inclines me to believe that the Gauls established themselves in an island so near to them. Their religious belief may be traced in the strongly-marked British superstition. The language differs but little ; there is the same boldness in challenging danger, and, when it is near, the same timidity in shrinking from it. The Britons, however, exhibit more spirit, as being a people whom a long peace has not yet enervated. Indeed we have understood that even the

[1] Orkneys.

[2] " Probably not Iceland, but Mainland, the chief of the Shetlands." —Church and Brodribb.

Gauls were once renowned in war; but, after a while, sloth following on ease invaded them, and they lost their courage along with their freedom. This too has happened to the long conquered tribes of Britain ; the rest are still what the Gauls once were.

Their strength is in infantry. Some tribes fight also with the chariot. The higher in rank is the charioteer; the dependents fight. They were once ruled by kings, but are now divided under chieftains into factions and parties. Our greatest advantage in coping with tribes so powerful is that they do not act in concert. Seldom is it that two or three states meet together to ward off a common danger. Thus, while they fight singly all are conquered.

Their sky is obscured by continual rain and cloud. Severity of cold is unknown. The days exceed in length those of our part of the world; the nights are bright, and in the extreme north so short that between sunlight and dawn you can perceive but a slight distinction. It is said that, if there are no clouds in the way, the spendour of the sun can be seen throughout the night, and that he does not rise and set but only crosses the heavens. . . .

With the exception of the olive and vine and plants which usually grow in warmer climates, the soil will yield, and even fruitfully, ail ordinary produce. It ripens indeed slowly, but is of rapid growth, the cause in each case being the same, namely, the excessive moisture of the soil and of the atmosphere. Britain contains gold and silver and other metals, as the prize of conquest. The ocean, too, produces pearls, but of a dusky and bluish hue. Some think that those who collect them have not the requisite skill, as in the Red Sea the living and breathing pearl is torn from the rocks, while in Britain they are gathered just as they are thrown up. I could myself more readily believe that the natural properties of the pearls are in fault than our keenness for gain.

The Britains themselves bear cheerfully the conscription, the taxes, and the other burdens imposed on them by the Empire if there be no oppression. Of this they are impatient; they are reduced to subjection, not as yet to slavery. To proceed, the deified Julius, the very first Roman who entered Britain with an army, though by a successful engagement **he** struck terror into the inhabitants and gained possession of the coast, must be regarded as having indicated rather than transmitted the acquisition to future generations. Then **the** civil wars, and the arms of our leaders **were turned against their**

country, and even when there was peace, there was a long neglect of Britain. This Augustus spoke of as policy, Tiberius as an inherited rule. That Caius Cæsar meditated an invasion of Britain is perfectly clear, but his purposes, rapidly formed, were easily changed, and his vast attempts on Germany had failed. Claudius was the first to renew the attempt, and conveyed over into the island some legions and auxiliaries, choosing Vespasian to share with him the campaign, whose approaching elevation had this beginning. Several tribes were subdued and kings made prisoners, and destiny learnt to know its favourite.[1]

3. THE SPEECH OP GALGAOUS (84).

The practice of putting highly polished speeches into the mouths of persons who never delivered them, was begun by Thucydides, and became popular with Greek and Roman historians. This literary trick is illustrated by the finest bit of prose which can in any way be connected with Britain before the Elizabethan period. Galgacus expresses sentiments suited to the occasion, but his style of utterance reveals the rnau of genius and training, not the half naked barbarian. In this passage Tacitus, according to his frequent custom, seizes a chance to condemn Roman vices. His artistic motive should also be kept in view. What a general must Agricola have been to defeat a race familiar with the country, fighting for its dearest possessions, and inflamed by such a speech !

SOURCE.—*Vita Agricolas.* Cornelius Tacitus (52?-117?). Chaps. xxx.-xxxii. Trans. Church and Brodribb. London, 1886.

Whenever I consider the origin of this war and the necessities of our position, I have a sure confidence that this day, and this union of yours, will be the beginning of freedom to the whole of Britain. To all of us slavery is a thing unknown; there are no lands beyond us, and even the sea is not safe, menaced

[1] *Monstratus fatis.* " We prefer with Orelli to take *fatis* as a *dative* than with Kritz as an *ablative.* The half paradox of the future ruler being pointed out to the destinies which decreed his fortune is very characteristic of Tacitus. Vespasian's successful career in Britain commended him, so to speak, to destiny, as one worthy of high distinction."—Church and Brodribb.

as we are by a Roman fleet. And thus in war and battle, in which the brave find glory, even the coward will find safety. Former contests, in which, with varying fortune, the Romans were resisted, still left in us a last hope of succour, inasmuch as being the most renowned nation of Britain, dwelling in the very heart of the country, and out of sight of the shores of the conquered, we could keep even our eyes unpolluted by the contagion of slavery. To us who dwell on the uttermost confines of the earth, and of freedom, this remote sanctuary of Britain's glory has up to this time been a defence. Now, how ever, the furthest limits of Britain are thrown open, and the unknown always passes for something peculiarly grand. But there are no tribes beyond us, nothing indeed but waves and rocks, and the yet more terrible Roman, from whose oppression escape is vainly sought by obedience and submission. Robbers of the world, having by their universal plunder exhausted the land, they rifle the deep. If the enemy be rich, they are rapacious ; if he be poor, they lust for dominion ; neither the east nor the west has been able to satisfy them. Alone among men they covet with equal eagerness poverty and riches. To robbery, slaughter, plunder, they give the lying name of empire, and where they make a solitude they call it peace.

Nature has willed that every man's children and kindred should be his dearest objects. Yet these are torn from us by conscriptions to be slaves elsewhere. Our wives and sisters, even though they may escape violation from the enemy, are dishonoured under the names of friendship and hospitality. Our goods and fortunes they collect for their tribute, our harvests for their granaries. Our very hands and bodies, under the lash and in the midst of insult, are worn down by the toil of clearing of forests and morasses. Creatures born to slavery are sold once for all, and are, moreover, fed by their masters; but Britain is daily purchasing, is daily feeding, her own enslaved people. And as in a household the last comer among the slaves is always the butt of his companions, so we in a world long used to slavery, as the newest and the most contemptible, are marked out for destruction. We have neither fruitful plains, nor mines, nor harbours, for the working of which wo may be spared. Valour, too, And high spirit in subjects, are offensive to rulers; besides, remoteness and seclusion, while they give safety, provoke suspicion. Since then you cannot hope for quarter, take courage, I beseech you, whether it be safety or renown that you hold most precious.

Under 'a woman's leadership[1] the Brigantes were able to burn a colony, to storm a camp, and had not success issued in supineness, might have thrown off the yoke. Let us, then, a fresh and unconquered people, never likely to abuse our freedom, show forthwith at the very first onset what heroes Caledonia has in reserve.

Do you suppose that the Romans will be as brave in war as they are licentious in peace ? To our strifes and discords they owe their fame, and they turn the errors of an enemy to the renown of their own army, an army, which, composed as it is of every variety of nations, is held together by success and will be broken up by disaster. These Gauls and Germans, and, I blush to say, these numerous Britons, who, though they lend their lives to support a stranger's rule, have been its enemies longer than its subjects, you cannot imagine to be bound by fidelity and affection. Fear and terror there certainly are, feeble bonds of attachment; remove them, and those who have ceased to fear will begin to hate. All the incentives to victory are on our side. The Romans have no wives to kindle their courage; no parents to taunt them with flight; many have either no country or one far away. Few in number, dismayed by their ignorance, looking around upon a sky, a sea, and forests which are all unfamiliar to them ; hemmed in, as it were, and enmeshed, the Gods have delivered them into our hands. Be not frightened by idle display, by the glitter of gold and of silver, which can neither protect nor wound. In the very ranks of the enemy we shall find our own forces. Britons will acknowledge their own cause ; Gauls will remember past freedom; the other Germans will abandon them, as but lately did the Usipii.[2] Behind them there is nothing to dread. The forts are ungarrisoned ; the colonies in the hands of aged men; what with disloyal subjects and oppressive rulers, the towns are ill-affected and rife with discord. On the one side you have a general and an army ; on the other, tribute, the mines, and all the other penalties of an enslaved people. Whether you endure these for ever, or instantly avenge them, this field is to decide. Think, therefore, as you advance to battle, at once of your ancestors and of your posterity.

[1]Boadicea. [2]Probably living between Coblenz and Wiesbaden.

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4. THE PRIMITIVE GERMANS (98).

How Tacitus collected the material for his *Germany* cannot be determined. The theory that he intended to satirise Roman society by holding up barbarian virtues has been generally abandoned. Whether or not he visited the Rhineland, his work represents real investigation, and should be mastered by the student of Teutonic history in any of its branches. The settlement of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes in Britain is a single episode in the migration of the German tribes ; a movement which began with the battle of Adrianople in 378, and extended to the Lombard invasion of Italy in 568. Tacitus living 300 years before the Visigoths turned against the Emperor Valens, saw that the Germans were worth attention, and took the trouble to describe their national qualities. His text, in spite of the minor difficulties by which it is beset, shows that they were not savages. Native races if weak are destroyed by the vices of civilisation; if strong, they gain more from education than they lose by contact with bad and destructive habits. One fine trait of German character was ability to learn. Even in the time of Tacitus our ancestors had fixed political and social institutions. He does not cloak their failings; their drunkenness and their gambling. But their self-control in government, their respect for women and their high conception of the gods, mark them off from the mass of primitive populations.

SOURCE.—*Germania.* Cornelius Tacitus (52?-117?). Chaps, iv., ix., xi., xiii., xxiii., xxiv. Trans. Church and Brodribb. Loudon, 1886.

For my own part, I agree with those who think that the tribes of Germany are free from all taint of intermarriages with foreign nations, and that they appear as a distinct, unmixed race, like none but themselves. Hence, too, the same physical peculiarities throughout so vast a population. All have fierce blue eyes, red hair, huge frames, fit only for a sudden exertion. They are less able to bear laborious work. Heat and thirst they cannot in the least endure ; to cold and hunger their climate and their soil inure them. . . .

Mercury[1] is the deity whom they chiefly worship, and on certain days they deem it right to sacrifice to him even with human victims. Hercules[2] and Mars[8] they appease with more lawful offerings. Some of the Suevi also sacrifice to Isis.[4] Of the occasion and origin of this foreign rite I have discovered nothing, but that the image, which is fashioned like a light galley, indicates an imported worship. The Germans, however, do not consider it consistent with the grandeur of celestial beings to confine the gods within walls, or to liken them to the form of any human countenance. They consecrate woods and groves, and they apply the names of deities to the abstraction which they see only in spiritual worship. . . .

About minor matters the chiefs deliberate, about the more important the whole tribe. Yet even when the final decision rests with the people, the affair is always thoroughly discussed by the chiefs They assemble, except in the case of a sudden emergency, on certain fixed days, either at new or at full moon; for this they consider the most auspicious season for the transaction of business. Instead of reckoning by days as we do, they reckon by nights, and in this manner fix both their ordinary and their legal appointments. Night they regard as bringing on day. Their freedom has this disadvantage, that they do not meet simultaneously or as they are bidden, but two or three days are wasted in the delays of assembling. When the multitude think proper, they sit down armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on these occasions the right of keeping order. Then the king or the chief, according to age, birth, distinction in war, or eloquence, is heard, more because he has influence to persuade than because he has power to command. If his sentiments displease them, they reject them with murmurs; if they are satisfied, they brandish their spears. The most complimentary form of assent is to express approbation with their weapons. . . .

They transact no public or private business without being armed. It is not, however, usual for any one to wear arms till the state has recognised his power to use them. Then in the presence of the council, one of the chiefs, or the young man's father, or some kinsman, equips him with a shield and a spear. These arms are what the " toga" is with us, the first honour with which youth is invested. Up to this time he is

[1] Woden. [2] Probably Thor. [3] Perhaps Tiw or Er.

[4] Perhaps a goddess named Ziza, of whom there was a local cult near Augsburg.

regarded as a member of a household, afterwards as a member of the commonwealth. Very noble birth or great services rendered by the father secure for lads the rank of a chief; these attach themselves to men of mature strength and of long approved valour. Nor are they ashamed at being seen among their followers. Even among the followers there are gradations of rank, dependent on the choice of the chief to whom they are attached. These followers vie keenly with each other as to who shall rank first with his chief, the chiefs as to who shall have the most numerous and the bravest followers. It is an honour as well as a source of strength to be thus always surrounded by a large body of picked youths; it is an ornament in peace and a defence in war. And not only in his own tribe but also in the neighbouring states It is the renown and glory of a chief to be distinguished for the number and valour of his followers, for such a man is courted by embassies, is honoured with presents, and the very prestige of his name often settles a war. . . .

A liquor for drinking is made out of barley or other grain, and fermented into a certain resemblance to wine. The dwellers on the river-bank[1] also buy wine. Their food is of a simple kind, consisting of wild fruit, fresh game and curdled milk. They satisfy their hunger without elaborate preparation and without delicacies. In quenching their thirst they are not equally moderate. If you indulge their love of drinking by supplying them with as much as they desire, they will be overcome by their own vices as easily as by the arms of an enemy.

One and the same kind of spectacle is always exhibited at every gathering. Naked youths who practise the sport bound in the dance amid swords and lances that threaten their lives. Experience gives them skill, and skill again gives grace ; profit or pay are out of the question ; however reckless their pastime, its reward is the pleasure of the spectators. Strangely enough they make games of hazard a serious occupation even when sober, and so venturesome are they about gaining or losing, that, when every other resource has failed, on the last and final throw they stake the freedom of their own persons. The loser goes into voluntary slavery; though the younger and stronger, he suffers himself to be bound and sold. Such is their stubborn persistency in a bad practice; they themselves call it honour. Slaves of this kind the owners part with in the way of commerce, to relieve themselves also from the scandal of sucb a victory.

[1] The Rhine is referred to.

8. THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH TO BRITAIN (*Circ.* 450).

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* is the best, and often the sole, authority which exists for the early Saxon period of our history. Bede, a monk of Jarrow in Bernicia, is the flower of Northumbrian scholarship during the Dark Ages. Unlike Alcuin of York he remained at home, and his active life is little more than a record of the books he produced. In his later years he was celebrated throughout all parts of Christendom where studies lingered on or were reviving, for he wrote much and, according to the standards of his time, remarkably well. He died in 735. As a historian he certainly meant to be truthful, and if legend enters into his tale of the English conquest it is because he was not in a position to sift fact from fiction. Bede and the *Saxon Chronicle* [1] both fix a precise date for the inroad which transformed Celtic Britain into Teutonic England. One would gather from them, and especially from Bede, that a campaign or two sufficed to work this change of masters. On the contrary the process covered a long period, and its details are obscure. After the weakness of the Western Empire under Honorius had compelled Rome to withdraw her forces, the country ,was left an easy prey. Its conquest was delayed less by British courage than by lack of union among the invaders. An instance of the romantic element which runs through Bede's version of these events is furnished by the names Hengist and Horsa. Both leaders must be handed over to myth together with their father Victgilsus, their grandfather Vecta and their great-grandfather Woden. The same cannot be said of the narrative where it touches on atrocities and suffering. The misery of the vanquished would, in such a war, reach its extreme limit.

SOURCE.—*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum.* Baeda (678-735). Chap. xv. Trans. J. A. Giles. London, 1847.

In the year of our Lord 449, Martian being made emperor with Valentinian, and the forty-sixth from Augustus, ruled the empire seven years. Then the nation of the Angles or Saxons,

[1] The *Chronicle* at this point seems largely to follow Bede.

being invited by the aforesaid king,[1] arrived in Britain with three long ships, and had a place assigned them to reside in by the same king in the eastern part of the island, that they might thus appear to be fighting for their country, whilst their real intentions were to enslave it. Accordingly they engaged with the enemy, who were come from the north to give battle, and obtained the victory; which, being known at home in their own country, as also the fertility of the country, and the cowardice of the Britons, a more considerable fleet was quickly sent over, bringing a still greater number of men, which, being added to the former, made up an invincible army. The new comers received of the Britons a place to inhabit, upon condition that they should wage war against their enemies for the peace and security of the country, whilst the Britons agreed to furnish them with pay. Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations of Germany—Saxons, Angles and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight, and those also in the province of the West-Saxons who are to this day called Jutes, seated opposite to the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, the country which is now called Old Saxony, came the East-Saxons, the South-Saxons and the West-Saxons. From the Angles, that is, the country which is called Anglia; and which is said, from that time, to remain desert to this day, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, are descended the East-Angles, the Midland-Angles, Mercians, all the race of the Northumbrians, that is, of those nations that dwell on the north side of the river Humber, and the other nations of the English. The two first commanders are said to have been Hengist and Horsa. Of whom Horsa, being afterwards slain in battle by the Britons, was buried in the eastern parts of Kent, where a monument bearing his name is still in existence. They were the sons of Victgilsus, whose father was Vecta, son of Woden; from whose stock the royal race of many provinces deduce their origin. In a short time, swarms of the aforesaid nations came over into the island, and they began to increase so much, that they became terrible to the natives themselves who had invited them. Then, having on a sudden entered into league with the Picts, whom they had by this time repelled by the force of their arms, they began to turn their weapons against their confederates. At first they obliged them to furnish a greater quantity of provisions; and, seeking an occasion to quarrel, protested that

[1]Vortigern.

unless more plentiful supplies were brought them, they would break the confederacy, and ravage all the island; nor were they backward in putting their threats in execution. In short, the fire kindled by the hands of these pagans, proved God's just revenge for the crimes of the people; not unlike that which, being once lighted by the Chaldeans, consumed the walls and city of Jerusalem. For the barbarous conquerors acting here in the same manner, or rather the just Judge' ordaining that they should so act, they plundered all the neighbouring cities and country, spread the conflagration from the eastern to the western sea, without any opposition, and covered almost every part of the devoted island. Public as well as private structures were overturned ; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; the prelates and the people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword; nor was there any to bury those who had been thus cruelly slaughtered. Some of the miserable remainder, being taken in the mountains, were butchered in heaps. Others spent with hunger, came forth and submitted themselves to the enemy for food, being destined to undergo perpetual servitude, if they were not killed even upon the spot. Some with sorrowful hearts fled beyond the seas. Others, continuing in their own country, led a miserable life among the woods, rocks and mountains, with scarcely enough food to support life, and expecting every moment to be their last.

6. ST. AUGUSTINE, THE MISSIONARY[1] (597).

Bede was born seventy-six years after Pope Gregory the Great sent St. Augustine to England, and with 597 his *Ecclesiastical History* approaches its greatest importance. The Scoto-Irish Church was vigorously alive at this date, nor must it be forgotten that Christianity was the state religion of Roman Britain under Constantine and his successors. Thus, while St. Augustine was an apostle to the English, he was not the first who preached the gospel in the land. His success marks a triumph for the papacy in the same way that St. Boniface's conversion of the Germans does in the eighth century. During the Dark Ages one watches the progress of the church with double

[1] This Augustine must not be confounded with the celebrated Bishop of Hippo, author of the *Confessions* and *City of God*, who died in 430

interest. Wherever it spreads its peaceful and uplifting influence signs of material progress appear. Take the case of letters. Bede earned the title *Venerabilis* through his aims, his efforts, bis example. And save for the refuge afforded by his cloister he could neither have served the cause of scholarship in his own age, nor have kept the memory of his people from destruction.

SOURCE.—*Historia Ecclesiastica Oentis Anglorum.* Baeda (673-795). Chap. xxv. Trans. J. A. Giles. London, 1847.

Augustine, thus strengthened by the confirmation of the blessed Father Gregory,[1] returned to the work of the word of God, with the servants of Christ, and arrived in Britain. The powerful Ethelbert was at that time king of Kent; he had extended his dominions as far as the great river Humber, by which the southern Saxons are divided from the northern. On the east of Kent is the large Isle of Thanet, containing, according to the English way of reckoning, GOO families, divided from the other land by the river Wantsum, which is about three furlongs over, and fordable only in two places, for both ends of it run into the sea. In this island landed the servant of our Lord, Augustine, and his companions being, as is reported, nearly forty men. They had, -by order of the blessed Pope Gregory, taken interpreters of the nation of the Franks, and sending to Ethelbert, signified that they were come from Rome, and brought a joyful message which most undoubtedly assured to all that took advantage of it everlasting joys in heaven, and a kingdom that would never end with the living and true God. The king having heard this, ordered them to stay in that island where they had landed, and that they should be furnished with all necessaries till he should consider what to do with them. For he had before heard of the Christian religion, having a Christian wife of the royal family of the Franks, called Bertha; whom he had received from her parents upon condition that she should be permitted to practise her religion with the Bishop Luidhard, who was sent with her to preserve her faith. Some days after, the king came into the island, and sitting in the open air, ordered Augustine and his companions to be brought into his presence. For he had taken precaution that they should not come to him in any house, lest, according to an ancient superstition, if they practised any magical arts, they might impose

[1] Pope Gregory I

upon him, and so get the better of him. But they came furnished with Divine, not with magic virtue, bearing a silver cross for their banner, and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a board ; and singing the litany, they offered up their prayers to the Lord for the eternal salvation both of themselves and of those to whom they were come. When he had sat down pursuant to the king's commands, and preached to him and his attendants there present the word of life, the king answered thus : " Your words and promises are very fair, but as they are new to us, and of uncertain import, I cannot approve of them so far as to forsake that which I have so long followed with the whole English nation. But because you are come from far into my kingdom, and as I conceive are desirous to impart to us those things which you believe to be true, and most beneficial, we will not molest you, but give you favourable entertainment, and take care to supply you with your necessary sustenance; nor do we forbid you to preach and gain as many as you can to your religion." Accordingly he permitted them to reside in the city of Canterbury, which was the metropolis of all his dominions, and, pursuant to his promise, besides allowing them sustenance, did not refuse them liberty to preach. It is reported that as they drew near to the city, after their manner, with the holy cross and the image of our sovereign Lord and King, Jesus Christ, they in concert sung this litany : " We beseech Thee, 0 Lord, in all Thy mercy, that Thy anger and wrath be turned away from this city, and from Thy holy house because we have sinned. Hallelujah."

7. ALCUIN TO CHARLEMAGNE (796).

Alcuin was born in the year of Bede's death, 735, and continued Bede's scholarly tradition. His name is connected, first, with the school of York (where he studied and taught till he was forty-six), and, secondly, with the court of Charlemagne. During the seventh and eighth centuries northern England was a centre of enlightenment, not only for the island but for Europe, and Alcuin more than any one else extended the influence of its learning. The Frankish race was then at its prime, and its king, Charlemagne—soon afterwards crowned emperor—was the most powerful man alive. Alcuin returning from a journey to Rome in 781, met him at Parma, and was persuaded to help him in shaping an educational system. We

can best go to a modern French historian, Henri Martin, fol an estimate of what the arrangement between Alcuin and Charlemagne meant. "It is on the day when these two illustrious barbarians sealed their league against barbarism that one can fix the point where the long decadence which commenced with the German invasions was arrested. This moral alliance of the Franks and Anglo-Saxons marks the most brilliant moment of the Germanic race." Towards his end Alcuin became Abbot of St. Martin's at Tours, where this letter was written. Three significant matters in it are his desire to get books from England, his praise of wisdom and his frequent quotations from the Bible.

SOURCE.—*Alcuini Eplatolm.* (735-804). Patrologia Latina, ed. Migne. Vol. c, p. 208. Trans. C. W. Colby.

But I, your Flaccus,[1] am doing as you have urged and wished To some who are beneath the roof of St. Martin I am striving to dispense the honey of Holy Scripture; others I am eager to intoxicate with the old wine of ancient learning; others again I am beginning to feed with the apples of grammatical refinement; and there are some whom I long to adorn with the knowledge of astronomy, as a stately house is adorned with a painted roof. I am made all things to all men that I may instruct many to the profit of God's Holy Church and to the lustre of your imperial reign. So shall the grace of Almighty God toward me be not in vain and the largess of your bounty be of no avail. But I your servant lack in part the rarer books of scholastic lore which in my native land I had, thanks to the unsparing labour of my master and a little also to my own toil. This 1 tell your excellency on the chance that in your boundless and beloved wisdom you may be pleased to have me send some of our youths to take thence what we need, and return to France with the flowers of Britain; that the garden may not be confined to York only but may bear fruit in Tours, and that the south wind blowing over the gardens of the Loire may bo charged with perfume. Then shall it be once more as is said in Solomon's Song from which I quote: "Let my beloved come

[1]The members of that literary circle which formed itself about Charlemagne and Alcuin assumed among themselves Hebrew or Greek or Latin names. Charlemagne himself was David; Alcuin, Horatius Flaccus; Angilbert, Homer; Eginhard, Calliopeus, etc.

into his garden and eat his pleasant fruits ". And he shall say to his young men: " Eat, O friends; drink, yea drink abundantly, 0 beloved. I sleep, but my heart waketh." Or that sentence of the prophet Isaiah which encourages us to learn wisdom.: " Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price".

This is a matter which has not escaped your most noble notice, how through all the pages of Holy Scripture we are urged to learn wisdom. In toiling toward the happy life nothing is more lofty, nothing more pleasant, nothing bolder against vices, nothing more praiseworthy in every place of dignity; and moreover, according to the words of philosophers, nothing is more essential to government, nothing more helpful in leading a moral life, than the beauty of wisdom, the praise of learning and the advantages of scholarsliip. Whence also wisest Solomon exclaims in its praise. " For wisdom is better than all things of price and no object of desire is to be compared with her. She exalts the meek, she brings honours to the great. Kings reign by her aid, and lawgivers decree justice. By her princes rule and the powerful decree justice. Happy are they who keep her ways, and happy are they who watch at her gates daily." 0 Lord King, exhort the youths who are in your excellency's palace to learn wisdom with all their might, and to gain it by daily toil while they are yet in the flush of youth, so that they may be deemed worthy to grow grey in honour, and by the help of wisdom may reach everlasting happiness. But I, according to the measure of my little talent, shall not be slothful to sow the seeds of wisdom among your servants in this region, mindful of the saying, " In the morning sow thy seed and in the evening withhold not thy hand: for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good ".

In **the** morning I sowed in Britain studies which have flourished **for** a generation. Now as it were towards even I do not cease with blood grown cold to sow in Francia. And in both places 1 hope that by the Grace of God the seed may spring. The solace of my broken strength is this saying of St. Jerome who in his letter to Nepotian has it: " Almost **all** the strength of an old man's body is changed and wisdom alone grows as the rest dwindles". And a little later: "The old age of those who have trained their youth in honest arts and have meditated in the law of the Lord day and night, becomes more

learned with age, more polished by use, wiser by the lapse of time, and reaps the sweetest fruits of studies long grown old ". In which letter whoever wishes may read much in praise of wisdom and the studies of the ancients, and may learn how the ancients sought to flourish in the beauty of wisdom. Ever advance towards this wisdom, beloved of God and praiseworthy on earth, and delight to recognise zeal; and adorn a nobility of worldly lineage with the greater nobility of the mind. In which may our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the virtue and wisdom of God, guard thee, exalt thee, and make thee enter the glory of his blessed and everlasting vision.

8. ALFRED'S LOVE OF LEARNING *(circ.* 890).

Asser's Life of Alfred lies under a certain amount of suspicion, having been attacked as a forgery like the Epistles of Phalaris or Ingulph's History of Croyland. It is, nevertheless, accepted in the main by Pauli, the most eminent of Alfred's modern biographers. Asser was Bishop of Sherborne and a familiar friend of the king. Alfred's love of culture connects him with Charlemagne, but his resources were smaller. Times had changed since Alcuin left England to teach the Franks. The Danish raids were now serious, and caused a growing ignorance which Alfred found it hard to check. He set an example to his nobles and people by reading good literature himself, and translating from Latin into English. A famous passage in the preface to his English version of Pope Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care* shows how learning had latterly decayed. He laments that whereas foreign lands had once sought scholars in England, England must at present seek them abroad. And then he makes the emphatic statement that when his reign began there were very few priests on this side of Humber who could understand their missals in English, or translate a letter from the Latin; and probably not many beyond Humber. " So few were there that I cannot remember a single one south of the Thames when I came to the throne." Alfred's wars with the Danes and his wretched health were such a drain upon his energies that we must feel surprise at the extent of his own reading.

BOUBCE.—*De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi Magni.* Asser (d. 909?). Trans. J. A. Giles. London, 1885. P. 68.

Ethelwerd, the youngest [of Alfred's children], by the divine counsels and the admirable prudence of the king, was consigned to the schools of learning, where, with the children of almost all the nobility of the country, and many also who were not noble, he prospered under the diligent care of his teachers. Books in both languages, namely Latin and Saxon, were read in the school. They also learned to write, so that before they were of an age to practice manly arts, namely, hunting and such pursuits as befit noblemen, they became studious and clever in the liberal arts. Edward and Ethelswitha were bred up in the king's court and received great attention from their attendants and nurses ; nay, they continue to this day, with the love of all about them, and showing affability, and even gentleness, towards all, both natives and foreigners, and in complete subjection to their father; nor, among their other studies which appertain to this life and are fit for noble youths, are they suffered to pass their time idly and unprofitably without learning the liberal arts; for they have care fully learned the Psalms and Saxon books, especially the Saxon poems, and are continually in the habit of making use of books.

In the meantime the king, during the frequent wars and other trammels of this present life, the invasions of the pagans, and his own daily infirmities of body, continued to carry on the government, and to exercise hunting in all its branches; to teach his workers in gold and artificers of all kinds, his falconers, hawkers and dog-keepers ; to build houses, majestic and good, beyond all the precedents of his ancestors, by his new mechanical inventions; to recite the Saxon books, and especially to learn by heart the Saxon poems, and to make others learn them; and he alone never desisted from studying most diligently to the best of his ability; he attended the mass and other daily services of religion ; he was frequent in psalm-singing and prayer, at the hours both of the day and of the night. He also went to the churches, as we have already said, in the night-time to pray, secretly and unknown to his courtiers; he bestowed alms and largesses on both natives and foreigners of all countries; he was affable and pleasant to all, and curiously eager to investigate things unknown. Many Franks,. Frisons, Gauls, pagans, Britons, Scots and Armoricans,[1]

[1] By Armorica at this time is understood the region southward from the mouth of the Seine to Brittany.

noble and ignoble, submitted voluntarily to his dominion; and all of them, according to their nation and deserving, were ruled, loved, honoured and enriched with money and power. Moreover, the king was in the habit of hearing the divine scriptures read by his own countrymen, or, if by any chance it so happened, in company with foreigners, and he attended to it with sedulity and solicitude. His bishops, too, and all ecclesiastics, his earls and nobles, ministers and friends, were loved by him with wonderful affection, and their sons, who were bred up in the royal household, were no less dear to him than his own; he had them instructed in all kinds of good morals, and among other things never ceased to teach them letters night and day ; but as if he had no consolation in all these things, and suffered no other annoyance either from within or without, yet he was harassed by daily and nightly affliction, that he complained to God and to all who were admitted to his familiar love, that Almighty God had made him ignorant of divine wisdom, and of the liberal arts; in this emulating the pious, the wise, and wealthy Solomon, king of the Hebrews, who at first, despising all present glory and riches, asked wisdom of God and found both, namely, wisdom and worldly glory, as it is written : " Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you ". But God, who is always the inspector of the thoughts of the mind within, and the instigator of all good intentions, and a most plentiful aider, that good desires may be formed—for he would not instigate a man to good intentions, unless he also amply supplied that which the man justly and properly wishes to have—instigated the king's mind within; as it is written : " I will hearken what the Lord God will say concerning me ". He would avail himself of every opportunity to procure coadjutors in his good designs, to aid him in his strivings after wisdom that he might attain to what he aimed at; and like a prudent bird, which rising in summer with the early morning from her beloved nest, steers her rapid flight through the uncertain tracks of ether, and descends on the manifold and varied flowers of grasses, herbs and shrubs, essaying that which pleases most, that she may bear it to her home, so did he direct his eyes afar, and seek without that which he had not within, namely, in his own kingdom.

But God at that time, as some consolation to the king's benevolence, yielding to his complaint, sent certain lights to illuminate him, namely, Werefrith, bishop of the church of Worcester, a man well .versed in divine scripture, who, by **the**

king's command, first turned the books of the Dialogues of Pope Gregory and Peter, his disciple, from Latin into Saxon, and sometimes putting sense for sense, interpreted them with clearness and elegance. After him was Plegmund, a Mercian by birth, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, a venerable man, and endowed with wisdom; Ethelstan also, and Werewulf, his priests and chaplains, Mercians by birth and erudite. These four had been invited out of Mercia by King Alfred, who exalted them with many honours and powers in the kingdom of the West-Saxons, besides the privileges which archbishop Plegmund and bishop Werefrith enjoyed in Mercia. By their teaching and wisdom the king's desires increased unceasingly, and were gratified. Night and day, whenever he had leisure, he commanded such men as these to read books to him; for he never suffered himself to be without one of them, wherefore he possessed a knowledge of every book, though of himself he could not yet understand anything of books, for he had not yet learned to read anything.

But the king's commendable avarice could not be gratified even in this; wherefore he sent messengers beyond the sea to Gaul, to procure teachers, and he invited front thence Grimbald,[1] priest and monk, a venerable man and good singer, adorned with every kind of ecclesiastical discipline and good morals, and most learned in holy scripture. He also obtained from thence John,[2] also priest and monk, a man of most energetic talents, and learned in all kinds of literary science, and skilled in many other arts. By the teaching of these men the king's mind was much enlarged, and he enriched and honoured them with much influence.

9. ALFRED'S WARS WITH THE DANES (877-878).

The *Saxon Chronicle,* from which four of these selections are taken, is a unique authority in two respects. The work of many different hands, it runs side by side with the events which it relates from at least the ninth century to 1154, and besides it is written in the vulgar tongue. No other nation of the

[1] From the Flemish convent of St. Bertin at St. Omer.

[2] A Saxon from the Monastery of Corbey. "Grimbald and John were Alfred's mass priests, and in full activity at the completion of his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care,* as he mentions them with high praise in the preface, composed after the year 890."—Pauli,

modern world has anything like it. During certain years of Alfred's reign {*e.g.*, 894-897) it gives fairly full details of the fighting, while others (*e.g.*, 872-873, 880-881) are dismissed with a bare and meagre entry. Poverty and love of adventure were the main motives which led Danes, Swedes and Norwegians to harry the seaboard of Western Europe. Their common plan was to fortify an island at a river's mouth, and to use it as a base of operations in pillaging the country round about. Sometimes they were repelled with loss but usually they were bought off or overcame the feeble resistance which was offered. The Northmen when they gained homes in England and France at once dropped their paganism and added a vigorous stock to both countries.

SOURCE.—*Saxon Chronicle.* Trans. J. A. Giles. London, 1847. P. 355.

877. This year the army[1] came to Exeter from Wareham ; and the fleet sailed round westwards ; and then a great storm overtook them at sea, and there one hundred and twenty ships were wrecked at Swanwich. And king Alfred with his forces rode after the army which was mounted, as far as Exeter; and they were unable to overtake them before they were within the fortress, where they could not be come at. And they there delivered to him hostages as many as he would have, and swore many oaths ; and then they observed the peace well. And afterwards, during harvest, the army went into Mercia, and some part of it they apportioned, and some they delivered to Ceolwulf.

A. 878. This year, during mid-winter, after twelfth night, the army stole away to Chippenham, and overran the land of the West-Saxons, and sat down there; and many of the people they drove beyond sea, and of the remainder the greater part they subdued and forced to obey them, except king Alfred: and he, with a small band, with difficulty retreated to the woods and to the fastnesses of the moors. And the same winter the brother of Hingwar and of Halfdene came with twenty-three ships to Devonshire in Wessex; and he was there slain, and with him eight hundred and forty men of his army: and there was taken the war-flag which they called the *Haven.* After this, at Easter king Alfred with a small band constructed a fortress at Athelncy ; and from this fortress, with that part of

[1] Uniformly in this context, the Danish bands.

the men of Somerset which was nearest to it, from time to time they fought against the army. Then in the seventh week after Easter he rode to Brixton, on the east side of Selwood; and there came to meet him all the men of Somerset, and the men of Wiltshire, and that portion of the men of Hampshire which was on this side of the sea; and they were joyful at his presence. On the following day he went from that station to Iglea,[1] and on the day after this to Heddington, and there fought against the whole army, put them to flight, and pursued them as far as their fortress; and there he sat down fourteen days. And then the army delivered to him hostages, with many oaths, that they would leave his kingdom, and also promised him that their king should receive baptism : and this they accordingly fulfilled. And about three weeks after this king Gothrun came to him, with some thirty men who were of the most distinguished in the army, at Aller, which is near Athelney: and the king was his godfather at baptism; . . . and he was twelve days with the king; and he greatly honoured him and his companions with gifts.

10. A LETTER FROM CANUTE TO HIS PEOPLE (1027).

The motives which might lead a mediaeval king to visit Rome were various. Curiosity (or some more vivid appeal to the imagination), reverence for the papacy, and contrition of heart for sins committed, were among the frequent incentives. The saying that "revolutions are not made with rose-water" may be applied to government in Canute's generation. He was not a rose-water ruler and he did things which might well trouble his conscience. For instance, on Christmas day of 1017 he ordered the Ealdorman Edric to be slain and his body thrown over London wall where it remained unburied. This might bo justified on the ground that Edric was a traitor. But, according to Florence of Worcester, "along with him were slain Norman, son of Leofwin the Ealdorman, who was brother of Earl Leofric, and Ethel ward, son of Ethelmar the Ealdorman, and Brihtric, son of Alphege, governor of Devon, all of whom were innocent ".[2] At the same time Canute had a high conception of the royal office, and wished to,guard his subjects from

[1] Probably Highley.

[2] Florence of Worcester. Trans, J. Forester. London, 1854. P. 134.

oppression The letter which is cited below brings out his fairness of spirit and also the value of church influence over sovereigns in an age of violence.

SOURCE.—*Canuti Epistola.* Cited in Florence of Worcester's Chronicle (994? 1085). Trans. T. Forester. London, 1854. P. 187.

Canute, king of all England, and of Denmark, Norway, and part of Sweden to Ethelnoth, metropolitan, and Aelfric, archbishop of York, and to all the bishops and prelates, and to the whole nation of the English, both the nobles and the commons, greeting:—

I notify to you that I have lately taken a journey to Rome, to pray for the forgiveness of my sins, and for the welfare of my dominions, and the people under my rule. I had long since vowed this journey to God, but I have been hitherto prevented from accomplishing it by the affairs of my kingdom and other causes of impediment. I now return most humble thanks to my God Almighty for suffering me in my lifetime to visit the sanctuary of his apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, and all others which I could find either within or without the city of Rome, and there in person reverentially worship according to my desire. I have performed this chiefly, because I have learnt from wise men that St. Peter the apostle has received from God great power in binding and loosing,[1] and carries the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and therefore I esteemed it very profitable to seek his special patronage with the Lord.

Be it known to you that, at the celebration of Easter, a great assembly of nobles was present with our lord, the pope John,[2] and Conrad the emperor ;[3] that is to say, all the princes of the nations from Mount Garganus[4] to the neighbouring sea.[6] All these received me with honour and presented me with magnificent gifts; but more especially was I honoured by the emperor with various gifts and valuable presents, both in gold and silver vessels, and in palls and very costly robes. I spoke with the emperor himself, and the lord pope, and the princes who were there, in regard to the wants of my people, English as well as Danes; that there should be granted to them more

[1] St. Matthew, xvi. 18-19. [2] John XIX.

[3] Conrad II. Canute was present at his coronation.

[4] The most easterly spur of the Neapolitan Apennines, and separated from the main range by a plain. It was famous in the eleventh century for a shrine of St. Michael, after which that in Brittany is copied.

[5] The Mediterranean.

equal justice and greater security in their journeys to Rome, and that they should not be hindered by so many barriers on the road, nor harassed by unjust tolls. The emperor assented to my demands, as well as king Rodolph,[1] in whose dominions these barriers chiefly stand ; and all the princes made edicts that my people, the merchants as well as those who go to pay their devotions, shall pass to and fro in their journeys to Rome in peace, and under the security of just laws, free from all molestation by the guards of barriers or the receivers of tolls. I made further complaint to my lord the pope, and expressed my high displeasure, that my archbishops are sorely aggrieved by the demand of immense sums of money, when, according to custom, they resort to the apostolical see to obtain the pallium ;[2] and it is decreed that it should no longer be done. All things, therefore, which I requested for the good of my people from my lord the pope, and the emperor, and king Rodolph, and the other princes through whose territories our road to Rome lies, they have most freely granted, and even ratified their concessions by oath; to which four archbishops, twenty bishops, and an innumerable multitude of dukes and nobles who were there present, are witnesses. Wherefore I return most hearty thanks to Almighty God for my having successfully accomplished all that I had desired, as I had resolved in my mind, and having satisfied my wishes to the fullest extent.

Be it known therefore to all of you, that I have humbly vowed to the Almighty God himself henceforward to amend my life in all respects, and to rule the kingdoms and the people subject to me with justice and clemency', giving equitable judgments in all matters ; and if, through the intemperance of youth or negligence, I have hitherto exceeded the bounds of justice in any of my acts, I intend by God's aid to make an entire change for the better. I therefore adjure and command my counsellors to whom I have entrusted the affairs of my kingdom, that henceforth they neither commit themselves, nor suffer to prevail, any sort of injustice throughout my dominions,.either from fear of me, or from favour to any powerful person. I also command all sheriffs and magistrates throughout my whole kingdom, as they tender my regard and their own safety, that they use no unjust violence to any man, rich or poor, but that all, high and low, rich or poor, shall enjoy alike impartial law ; from

[1] Rudolf TIT., last king of Burgundy.

[2] A vestment which was regarded as the distinct badge of archiepiscopal office, and which it was within papal power to grant or withhold.

which they are never to deviate, either on account of royal favour, respect of person in the great, or for the sake of amassing money wrongfully, for I have no need to accumulate wealth by iniquitous exactions.

11. THE GUILD OF ST. PETER'S AT ABBOTSBURY (*circ.* 1050).

A law is among the best kinds of historical evidence, and the by-laws of a society fall within the same class. Orky, the patron, or perhaps founder, of St. Peter's Guild at Abbotsbury in Dorset, was a courtier attached to the person of Ed\Vard the Confessor. Associations like this witness the presence of a "self-help" impulse in Saxon society. The objects of co-operation were friendly intercourse among the members—or brethren—and mutual aid. The rules provided that each should be properly buried and prayers said for his soul. The religious guild is a sign of better times to come, and may be connected with the improvement which took place everywhere in Europe during the first half of the eleventh century. The Truce of God, which meant a partial surcease of private warfare, is a French symptom of this upward tendency.

SOURCE.—*Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici.* Ed. B. Thorpe. London, 1865. P. 605.

Here is made known, in this writing, that Orky has given the Guildhall and the stead at Abbotsbury to the praise of God and St. Peter, and for the guildship to possess now and henceforth, of him and his consort in long remembrance. Whoso shall avert this, let him account with God at the great doom.

Now these are the covenants which Orky and the guild-brothers at Abbotsbury have chosen, to the praise of God, and honour of St. Peter, and for their soul's need.

That is first: Three nights before St. Peter's mass, from every guild-brother one penny, or one pennyworth of wax, whichever be most needed in the monastery; and on the mass-eve, from every two guild-brothers, one broad loaf, well besprinkled,[1] and well "gesyfled," [2] for our common alms; and five weeks before Peter's mass-day, let each guild-brother

[1] With seeds, such as carraway.

[2] Probably milk-bread as opposed to water-bread.

contribute one guild-sester [1] full of clean wheat, and let that be rendered within two days, on pain of forfeiting the entrance, that is three sesters of wheat. And let the wood be rendered within three days after the corn-contribution, from every regular guild-brother one burthen of wood, and two from the non-regular, or let him pay one guild-sester of corn. And whoso undertakes a charge, and does it not satisfactorily, let him be liable in his entrance-fee, and let there be no remission. And let the guild-brother who insults another within the guild, with serious intent, make atonement to all the society, to the amount of his entrance, and afterwards to the man whom he insulted, as he may settle it; and if he will not submit to compensation, let him forfeit the fellowship, and every other guildship. And let him who introduces more men than he ought, without leave of the steward and the purveyors, pay his entrance. And if death befall any one in our society, let each guild-brother contribute one penny at the corpse for the soul, or pay according to three guild-brothers. And if any one of us be sick within sixty miles, then we shall find fifteen men who will fetch him; and if he be dead, xxx.; and they shall bring him to the place which he desired in his life. And if he die in the vicinity, let the steward have warning to what place the corpse is to go, and let the steward then warn the guild-brothers, as many as ever he can ride to or send to, that they come thereto, and worthily attend the corpse, and convey it to the monastery, and earnestly pray for the soul. That will rightly be called a guildship, which we thus do, and it will be-seem it well, both before God and before the world; for we know not which of us shall soonest depart hence. Now we believe, through God's support, that this aforesaid agreement will benefit us all, if we rightly hold it.

Let us fervently pray to God Almighty, with inward heart, that he have mercy on us; and also to his holy apostle St. Peter, that he intercede for us and make clear our way to everlasting rest; because for love of him we have gathered this guild. He has the power in heaven that he may let into heaven whom he will, and refuse whom he will not; as Christ himself said to him in his gospel: "Peter, I deliver to thee the key of heaven's kingdom; and whatsoever thou wilt have bound on earth, that shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou wilt have unbound on earth, that shall be unbound in heaven". Let us have trust and hope in him, that he will ever have

[1] "Sextarius, a measure both of solids and liquids."—Thorpe.

care of us here in the world, and after our departure hence, be a help to our souls: may he bring us to everlasting rest. Amen.

12. THE BATTLE OF STAMFORD BRIDGE (1066).

If there were equally good descriptions of the two pitched battles fought on English soil in 1066, one would give Hastings prominence over Stamford Bridge. Unfortunately, our idea of the decisive combat must be gathered bit by bit from scattered sources. Stamford Bridge, too, presents difficulties of fact, and is not accurately recorded by any one writer. But in its case we receive a certain compensation through having a Norse saga which is full of life and colour. It centres about the death of the viking Harold Hardrada (" King Harold Sigurdson''), and its prose narrative is varied by the songs of skalds. The hardest part of historical study is to reproduce the feeling of the past. Seldom does literature reflect a mood so clearly as the warriors' love of their sport is reflected in the *Heimskringla* version of Stamford Bridge. Snorri Sturluson who wrote the saga was a native of Iceland and not born till 1178. According to his profession it is based on ancient songs. Freeman holds that its circumstantial details must be rejected : for instance, that the English had cavalry and archers in the field.

SOURCE.—*Heimskringla Saga.* Snorri Sturluson (1178-1241). Ed. R. B. Anderson. London, 1889. Vol. iv., p. 43.

Of King Harald Godwinson.

King Harald Godwinson had come with an immense army, both of cavalry and infantry. Now King Harald Sigurdson rode around his army, to see how every part was drawn up. He was upon a black horse, and the horse stumbled under him, so that the king fell off. He got up in haste, and said, " a fall is lucky for a traveller ".

The English King Harald said to the Northmen who were with him, " Do ye know the stout man who fell from his horse, with the blue kirtle and the beautiful helmet?"

" That is the king himself," said they.

The English king said, " A great man, and of stately appearance is he; but I think his luck has left him".

Of the Troop of the Nobility.

Twenty horsemen rode forward from the Thingman's troops against the Northmen's array; and all of them, and likewise their horses, were clothed in armour.

One of the horsemen said, "Is Earl Toste in this army?"

The earl answered, " It is not to be denied that ye will find him here ".

The horseman says, " Thy brother King Harald sends thee salutation, with the message that thou shalt have the whole of Northumberland; and rather than thou shouldst not submit to him, he will give thee the third part of his kingdom to rule over along with himself".

The earl replies, "This is something different from the enmity and scorn he offered last winter; and if this had been offered then it would have saved many a man's life who now is dead, and it would have been better for the kingdom of England. But if I accept of this offer, what will he give King Harald Sigurdson for his trouble ?"

. The horseman replied, " He has also spoken of this; and will give him seven feet of English ground, or as much more as he may be taller than other men ".

" Then," said the earl, "go now and tell King Harald to get ready for battle; for never shall the Northmen say with truth that Earl Toste left King Harald Sigurdson to join his enemy's troops, when he came to fight west here in England. We shall rather all take the resolution to die with honour, or to gain England by a victory."

Then the horsemen rode back.

King Harald Sigurdson said to the earl, " Who was the man who spoke so well ? "

The earl replied, " That was King Harald Godwinson ".

Then said King Harald Sigurdson, " That was by far too long concealed from me; for they had come so near to our army that this Harald should never have carried back the tidings of our men's" slaughter ".

Then said the earl, " It was certainly imprudent for such chiefs, and it may be as you say; but I saw he was going to offer me peace and a great dominion, and that, on the other hand, I would bo his murderer if I betrayed him; and I would rather he should be my murderer than I his, if one of two be to die ".

King Harald Sigurdson observed to his men, "That was but a little man, yet he sat firmly in his stirrups".

It is said that Harald made these verses at this time :—

Advance! advance I
No helmets glance,
But blue swords play
In our array.
Advance! advance!
No mail-coats glance,
But hearts are here
That ne'er knew fear.

His coat of mail was called Emma; and it was so long that it reached almost to the middle of his leg, and so strong that no weapon ever pierced it. Then said King Harald Sigurdson, "These verses are but ill composed; I must try to make better" and he composed the following:—

In battle storm we seek no lee,
With skulking head, and bending knee,
Behind the hollow shield.
With eye and hand we fend the head;
Courage and skill stand in the stead
Of panzer, helm, and shield.
In Hild's bloody field.

Thereupon Thiodolf sang :—

And should our king in battle fall,—
A fate that God may give to all,
His sons will vengeance take;
And never shone the sun upon
Two nobler eaglets in his run,
And them we'll ne'er forsake.

Of the Beginning of the Battle.

Now the battle began. The Englishmen made a hot assault upon the Northmen, who sustained it bravely. It was no easy matter for the English to ride against the Northmen on account of their spears ; therefore they rode in a circle around them. And the fight at first was but loose and light, as long as the Northmen kept their order of battle ; for although the English rode hard against the Northmen, they gave way again immediately, as they could do nothing against them. Now, when the Northmen thought they perceived that the enemy were making but weak assaults, they set after them, and would drive them into flight; but when they had broken their* shield-

rampart the Englishmen rode up from all sides and threw arrows and spears on them. Now when King Harald Sigurdson saw this, he went into the fray where the greatest crash of weapons was; and there was a sharp conflict, in which many people fell on both sides. King Harald then was in a rage, and ran out in front of the array, and hewed down with both hands; so that neither helmet nor armour could withstand him, and all who were nearest gave way before him. It was then very near with the English that they had taken to flight. So says Arnor, the earl's skald :—

Where battle 3torm was ringing,
Where arrow-cloud was singing,
Harald stood there,
Of armour bare,
His deadly sword still swinging.
The foemen feel its bite;
His Norsemen rush to fight,
Danger to share,
With Harald there,
Where steel on steel was ringing.

Fall of King Harald.

King Harald Sigurdson was hit by an arrow in the windpipe, and that was his death-wound. He fell? and all who had ad vanced with him, except those who retired with the banner There was afterwards the warmest conflict, and Earl Toste had taken charge of the king's banner. They began on both sides to form their array again, and for a long time there was a pause in fighting. Then Thiodolf sang these verses:—

The army stands in hushed dismay ;
Stilled is the clamour of the fray.
Harald is dead, and with him goes
The spirit to withstand our foes.
A bloody scat [price] the folk must pay
For their king's folly on this day.
He fell; and now, without disguise,
We say this business was not wise.

But before the battle began again Harald Godwinson offered his brother Earl Toste peace, and also quarter to the Northmen who were still alive; but the Northmen called out all of them together that they would rather fall, one across the other, than accept of quarter from the Englishmen. Then each side set up a war-shout, and the battle began again. So says Amor, the earl's skald:—

The kins, whose name would ill-doers scare,
The gold-tipped arrow would not spare,
Unhelmed, unpanzered, without shield,
He fell among us in the field.
The gallant men who saw him fall
Would take no quarter; one and all
Resolved to die with their loved king,
Around his corpse in a corpse-ring.

13. SAXONS AND NORMANS (1066-1125).

The mediaeval monk seldom had that faculty of comparing facts with one another and interpreting them which raises the historian to the level of the artist. We are content if *he* proves to have been a good observer or a diligent compiler. His comments we discard, and make others of our own. William of Malmesbury is an exception to the rule just stated. With him a sense of proportion and of values, an impartial tone and breadth of view are joined to superior methods of research. He was born not later than 1095, and lived till towards the close of Stephen's reign. His statement that he shared the blood of both races will account for the spirit of justice which appears in the following extract. At the end of the eleventh century the Normans were established along the lower course of the Seine, in southern Italy and in England, but they displayed the same qualities wherever their home might be. The Apulian [1]chronicler Malaterra has a paragraph about their traits which impressed Gibbon enough to receive a place in the *Decline and Fall.* It was also Gibbon's idea to connect William of Malmesbury with Malaterra.

SOURCE.—*(A) Gesta Regum Anglorum.* William of Malmesbury (1095 ?-1142 ?). Trans. J. A. Giles. London, 1847. P. 278.

This was a fatal day to England, a melancholy havoc of our dear country, through its change of masters. For it had long since adopted the manners of the Angles, which had been

[1]F1. circ. 1100. "Apulian" refers to his subject not to his birth. He was probably a Norman. See Muratori, R*er, Ital Script.*, v., 540,

very Various according to the times; for in the first years of their arrival, they were barbarians in their look and manners, warlike in their usages, heathens in their rites; but, after embracing the faith of Christy by degrees and in process of time, from the peace they enjoyed, regarding arms only in a secondary light, they gave their whole attention to religion. I say nothing of the poor, the meanness of whose fortune often restrains them from overstepping the bounds of justice. I omit men of ecclesiastical rank, whom sometimes respect to their profession, and sometimes the fear of shame, suffer not to deviate from the truth. I speak of princes, who from the greatness of their power might have full liberty to indulge in pleasure; some of whom in their own country, and others at Rome, changing their habit, obtained a heavenly kingdom and a saintly intercourse. Many during their whole lives in outward appearance only embraced the present world, in order that they might exhaust their treasures on the poor, or divide them amongst monasteries. What shall I say of the multitudes of bishops, hermits, and abbots? Does not the whole island blaze with such numerous relics of its natives, that you can scarcely pass a village of any consequence but you hear the name of some new saint, besides the numbers of whom all notices have perished through the want of records? Nevertheless, in process of time, the desire after literature and religion had decayed, for several years before the arrival of the Normans. The clergy, contented with a very slight degree of learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments, and a person who understood grammar was an object of wonder and astonishment. The monks mocked the rule of their order by fine vestments, and the use of every kind of food. The nobility, given up to luxury and wantonness, went not to church in the morning after the manner of Christians, but merely, in a careless manner, heard matins and masses from a hurrying priest in their chambers. . . . The commonalty, left unprotected, became a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes by either seizing on their property, or by selling their persons-into foreign countries; although it be an innate quality of this people to be more inclined to revelling, than to the accumulation of wealth. . . . Drinking in parties was a universal practice, in which occupation they passed entire nights as well as days. They consumed their whole substance in mean and despicable houses; unlike the Normans and French, who, in noble and splendid mansions, lived with frugality. The vices attendant on drunkenness, which enervate the human mind, followed;

hence it arose that engaging William, more with rashness and precipitate fury than military skill, they doomed themselves and their country to slavery, by one, and that an easy, victory. "For nothing is less effective than rashness; and what begins with violence, quickly ceases or is repelled." In fine, the English at that time wore short garments reaching to the mid-knee; they had their hair cropped; their beards shaven; their arms laden with golden bracelets; their skin adorned with punctured designs. They were accustomed to eat till they became surfeited, and to drink till they were sick. These latter qualities they imparted to their conquerors ; as to the rest, they adopted their manners. I would not, however, have these bad propensities universally ascribed to the English. I know that many of the clergy, at that day, trod the path of sanctity by a blameless life; I know that many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions, in this nation, were well-pleasing to God. Be injustice far from this account; the accusation does not involve the whole indiscriminately. "But, as in peace, the mercy of God often cherishes the bad and the good together; so, equally, does his severity sometimes include them both in captivity."

Moreover, the Normans, that I may speak of them also, were at that time and are even now, proudly apparelled, delicate in their food, but not excessive. They are a race inured to war, and can hardly live without it; fierce in rushing against the enemy; and where strength fails of success, ready to use stratagem, or to corrupt by bribery. As I have related, they live in large edifices with economy; envy their equals; wish to excel their superiors; and plunder their subjects, though they defend them from others; they are faithful to their lords, though a slight offence renders them perfidious. They weigh treachery by its chance of success, and change their sentiments with money. They are, however, the kindest of nations, and they esteem strangers worthy of equal honour with themselves. They also intermarry with their vassals. They revived, by their arrival, the observances of religion, which were everywhere grown lifeless in England. You might see churches rise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before; you might behold the country flourishing with renovated rites; so that each wealthy man accounted that day lost to him which he had neglected to signalise by some magnificent action

SOURCE.--(B) *Historia Sicula.* Gaufredus Malaterra (11. 1100). Trans. E. Gibbon. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* London, 1862. Vol vii., p. 106.

The Normans are a cunning and revengeful people, eloquence and dissimulation appear to be their hereditary qualities ; they can stoop to flatter, but unless they are curbed by the restraint of law, they indulge the licentiousness of nature and passion. Their princes affect the praises of popular munificence; the people observe the medium, or rather blend the extremes, of avarice and prodigality, and in their eager thirst of wealth and dominion, they despise whatever they possess, and hope whatever they desire, Arms and horses, the luxury of dress, the exercises of hunting and hawking are the delight of the Normans, but, on pressing occasions, they can endure with incredible patience the inclemency of every climate, and the toil and abstinence of a military life.

14. GREGORY VII. TO WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR (1080).

To feel the full force of this letter, one must be somewhat familiar with the struggle which raged between the mediaeval empire and the papacy during the latter portion of William the Conqueror's reign. The view was then advanced by Gregory VII. that because spiritual things are higher than temporal the pope is exalted above the emperor. An easy inference was that the pope must be superior to national kings as well, because they stood lower than the emperor. Gregory had clear convictions and unflinching courage, but a basis of physical power was needed to support them. There were many reasons why he should turn towards the Normans. Leo IX. had confirmed them in their Italian possessions, and Alexander II. had blessed William's expedition to England. In seeking to strengthen the alliance Gregory had a difficult course to steer. He wanted aid against the emperor, Henry IV., and yet he would not surrender a single right belonging to his office. The wide extent of papal claims, and the graciousness of the language used towards the king as an individual are equally noticeable in this letter to William. That Gregory could be more pointed when he chose is evident from his second

bull of excommunication against Henry IV., which was written in the same year. An extract from this document appears under 8.

SOURCE.—*(A) Gregorii VII. Epistola.* (1015 ?-1085). Patrologia Latina, ed. Migne. Vol. cxlviii., p. 568. Trans. 0. W. Colby.

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to William, King of the English, greeting and apostolic benediction.

We believe it not to be hid from thy sagacity that Almighty God has provided for the rule of this world two powers more excellent than all others, the apostolic and the royal. For just as He has set the sun and moon above all other lights in order that the beauty of the world may at different times be seen by eyes of flesh, so, lest the creature whom His goodness has created after His own image should go astray and be drawn into deadly peril, He has provided through the apostolic and royal dignities divers means whereby it shall be ruled. But just as in this case there is a difference between the greater and the less so the Christian religion proceeds; in order that the royal dignity may be governed next after God, by the care and dispensation of the apostolic. And though this, dearest Bon, will not escape thy watchfulness, yet for thy salvation let one truth become an inseparable part of thy mind: Holy Scripture bears witness that the apostolic and papal dignity stands proctor for Christian kings and all others before the bar of God, and must account to Him for their offences. If, therefore, in the dreadful day of judgment I must stand forth in thy behalf before the just Judge who cannot lie, the Creator of every creature, judge wisely and well whether I ought not most carefully to watch over thy salvation, and whether thou shouldst not for thy salvation obey me at once, that thou mayest possess the land of the living. And so for thine own sake, if thou lovest thyself, pay constant heed to set God and His honour before thine own self and thy honour; and to love Him with a pure mind, with all thy strength and with an upright heart. Believe me that if thou lovest God with sincere mind (as thou hearest and as the Scripture hath said), if in all things thou dost duteously place the honour of God before thine own, He who cannot love falsely and who has power to advance thee will, here and forever, embrace thee and extend thy realm by His omnipotent arm.

SOURCE.—*(B) Bull of Excommunication against Henry IV.* Gregory VII. This passage is translated by Bryce in the *Holy Roman Empire.* London, 1889. P. 161.

Come now, I beseech you, 0 most holy and blessed Fathers and Princes, Peter and Paul, that all the world may understand and know that if ye are able to bind and to loose in heaven, ye are likewise able on earth, according to the merits of each man, to give and to take away empires, kingdoms, princedoms, marquisates, duchies, countships and the possessions of all men. For if ye judge spiritual things, what must we believe to be your power over worldly things? and if ye judge the angels who rule over all proud princes, what can ye not do to their slaves ?

18. DOMESDAY BOOK (1086).

No one act of William the Conqueror is so famous as his compilation of Domesday Book. Owing to the technical nature of the terms employed in making a land survey, it would be beside the present purpose to quote from the work itself. The new system of registration was, of course, distasteful to the English, and their feeling of enmity can be seen cropping out in the *Saxon Chronicle.*

SOURCE.—*Saxon Chronicle.* Trans. J. A. Giles. London, 1847. P. 458.

At midwinter the king was at Gloucester with his Witan, and he held his court there five days; and afterwards the archbishop and clergy held a synod during three days, and Maurice was there chosen to the bishopric of London, William to that of Norfolk, and Robert to that of Cheshire ; they were all clerks of the king. After this the king had a great consultation, and spoke very deeply with his Witan concerning this land, how it was held and what were its tenantry. He then sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hides of land it contained, and what lands the king possessed therein, what cattle there were in the several counties, and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly from each. He also caused them to write down how much land belonged to his archbishops, to his bishops, his abbots and his earls, and, that I may be brief, what property every inhabitant of all England possessed in land or in cattle, and how much money this was worth. So very narrowly did he cause the surrey to be made, that there was not a single hide nor a

rood of land, nor—it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do—was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by, and that was not set down on the accounts, and then all these writings were brought to him.

16. THE CONQUEROR'S CHARACTER (1087).

The *Saxon Chronicle* is at its best in estimating the Conqueror's character. Full credit is given William for his mildness towards churchmen, and for the good order which he preserved. His avarice, his pride and the cruelty of his forest laws are all remembered, and yet the writer creates the conviction that he is passing a just sentence rather than pleading a selfish cause. This is not to say that his verdict must he finally accepted. For instance, he leaves William's military skill and statesmanship largely out of the reckoning. But while it speaks well for the Conqueror that he should have extorted praise from the vanquished, it is honourable to the chronicler that he should have given the foreign master what seemed his due.

SOURCE.—*Saxon Chronicle.* Trans. J. A. Giles. London, 1847. P. 461.

If any would know what manner of man king William was, the glory that he obtained, and of how many lands he was lord; then will we describe him as we have known him, we, who have looked upon him, and who once lived in his court. This king William, of whom we are speaking, was a very wise and a great man, and more honoured and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure towards those who withstood his will. He founded a noble monastery on the spot where God permitted him to conquer England, and he established monks in it, and he made it very rich. In his days the great monastery at Canterbury was built, and many others also throughout England ; moreover this land was filled with monks who lived after the rule of St. Benedict; and such was the state of religion in his days that all that would might observe that which was prescribed by their respective orders. King William was also held in much reverence : he wore his crown three times every year when he was in England : at Easter he

wore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times, all the men of England were with him, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and earls, thanes and knights. So also, was he a very stern and a wrathful man, so that none durst do anything against his will, and he kept in prison those earls who acted against his pleasure. He removed bishops from their sees, and abbots from their offices, and he imprisoned thanes, and at length he spared not his own brother Odo. This Odo was a very powerful bishop in Normandy, his see was that of Bayeux, and he was foremost to serve the king. He had an earldom in England, and when William was in Normandy he was the first man in this country, and him did he cast into prison. Amongst other things the good order that William established is not to be forgotten; it was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosom-full of gold unmolested ; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him. He reigned over England, and being sharp-sighted to his own interest, he surveyed the kingdom so thoroughly that there was not a single hide of land throughout the whole of which he knew not the possessor, and how much it was worth, and this he afterwards entered in his register. The land of the Britons was under his sway, and he built castles therein; moreover he had full dominion over the Isle of Man [Anglesey] : Scotland also was subject to him from his great strength ; the land of Normandy was his by inheritance, and he possessed the earldom of Maine ; and had he lived two years longer he would have subdued Ireland by his prowess,[1] and that without a battle. Truly there was much trouble in these times, and very great distress; he caused castles to be built, and oppressed the poor. The king was also of great sternness, and he took from his subjects many marks of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver, and this, either with or without right, and with little need. He was given to avarice, and greedily loved gain. He made large forests for the deer, und enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars ; and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the hares, that they should go free. The rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked nought of them; they

[1] This statement is unsupported by other authority, although Labfrano and Anselm consecrated a number of Irish bishops.

must will all that the king willed, if they would live; or would keep their lands; or would hold their possessions; or would be maintained in their rights. Alas ! that any man should so exalt himself, and carry himself in his pride over all! May Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him the forgiveness of his sins ! We have written concerning him these things, both good and bad, that virtuous men might follow after the good, and wholly avoid the evil, and might go in the way that leadeth to the kingdom of heaven.

17. THE FIRST CRUSADE (1095).

Four persons who attended the Council of Clermont have reported the speech of Urban II., and their several versions disagree. Each would be impressed by different features of the Pope's style or substance, and each would embellish what he remembered. Robert the Monk is the most graphic of the four, and though according to him the appeal was directed in a special way to the French, the Crusades were a European movement in which England's share counts for much. No other episode recalls so vividly and on so grand a scale the catholic bond which united the states of mediæval Europe.

SOURCE.—*Historia Hierosolymitana.* Robert the Monk (fl. 1099). Bongarsius: Gesta Dei per Francos. Hanoviae, 1611. Vol. i., p. 81. Trans. D. C. Munro. Philadelphia, 1897. (Univ. of Pennsylvania. *Translations and Reprints,* Vol. i., No. 2.)

Oh, race of Franks, race from across the mountains, race beloved and chosen by God—as is clear from many of your works—set apart from all other nations by the situation of your country, as well as by your catholic faith and the honour which you render to the holy church. To you our discourse is addressed and for you our exhortations are intended. We wish you to know what a grievous cause has led us to your country, and that it is the imminent peril threatening you and all the faithful, which has brought us hither.

From the confines of Jerusalem and from the city of Constantinople a horrible tale has gone forth and very frequently has been brought to our ears. Namely, that a race from the kingdom of the Persians, an accursed race, a' race wholly alienated from God, a generation forsooth which has not directed it*

heart and has not entrusted its spirit to God, has violently invaded the lands of those Christians and has depopulated them by pillage and fire. They have led away a part of the captives into their own country, and a part they have destroyed by cruel tortures. They have either destroyed the churches of God or appropriated them for the rites of their own religion. They destroy the altars, after having defiled them with their uncleanness. . . .

On whom therefore is the labour of avenging these wrongs and of recovering this territory incumbent, if not upon you? You, upon whom above all other nations God has conferred remarkable glory in arms, great courage, bodily activity, and strength to humble the heads of those who resist you. Let the deeds of your ancestors encourage you and incite your minds to manly achievements, the glory and greatness of King Charlemagne, and of his son Louis, and of your other monarchs, who have destroyed the kingdoms of the Turks and have extended the sway of the holy church over the lands of the pagans. Let the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord and Saviour, which is possessed by the unclean nations, especially incite you, and the holy places which are now treated with ignominy and irreverently polluted with the filth of the unclean. Oh, most valiant soldiers and descendants of invincible ancestors, be not degenerate, but recall the valour of your progenitors.

But if you are hindered by love of children, parents or wife, remember what the Lord says in the Gospel, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me". "Everyone that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake shall receive an hundred-fold and shall inherit everlasting life." Let none of your possessions retain you, no solicitude for your family affairs. For this land which you inhabit, shut in on all sides by the seas and surrounded by the mountain peaks, is too narrow for your large population; nor does it abound in wealth; and it furnishes scarcely food enough for its cultivators. Hence" it is that you murder and devour one another, that you wage war, and that very many among you perish in intestine strife.

Let therefore hatred depart from among you, let your quarrels end, let wars cease, and let all dissensions and controversies slumber. Enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre; wrest that land from the wicked race, and subject it to yourselves. That land which as the Scripture says "floweth with milk and honey," was given by God into the power of the children of

Israel. Jerusalem is the centre of the earth;[1] the land is fruitful above all others, like another paradise of delights. This the Redeemer of mankind has made illustrious by His advent, has beautified by His residence, has consecrated by His passion, has redeemed by His death, has glorified by His burial.

This royal city, however, situated at the centre of the earth, is now held captive by the enemies of Christ, and is subjected by those who do not know God, to the worship of the heathens. She seeks therefore and desires to be liberated, and does not cease to implore you to come to her aid. From you especially she asks succour, because, as we have already said, God has conferred upon you above all other nations great glory in arms. Accordingly undertake this journey for the remission of your sins, with the assurance of the imperishable glory of the kingdom of heaven.

When Pope Urban had said these and very many similar things in his urbane discourse, he so influenced to one purpose the desires of all who were present, that all cried out, " It is the will of God ! It is the will of God!" When the venerable Roman Pontiff heard that, with eyes uplifted to heaven he gave thanks to God, and, with his hand commanding silence, said :—

Most beloved brethren, to-day is manifest in you what the Lord says in the Gospel, " Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them ". For unless God had been present in your spirits, all of you would not have uttered the same cry. For, although the cry issued from numerous mouths, yet the origin of the cry was one. Therefore I say to you that God, who implanted this in your breasts, has drawn it forth from you. Let that then be your war-cry in combats, because it is given to you by God. When an armed attack is made upon the enemy, let this one cry be raised by all the soldiers of God : It is the will of God ! It is the will of God I

And we do not command or advise that the old or feeble, or those incapable of bearing arms, undertake this journey. Nor ought women to set out at all, without their husbands or brothers or legal guardians. For such are more of a hindrance than aid, more of a burden than advantage. Let the rich aid the needy; and according to their wealth, let them take with them experienced soldiers. The priests and clerks of each order are not to go without the consent of their bishop; for this journey would profit them nothing if they went without

[1]So considered throughout the Middle Ages.

permission. Also, it is not fitting that laymen should enter upon the pilgrimage without the blessing of their priests.

Whoever, therefore, shall determine upon this holy pilgrimage and shall make his vow to God to that effect and shall offer himself to Him for sacrifice, as a living victim, holy and acceptable to God, shall wear the sign of the cross of the Lord on his forehead or on his breast. When, truly, in fulfilment of his vow he wishes to enter upon his journey, let him place the cross on his back between his shoulders. Such, indeed, by this two-fold action will fulfil the precept of the Lord, as He commands in the Gospel, " He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me ".

18. A SUDDEN CAMPAIGN OP WILLIAM RUFUS (1099).

William of Malmesbury was probably the son of a Norman father and an English mother. Ordericus Vitalis came of purely Norman parentage, but was born in western England nine years after the conquest. Notwithstanding the lot which transferred him to a Norman monastery, St. Evroul, he never ceased to consider himself an Englishman, and English affairs fill a large space in his Ecclesiastical History. Indeed Ordericus is our most copious authority for the relations of kingdom and duchy during the Norman period. His faults are lack of system, credulity, and parade of learning. His virtues are a quick sympathy with mankind in every phase of experience, and a habit of setting down minute details. Having ties on both sides of the Channel, he was well fitted to write without bias. This adventure of William Rufus comes from his pages, and is intended to illustrate the close political connection of the two countries under Norman sway.

SOURCE.—*Historia Ecclesiastica.* Ordericus Vitalis (1075 ?-1148). Trans. T. Forester. London, 1864. Vol. iii., p. 240.

Meanwhile Robert de Belesme[1] increased the defences of Ballon, and dispatched his courier Amalgise to the king in England. The messenger having crossed the sea hastened to Clarendon, but met the king riding in the New Forest with his

[1] Earl of Shrewsbury, and the most fiery of Norman barons.

attendants, and to his eager inquiries after the news, replied : " Mans has been treacherously taken by surprise; but my lord holds Ballon, and the king's garrisons guard faithfully all the fortresses entrusted to them, but they urgently demand your royal succour against the hostile forces which surround and threaten them ".

As soon as the king had heard the message he exclaimed: " Let us cross the sea to support our friends ". The same instant, without consulting any one, he wheeled his horse round, and giving him the spur rode full speed to the coast. Finding there by chance an old worn-out vessel, he embarked in it without any royal pomp, like one of the people, and gave orders for immediately putting to sea. He waited neither for a favourable wind, nor attendants, nor anything else becoming his royal dignity, but, a stranger to fear, committed himself to fortune and the waves, and the next morning, under God's guidance, arrived safe at the port of Touques. Several persons, of various degrees, were standing about the harbour, as is the custom in summer, and seeing a vessel coming in under sail from England were in eager expectation to hear if she brought any news. Their first inquiry regarded the king, and he was there to give a true account of himself. He laughed heartily as he gave replies they little expected to their questions, and his answers, which filled them at first with wonder, soon caused universal joy. He then mounted a mare belonging to a priest, and surrounded by a great concourse of the clergy and country folk, who attended him on foot with loud acclamations, he rode to Bonneville. His presence struck with consternation those who were in arms against him on the frontiers of Normandy. After sending out his orders he quickly raised a powerful army, and proceeded by hasty marches to ravage the hostile province. The enemy's troops commanded by Elias, as soon as it was known that the king had passed the straits, dispersed without loss of time, leaving the city they had occupied in a condition much worse than they found it. Hildebert, the bishop,[1] who went to meet the king in Normandy as a suppliant, was received by him graciously as an old friend, for neither by his counsels nor active interference had he taken any part in the late troubles.

The king full of wrath, having intelligence of the enemy's retreat, pursued him closely, without deigning to pass even a single night at Mans. Passing on, he saw the city in flames,

[1] Bishop of Le Mans, 1097-1126.

and ordered his tents to be pitched on a wide heath on the bank of the river Huisne. On the morrow, he took severe revenge for his wrongs with fire and sword. But before the king could reach the enemy's strongholds and give them to the flames, they set them on fire with their own hands, and laid waste all the country round, lest the freebooters of the royal party should find anything to pillage, or even a house where they might make their beds and take repose. Thus the castles of Vaux and Oustilli were burnt, and many other villages and hamlets entirely ruined. However Robert de Montfort, the commander of the royal army, pushing forward at the head of 500 cavalry, extinguished the fire at the castle of Vaux, and strengthened the fortifications for the king's service.

19. THE CHARTER OF LIBERTIES (1100).

The *Saxon Chronicle* says of William the Conqueror: " The rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked nought of them ". Henry I. could not act in this high-handed fashion at the moment of seizing the crown. He had to collect a band of adherents who would check rebellious barons, and maintain him on the throne against probable rivals. He accordingly issued a charter which was intended to conciliate clergy, nobles and people. It is the most important constitutional act of the reign, besides standing halfway between the laws of Edward the Confessor, to which it appeals, and Magna Carta, which looks back to it. In some respects it resembles the programme of a modern political party. Henry promises not to extort money from the church during vacancies, and to deal fairly with the nobles in questions of wardship, marriage, forfeiture, etc., and he enjoins peace. This charter is an excellent comment on the social system of the day, showing how feudalism pervaded common domestic relations.

SOURCE.—*Charter of Liberties*, Henry I. (1068-1135). Original text in Stubbs' *Select Charters*. Oxford, 1888. P. 100. The present translation is (with slight changes) that of J. A. Giles from the text given in Robert of Wendover. London, 1849. Vol. ii., p. 276.

1. Know that I, by the Lord's mercy, have been crowned king by common consent of the barons of the kingdom of England; and because the kingdom has been oppressed by

unjust exactions, I, out of respect to God, and the love which I feel towards you, in the first place constitute the holy church of God a free church, so that I will not sell it, nor farm it out, nor will I, on the death of any archbishop, bishop, or abbot, take anything from the domain of the church or its people, until his successor takes his place. And I from this time do away with all the evil practices . . . I here in part mention.

2. If any baron, earl or other vassal of mine, who holds possession from me, shall die, his heir shall not redeem his land, as was the custom in my father's time, but shall pay a just and lawful relief for the same; and in like manner, too, the dependants of my barons shall pay a like relief for their land to their lords.

3. And if any baron or other vassal of mine shall wish to give his daughter, his sister, his niece, or other female relative, in marriage, let him ask my permission on the matter; but I will not take any of his property for granting my permission, nor will I forbid his giving her in marriage except he wishes to give her to an enemy of mine; and if on the death of a baron or other vassal of mine, the daughter is left an heiress, I, by the advice of my barons, will give her in marriage together with her land; and if on the death of a husband the wife is surviving and is childless, she shall have her dowry for a marriage portion, and I will not give her away to another husband unless with her consent.

4. But if a wife survives, having children, she shall have her dowry as a marriage portion, as long as she shall keep herself according to law, and I will not give her to a husband unless with her consent; and the guardian of the children's land shall be either the wife or some other nearer relation, who ought more rightly to be so; and I enjoin on my barons to act in the same way towards the sons and daughters and wives of their dependants. Moreover the common mintage,[1] as taken throughout the cities and counties, such as was not in use in king Edward's time, is hereby forbidden; and if any one, whether a coiner or any other person, be taken with false money, let strict justice be done to him for it.

5. All pleas and all debts, which were due to the king my brother, I forgive, except my farms,[2] and those debts which

[1] "A payment by the moneyers for the privilege of coining; otherwise explained as a payment by the subjects to prevent loss by the depreciation or change of coinage."—Stubbs.

[2] "The profits of the county jurisdictions let at fixed sums to the sheriffs."—Stubbs.

were contracted for the inheritances of others, or for those things which more justly belong to others. And if any one shall have covenanted anything for his inheritance, I forgive it, and all reliefs which were contracted for just inheritances.

6. And if any baron or vassal of mine shall be ill, I hereby ratify all such disposition as he shall have made of his money; but if through service in war or sickness he shall have made no disposition of his money, his wife, or children, or parents, and legitimate dependants, shall distribute it for the good of his soul, as shall seem best to them.

7. If any baron or other vassal of mine shall have made forfeiture, he shall not give bail to save his money, as was done in the time of my father and my brother, but according to the degree of the forfeiture; nor shall he make amends for his fault as he did in the time of my father or of my other ancestors; and if any one shall be convicted of treason or other crime, his punishment shall be according to his fault.

8. I forgive all murders committed previous to the day on which I was crowned king; but those which have been since committed shall be justly punished, according to the law of king Edward.

9. By the common advice of my barons, I have retained the forests in my possession as my father held them.

10. All knights, moreover, who hold their lands by service, are hereby allowed to have their domains free from all amercements and from all peculiar service, that as they are thus relieved from a great burden, they may provide themselves properly with horses and arms, so that they may be fit and ready for my service and for the defence of my kingdom.

11. I bestow confirmed peace in all my kingdom, and I order it to be preserved from henceforth.

12. I restore to you the law of king Edward, with the amendments which my father, by the advice of his barons, made in it.

13. If any one has taken anything of mine, or of any one else's property, since the death of my brother king William, let it all be soon restored without alteration; and if any one shall retain anything of it, he shall, on being discovered, atone to me for it heavily.

Witness Maurice bishop of London, William elect of Winchester, Gerard of Hereford, Earl Henry, Earl Simon, Earl Walter Gifford, Robert de Montfort, Roger Bigod, and many othera

20. THE WRECK OF THE WHITE SHIP (1120).

Had Prince William not been drowned in the wreck of the White Ship, England might have escaped the carnage caused by a disputed succession. Ordericus Vital is states that he investigated the accident with great care, and his story deserves attention for several reasons. It has so often been garbled that the original text can justly claim a hearing; it is a fine instance of the manner in which Ordericus approaches a striking episode ; and the compassion which it arouses, will help to bridge over a space of nearly 800 years.

SOURCE.—*Historia Ecclesiastica.* Ordericus Vitalis (1075 ?-1143). Trans. T. Forester. London, 1854. Vol. iv., p. 38.

In this voyage a sad disaster happened which caused much lamentation and innumerable tears to flow. Thomas, the son of Stephen, had obtained an audience of the king, and offering him a gold mark, said to him, " Stephen, the son of Airard, was my father, and during his whole life he was in your father's service as a mariner. He it was who conveyed your father to England in his own ship, when he crossed the sea to make war on Harold. He was employed by your father in services of this description as long as he lived, and gave him such satisfaction that he honoured him with liberal rewards, so that he lived in great credit and prosperity among those of his own class. My lord king, I ask you to employ me in the same service, having a vessel called the Blanche-Nef, which is fitted out in the best manner, and perfectly adapted to receive a royal retinue." The king replied: " I grant your request; but I have already selected a ship which suits me, and I shall not change; however, I entrust to you my sons, William and Richard, whom I love as myself, with many of the nobility of my realm".

The mariners were in great glee at hearing this, and greeting the king's son with fair words asked him to give them something to drink. The prince gave orders that they should have three muids.[1] No sooner was the wine delivered to them than they had a great drinking bout, and pledging their comrades

[1]A large measure both of liquids and solids. Its capacity varied in different parts of France, but sometimes reached 730 litres. *Vide* Littre, *sub voce,*

in full cups, indulged too much and became intoxicated. By the king's command many barons with their sons embarked in the Blanche-Nef, and there were in all, as far as I can learn, 300 souls on board the ill-fated ship. But two monks of Tyron, Count Stephen, with two men-at-arms, William de Roumare, Kabel the chamberlain, Edward of Salisbury, and several others came on shore, having left the vessel upon observing that it was overcrowded with riotous and headstrong youths. The crew consisted of fifty experienced rowers, besides an armed marine force, who were very disorderly, and as soon as they got on board insolently took possession of the benches of the rowers, and being very drunk forgot their station, and scarcely paid respect to any one. Alas! how many among the company embarked, were without the slightest feeling of devotion towards God—

Qui maris immodicas moderator, et aeris, iras I
(Who rules the storm, and calms the raging sea.)

They even drove away with contempt, amidst shouts of laughter, the priests who came to bless them, with the other ministers who carried the holy water; but they were speedily punished for their mockery. Besides the king's treasure and some casks of wine, there was no cargo in Thomas's ship, which was full of passengers; and they urged him to use his utmost endeavours to overtake the royal fleet which was already ploughing the waves. In his drunken folly, Thomas, confident in his seamanship and the skill of his crew, rashly boasted that he would soon leave behind him all the ships that had started before them. At last he gave the signal for departure ; the sailors seized the oars without a moment's delay, and, unconscious of the fate which was imminently impending, joyously handled the ropes and sails, and made the ship rush through the water at a great rate. But as the drunken rowers exerted themselves to the utmost in pulling the oars, and the luckless pilot steered at random and got the ship out of its due course; the starboard bow of the Blanche-Nef struck violently on a huge-rock, which is left dry every day when the tide is out, and covered by the waves at high water. Two planks having been shattered by the crash, the ship, alas! filled and went down. At this fearful moment, the passengers and crew raised cries of distress, but their mouths were soon stopped by the swelling waves, and all perished together, except two who seized hold of the yard from which the sail was set. They hung on to it the greater part of the night, in earnest hope that they would

receive aid in some shape or other. One of these men was a butcher of Rouen, of the name of Berold; the other a young man of gentle birth whose name was Geoffrey, the son of Gilbert de l'Aigle.

. . . . . .

The melancholy news soon got abroad among the common people, and, spreading along the sea-coast, came to the ears of Count Theobald and other lords of the court; but for that day no one ventured to make it known to the king, who was in a state of great anxiety and made many inquiries. The nobles shed many tears in private, and were inconsolable for the loss of their friends and relations; but in the king's presence, severe as was the struggle, they concealed their grief lest its cause should be discovered. On the day following, by a well-devised plan of Count Theobald's, a boy threw himself at the king's feet, weeping bitterly, and upon his being questioned as to the cause of his sorrow, the king learnt from him the shipwreck of the Blauche-Nef. So sudden was the shock, and so severe his anguish, that he instantly fell to the ground, but being raised up by his friends, he was conducted to his chamber, and gave free course to the bitterness of his grief. Not Jacob was more woe-stricken for the loss of Joseph, nor did David give vent to more woeful lamentations for the murder of Amnion or Absalom. . . .

What mortal tongue can fully recount the numbers of those who had to mourn this fatal disaster, or the numerous domains which were deprived of their lawful heirs, to the great detriment of many persons? As we have already said, the king's sons, William and Richard, were amongst those who perished, with their sister Matilda, wife of Rotrou, Count of Mortain. There were also Richard, the young Earl of Chester, distinguished for his bravery and kindness of heart, with his wife Matilda, sister of Theobald, Count Palatine. Othere, his brother, son of Hugh, Earl of Chester, and governor and tutor of the king's youngest son, at the moment when the Blanche-Nef went down, and the nobles were hopelessly buried in the waves, took, as it is reported, the young prince in his arms, and sinking with him, they were never again seen. Theodoric, the nephew of Henry, emperor of Germany, a mere boy ; also two beautiful sons of Ives de Grantmesnil, with their cousin William de Rhuddlan, who was proceeding to England by the king's command to take possession of the inheritance of his ancestors in that country; William, surnamed Bigod, William de Pirou, the king's Bteward; Geoffrey Ridel, Hugh de Moulins, Robert

Mauconduit, and Gisulf, the king's iniquitous secretary; all these, and many other persons of distinction were swallowed up by the sea. Relations and acquaintances, comrades and friends, wailed their miserable fate, when, in different countries, they learnt the desolation and bereavements occasioned by their death. It is said of those who perished that there were no less than eighteen females who were either daughters, sisters, nieces, or wives of kings or earls.

Concern for others has been my only motive in furnishing these details, which, having collected from authentic information, I am induced to record for the benefit of future ages. For myself I have none to mourn, except from common feelings of pity, as no one of my kindred was swallowed up in that horrible gulf, for whom I had to shed the tears which flow for the loss of those who are of our own blood.

21. ADULTERINE CASTLES IN THE REIGN OF STEPHEN (1135-1154).

The erection of castles began immediately after the Conquest, and the Norman keep with its "rocky solidity" was alike a means and a symbol of enslavement. A stronghold which protected its owner from attack, could hardly fail to beget tyranny or to promote rebellion against the crown. Under the Conqueror and his sons a certain degree of control over such building was exercised, but during the civil war between Stephen and Maud no power in the land existed which could prevent a noble from doing what he chose. Among the first results of this feudal anarchy was the appearance of adulterine, or illegal, castles, raised by the forced labour of serfs. There were hundreds of them, and the *Saxon Chronicle* (now drawing to a close) furnishes a startling glimpse of what was practised behind their walls.

SOURCE.—*Saxon Chronicle.* Trans. J. A. Giles. London, 1847. P. 602.

When king Stephen came to England, he held an assembly at Oxford; and there he seized Roger bishop of Salisbury, and Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and Roger the chancellor, his nephew, and he kept them all in prison till they gave up their oaatles. When the traitors perceived that he was a mild man,

and a soft and a good, and that he did not enforce justice, they did all wonder. They had done homage to him, and sworn oaths, but they no faith kept; all became forsworn, and broke their allegiance, for every rich man built his castles, and defended them against him, and they filled the land full of castles. They greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at these castles, and when the castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods, by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable, for never were any martyrs tormented as these were. They hung some up by their feet, and smoked them with foul smoke ; some by their thumbs, or by the head, and they hung burning things on their feet. They put a knotted string about their heads, and twisted it till it went into the brain. They put them into dungeons wherein were adders and snakes and toads, and thus wore them out. Some they put into a crucet-house, that is, into a chest that was short and narrow, and not deep, and they put sharp stones in it, and crushed the man therein so that they broke all his limbs. There were hateful and grim things called sachenteges in many of the castles, and which two or three men had enough to do to carry. The sachentege was made thus : it was fastened to a beam, having a sharp iron to go around a man's throat and neck, so that he might no ways sit, nor lie, nor sleep, but that he must bear all the iron. Many thousands they exhausted with hunger. I cannot and 1 may not tell of all the wounds and all the tortures that they inflicted upon the wretched men of this land; and this state of things lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king, and ever grew worse and worse.

22. THE FIRST NORMAN INVASION OF IRELAND (1169).

Giraldus de Barri was born in Pembrokeshire shortly before the middle of the twelfth century, and is commonly called Giraldus Cambrensis—Gerald of Wales. He was a vain and aggressive, though clever, churchman, constantly quarrelling and disappointed in his expectations. The Conquest of Ireland is the best of his numerous writings, and can be heartily praised. At the age of thirty-eight Gerald was appointed a royal chaplain, and sent by Henry I I . to Ireland in company

with Prince John. He arrived only fifteen years after the capture of Wexford, when the task of reduction was far from complete. The Welsh had been conspicuous in Strongbow's early battles, and Gerald's patriotism was perhaps kindled Whatever his motive, his opportunities were exceptional and he turned them to advantage. His own criticisms, of which an example is given, are shrewd and practical.

SOURCE.—*Expugnatio Hibernii.* Giraldus Oambrensis (1146 ?-1220 ?). Trans. T. Wright. London, 1887. A. p. 311, B. p. 321.

(A) Fortunate would this island have been, and it would long since have been firmly and completely subjugated from one end to the other, and brought without difficulty under order and good government, with towns and castles built on all sides, in fitting places from sea to sea, had not the succours which should have followed the first adventurers been cut off by a royal proclamation; or, rather, if the king himself had not been prematurely recalled from his bold adventure by an intestine conspiracy which prevented his turning his enterprise to good account.[1] Happy indeed would it have been if, the first conquerors being men of worth and valour, their merits had been duly weighed, and the government and administration of affairs had been placed in their hands. For the Irish people, who were so astounded and thrown into such consternation at the arrival of the first adventurers, by the novelty of the thing, and so terrified by flights of arrows shot by the English archers, and the might of the men-at-arms, soon took heart, through delays, which are always dangerous, the slow and feeble progress of the work of conquest, and the ignorance and cowardice of the governors and others in command. And becoming gradually expert in the use of arrows and other weapons, as well as being practised in stratagems and ambuscades by their frequent conflicts with our troops, and taught by their successes, although they might at first have been easily subjugated, they became in process of time able to make a stout resistance.

(B) The Normans, who are newly come among us, may be very good soldiers in their own country, and expert in the use of arms and armour after the French fashion, but every one knows how much that differs from the mode of warfare in Ireland and Wales. In France it is carried on in a champaign country,

[1] 1172

here it is rough and mountainous; there you have open plains, here you find dense woods. In France it is counted an honour to wear armour, here it is found to be cumbersome; there victories are won by serried ranks and close fighting, here by the charges of light-armed troops; there, quarter is given, prisoners being taken and admitted to ransom, here their heads are chopped off as trophies and no one escapes. Where armies engage in a plain country, that heavy and complex armour, whether shirts of mail, or coat armour of steel, is both a splendid ornament of the knights and men-at-arms, and also necessary for their protection. But where you have to fight in narrow passes, and in woods and bogs, in which foot-soldiers are more serviceable than horsemen, a far lighter kind of armour is preferable. In fighting against naked and unarmed men, whose only hope of success lies in the impetuosity of their first attack, men in light armour can pursue the fugitives, an agile race, with more activity, and cut them down in narrow passes and amongst crags and mountains. The Normans, with this complex armour and their deeply curved saddles, find great difficulty in getting on horseback and dismounting; and still greater when occasion requires that they shall march on foot.

In all expeditions, therefore, either in Ireland or in Wales, the Welshmen bred in the marches, and accustomed to the continual wars in those parts, make the best troops. They are very brave, and, from their previous habits, bold and active; they are good horsemen and also light of foot, being equally suited to both services; and they are not nice in their appetites, and bear hunger and thirst well when provisions are not to be had. Such men and soldiers were they which took the lead in the conquest of Ireland, and by such men it must be finally and completely effected. Let each class of soldiers have its proper place. Against heavy-armed troops, depending upon their strength and complete armour, and fighting on a plain, you must oppose, I admit, men equal to them in the weight of their armour and strength of limb; but when you have to do with a race who are naturally agile and light of foot, and whose haunts are in steep and rocky places, you want light-armed troops, and especially such as have been trained by experience to fighting under such circumstances. And, in the Irish wars, particular care should be always used to mix bowmen with the other troops, in order to gall, by flights of arrows shot from a distance, the slingers who rush forward and heave stones on the heavy armed troops, and then re'
alternately advancing and retreating

Moreover, the part of the country on this side, as far as the river Shannon, which forms the boundary between the three eastern parts of the island and the fourth or western part, should be protected by strongly fortified castles built in different places. And further, in the meantime, let all the country beyond the Shannon, including Connaught and part of Munster, be subjected to annual tributes [from the native princes], except the city of Limerick, which should by all means be recovered and occupied by the English. For it would be better, far better, to begin with building fortresses on suitable situations, proceeding by degrees to construct them, than to erect a great number at once, in a variety of places, at great distance from each other, where they would be entirely disconnected, and could afford no mutual aid in time of need.

28. THE MURDER OF BECKET (1170).

Grim is a man who owes his reputation to a solitary event. Few details of his life are known beyond that he was a native of Cambridge and a Master of Arts. He went to Canterbury shortly before Becket's death and could not have grown intimate with the archbishop. Yet he saw the tragedy and shared the danger. He remained at the victim's side till severely wounded, and has ever since been prominent in pictures of the scene. His *Life of St. Thomas* is not of much value except for the circumstances with which the author was personally connected.

SOURCE.—*Vita S. Thomae.* Edward Grim (fl. 1170-1177). Text in *Materials for the History of Archbishop Becket.* Rolls Series, vol. ii., p. 430. Trans. Rev. W. H. Hutton. London, 1889.

When the monks had entered the church, already the four knights[1] followed behind with rapid strides. With them was a certain subdeacon, armed with malice like their own, Hugh, fitly surnamed for his wickedness, Mauclerc, who showed no reverence for God or the saints, as the result showed. When the holy archbishop entered the church, the monks stopped vespers which they had begun and ran to him, glorifying God that they saw their father, whom they had heard was dead, alive and safe. They hastened, by bolting the doors of the

[1] Reginald Fitz-Urso, Hugh de Morville, Richard Brito, and William de Tracy.

church, to protect their shepherd from the slaughter. But the champion, turning to them, ordered the church doors to be thrown open, saying, " It is not meet to make a fortress of the house of prayer, the church of Christ: though it be not shut up it is able to protect its own; and we shall triumph over the enemy rather in suffering than in fighting, for we came to suffer, not to resist". And straightway they entered the house of peace and reconciliation with swords sacrilegiously drawn, causing horror to the beholders by their very looks and the clanging of their arms.

All who were present were in tumult and fright, for those who had been singing vespers now ran hither to the dreadful sight.

Inspired by fury the knights called out, " Where is Thomas Becket, traitor to the king and realm?" .As he answered not they cried out the more furiously, "Where is the archbishop?" At this, intrepid and fearless, as it is written, "The just, like a bold lion, shall be without fear," he descended from the stair where he had been dragged by the monks in fear of the knights, and in a clear voice answered, " I am here, no traitor to the king, but a priest. Why do ye seek me?" And whereas he had already said that he feared them not, he added, " So I urn ready to suffer in His name, Who redeemed me by His Blood: be it far from me to flee from your swords, or to depart from justice ". Having thus Said, he turned to the right, under a pillar, having on one side the altar of the blessed Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, on the other that of S. Benedict the Confessor: by whose example and prayers, having crucified the world with its lusts, he bore all that the murderer could do with such constancy of soul as if he had been no longer in the flesh. The murderers followed him ; " Absolve," they cried, " and restore to communion those whom you have excommunicated, and restore their powers to those whom you have suspended". He answered: "There has been no satisfaction, and I will not absolve them". "Then you shall die," they cried, " and receive what you deserve." " I am ready/' he replied, " to die for my Lord, that in my blood the Church may obtain liberty and peace. But in the name of Almighty God, I forbid you to hurt my people whether clerk or lay." Thus piously and thoughtfully, did the noble martyr provide that no one near him should be hurt or the innocent be brought to death, whereby his glory should be dimmed as he hastened to Christ. Thus did it become the martyr-knight to follow in the footsteps of his Captain and Saviour Who when the wicked

sought Him said: "If ye seek Me, let these go their way". Then they laid sacrilegious hands on him, pulling and dragging him that they might kill him outside the Church, or carry him away a prisoner, as they afterwards confessed^ But when he could not be forced away from the pillar, one of them pressed on him and clung to him more closely. Him he pushed off calling him "pander," and saying, "Touch me not, Reginald; you owe me fealty and subjection, you and your accomplices act like madmen". The knight, fired with terrible rage at this severe repulse, waved his sword over the sacred head. "No faith," he cried, "nor subjection do I owe you against my fealty to my lord the king." Then the unconquered martyr seeing the hour at hand which should put an end to this miserable life and give him straightway the crown of immortality promised by the Lord, inclined his neck as one who prays, and joining his hands he lifted them up, and commended his cause and that of the Church to God, to S. Mary, and to the blessed martyr Denys. Scarce had he said the words than the wicked knight fearing lest he should be rescued by the people and escape alive, leapt upon him suddenly and wounded this lamb who was sacrificed to God, on the head, cutting off the top of the crown which the sacred unction of the chrism had dedicated to God; and by the same blow he wounded the arm of him who tells this. For he, when the others, both monks and clerks, fled, stuck close to the sainted archbishop and held him in his arms till the one he interposed was almost severed. Behold the simplicity of the dove, the wisdom of the serpent, in the martyr who opposed his body to those who struck that he might preserve his head, that is his soul and the Church, unharmed, nor would he use any forethought against those who destroyed the body whereby he might escape. 0 worthy shepherd, who gave himself so boldly to the wolves that his flock might not be torn. Because he had rejected the world, the world in wishing to crush him unknowingly exalted him. Then he received a second blow on the head but still stood firm. At the third blow he fell on his knees and elbows, offering himself a living victim, and saying in a low voice, "For the name of Jesus and the protection of the Church I am ready to embrace death". Then the third knight inflicted a terrible wound as he lay, by which the sword was broken against the pavement, and the crown which was large was separated from the head; so that the blood white with the brain and the brain red with blood, dyed the surface of the virgin mother-Church with the life and death of the confessor and martyr in

the colours of the lily and the rose. The fourth knight prevented any from interfering so that the others might freely perpetrate the murder. As to the fifth, no knight but that clerk who had entered with the knights, that a fifth blow might not be wanting to the martyr who was in other things like to Christ, he put his foot on the neck of the holy priest and precious martyr, and, horrible to say, scattered his brains and blood over the pavement, calling out to the others : " Let us away, knights ; he will rise no more ".

24. THE BURNING AND REBUILDING OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL (1174).

St. Augustine made Canterbury the ecclesiastical capital of England, and Becket's murder made its shrine the most popular resort of English pilgrims. Canterbury has a third distinction which can worthily be ranked with those just mentioned. The choir of its cathedral set the fashion of Gothic architecture in England. The pointed style of building was not an accidental discovery. Gothic grew out of the round arch, or Romanesque, stylo which preceded it, by a steady process. Its origin can be traced to the Ile de France, where it was occupying the notice of architects when the tire at Canterbury occurred. The monk Gervase was a sad witness of this conflagration, and has preserved the mood of his brethren under their dire loss. It is impossible to reprint more than the beginning of his narrative, by reason of the length to which it runs. But even a fragment will reveal the degree of pride and affection which was then felt for a noble cathedral.

SOURCE.—*Tractatus de Comustione et Reparatione Cantuariensis Ecclesiae.* Gervase of Canterbury (fl. 1188). Rolls Series, vol. i., p. 3. Trans. Rev. R. Willis in *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral.* London, 1845. P. 2.

1. *The Conflagration.*

In the year of grace one thousand one hundred and seventy-four, by the just but occult judgment of God, the church of Christ at Canterbury was consumed by fire, In the forty-fourth year from its dedication, that glorious choir, to wit, which had

been so magnificently completed by the care and industry of Prior Conrad.[1]

Now the manner of the burning and repair was as follows. In the aforesaid year, on the nones of September, at about the ninth hour, and during an extraordinarily violent south wind, a fire broke out before the gate of the church, and outside the walls of the monastery, by which three cottages were half destroyed. From thence, while the citizens were assembling and subduing the fire, cinders and sparks carried aloft by the high wind, were deposited upon the church, and being driven by the fury of the wind between the joints of the lead, remained there amongst the half rotten planks, and shortly glowing with increasing heat, set fire to the rotten rafters ; from these the fire was communicated to the larger beams and their braces, no one yet perceiving or helping. For the well-painted ceiling below, and the sheet-lead covering above, concealed between them the fire that had arisen within.

Meantime the three cottages, whence the mischief had arisen, being destroyed, and the popular excitement having subsided, everybody went home again, while the neglected church was consuming with internal fire unknown to all. But beams and braces burning, the flames rose to the slopes of the roof; and the sheets of lead yielded to the increasing heat and began to melt. Thus the raging wind, finding a freer entrance, increased the fury of the fire; and the flames beginning to show themselves, a cry arose in the church-yard : " See ! see ! the church is on fire ".

Then the people and the monks assemble in haste, they draw water, they brandish their hatchets, they run up the stairs, full of eagerness to save the church, already, alas! beyond their help. But when they reach the roof and perceive the black smoke and scorching flames that pervade it throughout, they abandon the attempt in despair, and thinking only of their own safety, make all haste to descend.

And now that the fire had loosened the beams from the pegs that bound them together, the half-burnt timbers fell into the choir below upon the seats of the monks; the seats consisting of a great mass of wood-work, caught fire, and thus the mischief grew worse and worse. And it was marvellous, though sad, to behold how that glorious choir itself fed and assisted the fire that was destroying it. For the flames multiplied by this mass of timber, and extending upwards full fifteen cubits, scorched

[1] Dedicated 1130,

and burnt the walls, and more especially injured the columns of the church.

And now the people ran to the ornaments of the church, and began to tear down the pallia and curtains, some that they might save, but some to steal them. The reliquary chests were thrown down from the high beam and thus broken, and their contents scattered; but the monks collected them and carefully preserved them from the fire. Some there were, who, inflamed with a wicked and diabolical cupidity, feared not to appropriate to themselves the things of the church, which they had saved from the fire.

In this manner the house of God, hitherto delightful as a paradise of pleasures, was now made a despicable heap of ashes, reduced to a dreary wilderness, and laid open to all the injuries of the weather.

The people were astonished that the Almighty should suffer such things, and maddened with excess of grief and perplexity, they tore their hair and beat the walls and pavement of the church with their heads and hands, blaspheming the Lord and His saints, the patrons of the church; and many, both of laity and monks, would rather have laid down their lives than that the church should have so miserably perished.

For not only was the choir consumed in the fire, but also the infirmary, with the chapel of St. Mary, and several other offices in the court; moreover many ornaments and goods of the church were reduced to ashes.

2. *The Operations of the First Year.*

Bethink thee now what mighty grief oppressed the hearts of the sons of the Church under this great tribulation; I verily believe the afflictions of Canterbury were no less than those of Jerusalem of old, and their wailings were as the lamentations of Jeremiah; neither can mind conceive, or words express, or writing teach, their grief and anguish. Truly that they might alleviate their miseries with a little consolation, they put together as well as they could, an altar and station in the nave of the church, where they might wail and howl, rather than sing, the diurnal and nocturnal services. Meanwhile the patron saints of the church, St. Dunstan and St. Elfege, had their resting-place in that wilderness. Lest, therefore, they should suffer even the slightest injury from the rains and storms, the monks, weeping and lamenting with incredible, grief and anguish, opened the tombs of the saints and extricated them in their

coffins from the choir, but with the greatest difficulty and labour, as if the saints themselves resisted the change.

They disposed them as decently as they could at the altar of the Holy Cross in the nave. Thus, like as the children of Israel were ejected from the land of promise, yea, even from a paradise of delight, that it might be like people, like priest, and that the stones of the sanctuary might be poured out at the corners of the streets; so the brethren remained in grief and sorrow for five years in the nave of the church, separated from the people only by a low wall.

Meantime the brotherhood sought counsel as to how and in what manner the burnt church might be repaired, but without success ; for the columns of the church, commonly termed the *pillars,* were exceedingly weakened by the heat of the fire, and were scaling in pieces and hardly able to stand, so that they frightened even the wisest out of their wits.

French and English artificers were therefore summoned, but even these differed in opinion. On the one hand, some undertook to repair the aforesaid columns without mischief to the walls above. On the other hand, there were some who asserted that the whole church must be pulled down if the monks wished to exist in safety. This opinion, true as it was, excruciated the monks with grief, and no wonder, for how could they hope that so great a work should be completed in their days by any human ingenuity.

However, amongst the other workmen there had come a certain William of Sens,[1] a man active and ready, and as a workman most skilful both in wood and stone. Him, therefore, they retained, on account of his lively genius and good reputation, and dismissed the others. And to him, and to the providence of God was the execution of the work committed.

And he, residing many days with the monks and carefully surveying the burnt walls in their upper and lower parts, within and without, did yet for some time conceal what he found necessary to be done, lest the truth should kill them in their present state of pusillanimity.

But he went on preparing all things that were needful for the work, either of himself or by the agency of others. And when he found that the monks began to be somewhat comforted, he ventured to confess that the pillars rent with the fire and all that they supported must be destroyed if the

[1] Architect at Canterbury, 1174-84. The influence of the cathedral at Sens on Canterbury is very marked.

monks wished to have a safe and excellent building.* At length they agreed, being convinced by reason and wishing to have the work as good as he promised, and above all things to live in security ; thus they consented patiently, if not willingly, to the destruction of the choir.

And now he addressed himself to the procuring of atone from beyond sea. He constructed ingenious machines for loading and unloading ships, and for drawing cement and stones. He delivered moulds for shaping the stones to the sculptors who- were assembled, and diligently prepared other things of the same kind. The choir thus condemned to destruction was pulled down, and nothing else was done in this year.

As the new work is of a different fashion from the old, it may be well to describe the old work first and then the new. Edmer,[1] the venerable singer, in his' Opuscula, describes the ancient church built in the Roman manner, which Archbishop Lanfranc, when he came to the see, utterly destroyed, finding it in ashes. For Christ Church is recorded to have suffered thrice from fire ; first, when the blessed martyr Elfege was captured by the Danes and received the crown of martyrdom ;[2] secondly, when Lanfranc, abbot of Caen, took the rule of the church of Canterbury;[3] thirdly, in the days of Archbishop Richard and Prior Odo. Of this last conflagration, unhappily, we have not read, but have seen it with our own eyes.

26. WILLIAM FITZ-STEPHEN'S DESCRIPTION OF LONDON (*circ.* 1175).

Fitz-Stephen was a subordinate, an intimate friend and a biographer of Becket. His *Life of St. Thomas* is prefaced by a notice of London, which he wrote either because he was glad of an excuse to praise Becket's birthplace and his own, or because he did not wish that the capital city of the realm should be eclipsed in his narrative by Canterbury. London stands apart from other English towns and cannot be compared with them. In the reign of Henry II. it ranked far above the rest, and its prominence at that time demands recognition, since over all England the boroughs were growing

[1] d. circ. 1124. [2] 1011. [3] 1070.

richer, more populous and more independent. Fitz-Stephen's description is obviously a fanciful picture, but apart from its quaintness it has the merit of showing how the mediaeval writer discussed a subject which would now be treated with fulness of statistics and minuteness of detail.

SOURCE.—*Desoriptio Nobilissimae Civitatis Londonae.* William Fitz-Stephen (d. 1190?). Translation prefixed to Henry Morley's edition of Stow's *Survey of London.* London, 1890. P. 22.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MOST NOBLE CITY OF LONDON.

Of the Site thereof.

Among the noble cities of the world that Fame celebrates, the City of London of the Kingdom of the English, is the one seat that pours out its fame more widely, sends to farther lands its wealth and trade, lifts its head higher than the rest, It is happy in the healthiness of its air, in the Christian religion, in the strength of its defences, the nature of its site, the honour of its citizens, the modesty of its matrons; pleasant in sports; fruitful of noble men. Let us look into these things separately.

Of the Mildness of the Air.

If the clemency of the skies there softens minds, it is not so that they corrupt in Venus, but that they be not fierce and bestial, rather benign and liberal.

Of Religion.

There is in the church there the Episcopal Seat of St. Paul; once it was Metropolitan, and it is thought will again become so if the citizens return into the island, unless perhaps the archiepiscopal title of Saint Thomas the Martyr, and his bodily presence, preserve to Canterbury, where it now is, a perpetual dignity. But as Saint Thomas has made both cities illustrious, London by his rising, Canterbury by his setting, in regard of that saint, with admitted justice, each can claim advantage of the other. There are also, as regards the cultivation of the Christian faith, in London and the suburbs, thirteen larger conventual churches, besides lesser parish churches one hundred and twenty-six.

Of the Strength of the City.

It has on the east the Palatine Castle,[1] very great and strong, of which the ground plan and the walls rise from a very deep foundation, fixed with a mortar tempered by the blood of animals. On the west are two towers very strongly fortified, with the high and great wall of the city having seven double gates, and towered to the north at intervals. London was walled and towered in like manner on the south, but the great fish-bearing Thames river which there glides, with ebb and flow from the sea, by course of time has washed against, loosened and thrown down those walls. Also upwards to the west the royal palace is conspicuous above the same river, an incomparable building with ramparts and bulwarks, two miles from the city, joined to it by a populous suburb.

Of Gardens.

Everywhere outside the houses of those living in the suburbs are joined to them, planted with trees, the spacious and beautiful gardens of the citizens.

Of Pasture and Tilth,

Also there are, on the north side, pastures and a pleasant meadow land, through which flow river streams, where the turning wheels of mills are put in motion with a cheerful sound. Very near lies a great forest, with woodland pastures, coverts of wild animals, stags, fallow deer, boars and wild bulls. The tilled lands of the city are not of barren gravel but fat plains of Asia, that make crops luxuriant, and fill their tillers' barns with Ceres' sheaves.

Of Springs.

There are also about London, on the north side, excellent suburban springs, with sweet, wholesome and*clear water that flows rippling over the bright stones ; among which Holy Well, Clerken Well and Saint Clements are held to be of most note; these are frequented by greater numbers, and visited more by scholars and youth of the city when they go out for fresh air on summer evenings. It is a good city indeed when it has a good master.

[1] The Tower,

Of Honour of the Citizens.

That City is honoured by her men, adorned by her arms, populous with many inhabitants, so that in the time of slaughter of war under King Stephen, of those going out to a muster twenty thousand horsemen and sixty thousand men on foot were estimated to be fit for war. Above all other citizens, everywhere, the citizens of London are regarded as conspicuous and noteworthy for handsomeness of manners and of dress, at table, and in way of speaking.

Of the Ordering of the City.

. . . . . .

London is, on the faith of the chronicles, a much older city than Rome, for by the same Trojan forefathers this was founded by Brutus[1] before that by Romulus and Remus. Whence it is that they still have the same laws established in common. This city, like that, is divided into wards, has annual sheriffs for its consuls, has senatorial and lower magistrates, sewers and aqueducts in its streets, its proper places and separate courts for cases of each kind, deliberative, demonstrative, judicial, has assemblies on appointed days. I do not think there is a city with more commendable customs of church attendance, honour to God's ordinances, keeping sacred festivals, almsgiving, hospitality, confirming betrothals, contracting marriages, celebration of nuptials, preparing feasts, cheering the guests, and also in care for funerals and the interment of the dead. The only pests of London are the immoderate drinking of fools and the frequency of fires. To this may be added that nearly all the bishops, abbots, and magnates of England are, as it were, citizens and freemen of London; having there their own splendid houses, to which they resort, where they spend largely when summoned to great councils by the »king or by their metropolitan, or drawn thither by their own private affairs.

26. THE SUFFERINGS OF THE MEDÆVAL JEW (1190).

Roger of Hoveden was a clerk who served Henry II. on public business, but apparently was not employed under Richard. His chronicle, beginning with the Heptarchy, is of slight consequence till it reaches the last years of the twelfth century. It

[1] This was written in the same generation with Layamon's *Brut*

then becomes indispensable. Hoveden (who in turn copies much from the excellent Benedict of Peterborough) is our source for a ghastly incident in that persecution of the Jews which preceded Richard's crusade. Their maltreatment is written large in the annals of every Christian country during the Middle Ages. They were forced to wear a special dress and to live in a special quarter. The Jewish gaberdine was a badge of contempt, and what freedom from pillage the people of Israel enjoyed, was mainly secured by bribery of rulers. According to mediaeval views of political economy, it was a sin against nature to exact interest for the use of money, because money, unlike cattle or grain, does not reproduce itself. The Jews, undeterred by Christian scruples of this sort, took usury, and were therefore hated by their clients quite as much as by the public. Hence the cloak of a religious expedition was often thrown over a sheer repudiation of debt.

SOURCE.—*Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene* (d. 1201?). Trans. H. T. Riley. London, 1853. P. 187.

In the same month of March, on the seventeenth day before the calends of April, being the sixth day before Palm Sunday, the Jews of the city of York, in number five hundred men, besides women and children, shut themselves up in the tower of York, with the consent and sanction of the keeper of the tower, and of the sheriff, in consequence of their dread of the Christians; but when the said sheriff and the constable sought to regain possession of it, the Jews refused to deliver it up. In consequence of this, the people of the city, and the strangers who had come within the jurisdiction thereof, at the exhortation of the sheriff and the constable, with one consent made an attack upon the Jews.

After they had made assaults upon the tower day and night, the Jews offered the people a large sum of money to allow them to depart with their lives; but this the others refused to receive. Upon this, one skilled in their laws arose and said: "Men of Israel, listen to my advice. It is better that we should kill one another, than fall into the hands of the enemies of our law." Accordingly, all the Jews, both men as well as women, gave their assent to his advice, and each master of a family, beginning with the chief persons of his household, with

a sharp knife first cut the throats of his wife and sons and daughters, and then of all his servants, and lastly his own. Some of them also threw their slain over the walls among the people; while others shut up their slain in the king's house and burned them, as well as the king's houses. Those who had slain the others were afterwards killed by the people. In the meantime, some of the Christians set fire to the Jews' houses, and plundered them ; and thus all the Jews in the city of York were destroyed, and all acknowledgments of debts due to them were burnt.

27. THE PROWESS OF CŒUR DE LION (1192).

The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* is often ascribed to Geoffrey Vinsauf, but Stubbs considers that it was written by Richard, a canon of Holy Trinity, London. The point cannot be settled with certainty. The author, whoever he was, went on the Third Crusade, and was a worshipper of the king his leader. By us Richard I. cannot, in spite of his physical courage, be greatly reverenced. He was a worthless ruler, and lacked most of the moral virtues belonging to a good knight.

SOURCE.—*Itinerarium Perigrinorum.* Anonymously translated in *Chronicles of the Crusades.* London (Bell), 1882. P. 31C.

Of the Fierce Conflict by which the King recovered the Castle Joppa, and Liberated the Besieged.

The Turks discovering the arrival of the king's fleet, sallied down to the seaside with, sword and shield, and sent forth showers of arrows: the shore was so thronged with their multitude that there was hardly a foot of ground to spare. Neither did they confine themselves to acting on the defensive, for they shot their arrows at the crews of the ships, and the cavalry spurred their horses into the sea to prevent the king's men from landing. The king, gathering his ships together, consulted with his officers what was the best step to take. " Shall we," said he, "push on against this rabble multitude who occupy the shore, or shall we value our lives more than the lives of those poor fellows who are exposed to destruction for want of our assistance ?" Some of them replied that further

attempts were useless, for it was by no means certain that any one remained alive to be saved, and how could they land in the face of so large a multitude? The king looked around thoughtfully, and at that moment saw a priest plunge into the water and swim towards the royal galley. When he was received on board, he addressed the king with palpitating heart and spirits almost failing him. "Most noble king, the remnant of our people, waiting for your arrival, are exposed like sheep to be slain, unless the divine grace shall bring you to their rescue." "Are any of them still alive, then?" asked the king, "and if so, where are they ?" "There are still some of them alive," said the priest, "and hemmed in and at the last extremity in front of yonder tower." "Please God, then," replied the king, "by whose guidance we have come, we will die with our brave brothers in arms, and a curse light on him who hesitates." The word was forthwith given, the galleys Were pushed to land; the king dashed forward into the waves with his thighs unprotected by armour, and up to his middle in the water; he soon gained firm footing on the dry strand: behind him followed Geoffrey du Bois and Peter de Pratelles, and in the rear came all the others rushing through the waves. The Turks stood to defend the shore, which was covered with their numerous troops. The king, with an arbalest [cross-bow] which he held in his hand, drove them back right and left; his companions pressed upon the recoiling enemy, whose courage quailed when they saw it was the king, and they no longer dared to meet him. The king brandished his fierce sword, which allowed them no time to resist, but they yield before his fiery blows, and are driven in confusion with blood and havoc by the king's men until the shore was entirely cleared of them. They then brought together beams, poles, and wood, from the old ships and galleys to make a barricade; and the king placed there some knights, servants, and arbalesters to keep guard and to dislodge the Turks, who, seeing that they could no longer oppose our troops, dispersed themselves on the shore with cries and howlings in one general flight. The king then, by a winding stair, which he had remarked in the house of the Templars, was the first to enter the town, where he found more than 3000 of the Turks turning over everything in the houses, and carrying away the spoil. The brave king had no sooner entered the town, than he caused his banners to be hoisted on an eminence, that they might be seen by the Christians in the tower, who taking courage at the sight, rushed forth in arms from the tower to meet the king, and at **the**

report thereof the Turks were thrown into confusion. The king, meanwhile, with brandished sword, still pursued and slaughtered the enemy, who were thus enclosed between the two bodies of the Christians, and filled the streets with their slain. **Why need** I say more ? All were slain, except such as took to flight in time; and thus those who had before been victorious were now defeated and received condign punishment, whilst the king still continued the pursuit, showing no mercy to the enemies of Christ's Cross, whom God had given into his hands; for there never was a man on earth who so abominated cowardice as he.

28. A TOWN CHARTER (1200).

English towns developed more slowly than those of the continent, and never reached the same relative importance. When the communes of northern France were asserting their independence of feudal lord and bishop, Winchester, Lincoln and Nottingham were too unimportant to think of rebelling against their superiors. This was during the reigns of William the Conqueror and William Rufus. A little more than fifty years later the towns had gained an improved status, but one vainly looks in England for such commercial, political and artistic centres as Dijon and Toulouse, Hildesheim and Nuremberg, Venice and Florence. For one reason, royal ascendency was more complete than on the continent, and then, too, the towns themselves had a peculiar character. The typical Italian city owned its *campagna,* or surrounding and subject region. Florence—and even Siena—was the head of a tiny state. The English town, on the other hand, was not necessarily supreme in its immediate district, but was merely a section of a district where people dwelt together more compactly than elsewhere. It was not a *civitas* in the Roman sense, but rather a Saxon hundred, small and thickly settled. This distinction is evident in John's Charter to Dunwich, where the town is at length, in 1200, given exemption from the shiremoot and hundredmoot.

SOURCE.—*Carta de Dunewic.* John (11677-1216). Stubbs[1] *'Select Charters.* Oxford, 1888. P. 811. Trans. C. W.Colby.

Charter of Dunwich.

John by the Grace of God, etc. Know that we have granted and by this present charter confirmed to our burgesses of Dunwich that the borough of Dunwich be our free borough and have soc and sac[1] and toll[2] and theam[3] and infangenthef,[4] and that the citizens be quit throughout our whole land of thelony[5] and lestage[6] and passage[7] and pontage[8] and stallage[9] and of leve[10] and of Danegeld and of ewage[11] of wreck and lagan[12] and of all other customs (saving the liberty of the city of London) and that they pay a just and wonted rent by their own hand to our exchequer; and that they plead not in the shire - moot nor in the hundredmoot except before our judges; and when they are summoned before judges they send twelve lawful men of the borough in their behalf who shall represent them all; and if perchance they incur the penalty of fine, they be fined by six honest men of their own borough and by six honest men from without the borough. We have moreover granted to them that they freely give their sons and daughters in marriage throughout our land, and likewise widows by the counsel of their friends, and that they give their possessions of land and buildings in their town or sell them, or do whatever they wish with them. We have also granted to them tradegild and gild-merchant as they had been wont to have them. Wherefore we wish and firmly enjoin that our said burgesses have and hold the aforesaid liberties and free customs freely, peaceably and intact, without any impediment. [Names of witnesses.] June 29th, in the first year of our reign.

[1] Jurisdiction. [2] Duty on imports.

[3] The right of compelling the person in whose hands stolen or lost property was found to name the person from whom he received it.

[4] Jurisdiction over a thief caught within the limit of the estate to which the right belonged.

[5] Duty on imports. [6] A custom exacted on a ship's lading.

[7] Taxes upon passengers. [8] Bridge-toll.

[9] Payment for having a stall in the market.

[10] An exaction or compulsory gift to the magistrate.

[11] A tax on water carriage.

[12] The right to matters thrown up by the sea.

[All these definitions are taken from the glossary in *Select Charters.'*]

29. THE INTERDICT (1208).

Roger of Wendover was a monk of St. Alban's, and a contributor to the *Chronica Majora* which usually goes under the name of Matthew Paris. His abbey was rich in resources, rich also in archives and chroniclers. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it produced more historians who attain a creditable standard than any other religious house in England. Roger of Wendover's hand in the *Chronica Majora* begins with 1189 and continues to 1235. Hoveden stops at 1201, leaving him free scope to trace John's troubles with the pope and the barons. We may therefore borrow from him passages relating both to the interdict and Magna Carta. Interdict was the last and deadliest missile which a pope could launch. Excommunication was aimed at a single person; interdict at a whole realm. Pope Innocent III., who defeated John by this means and by turning enemies against him, was the most powerful of mediaeval pontiffs.

SOURCE.--*Chronica Majora.* Roger of Wendover (d. 1235?). Trans J. A. Giles. London, 1849. Vol. ii,, p. 245.

The King of England admonished by our Lord the Pope.

In the same year pope Innocent, on learning that king John's heart was so hardened, that he would not either by persuasion or threats be induced to acquiesce in receiving Stephen [Langton] as archbishop of Canterbury, was touched to the heart with grief, and, by advice of his cardinals, sent orders to William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Ely, and Mauger bishop of Winchester, to go to the said king, about the matter of the church of Canterbury, and to give him wholesome counsel to yield to God in this matter, and so secure the Lord's favour; but if they found him contumacious and rebellious as he had hitherto been, he ordered them to lay an interdict on the whole kingdom of England, and to denounce to the said king that, if he did not check his boldness by that means, he, the pope, would lay his hand on him still more heavily; since it was necessary for him to conquer, who for the safety of the holy church had made war on the devil and his angels, and despoiled the cloisters oi hell. He also, by letters of the apostolic see, gave orders to the suffragan bishops of the church of Canterbury, and to the

other prelates of that diocese, that, by virtue of their obedience, they were to receive the aforesaid archbishop as their father and pastor, and were to obey him with all due affection.

How England was laid under General Interdict.

The bishops of London, Ely and Winchester, in execution of the legateship entrusted to them, went to king John, and after duly setting forth the apostolic commands, entreated of him humbly and with tears, that he, having God in his sight, would recall the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury to their church, and honour and love them with perfect affection; and they informed him that thus he would avoid the shame of an interdict, and the Disposer of rewards would, if he did so, multiply his temporal honours on him, and after his death would bestow lasting glory on him. When the said bishops wished, out of regard to the king, to prolong the discourse, the king became nearly mad with rage, and broke forth in words of blasphemy against the pope and his cardinals, swearing by God's teeth, that, if they or any other priests soever presumptuously dared to lay his dominions under an interdict, he would immediately send all the prelates of England, clerks as well as ordained persons, to the pope and confiscate all their property; he added moreover, that all the clerks of Rome or of the pope himself who could be found in England or in his other territories, he would send to Rome with their eyes plucked out, and their noses slit, that by these marks they might be known there from other people; in addition to this he plainly ordered the bishops to take themselves quickly from his sight, if they wished to keep their bodies free from harm. The bishops then, not finding any repentance in the king, departed, and, in the Lent following, fearlessly fulfilled the duty required of them by the pope, and accordingly on the morning of the Monday in Passion week, which that year fell on the 23rd of March, they laid a general interdict on the whole of England; which, since it was expressed to be by authority of our lord the pope, was inviolably observed by all without regard of person or privileges. Therefore all church services ceased to be performed in England ; with the exception only of confession, and the viaticum [1] in cases of extremity, and the baptism of children; the bodies of the dead too were carried out of cities and towns, and buried in roads and ditches without prayers or the attendance of priests.*

[1]The Eucharist as given to persons in danger o' death.

80. THE EXTORTION OF MAGNA CARTA (1215).

The length of Magna Carta would prevent its insertion here, even were its provisions less occupied with legal and constitutional matters than they are. It contains sixty-three sections, most of which discuss feudal questions at issue between king and nobles. The document differs wholly from the American Declaration of Independence and from the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. They deal with abstract and natural privileges: Magna Carta confines its notice to concrete abuses. Sections 39 and 40 are its nearest approach to a declaration of the subject's liberty. " No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized or outlawed or exiled, or any wise destroyed; nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. To none will we sell, to none will we deny or delay, right or justice." Leaving aside the text of Magna Carta for reasons already stated, we come to the circumstances under which it was granted.

SOURCE.—*Chronica Majora.* Roger of Wendover (d. 1235?). Trans. J. A. Giles. London, 1849. Vol. ii., p. 304.

Of the Demands made by the Barons of England for their Bights.

A.D. 1215, which was the seventeenth year of the reign of king John; he held his court at Winchester at Christmas for one day, after which he hurried to London, and took up his abode at the New Temple, and at that place the above-mentioned nobles came to him in gay military array, and demanded the confirmation of the liberties and laws of king Edward [the Confessor], with other liberties granted to them and to the kingdom and church of England, as were contained in the charter,[1] and above-mentioned laws of Henry the First; they also asserted that, at the time of his absolution at Winchester, he had promised to restore those laws and ancient liberties, and was bound by his own oath to observe them. The king, hearing the bold tone of the barons in making this demand, much feared an attack*from them, as he saw that they were pre-

[1] See No. 19.

pared for battle; he however made answer that their denftinds. were a matter of importance and difficulty, and he therefore asked a truce till the end of Easter, that he might, after due deliberation, be able to satisfy them as well as the dignity of his crown. After much discussion on both sides, the king at length, although unwillingly, procured the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and William Marshal, as his sureties, that on the day pre-agreed on he would, in all reason, satisfy them all, on which the nobles returned to their homes. The king however, wishing to take precautions against the future, caused all the nobles throughout England to swear fealty to him alone against all men, and to renew their homage to him; and, the better to take care of himself, he, on the day of St. Mary's purification, assumed the cross of our Lord, being induced to this more by fear than by devotion. . . .

Of the principal persons who compelled the King to grant the Laws and Liberties.

In Easter week of this same year, the above-mentioned nobles assembled at Stamford, with horses and arms; for they had now induced almost all the nobility of the whole kingdom to join them, and constituted a very large army; for in their army there were computed to be two thousand knights, besides horse soldiers, attendants and foot soldiers, who were variously equipped. . . .

All of these being united by oath, were supported by the concurrence of Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, who was at their head. The king at this time was awaiting the arrival of his nobles at Oxford. On the Monday next after the octaves of Easter, the said barons assembled in the town of Brackley: and when the king learned this, he sent the archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshal earl of Pembroke, with some other prudent men, to them to inquire what the laws and liberties were which they demanded. The barons then delivered to the messengers a paper, containing in great measure the laws and ancient customs of the kingdom, and declared that, unless the king immediately granted them and confirmed them under his own seal, they would, by taking possession of his fortresses, force him to give them sufficient satisfaction as to their before-named demands. The archbishop with his fellow-messengers then carried the paper to the king, and read to him the heads of the paper one by one throughout. The king when he heard the purport of these heads, derisively said, with the greatest indignation, " Why, amongst these unjust demands, did not **the**

barons ask for my kingdom also *1* Their demands are vain and visionary, and are unsupported by any plea of reason whatever." And at length he angrily declared with an oath; that he would never grant them such liberties as would render hirn their slave. The principal of these laws and liberties, which the nobles required to be confirmed to them, are partly described above in the charter of king Henry, and partly are extracted from the old laws of king Edward, as the following history will show in due time.

The Castle of Northampton besieged by the Barons.

As the archbishop and William Marshal could not by any persuasions induce the king to agree to their demands, they returned by the king's order to the barons, and duly reported all they had heard from the king to them; and when the nobles heard what John said, they appointed Robert Fitz-Walter commander of their soldiers, giving him the title of " Marshal of the army of God and the holy church," and then, one and all flying to arms, they directed their forces towards Northampton. On their arrival there they at once laid siege to the castle, but after having stayed there for "fifteen days, and having gained little or no advantage, they determined to move their camp; for having come without *petrariae* [1] and other engines of war, they, without accomplishing their purpose, proceeded in confusion to the castle of Bedford. At that siege the standard-bearer of Robert Fitz-Walter, amongst other slain, was pierced through the head with an arrow from a cross-bow and died, to the grief of many.

How the City of London was given up to the Barons.

When the army of the barons arrived at Bedford, they were received with all respect by William de Beauchamp. There also came to them there messengers from the city of London, secretly telling them, if they wished to get into that city, to come there immediately. The barons, inspirited by the arrival of this agreeable message, immediately moved their camp and arrived at Ware ; after this they marched the whole night, and arrived early in the morning at the city of London, and, finding the gates open, they, on the 24th of May, which was the Sunday next before our Lord's ascension, entered the city without any tumult whilst the inhabitants were performing divine

[1] Engines for hurling stones.

service, for the rich citizens were favourable to the barons and the poor ones were afraid to murmur against them. The barons having thus got into the city, placed their own guards in charge of each of the gates, and then arranged all matters in the city at will. They then took security from the citizens, and sent letters throughout England to those earls, barons and knights, who appeared to be still faithful to the king, though they only pretended to be so, and advised them with threats, as they regarded the safety of all their property and possessions, to abandon a king who was perjured and who warred against his barons, and together with them to stand firm and fight against the king for their rights and for peace ; and that, if they refused to do this, they, the barons, would make war against them all, as against open enemies, and would destroy their castles, burn their houses and other buildings, and destroy their warrens, parks and orchards.

. . . . . .

The conference between the King and the Barons.

King John, when he saw that he was deserted by almost all, so that out of his regal superabundance of followers he scarcely retained seven knights, was much alarmed lest the barons would attack his castles and reduce them without difficulty, as they would find no obstacle to their so doing; and he deceitfully pretended to make peace for a time with the aforesaid barons, and sent William Marshal earl of Pembroke, with other trustworthy messengers, to them, and told them that, for the sake of peace, and for the exaltation and honour of the kingdom, he would willingly grant them the laws and liberties they required; he also sent word to the barons by these same messengers, to appoint a fitting day and place to meet and carry all these matters into effect. The king's messengers then came in all haste to London, and without deceit reported to the barons all that had been deceitfully imposed on them; they in their great joy appointed the 15th of June for the king to meet them, at a field lying between Staines and Windsor. Accordingly, at the time and place pre-agreed on, the king and nobles came to the appointed conference, and when each party had stationed themselves apart from the other, they began a long discussion about terms of peace and the aforesaid liberties. There were present on behalf of the king, the archbishops, Stephen of Canterbury, and H. of Dublin; the bishops W. of London, P. of Winchester, H. of Lincoln, J. of Bath, Walter

of Worcester, W. of Coventry, and Benedict of Rochester; master Pandulph familiar of our lord the pope, and brother Almeric the master of the knights-templars in England; the nobles, William Marshal earl of Pembroke, the earl of Salisbury, earl Warrenne, the earl of Arundel, Alan de Galway, W. Fitz-Gerald, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Alan Basset, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Basset, Hugh de Neville, Hubert de Burgh seneschal of Poictou, Robert de Ropeley, John Marshal and Philip d'Aubeny. Those who were on behalf of the barons it is not necessary to enumerate, since the whole nobility of England were now assembled together in numbers not to be computed. At length, after various points on both sides had been discussed, king John, seeing that he was inferior in strength to the barons, without raising any difficulty, granted the underwritten laws and liberties, and confirmed them by his charter as follows.

81. THE ATTITUDE OF ST. ALBAN'S CHRONICLERS TOWARDS HENRY III. AND SIMON OF MONTFORT (1252).

Matthew Paris overtops other chroniclers of the St. Aiban's group by virtue of vividness, conception, attainments and opportunity. Apart from his natural bent towards history, the advantages which he enjoyed were a regular education, encouragement from his superiors, a well stocked monastic library, conversation with the heads of church and state in England, practical experience of affairs, and travel. St. Alban's seldom passed many months without visits from the king, or some prelate or some nobleman of high degree, and all talked freely to the man who could dispense future fame. Thus Henry III., spending a week at the abbey in 1257, told him the circumstances of Earl Richard's election to the imperial crown. The years 1235-1259 are Matthew's particular field. He had retouched the works of John de Celia and Wendover, but his own share in the *Chronica Majora* commences at 1235. Despite his acquaintance with Henry (and even despite certain complimentary attentions which he had received from the king) his sympathies were wholly on the barons' side. He had no confidence in the government's straightforwardness or ability,

detested the Poitevins and other foreigners, and admired Montfort. His chronicle abounds in personal reflections on the royal favourites, and these three citations from one year, 1252, form a good example of his steady tone.

SOURCE.—*Chronica Majora.* Matthew Paris (d. 1269). Trans, J. A. Giles. London, 1853. P. 482, p. 510 and p. 522.

(A) 1. *Of the King of England's severity to his own subjects, and his prodigality to foreigners.*

Previous to the termination of the before-mentioned parliament, the king, who was become inexorable to the petitions of any one, and not only would not grant any delay, however short, to his debtors, but coerced his natural subjects without pity, and without any considerations of prudence, in order the more to draw blood from the hearts of his subjects, bestowed a portion of land worth 500 marks on a certain Poitevin, named Elias de Rabani, a man utterly unworthy of such a great honour. Thus on the one side he was greedy and insatiable ; on the other, he proved himself a wasteful squanderer of the wealth of the kingdom. . . .

2. *Of the dreadful ravages made in England by foreigners.*

During all this time, through the many-shaped cunning of Satan, the people of England in general—barons, knights, citizens, merchants and labourers, and especially religious men, were labouring under a most pestilential infliction; for the higher ranks of the foreigners imposed on the lower classes so many laborious services, and harassed them by so many robberies and injuries, that of all nations existing, England appeared to be in the lowest condition. In one place the houses of merchants, in another their carts, and their small possessions, were forcibly seized on, and nothing was left as an indemnity for them, save tallages[1] and ridicule. On seeing these proceedings, some even of the more noble of the English, whom I am ashamed to mention by name, said in their pride, and with accompanying oaths, "There are now many kings and tyrants in England, and we ought to be kings, and tyrannise the same as others "; and so they became worse than the rest. If any one who had been grievously injured laid his complaint before the Poitevins, whose heads were turned by

[1] Taxes.

their[1] vast riches and possessions, and asked for justice to be done to him according to the law of the land, they replied, " We care nothing for the law of the land: what are the ordinances or customs to us ?" Thus the natives of the country, especially the religious men, were as dirt in the sight of foreigners, in whose steps some of the English were not ashamed to follow. On one occasion, Brother Matthew Paris, the writer of this book, and Roger de Thurkeby, a knight and a man of letters, were taking their meal together at one table, when Brother Matthew mentioned the aforesaid oppressions, and the above-named knight said seriously in reply, "The time is coming, 0 religious men! and, indeed, now is, when every one who oppresses you thinks he is doing God a service; indeed, I think that these injurious oppressions and troubles are not far short of utter ruin ". When the said Matthew heard this speech, it brought to his mind the saying, that " in the last days of the world, there will be men, loving themselves, who have no regard to the advantage of their neighbours ".

. . . . . .

3. *How the King distributed the vacant revenues amongst unworthy persons.*

The king, however, persisted in his usual extravagances, and as if in revenge for this opposition of the prelates, continued to distribute the vacant escheats and revenues amongst unknown, scurrilous and undeserving foreigners, in order to inflict an irreparable wound upon the heads of his natural subjects. Not to mention others, we think it right to mention in this volume the following case, as one out of many. In the service of Geoffrey de Lusignan, the king's brother, was a certain chaplain, who served as a fool and buffoon to the king, the said Geoffrey his master and all the court, and whose sayings, like those of a silly jester and club-bearer, contributed to their amusement, and excited their laughter; and on this man the king bestowed the rich church of Preston, which had formerly belonged to William Haverhull, the lately-deceased treasurer of the king, the yearly proceeds of which church amounted to more than a hundred pounds. This same chaplain, a Poitevin by birth, utterly ignorant alike in manners and learning, we have seen pelting the king, his brother Geoffrey, and other nobles, whilst walking in the orchard of St. Alban's, with turf, stones and green apples, and pressing the juice of unripe grapes in their eyes, like one devoid of sense. Despicable alike in his gesture, mode of speech, and habits, as well as in size

and personal appearance, this man might be considered as a stage actor rather than a priest as he was, to the great disgrace of the priestly order. Such are the persons to whom the king of England intrusts the care and guardianship of many thousands of souls, rejecting such a vast number of learned, prudent and proper men as England has given birth to, who know the language of the natives, and how to instruct the ignorant. In like manner, also, to provoke the anger and hatred of worthy men, the king ill-advisedly gave away the other church benefices which had belonged to the aforesaid William, to unworthy men and foreigners, whose incapability and uselessness was shown by their extraordinary conduct, and who were plainly proved to be reprobates by their conversation, which was not only scurrilous, but also foolish and obscene. This digression from the subject of our narrative is elicited by our sorrow for the causes of it.

(1265).

(B) Matthew Paris died in 1259, and the lot of writing the St. Alban's narrative of Montfort's death fell to another, possibly to William Rishanger. He was fifteen years old at the time[1] and far inferior to his predecessor in native talent. Simon of Montfort, however, is his hero, and when speaking of Lewes or Evesham he improves decidedly upon his usual style. In Rishanger's *Narratio de Bellis apud Lewes et Evesham* the Earl of Leicester is classed among apostles and martyrs, nor is it surprising that he should be credited with miraculous'powers. The English clergy were on the patriotic side, and Montfort's character for piety equalled his reputation as a friend of freedom.

SOURCE.—Chronica. W. Rishanger (1250?-1312?). Trans. J. A. Giles. London, 1854. P. 853.

Thus released from his imprisonment, Edward assembled a large army, as numbers flocked to join him, and the counties of Hereford, Worcester, Salop and Chester, entered into an alliance with him, the towns and villages, cities and castles, pouring forth their inhabitants to join his standard. He at once besieged and took the city of Gloucester, which the earl had

[1] It is not implied that Rishanger wrote his chronicle at this precocious age. The date of its composition is uncertain, and even its authorship is matter of debate.

lately gained possession of, the garrison left therein taking flight to the castle; but after fifteen days they surrendered the castle also, and on giving their oath not to bear arms against Edward for the future, they were allowed to depart at liberty. The earl of Leicester in the meantime attacked the castle of Monmouth, which the earl of Gloucester had lately taken and fortified, and having compelled the garrison to surrender, razed the castle to the ground. He then entered Glamorganshire, the territory of the said earl of Gloucester, and being met by the prince of Wales with assistance, the two chiefs together ravaged the whole country with fire and sword. Edward, in the meantime, hearing that many of the partisans of Earl Simon had flocked together to the castle of Kenilworth, joined his forces with those of the earl of Gloucester, and setting forth from Worcester in the evening, reached that place by forced marches. Coming on the place suddenly, he made prisoner of the earl of Oxford, and about thirteen knights bannerets, before they could enter the castle, in which Simon, the son of Earl Simon, had already shut himself up. Simon, earl of Leicester, always keeping the king in his company, returned from the south of Wales, and on the festival of St. Peter ad Vincula,[1] arrived at Kempsey, a manor of the bishop of Worcester, and stayed there on the day following. Edward then returned from Kenilworth to Worcester, which is only three miles distant from the above-named manor; and Simon, on hearing of his arrival there, went away with the king at nightfall, and took up his quarters in the town of Evesham, where he awaited his unhappy destiny For on the morrow, which was the day of the Finding of St. Stephen, Edward moved from Worcester, crossed the river near the town of Claines, and cut off the approach of the earl to his Bon, who was in the castle of Kenilworth, and prevented all chance of the father and son meeting. On the following day he drew near the town of Evesham on one side, and the earl of Gloucester and Roger Mortimer came up with their respective forces in two other directions; and thus the earl of Leicester was hemmed in on all sides, and was under the necessity either of voluntarily surrendering, or of giving them battle. . . . At the time of his death, a storm of thunder and lightning occurred, and darkness prevailed to such an extent, that all were struck with amazement Besides the earl, there fell, in that battle, twelve knights bannerets; namely, Henry, his son; Peter de Montfort; Hugh Despenser, justiciary of England; William de

[1] 1st August.

Mandeville; Ralph Basset; Walter de Crespigny; William York; Robert Tregor; Thomas Hostelee; John Beauchamp; Guy Balliol; Roger de Roulee; and a great number of others of inferior rank, such as esquires and foot-soldiers; the greatest loss being amongst the Welsh. Thus ended the labours of that noble man Earl Simon, who gave up not only his property, but also his person, to defend the poor from oppression, and for the maintenance of justice and the rights of the kingdom He was distinguished for his learning; to him an assiduous attention to divine duties was a pleasure ; he was moderate and frugal; and it was a usual practice of his to watch by night, in preference to sleeping. He was bold in speech, and of a severe aspect; he put great confidence in the prayers of religious men, and always paid great respect to ecclesiastics. He endeavoured to adhere to the counsels of St. Robert, surnamed Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, and intnisted his children to him to be brought up, when very young. On that prelate's counsel he relied when arranging matters of difficulty, when attempting dubious enterprises, and in finishing what he had begun, especially in those matters by which he hoped to increase his merits. It was reported that the same bishop had enjoined on him, in order to obtain remission of his sins, to take up this cause, for which he fought even to the death; declaring that the peace of the church of England could not be firmly established except by the sword, and positively assuring him that all who died for it would be crowned with martyrdom. Some persons, moreover, stated, that on one occasion the bishop placed his hand on the head of the earl's eldest son, and said to him, " My well-beloved child, both thou and thy father shall die on one day, and by one kind of death ; but it will be in the cause of justice and truth ". Report goes, that Simon, after his death, was distinguished by the working of many miracles, which, however, were not made publicly known, for fear of kings.

32. THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE MEDÆVAL SCHOLAR (1267).

Roger Bacon's trials were not limited to the dearth of books and instruments which is mentioned below. He was a member of the Franciscan order, and towards the close of his life its head sentenced him to imprisonment on the ground that he was a dangerous person. For centuries there was no just appreciation of his place in the history of science, and he passed

into legend as an alchemist or an enchanter. Since his authentic writings were published and studied, no doubt has remained of his eminence, nor of the hardships he endured in striving to advance physical and mathematical knowledge. Bacon was a great man who lived in a great age, but his spirit was different from that of others, and he was consequently misunderstood. From having lacked recognition he will ever remain a pathetic figure, but because we regard him as a victim to prejudice we must not overlook the activity and acumen which then abounded in many realms of thought.

SOURCE.—*Comp, Studii,* cap. viii.; *Opus Tertium,* cap. xv.; and *Opus Tertium,* cap. xi. Boger Bacon (1214?-1294). Trans. J. S. Brewer. London, 1859. (In his preface to Bacon's *Opera Inedita,* Bolls Series: A, at p. lix.; B, at p. lxiii.; and C, at p. lxxv.)

(A) If the saints made mistakes in their translations, much more do these men, who have little or no title to sanctity at all. So, though we have numerous translations of all the sciences by Gerard of Cremona, Michael Scot,[1] Alfred the Englishman, Herman the German, and William Fleming, there is such an utter falsity in all their writings that none can sufficiently wonder at it. For a translation to be true, it is necessary that a translator should know the language from which he is translating, the language into which he translates, and the science he wishes to translate. But who is he ? and I will praise him, for he has done marvellous things. Certainly, none of the above-named had any true knowledge of the tongues or the sciences, as is clear, not from their translations only, but their condition of life. All were alive in my time; some in their youth, contemporaries with Gerard of Cremona, who was somewhat more advanced in years among them. Herman the German, who was very intimate with Gerard, is still alive, and a bishop. When I questioned him about certain books of logic, which he had to translate from the Arabic, he roundly told me he knew nothing of logic, and therefore did not dare to translate them; and certainly if he was unacquainted with logic, he could know nothing of other sciences as he ought. Nor did he understand Arabic, as he confessed, because he was rather an assistant in the translations, than the real translator. For he kept Saracens about

[1] The famous mathematician, physician and so-called wizard, 1176-1234?

him in Spain, who had a principal hand in his translations. In the same way Michael the Scot claimed the merit of numerous translations. But it is certain that Andrew, a Jew, laboured at them more than he did. And even Michael, as Herman reported, did not understand either the sciences or the tongues. And so of the rest; especially the notorious William Fleming, who is now in such reputation. Whereas it is well known to all the literati at Paris, that he is ignorant of the sciences in the original Greek, to which he makes such pretensions; and therefore he translates falsely, and corrupts the philosophy of the Latins. For Boethius[1] alone was well acquainted with the tongues and their interpretation. My Lord Robert [Grosseteste],[2] by reason of his long life and the wonderful methods he employed, knew the sciences better than any other man; for though he did not understand Greek or Hebrew, he had many assistants. But all the rest were ignorant of the tongues and the sciences, and above all this William Fleming, who has no satisfactory knowledge of either, and yet has undertaken to reform all our translations and give us new ones. But I have seen books, and I know them to be faulty, and that they ought to be avoided. For as at this time, the enemies of the Christians, the Jews, the Arabs and Greeks, have the sciences in their own tongues, they will not allow the Christians the use of perfect MSS., but they destroy and corrupt them; particularly when they see incompetent people, who have no acquaintance with the tongues and the sciences presuming to make translations.

(]3) The scientific books of Aristotle, of Avicenna,[8] of Seneca, of Cicero, and other ancients cannot be had except at a great cost; their principal works have not been translated into Latin, and copies of others are not to be found in ordinary libraries or elsewhere. The admirable books of Cicero De Republica are not to be found anywhere, as far as I can hear, although I have made anxious inquiry for them in different parts of the world and by various messengers. And so of many other books of which I send extracts to your beatitude. I could never find the works of Seneca, until after the time when I received your commands, although I made

[1] D, 524. Boethius not only wrote the *Consolation of Philosophy*, a work universally celebrated in the Middle Ages, but translated extensively from Greek into Latin.

[2] Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253.

* An important Saracenic philosopher and physician of Spain. Circ, 980-1037.

diligent search for them during twenty years and more. And so it is with many more most useful books connected with the sciences of morals.

(0) The second root of the difficulty is that we ought to have excellent mathematicians, who should not only know what exists, original or translated, in connection with the sciences, but be able to make additions to them, which is easy for good mathematicians to do. For there are only two perfect mathematicians, Master John of London, and Master Peter de Maharn-Curia, a Picard. There are two other good ones, Master Campanus de Novaria, and Master Nicholas, the teacher of Aumary de Montfort. For without mathematics nothing worth knowing in philosophy carf be attained. And therefore it is indispensable that good'mathematicians be had, who are very scarce. Nor can any one obtain their services, especially the best of them, except it be the pope or some great prince. For he would hardly condescend to live with any one who wished to be the lord of his own studies, and prosecute philosophical investigations at his pleasure.

And besides these expenses, other great expenses would have to be incurred. Without mathematical instruments no science can be mastered; and these instruments are not to be found among the Latins, and could not be made for £200 or £300. And besides, better tables are indispensably requisite, for although the certifying of the tables is done by instruments, yet this cannot be accomplished unless there be an immense number of instruments; and these are hard to use and hard to keep, because of rusting, and they cannot be moved from place to place without danger of breaking ; and a man cannot have everywhere and on all occasions new instruments, which yet he ought to have, unless he have certified tables. These tables are called Almanack or Tallignum, in which, once for all, the motions of the heavens are certified from the beginning to the end of the world without daily labour; so that a man can find everything in the heavens every day, as we find in the calendar the feast-days of the saints; and then every day we could consider in the heavens the causes of all things which are renovated in the earth, and seek similar positions [of the heavens] in times past, and discover similar effects. These tables would be worth a king's ransom, and therefore could not be made without vast expense. And I have often attempted the composition of such tables, but could- not finish them through failure of the expenses, and the folly of those whom I had to employ. For, first of all, it would be necessary that ten or twelve boys should be

instructed in the ordinary canons and astronomical tables and when they knew how to work at them, then for a year to discover the motions of each planet singly for every day and every hour, according to all the variations of their motions and othe! changes in the heavens.

83. THE MANUMISSION OF A VILLEIN (1278).

Englishmen were not always freeborn. Slavery existed before the Norman Conquest, and a mild form of serfdom can be detected at the Reformation. Intermediate between these two conditions is villenage, a state in which the unfree person lived on a separate piece of land, while being bound to render his master personal service. He often paid rent in addition to daily labour. Under the Norman kings the *nativi* or villeins went with the estate when it was transferred, and the improvement of their lot was a tedious process. A sense of Christian brotherhood doubtless mitigated their hardships, and sometimes secured their freedom. Serfdom was widespread in all European countries, and to England's early escape from it may be traced much of her comparative prosperity.[1]

SOURCE.—*Dugdale's Monasticon,* vol. i., p. 394. Trans. E. P. Cheyney. Philadelphia, 1897. (Univ. of Pennsylvania, *Translations and Reprints,* vol. iii., No. 5.)

To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing shall come, Richard by the divine permission abbot of Peterborough and the Convent of the same place, eternal greeting

[1] Down to 1799 Scotland presented a singular and painful survival of servitude in the case of colliers and salters *(i.e.,* labourers in salt mines). John Erskine—the date of whose death is 1768—writes thus of their condition:—" These [colliers and salters] are, by the law itself without any paction, bound merely by their entering upon work, in a colliery or salt manufactory, to the perpetual service thereof; and if the owner sell or alienate the ground upon which the work stand, the right of the service of these colliers, salters, etc., passes over to' the purchaser, as *fundo annexum,* without any express grant; yet, to out off all cavilling, it is usual to insert in the disposition a special clause, making over that right to the grantee. If the proprietor have a separate colliery at a moderate distance from the first, he may compel the colliers to work at either of the two; and the same is the case with salters." —Erskine's *Institute of the Law of Scotland,* I . , vii. 61.

Acts of 15 and 39 *Geo.* I I I . removed the last vestiges of slavery in England.

in the Lord. Let all know that we have manumitted and liberated from all yoke of servitude William, the son of Richard of Wythington whom previously we have held as our born bondman, with his whole progeny and all his chattels, so that neither we nor our successors shall be able to require or exact any right or claim in the said William, his progeny or his chattels. But the same William with his whole progeny and all his chattels will remain free and quit and without disturbance, exaction, or any claim on the part of us or our successors by reason of any servitude, forever. We will moreover and concede that he and his heirs shall hold the messuages,[1] land, rent and meadows in Wythington which his ancestors held from us and our predecessors, by giving and performing the fine which is called merchet for giving his daughter in marriage, and tallage[2] from year to year according to our will,—that he shall have and hold these for the future from us and our successors freely, quietly, peacefully and hereditarily, by paying thence to us and our successors yearly 40s. sterling, at the four terms of the year, namely: at St. John the Baptist's day, 10s., at Michaelmas, 10s., at Christmas, 10s., and at Easter, 10s., for all service, exaction, custom and secular demand; saving to us nevertheless attendance at our court of Castre every three weeks, wardship and relief, and outside service of our lord the king, when they shall happen. And if it shall happen that the said William or his heirs shall die at any time without an heir, the said messuage, land, rents and meadows with their appurtenances shall return fully and completely to us and our successors. Nor will it be allowed to the said William or his heirs, the said messuage, land, rents, meadows or any part of them to give, sell, alienate, mortgage, or in any way encumber by which the said messuage, land, rents and meadows should not return to us and our successors in the form declared above. But if this should occur later their deed shall be declared null, and what is thus alienated shall come to us and our successors. In testimony of which duplicate seals are appended to this writing, formed as a chirograph[3] for the sake

[1] Houses.

[2] "An aid demandable of demesne lands at the will of the lord."—Stubbs.

[3] "Anciently when they made a chirograph or deed . . . they engrossed twice upon one piece of parchment contrariwise, leaving a space between, in which they wrote in great letters the word chirograph; and then cut the parchment in two . . . through the midst of the word."—*Vide* Oxford Dictionary *sub voce.*

of greater security. These being witnesses, etc. Given at [Peter] Borough for the love of Lord Robert of good memory, once abbot, our predecessor and maternal uncle of the said William, and at the instance of the good man brother Hugh of Mutton, relative of the said abbot Robert; A.D. 1278, on the eve of Pentecost.

34. A SUMMONS TO PAKLIAMBNT IN 1295 (1295).

1295 is a landmark in the growth of Parliament. Thirty years earlier Simon of Montfort had by summoning the knights and burgesses brought a new feature into the representation of the English people, and Edward I. had on different occasions asked the shires and towns, severally, for aid. But not till 1295 was the principle established—"what touches all shall be approved by all". A crisis in the relations of England and France forced Edward to convene the Commons (along with the other estates) for the purpose of raising a subsidy, and the assembly of that year stands.forth as the "model Parliament". In summons of the knights and burgesses writs were sent out to all the sheriffs as follows.

SOURCE.—Stubbs' *Select Charters*. Oxford, 1888. P. 486. Trans. 0. W. Colby.

The king to the sheriff of Northamptonshire. Desiring to hold counsel and treat with the earls, barons and other nobles of our realm, as to provision against the perils which now threaten it, we have ordered them to meet us at Westminster, on the Sunday next following the Feast of St. Martin's[1] in the coming winter, to discuss, ordain and do whatever may be necessary to guard against this danger. We therefore firmly enjoin you to have chosen without delay and sent to us at the said day and place two knights from the said county, and two citizens from each city of the said county, and two burgesses from each borough, of those more discreet and powerful to achieve: in such wise that the said knights, citizens and burgesses may severally have full and sufficient power, on behalf of themselves and the community of the county, cities and boroughs to do what may then be ordained by the common

[1] 11th November,

counsel in the premises; so that the present business may not in any way rest undone through lack of this power. And bring with you the names of the knights, citizens and burgesses, and this writ. Witness the King at Canterbury, October third.

33. AN ENGLISH VIEW OF WALLACE AND BRUCE (*circ.* 1307).

The *Flores Historiarum,* once ascribed to Matthew of Westminster, is a patchwork of compilation and original composition which begins at the creation and closes at 1327. Dr. Luard, its latest editor,believes that it was begun by John de Celia, twenty-first abbot of St. Alban's. He died in 1214 and the work was continued at St. Alban's till about 1265. Afterwards various monks of Westminster brought it to the accession of Edward I I I . One distinct section of the chronicle lies between the battle of Evesham and the death of Edward I . , and from the end of this part diatribes against Wallace and Bruce are quoted. Since the union of the two countries both leaders have become national heroes, in whom England can take her share of pride as well as Scotland. It is interesting to see how differently they were regarded in the time of the Edwaids.

SOURCE.—*Flores Historiarum.* Formerly ascribed to Matthew of Westminster. Trans. 0. D. Yonge. London, 1853. Vol. ii., A, p. 578; B, p. 583.

(A) About the time of the festival of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, a certain Scot, by name William Wallace, an outcast from pity, a robber, a sacrilegious man, an incendiary and a homicide, a man more cruel than the cruelty of Herod, and more insane than the fury of Nero . . a man who burnt alive boys in schools and churches, in great numbers; who, when he had collected an army of Scots in the battle of Falkirk against the King of England, and had seen that he could not resist the powerful army of the king, said to the Scots, " Behold I have brought you into a ring, now carol and dance as well as you can," and so fled himself from the battle, leaving his people to be slain by the sword ; he, I say, this man of Belial, after his innumerable wickednesses, was at last taken prisoner by the king's servants and brought to London, as the king ordained

that he should be formally tried, and was on the eve of St. Bartholomew[1] condemned by the nobles of the kingdom of England to a most cruel but amply deserved death. First of all, he was led through the streets of London, dragged at the tail of a horse, and dragged to a very high gallows, made on purpose for him, where he was hanged with a halter, then taken down half dead, after which [certain gruesome details are omitted] his body was divided into four quarters, and his head fixed on a stake and set on London Bridge. But his four quarters thus divided, were sent to the four quarters of Scotland. Behold the end of a merciless man whom his mercilessness brought to this end.

(B) After all these events had taken place, fresh disturbances and wars broke out in Scotland. For Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, conferred at first secretly, and afterwards openly with some of the great nobles of Scotland, saying to them, "Ye know that by the right of hereditary relationship this kingdom belongs to me, and how this nation intended to have crowned my father king, but the cunning of the king of England disappointed him of his desire. If, therefore, you will crown me king, I will fight your battles, and deliver this kingdom and this people from its slavery to the English." This he said, and presently he received the consent of many perjured men. And when he asked if John Comyn, a very noble and powerful knight, whether he also agreed to this, he steadily replied that he did not. And he said, "All the nations know that the king of England has four times subdued our nation and country, and that we all, both knights and clergy, have sworn fealty and homage to him for the present and all future generations. Far be it from me to do this; I will never consent to this measure, that I may be free from perjury." Bruce persuades, Comyn dissuades; the one threatens, the other is perplexed; at last Bruce, drawing his sword, strikes the unarmed Comyn on the head. And when he had thrown him down, as he was striving to wrest the sword from the hands of his assassin (for ho was a man of great personal strength), the servants of the traitor ran up and stabbed him with their swords, and released their master. But the Lord John escaped as well as he could to the altar; and Robert pursued him, and, as he would not agree to his proposal, the wicked and inhuman man there sacrificed the pious victim. These things were done in the church of the Minor Brothers,[2] at Dumfries, on the 29th of January,[3]

[1] 23rd August, 130$. [2] Franciscans. [3] 1306.

in the year subsequent to this one. Behold the beginning of **the homicide, aspiring to the kingdom by the shedding of the blood of Abel,**

86. THE PRICE OF FOOD UNDER EDWABD II. (1315).

England was afflicted by a grevious famine just after the battle of Bannockburn, and various shifts to relieve popular distress were tried. The rich cut down the expenses of their households, parliament debated, and the king issued an edict which attempted to fix the price of food. Experiments in setting a maximum value on the ordinary commodities of life have been made in different countries (notably in France during the Revolution), but never with lasting success. The interference of Edward II. with regular market rates was a failure, and is recalled here simply because it gives us some means of judging what cattle, poultry and eggs brought in 1315. The prices named would be higher than usual by reason of the prevailing scarcity.[1]

SOURCE.—*De Pretio Victualium.* **Edward II. Trans, in *Somer's Tracts,* vol. i., p. 6.**

Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to the mayor and sheriffs of London, greeting. We have received a complaint of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and others of the commonalty of our kingdom, presented before us and our council, that there is now a great and intolerable dearth of oxen, cows, sheep, hogs, geese, hens, capons, chickens, pigeons and eggs, to the no small damage and grievance of them and all others living within the said kingdom. Wherefore, they have pressingly besought us, that we should take care to provide a fit remedy thereof. We therefore, for the common benefit of the people of the said kingdom, assenting to the aforesaid supplication, as seemed meet, have ordained, by the advice and assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and others, being of our council, in our

[1] Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages,* vol. i., p. 215, makes the average price of wheat between 1261 and 1540 come within a small fraction of 6s. the quarter. The average in 1315 was 14s. 10d.; in 1316 it reached 16s. The unusual distress was caused by heavy rains and a murrain.

last parliament held at Westminster, that a good saleable fat live ox, not fed with grain, be henceforth sold for 16s. and no more; and if he have been fed with corn, and be fat, then he may be sold for 24s. at the most; and a good fat live cow for 12s. A fat hog of two years of age for 40d. A fat sheep with the wool for 20d. A fat sheep shorn for 14d. A fat goose in our city aforesaid for 3d. A good and fat capon for 2½d., . . . and three pigeons for 1d., and twenty eggs for 1d. And that if it happen that any person or persons be found that will not sell the said saleable goods at the settled price aforesaid, then let the foresaid saleable goods be forfeited to us. And forasmuch as we will that the foresaid ordinance be henceforth firmly and inviolably kept in our said city and the suburbs thereof, we strictly order and command you, that you cause the foresaid ordinance to be proclaimed publicly and distinctly in our foresaid city and the suburbs thereof, where you shall think meet, and to be henceforth inviolably kept, in all and singular its articles, throughout your whole liberty, under the foresaid forfeiture ; and by no means fail herein, as you are minded to avoid our indignation, and to save yourselves harmless. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 14th day of March, in the eighth year of our reign.

37. TROUBLES AT BRISTOL (1316).

The Life of Edward I I . , which Hearne on insufficient evidence attributed to a monk of Malmesbury, closes with 1325, and was probably written towards the end of the reign. It is a reputable authority, especially where western England is concerned. The Bristol riot of 1316 which it describes is significant for two reasons. Bristol was then the third town of the kingdom, and soon after rose above York to second place—a rank which it held till the eighteenth century. And, moreover, one can detect beneath the surface of the troubles an important tendency. For several centuries before the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 most of the English towns were governed by a "select body" of twelve or twenty-four men. These filled vacancies in their number by a vote of the remainder without appeal to the community. They also levied the taxes in such wise as to make public burdens fall lightly on their **own**

shoulders. At Bristol we see a small party or clique asserting right of control over market and seaport to the exclusion of the majority: and in the end its members won their point. Bristol affords, then, an early instance of change from a relatively democratic to a narrower type of town government.

SOURCE.—*Vita Edwardi II,* Rolls Series. *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.,* vol. ii., p. 219. Trans. 0. W. Colby.

Some time ago trouble arose in the town of Bristol over customs in seaport and market, privileges and other things, in which fourteen of the greater persons of this town seemed to have a special right. The community resisted, stating that the burgesses were all of one condition and therefore equal as to liberties and privileges. Over matters of this sort frequent domestic quarrels arose, until in the king's court they asked for and received judges to examine the case and bring it to just conclusion. Forthwith the said fourteen procured that outsiders should be associated in the inquiry. These, moreover, were believed to have been bribed and wholly brought over to the side of the fourteen. The community alleged that it would be contrary to the liberties of the town to try a local matter by the judgment of outsiders, but the judges held that such allegations were idle; so that in this respect they did not regard the liberties and privileges of the citizens. The leaders of the community seeing that their exceptions were not admitted and their right was being taken from them by favour rather than by reason, left the hail, where according to custom the trial was going on, in a great state of agitation, and thus spoke to the commonalty : " Judges have come who favour our adversaries and admit outsiders to our prejudice, whereby we shall for ever lose our rights ". On these words the foolish crowd started a riot and the whole people was smitten with fear of a tumult. Forthwith returning with a large company they entered the hall where they proceeded to turn their right into outrage. With fists and sticks they began to assail the opposing party, and that day about twenty lives were suddenly and stupidly lost. Since a natural fear so attacked both gentle and simple that many jumped out of the windows from the top of the balcony, and in falling to the ground broke their legs or shins very badly. As for the judges, they feared for their lives and humbly sought leave to depart in peace. The mayor of the town after he had with the greatest difficulty calmed the fury of the mob, sent them away unharmed.

On account of this disturbance about eighty men were indicted, and after a careful inquiry held before the royal judges at Gloucester, were condemned. They were then demanded from the county, and not coming or obeying were declared to be exiles. But well fortified they remained within their town nor would obey the royal mandate unless it were carried out by force.

The said fourteen who were striving against the community gave up their homes and revenues and left the town; because they deemed it useless to remain among their opponents at such a time. During two years and more this rebellion of the community of Bristol lasted, and yet on the king's part they Were often bid to make peace. For he preferred to qualify the sentence of the rioters if they were willing, rather than to destroy a good town by taking full vengeance. But they still persisted in rebellion, always despising the royal order and precept. They did not come when called ; they did not obey when threatened, but said that all suit against them was unjust, because wholly contrary to their privileges and liberties.

The king, therefore, unwilling any further to satisfy their malice, summoned the knights and chief persons of Gloucestershire to London, and enjoined upon them in virtue of the oath there taken to make clearly known the case of Bristol, and whose was the injury. They all said that the community of Bristol had the wrong side, and that the eighty were responsible for the violence. Therefore he sent Adolmar, Earl of Pembroke, to Bristol, who having convened the chief persons of the community spoke to them thus on the king's behalf: " Our lord the King," he said, " having taken action in your case has found you guilty, and enjoins you to obey the law. Give up these murderers and culprits, and you and your town remain in peace. I promise that if you do so you will find the King placable and merciful enough." The community replied: " We were not responsible for the outrage; we have not transgressed against our lord the King. Certain persons strove to take away our rights, and we on the other hand strove as was fit, to defend them. Therefore if the King will remit those things with which we have been burdened, if he will give us life and limb, revenues and estates, we will obey him as lord and do whatever he wishes; otherwise' we will keep on as we have begun, and will defend our liberties and privileges even to death." [1]

[1] The " fourteen " were eventually reinstated.

38. THE FAILURE OF THE BARDI (1345).

National disgraces must be recorded along with national victories, and the action of Edward I I I . in disclaiming his debt to the Bardi of Florence falls among English disgraces. The Italians were the first who promoted international trade in modern times, and this they did both by their manufactures and their banking system. The prevalence of false money was alone enough to hamper foreign commerce until Florence In 1252 minted a gold coin, the florin,[1] which was good for its face value wherever it went. At the beginning of the Hundred Years' War the Bardi were the leading bankers in Europe, and Edward I I I., already deep in their debt, Kept borrowing more and more as his necessities increased. He gave different kinds of security, but ordinarily a claim on the customs of large ports like Sandwich or Southampton. The crisis came in 1345. The Bardi had their own creditors, and failing to get payment from Edward and the Sicilian king went into bankruptcy. John Villani, the Florentine statesman and chronicler, was among those ruined, and puts the blame on the greed of his countrymen. But that does not excuse the king's dishonesty.

SOURCE.—*Historie Florentine,* Giovanni Villani (1275 ?-1348). Muratori, *Rerum Ital Script.* Vol. xiii., p. 934. Trans. 0. W. Colby.

Of the failure of the great and powerful company of the Bardi.

In January of the said year 1345, the Company of the Bardi, who had been the greatest merchants of Italy, failed. And the reason was that they had lent money (as had the Peruzzi and others) to Edward, King of England, and to the King of Sicily. So much that the Bardi were found to have owing them from the King of England, between capital and interest and gifts promised by him, 900,000 gold florins; and this, on account of his war with the King of France, he could not pay. And the King of Sicily owed 100,000 gold florins. And to the Peruzzi the King of England owed 600,000 gold florins, and the King of Sicily 100,000 gold florins. . . . Whence

[1] The original Florentine coin weighed about fifty-four grains.

it came about that citizens and foreigners alike failed, to whom the Bardi alone were indebted for more than 550,000 gold florins. And in turn many other smaller companies and individuals who had their property in the Bardi and in the Peruzzi and in the other bankrupts, were ruined, and on this account failed. By this failure of the Bardi and the Peruzzi, and Acciajuoli, and the Bonaccorsi, the Cocchi, the Antellesi, the Corsini, those of Uzzano, the Perondoli, and other small companies and individual manufacturers who failed in these times, and especially by the burdens of the commune and by the excessive loans made to the kings (of which mention has already been made, but not of all because there are too many to count) was our city of Florence brought to .greater ruin and distress than ever before; if the reader considers well, the damage caused by such great loss of treasure or the money lost by our citizens, and through avarice loaned to the kings. 0 ! cursed and greedy wolf, full of the vice of avarice, reigning in our blind and mad citizens of Florence, who through lust of gain from the kings gave their property and others' money in loan only to lose power and sway, and to strip our Republic of all might; so that no specie remains among our citizens save among certain manufacturers or money lenders, who with their usury consume and sweep together booty from the scattered poverty of our citizens and destroy it. But not without cause do the hidden judgments of God come upon states to punish sins committed, as Christ in his own words says; " Ye shall die in your sins," etc. The Bardi gave up their possessions to their creditors and settled with them for 9s. and 3d. in the £ which did not actu ally return 6s. in the £. And the Peruzzi compounded for 4s. in the £ on their possessions, and 16s. in the £ on the debts of the aforesaid kings; and if they had received their due from the kings of England and Sicily or a part of it, they would have remained lords of great power and wealth. . . . Let this suffice, and perhaps I have said too much about this shameful business, but one ought not to conceal the truth, because notable things as they occur are recorded in order to give posterity warning, that it may be the better on its guard.

39. THE BATTLE OP CRECY (1346).

Froissart, born at Beaumont, near Valenciennes, in 1337, was hardly ten years old when the battle of Crecy took place. His Flemish origin explains his use Of the French language, and his intimacy with Queen Philippa explains his

English sympathies. He travelled much, questioned people who had been prominent in affairs and consulted the chronicles of his predecessors.[1] Despite these excellent methods of collecting facts he is not very accurate, and for purposes of sober historical writing must be quoted with caution. His strong point is charm of manner. He has entertained generation upon generation of readers, and few have equalled him in surrounding the past with an atmosphere of reality. When he wrote, the memory of Crecy was still fresh, and he had known many survivors. We may assume that he presents the main features correctly, and at any rate he gives the setting of a fourteenth century battle.

SOURCE.—*Chroniques.* Froissart (1837-1410?). Trans. T. Johnes. London, 1855. Vol. i., p. 164.

The English, who were drawn up in three divisions and seated on the ground, seeing their enemies advance, rose undauntedly up, and fell into their ranks. That of the prince was the first to do so, whose archers were formed in the manner of a portcullis or harrow, and the men-at-arms in the rear. The Earls of Northampton and Arundel who commanded the second division, had posted themselves in good order on his wing to succour the prince, if necessary.

You must know that these kings, earls, barons and lords of France did not advance in any regular order, but one after the other, or any way most pleasing to themselves. As soon as the King of France came in sight of the English his blood began to boil, and he cried out' to his marshals, " Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Denis!" There were about fifteen thousand Genoese crossbowmen; but they were quite fatigued, having marched on foot that day six leagues, completely armed and with their crossbows. They told the constable they were not in a fit condition to do any great things that day in battle. The Earl of Alençon, hearing this, said, " This is what one gets by employing such scoundrels, who fall off when there is any need for them". During this time a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder and a very terrible eclipse of the sun ; and before this rain a great flight of crows hovered in the air over all those battalions, making a loud noise. Shortly afterwards it cleared up, and

[1] He was particularly indebted to the chronicle of Jean le Bel.

the sun shone very bright; but the Frenchmen had it in their faces, and the English at their backs. When the Genoese were somewhat in order, and approached the English, they set up a loud shout in order to frighten them; but they remained quite still, and did not seem to attend to it. They then set up a second shout, and advanced a little forward; but the English never moved.

They hooted a third time, advancing with their crossbows presented, and began to shoot. The English archers then advanced one step forward, and shot their arrows with such force and quickness that it seemed as if it snowed. When the Genoese felt these arrows, which pierced their arms, heads and through their armour, some of them cut the strings of their crossbows, others flung them on the ground, and all turned about and retreated quite discomfited. The French had a large body of men-at-arms on horseback, richly dressed, to support the Genoese. The King of France, seeing them thus fall back, cried out, " Kill me those scoundrels, for they stop up our road without any reason ". Then you should have seen the above-mentioned men-at-arms lay about them, killing all they could of these runaways.

The English continued shooting as vigorously and quickly as before. Some of their arrows fell among the horsemen, who were sumptuously equipped, and, killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Genoese, so that they were in such confusion they could never rally again. In the English army there were some Cornish and Welshmen on foot, who had armed themselves with large knives; these, advancing through the ranks of the men-at-arms and archers, who made way for them, came upon the French when they were in this danger, and, falling upon earls, barons, knights and squires, blew many, at which the King of England was afterwards much displeased. The valiant King of Bohemia was slain there. He was called Charles of Luxembourg, for he was the son of the gallant king and emperor Henry of Luxembourg.[1] Having heard the order of the battle, he inquired where his son the Lord Charles was: his attendants answered that they did not know, but believed he was fighting. The king said to them, "Gentlemen, you are all my people, my friends and brethren at arms this day: therefore, as I am blind, I request of you to lead me so far into the engagement that I may strike one stroke with my sword ". The knights replied they would directly lead him

[1] The Emperor Henry VII.

forward; and, in order that they might not lose him in the crowd, they fastened all the reins of their horses together, and put the king at their head, that he might gratify his wish, and advanced toward the enemy. The Lord Charles of Bohemia, who already signed his name as King of Germany,[1] and bore the arms, had come in good order to the engagement; but, when he perceived that it was likely to turn against the French, he departed, and I do not well know what road he took. The king his father rode in among the enemy, and made good use of his sword; for he and his companions fought most gallantly. They advanced so far that they were all slain; and on the morrow they were found on the ground with their horses all tied together.

The Earl of Alençon advanced in regular order upon the English to fight with them, as did the Earl of Flanders in another part. These two lords with their detachments, coasting, as it were, the archers, came to the prince's battalion, where they fought valiantly for a length of time. The King of France was eager to march to the place where he saw their banners displayed; but there was a hedge of archers before him. He had that day made a present of a handsome black horse to Sir John of Hainault, who had mounted on it a knight of his called Sir John de Fusselles, that bore his banner; which horse ran off with him and forced his way through the English army, and, when about to return, stumbled and fell into a ditch, and severely wounded him. He would have been dead if his page had not followed him round the/battalions, and found him unable to rise: he had not, however, any other hindrance than from his horse, for the English did not quit the ranks that day to make prisoners. The page alighted and raised him up; but he did not return the way he came, as he would have found it difficult from the crowd. This battle, which was fought on the Saturday between La Broyes and Crecy, was very murderous and cruel, and many gallant deeds of arms were performed that were never known. Toward evening many knights and squires of the French had lost their masters : they wandered up and down the plain, attacking the English in small parties. They were soon destroyed; for the English had determined that day to give no quarter, or hear of ransom from any one.

Early in the day some French, Germans and Savoyards had broken through the archers of the prince's battalion, and had engaged with the men-at-arms ; upon which the second battalion

[1] The Emperor Charles IV.

came to his aid, and it was time, for otherwise he would have been hard pressed. The first division, seeing the danger they were in, sent a knight in great haste to the King of England, who was posted upon an eminence near a windmill. On the knight's arrival he said, "Sir, the Karl of Warwick, the Lord Reginald Cobham, and the others who are about your son, are vigorously attacked by the French ; and they entreat that you would come to their assistance with your battalion, for, if their numbers should increase, they fear he will have too much to do". The king replied, "Is my son dead, unhorsed, or so badly wounded that he cannot support himself? " " Nothing of the sort, thank God," rejoined the knight; " but he is in so hot an engagement that he has great need of your help." The king answered, "Now, Sir Thomas, return to those that sent you, and tell them from me not to send again for me this day, or expect that I shall come, let what will happen, as long as my son has life : and say that I command them to let the boy win his spurs ; for I am determined, if it please God, that all the glory and honour of this day shall be given to him and to those into whose care I have intrusted him ". The knight returned to his lords, and related the king's answer, which mightily encouraged them, and made them repent they had ever sent such a message.

40. THE BLACK DEATH (1348-49).[1]

The Black Death is unique among pestilences which have visited Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire. It spared no country, no age, no rank, and if the mortality were placed at one half of the population, the statement would be hard to disprove. The disease came from Asia, and entering Europe at Constantinople, spread westward through Cyprus, Sicily and Marseilles. It reached England towards the end of the summer, and, though advancing slowly, laid a heavy hand on the realm. Not only did it sweep away a large part of the nation, double wages, and provoke the Statute of Labourers: it caused widespread and permanent economic changes; among which may be reckoned the rise of a new farming system whereby leaseholds were multiplied. A curious sign of its destructiveness is the small

[1] The chronology of the Black Death in England is a debatable question. Several recent writers of standing make it fall wholly within 1849, but there is good reason to suppose that its disastrous course began earlier.

space which it fills in contemporary chronicles. It played havoc with the monasteries, and after it ceased, the task of repairing losses threw literary occupation into the background. Take, for instance, the Cistercian Abbey of Melsa, or Meaux, in Yorkshire. "This plague was so fatal in our mouastery . . . that during August the Abbot himself, twenty-two monks and six *conversi*[1] died; of whom the Abbot and five monks lay alike for a day unburied. And the mortality among the others was such that when the plague stopped, out of fifty monks and *conversi* only ten monks remained."[2] In supplement of this local notice a general reference by Robert of Avesbury is cited. Apart from his title, "Keeper of the Registry of the Court of Canterbury," this chronicler is a mere name.

SOURCE.—*Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi III.* Robert of Avesbury (fl. 1850). Rolls Series. P. 406. Trans. E. P. Cheyney. Philadelphia, 1897. (Univ. of Pennsylvania, *Translations and Reprints*, vol. ii., No. 5.)

The pestilence which had first broken out in the land occupied by the Saracens became so much stronger that, sparing no dominion, it visited with the scourge of sudden death the various parts of all the kingdoms, extending from that land to the northward, including even Scotland, destroying the greater part of the people. For it began in England in Dorsetshire, about the feast of St. Peter, called Ad Vincula,[3] in the year of the Lord 1348, and immediately advancing from place to place it attacked men without warning and for the most part those who were healthy. Very many of those who were attacked in the morning it carried out of human affairs before noon. And no one whom it willed to die did it permit to live longer than three or four days. There was moreover no choice of persons, with the exception, at least, of a few rich people. In the same day twenty, forty or sixty corpses, and indeed many times as many more bodies of those who had died, were delivered to church burial in the same pit at the same time. And about the feast of All Saints, reaching London, it deprived many of

[1] Lay brothers.

[2] *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa.* R. S., vol. iii., p. 37. A still worse case is afforded by, the Abbey of Croxton in Leicestershire, where the whole community gave abbot and prior died. *Dugdale's Monasticon*, ed. Ellis. London, 1830. Vol. vi., pt. 2, p. 879.

[3] 1st August.

their life daily, and increased to so great an extent that from the feast of the Purification till after Easter there were more than two hundred bodies of those who had died buried daily in the cemetery which had been then recently made near Smithfield, besides the bodies which were in other graveyards of the same city. The grace of the Holy Spirit finally intervening, that is to say about the feast of Whitsunday, it ceased at London, proceeding continuously northward. In these parts also it ceased about the feast of St. Michael,[1] in the year of the Lord 1349.

ii. A BULL OF GREGORY XI. AGAINST JOHN WYCLIF (1377).

Milton says that " had it not bin the obstinat perversnes of our Prelats against the divine and admirable spirit of Wicklif, to 8uppre8se him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Husse and Jerom, no nor the name of Luther, or of Calvin had bin ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had been compleatly ours ". One reason why Wyclif did not produce a lasting schism was that he addressed an ignorant laity, whereas the sixteenth century reformers came after the Revival of Learning. The Lollard movement was aided at its outset by the political situation, and it was eventually crushed by politics. From 1305-1378 the popes were Frenchmen resident at Avignon, and after the Hundred Years' War began, the papacy was regarded by Englishmen as a political tool in the hands of France. Hence it was disliked, and the popular disaffection helped Wyclif. A generation later the political current ran another way, and Lollardism was suppressed by Henry IV., who sought a close alliance with the church. Subjoined is a sharp rating which Pope Gregory XI. gave the University of Oxford for its laxness in permitting Wyclif to spread his heresies.

SOURCE.—*Fasciculi Zizaniorum.* Rolls Series, p. 242; where the following Bull of Gregory XI. (1386-1378) is cited. Trans. E. P. Cheyney. Philadelphia, 1897. (Univ. of Pennsylvania, *Translations and Reprints,* vol. ii., No. 5.)

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons the Chancellor and University of Oxford, in the diocese of Lincoln, grace and apostolic benediction.

[1] 29th September.

We are compelled to wonder and grieve that you, who, in consideration of the favours and privileges conceded to your University of Oxford by the apostolic see, and on account of your familiarity with the Scriptures, in whose sea you navigate, by the gift of God, with auspicious oar, you, who ought to be, as it were, warriors and champions of the orthodox faith, without which there is no salvation of souls,—that you through a certain sloth and neglect allow tares to spring up amidst the pure wheat in the fields of your glorious University aforesaid; and what is still more pernicious, even continue to grow to maturity. And you are quite careless, as has been lately reported to us, as to the extirpation of these tares ; with no little clouding of a bright name, danger to your souls, contempt of the Roman church, and injury to the faith above mentioned. And what pains us the more, is that this increase of the tares aforesaid is known in Rome before the remedy of extirpation has been applied in England where they sprang up. By the insinuation of many, if they are indeed worthy of belief, deploring it deeply, it has come to our ears that John de Wycliffe, rector of the church of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, Professor of the Sacred Scriptures (would that he were not also Master of Errors), has fallen into such a detestable madness that he does not hesitate to dogmatise and publicly preach, or rather vomit forth from the recesses of his breast certain propositions and conclusions which are erroneous and false. He has cast himself also into the depravity of preaching heretical dogmas which strive to subvert and weaken the state of the whole church and even secular polity, some of which doctrines, in changed terms, it is true, seem to express the perverse opinions and unlearned learning of Marsilio of Padua of cursed memory, and of John of Jandum,[1] whose book is extant, rejected and cursed by our predecessor, Pope John XXII., of happy memory. This he has done in the kingdom of England, lately glorious in its power and in the abundance of its resources, but more glorious still in the glistening piety of its faith, and in the distinction of its sacred learning; producing also many men illustrious for their exact knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, mature in the gravity of their character, conspicuous in devotion, defenders of the Catholic church. He has polluted certain of the faithful of Christ by besprinkling them with these doc-

[1] Marsilio of Padua and Joan of Jandum (in Champagne) were associated in defending imperial against papal supremacy, *circ.* 1325, during the contest between Pope John XXII. and Louis of Bavaria.

trines, and led them away from the right paths of the aforesaid faith to the brink of perdition.

Wherefore, since we are not willing, nay, indeed, ought not to be willing, that so deadly a pestilence should continue to exist with our connivance, a pestilence which, if it is not opposed in its beginnings, and torn out by the roots in its entirety will be reached too late by medicines when it has infected very many with its contagion; we command your University with strict admonition, by the apostolic authority, in virtue of your sacred obedience, and under the penalty of the deprivation of all the favours, indulgences, and privileges granted to you and your University by the said see, for the future not to permit to be asserted or proposed to any extent whatever, the opinions, conclusions, and propositions which are,in variance with good morals and faith, even when those proposing them strive to defend them under a certain fanciful wresting of words or terms. Moreover, you are on our authority to arrest the said John, or cause him to be arrested and to send him under a trustworthy guard to our venerable brother, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, or to one of them.

Besides, if there should be, which God forbid, in your University, subject to your jurisdiction, opponents stained with these errors, and if they should obstinately persist in them, proceed vigorously and earnestly to a similar arrest and removal of them, and otherwise as shall seem good to you. Be vigilant to repair your negligence which you have hitherto shown in the premises, and so obtain our gratitude and favour, and that of the said see, besides the honour and reward of the divine recompense.

Given at Rome, at Santa Maria Maggiore, on the 31st of May, the sixth year of our pontificate.

42. WAT TYLER'S REBELLION (1381).

Froissart's account of the ideas and arguments which provoked the peasants' rising of 1381 bears every sign of likelihood. Considering that he was on the aristocratic side, he put the opposite case very fairly. He believed that " gentlemen and others" should "correct wicked rebels," but he reports what the rebels had to say, crazy as their words appeared to him. Froissart likens this disturbance to the French social war, the Jacquerie of 1358, and it also resembles the German

Peasants' War of 1525. The causes were much the same, though the loss of life in England was less terrible. As for the manumissions extorted by the peasants in 1381, they were withdrawn the next year.

SOURCE—*Chroniques.* Froissart (1337-1410?). Trang. T. Johnes. London, 1804. Vol. ii., p. 459.

The populace of England rebel against the nobility.

While these conferences were going forward, there happened in England great commotions among the lower ranks of the people, by which England was near ruined without resource. Never was a country in such jeopardy as this was at that period, and all through the too great comfort of the commonalty. Rebellion was stirred up, as it was formerly done in France by the Jacques Bons-hommes,[1] who did much evil, and sore troubled the kingdom of France.

It is marvellous from what a trifle this pestilence raged in England. In order that it may serve as an example to mankind, I will speak of all that was done, from the information I had at the time on the subject.

It is customary in England, as well as in several other countries, for the nobility to have great privileges over the commonalty, whom they keep in bondage ; that is to say, they are bound by law and custom to plough the lands of gentlemen, to harvest the grain, to carry it home to the barn, to thrash and winnow it: they are also bound to harvest the hay and carry it home. All these services they are obliged to perform for their lords, and many more in England than in other countries. The prelates and gentlemen are thus served. In the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Bedford, these services are more oppressive than in all the rest of the kingdom.

The evil-disposed in these districts began to rise, saying, they were too severely oppressed; that at the beginning of the world there were no slaves, and that no one ought to be treated as such, unless he had committed treason against his lord, as Lucifer had done against God : but they had done no such thing, for they were neither angels nor spirits, but men formed after the same likeness with their lords, who treated them as beasts. This they would not longer bear, but had determined to be free, and if they laboured or did any other works for their lords, they would be paid for it. *

[1] Referring to the peasants' rising or Jacquerie of 1868. Jacques Bonhomme was the slang word for a peasant.

A crazy priest in the county of Kent, called John Ball, who, for his absurd preaching, had been thrice confined in the prison of the archbishop of Canterbury, was greatly instrumental in inflaming them with those ideas. He was accustomed every Sunday after mass, as the people were coming out of the church, to preach to them in the market-place and assemble a crowd around him; to whom he would say,—" My good friends, things cannot go on well in England, nor ever will until everything shall be in common; when there shall neither be vassal nor lord, and all distinctions levelled; when the lords shall be no more masters than ourselves. How ill have they used us ? and for what reason do they thus hold us in bondage ? Are we not all descended from the same parents, Adam and Eve? and what can they show, or what reasons give, why they should be more the masters than ourselves? except, perhaps, in making us labour and work for them to spend. They are clothed in velvets and rich stuffs, ornamented with ermine and other furs, while we are forced to wear poor cloth. They have wines, spices and fine bread, when we have only rye and the refuse of the straw ; and, if we drink, it must be water. They have handsome seats and manors, when we must brave the wind and rain in our labours in the field; but it is from our labour they have wherewith to support their pomp. We are called slaves; and, if we do not perform our services, we are beaten, and we have not any sovereign to whom we can complain, or who wishes to hear us and do us justice. Let us go to the king, who is young, and remonstrate with him on our servitude, telling him we must have it otherwise or that wo shall find a remedy for it ourselves. If we wait on him in a body, all those who come under the appellation of slaves, or are held in bondage, will follow us in the hopes of being free. When the king shall see us, we shall obtain a favourable answer, or we must then seek ourselves to amend our condition."

With such words as these did John Ball harangue the people, at his village every Sunday after mass, for which he was much beloved by them. Some who wished no good declared it was very true, and murmuring to each other as they were going to the fields on the road from one village to another, or at their different houses said, "John Ball preaches such and such things, and he speaks truth ".

The archbishop of Canterbury,[1] on being informed of this, had John Ball arrested, and imprisoned for two or three

[1] Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1375-81,

months by way of punishment; but it would have been better if he'had been confined during his life, or been put to death, than to have been suffered thus to act. The archbishop set him at liberty, for he could not for conscience sake have put him to death. The moment John Ball was out of prison, he returned to his former errors.

Numbers in the city of London having heard of his preaching, being envious of the rich men and nobility, began to say among themselves, that the kingdom was too badly governed, and the nobility had seized on all the gold and silver coin. These wicked Londoners, therefore, began to assemble and to rebel: they sent to tell those in the adjoining counties, they might come boldly to London, and bring their companions with them, for they would find the town open to them, and the commonalty in the same way of thinking; that they would press the king so much, there should no longer be a slave in England.

These promises stirred up those in the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Bedford, and the adjoining country, so that they marched towards London; and, when they arrived near, they were upwards of 60,000. They had a leader called Wat Tyler, and with him were Jack Straw and John Ball: these three were their commanders, but the principal was Wat Tyler. This Wat had been a tiler of houses, a bad man, and a great enemy to the nobility. When these wicked people first began to rise, all London, except their friends, were very much frightened. The mayor and rich citizens assembled in council, on hearing they were coming to London, and debated whether they should shut the gates and refuse to Admit them; but, having well considered, they determined not to do so, as they should run a risk of having the suburbs burnt.

The gates were therefore thrown open, when they entered in troops of one or two hundred, by twenties or thirties, according to the populousness of the towns they came from; and as they came into London they lodged themselves. But it is a truth, that full two-thirds of these people knew not what they wanted, nor what they sought for: they followed one another like sheep, or like to the shepherds of old, who said they were going to conquer the holy land, and afterwards accomplished nothing. In such manner did these poor fellows and vassals come to London from distances of a hundred and sixty leagues, but the greater part from those counties I have mentioned, and on their arrival they demanded to see the king.

The gentlemen of the country, the knights and squires, began to be alarmed when they saw the people thus rise ; and, if they were frightened, they had sufficient reason, for less causes create fear. They began to collect together as well as they could.

. . . . . .

In order that gentlemen and others may take example, and correct wicked rebels, I will most amply detail how this business was conducted.

43. A SCENE IN PARLIAMENT (1399).

The stormy scenes which were often witnessed in fourteenth and fifteenth century parliaments, contrast sharply with the decorum of modern sessions. The feeble reign of Richard II. allowed every element of turbulence to gather force, and left legacies of hatred. A clamour for vengeance upon Gloucester's murderers was raised in the first parliament of Henry IV., where amid a storm of threats, charges, counter-charges and challenges the enraged barons cast aside discussion and thought only of their swords. An incident like this occurring on the threshold of the fifteenth century is a prophecy of the Lancastrian and Yorkist wars, in which feudal lawlessness gained its vent and met its destruction.

SOURCE.—*Annates Henrici IV,* Rolls Series, p. 809. Trans. 0. W. Colby.

A knight's son named Hall was then brought in, bound hand and foot, and questioned about the Duke of Gloucester's death. He answered that he had, indeed, been present at the murder with many other associates, but it was against his own will, for he had known nothing of the matter beforehand. He had been called out of bed and taken to the Duke of Norfolk, by whom he was ordered to go along with others to kill Gloucester. And when he had refused to do so the Duke struck him a great blow on the head, and swore that he should be hanged on the morrow unless he obeyed : " Because," said the Duke of Norfolk, " I have a definite command from the king and from the Duke of Albermarle that he shall be killed "; and so he went with the rest to the spot where the murder was to take place.

The Duke of Albermarle when he heard these words, rose and asked the king that he might justify himself, because Hall's evidence stated that he had given his consent to the Duke's death. And after he had justified himself in a very roundabout fashion, Lord Fitz-Walter, taking the floor, said to him: "You indicted him for treason, and accused him and made him hateful to the king, and were thus the cause of his death ; and this, with the king's leave, I will prove by combat". The Duke of Surrey who desired to help his colleague, -the Duke of Albermarle and to show his innocence, said to Lord Fitz-Walter : " You are interfering and talking altogether too much. Why do you lay the charge of indictment at our door when we had no means of eluding it ? For kept under the king's rod, and placed by many means within his power, how could we amid the constant dangers of our position dare to gainsay any sort of command which he might give ? And were not you and all the lords there, and did you not consent to his death warrant ? " To this Lord Fitz-Walter rejoined : " You lie, for I was not present in that parliament, and never consented to that judgment; as the lords who are here will, I am sure, witness ". Then nearly all of them vouched that he had not been in the said parliament. Which when he heard the Duke of Surrey sat down in shame, and Lord Fitz-Walter again said to the Duke of Albermarle: " You, Albermarle, were the cause of Gloucester's death, and compassed it; to prove which by combat, lo! my hood " ;[1] and he threw down his hood. Then the Duke of Albermarle, no whit slower, threw down his hood ; which when they saw, Lord Morley, Lord William Beauchamp and the Earl of Warwick himself, with almost all the earls and barons who were against the Duke of Albermarle in this matter, threw down their hoods. Then such a tumult arose among the commons and such a din among the challengers, that the king thought the said duke would perish before his eyes. He therefore rose and restrained the Lords, praying, warning and ordering them not to break the law, but to do everything after due form and deliberation : otherwise their sins would overwhelm them for being parties to such an act of guilt. Moved by this speech the Lords stopped rioting. They took their seats again and gave judgment that the aforesaid Hall should be drawn, . . . hanged, beheaded and quartered.

[1]A covering for the head, thrown down in challenge.

44. A RELUCTANT ALDERMAN (1415).

An unwillingness to hold the offices which are now coveted is often met with in mediaeval England. Members of parliament and aldermen, besides receiving no salary, were at considerable cost and trouble when serving their constituents. The sources of social dignity were rank, wealth and the tenure of positions within the gift of the crown, rather than mere popular election. A bishop designate, repeating the formula *nolo episcopari,* might be accused of insincerity : not so a knight of the shire or a burgess who refused to represent his county or ward. Gradually town councillors saw that there was some profit in holding office, when they could thereby exempt their property from taxation; but if a man acted uprightly he gained no fame or prestige which could compensate him for the loss of his time. The records of London supply this curious and amusing case of refusal to serve till pressure was applied.

SOURCE.—*Memorials of London.* Ed. H. T. Riley. London, 1868. P. 601.

Forasmuch as a laudable custom which has hitherto prevailed in the City of London, has so prescribed and ordained, that the inhabitants of each of the Wards of the said city are at liberty to elect an Alderman whensoever they need one, to rule them in their own Ward ; provided always, that the person so elected is presented to the Mayor and Aldermen, for the time being, and by them is deemed worthy to be admitted and approved.—And whereas, on the third day of January, in the second year of the reign of King Henry, etc., one Ralph Lobenham, late Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, having voluntarily resigned the rule of that Ward, the inhabitants of the Ward thereupon, according to the usual custom, met together at the usual place within the Ward, for the purpose of electing an Alderman thereof, and there unanimously chose one John Gedeney, citizen and draper, to hold the office of Alderman of the Ward aforesaid, and presented such choice to Thomas Fauconer, the then Mayor, and the Aldermen, in the Chamber of the Guildhall; the said Mayor and Aldermen, holding such election to be good and ratified, confirmed .the same, and admitted the said John to the office, and approved of him as

sufficient unto the same, and deserving thereof, as well as to worldly goods as to the requisite discreetness. After which, the said Mayor and Aldermen commanded John Pickard, Common serjeant-at-arms of the said city, whose especial office it is, according to custom, to attend to the performance of duties and services of that nature, to warn the said John Gedeney to appear before the Mayor and Aldermen on the seventeenth day of January then next ensuing, to take the oath, and to do such other things as upon him on behalf of the Court should then be enjoined.

By virtue of which warning, the said John Gedeney appeared before the Mayor and Aldermen, in the Chamber aforesaid, and after the reason for his being so summoned had been first stated, to him, precept was given to him forthwith to take his seat there in Court, that he might take the oath that pertains unto the office and rank of Alderman. Whereupon, the same John Gedeney, after first setting forth his excuses on the ground of his inability, and his insufficiency for the office, wholly refused to accept it: upon which, he was informed by the Court that he could not refuse this office, to which, as being a fit person, he was admitted by the Court, without breach of his freedom, and of the oath which by him, when he was admitted to the freedom of the City, had been made; and this the more especially, as every freeman is bound to be a partaker in Lot, which is liability to hold office, and in Scot, which means contribution to taxes and other charges, by reason of such oath.

But all and singular the matters before stated not withstanding, he altogether refused to accept the office, like a person who was utterly obdurate. And hereupon, the matter having been considered by the Mayor and Aldermen, because that it appeared to them that if any one, when elected to such office, should be at liberty at his own will and pleasure to refuse the post, and pass it by, not improbably the City before long would be left destitute, as it were, of all rule and governance whatsoever; the same John Gedeney was by the said Mayor and Aldermen committed to prison, there to remain until the Court should be better advised what to do as to the matters aforesaid. And in the meantime, precept was given to the Sheriffs of London to shut up the shops and houses of the same John Gedeney, and to sequestrate his goods and chattels, until the Court should be better advised thereon.

And afterwards, on the eighteenth day, through the mediation of many reputable men of the said city, who intervened, word being brought that the same John Gedeney was willing,

if the Court should think proper, to undertake the duties of the office aforesaid; he was therefore brought here on that day before the Mayor and Aldermen, and, having first obtained dispensation for breach of his oath made by him when he was admitted to the freedom of the City, he was admitted and sworn, as the usage is.

45. JOAN OP ARC'S TRIAL (1431).

Joan of Arc is the most phenomenal and attractive personage of the Hundred Years' War on either side. Those whom she led to victory, believed that she was inspired of God, and the English, not denying her inspiration, believed that it was of the devil. A full and authentic report of her trial remains, and from it is extracted the passage in which she answers questions relative to her Voices. She maintained that she raised the siege of Orleans in obedience to the divine call, and that all her important acts were prompted by a voice from heaven. Her trial for witchcraft at Rouen was conducted by Peter Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, to whom she had been handed over by the English for that purpose. She was little more than nineteen years old at the date of her execution.

SOURCE.—*Proces de Condamnation et de Rehabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc,* Ed. Jules Quicherat. Paris, 1841. Vol. i., Sessio Secunda. Trana C. W. Colby.

We[1] next required and admonished Joan, appearing before us in the said place, to take, under penalty of law, the oath which she had taken the day before; and that she should swear simply and absolutely to tell the truth in answer to what was asked her in the matter concerning which the charge had been brought and which was generally known. To this she answered that she had sworn yesterday and that was enough.

Again we required that she should swear; for every one, though he be a prince, when required to take the oath on a point of faith cannot refuse. And she answered again: " I took the oath for you yesterday; that should suffice you quite well. You burden me too much." Finally she swore to tell the truth in whatever related to faith.

[1] Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais.

Then a distinguished professor of sacred theology, Master John Beaupère, acting by our order and behest, questioned Joan on the points which follow.

And first he urged her to answer his questions truly, just as she had sworn to do. Whereupon she replied: "You might very well ask me one sort of question which I would answer truly, and another sort which I would not answer". And she added: "If you were well informed about me, you should wish that I were out of your hands. I have done nothing save by revelation."

Next asked about her age when she left home: she said that she did not know.

Asked whether in her girlhood she had learned any art: she said yes, that she had learned to sew linen cloth and to knit; and that she did not fear any woman in Rouen when it came to knitting and sewing. She further confessed that, through fear of the Burgundians, she left home and went to the town of Neufchâteau[1] in Lorraine to live with a woman named La Rousse, where she stayed a fortnight; adding furthermore that when she was at home she was exempt from household work nor went with the sheep and other animals to pasture.

Again asked whether she confessed her sins each year: she answered yes, to her own *curé;* and when the *curd* was hindered she with his permission confessed to another priest. Sometimes also, twice or thrice as she believed, she confessed to the friars. And this was in the said town of Neufchâteau. And she had been in the habit of receiving the Eucharist at Easter.

Asked whether she had been in the habit of receiving the Sacrament of the Eucharist at any other feasts save Easter: she told her questioner to pass on. She further confessed that when she was thirteen years old she had a voice from God to aid her in self-discipline. And the first time she was greatly afraid. And this voice came about noon in summer in her father's garden, and she had fasted the day before. And she heard the voice on her right hand toward the church, and she seldom heard it without a light. Which light comes from the same side as the voice, but is usually great. And when she came to France she often heard this voice. Asked how she saw the light which she said was there present when it was on one side; to this she answered nothing, but passed to other things. She moreover said that if she were in a grove she distinctly heard

[1]A walled town seven miles south of Joan's birthplace, Domremy.

voices coming to her. She also said that the voice seemed to her worthy, and she believes that it was sent by God ; and after she had heard it three times she knew that it was the voice of an angel. She also said that it always guarded her well, and that she knew it well.

Asked about the teaching which her voice gave her respecting the salvation of her soul, she said that it taught her to govern herself well, to go often to church, and that it said she must go to France. And Joan added that the questioner would not this time learn from her in what guise the voice had appeared to her. She furthermore confessed that the voice told her twice or thrice a week that she must leave home and go to France;[1] and that her father knew .nothing of her departure. She also said that the voice told her to go to France, and that she could no longer remain where she was, and that the voice told her that she should raise the siege of Orleans. She further said that her voice had told her that she should go, to Robert de Baudricourt, Captain of the fortress of Vaucouleurs,[2] and he would give her attendants ; and she then answered that she was a poor girl who knew not how to ride a horse nor head a campaign. She also said that she went to her uncle and told him that she wished to stay with him for a little while; and she stayed there about eight days; and she then told her uncle that she must go to the fortress of Vaucouleurs; and he conducted her.

She also said that when she came to Vaucouleurs she recognised Robert de Baudricourt, although she had never seen him before; and she recognised him by the aid of her voice, for the voice told her that it was he; and she told Robert that she must go into France. Twice he denied and withstood her, and the third time he took her and gave her attendants; and so it happened even as her voice had said[3] . . . Moreover she confessed that in leaving Vaucouleurs she put on men's dress, wearing a sword which Robert de Baudricourt had given her and no other arms. Accompanied by a knight, a shield-bearer and four servants, she reached the town of St. Urbain, and there passed a night in the abbey.

She also said that in this journey she passed through the town of Auxerre and there heard mass in the cathedral, and at

[1]Such was the effect of feudal sub-division, that to a native of Domremy—situated on the confines of Champagne and Lorraine—France seemed a foreign country.

[2] The one town in Eastern France which at this time acknowledged Charles VII.

[3]Joan's visit to the sick Duke of Lorraine, who had sent tor her because he thought that she might cure him, is omitted.

this time she was often wont to hear her voices. Asked to say by whose advice she put on men's dress, she refused several times to answer. At last she said that she would not laden any man with this; and she several times changed her answer. She also stated that Robert de Baudricourt made those who took her swear that they would convoy her well and safely, and Robert on parting with her said: "Go, go, and let whatever good can, come of it".

She also said that she well knew that God loved the Duke of Orleans;[1] and that she had had more revelations about him than about any living man, save him whom she called her king. She said, too, that she was obliged to change her own dress for a man's. She also said that she believed that she had been well advised.

She said that she sent letters to the English before Orleans telling them to raise the siege, just as is set down in many letters which have been read to her in this town of Rouen, save for two or three words in them; for instance, "yield to the Maid" should be "yield to the King". These words also occur there which were not in the original letters, "body for body,' and "head of the war".

Joan further said that she went to him whom she called her king[2] without hindrance, and when she reached the town of Ste Catharine de Fierbois she was sent to Chinon, where he whom she called her king was. She reached this place about noon and lodged in an inn; and after dinner she went to him whom she called her king who was in the castle. She also said that when she entered his chamber she knew him from the rest by the revelation of her voice. And she told her king that she wished to go making war against the English.

Asked if when the voice disclosed the king, there was any light in the place: she answered: "Pass on".

Asked whether she had seen an angel above her king: she answered: "Spare me, pass on". Still she said that before her king gave her a charge she had many beautiful visions and revelations.

Asked how the king regarded the revelations and visions: she answered: "I shall not tell you this. This is not to be answered you; but send to the king himself and he will tell you."

[1] Charles, Duko of Orleans, son of Duke Louis who was murdered in Paris, 23rd Nov., 1407.

[2] Charles VII.

Joan also said that the voice promised her that as soon as she came to her king he would receive her. She said that they on their part well knew that the voice came to her from God, and that they had seen and known her voice-, stating that she was confident of it. She further said that her king and several others had heard and seen voices coming to her; and Charles de Bourbon with two or three others were present.

She moreover said that there was no day when she did not hear this voice, and that she stood in great need of it. She said that she had never asked from her voice any other final reward except the salvation of her soul. She further confessed that the voice told her to remain at the town of St. Denis in France; and she had wished to remain there; but they had led her out against the will of this master. Nevertheless if she had not been wounded she would not have retired; and she was wounded in the trenches before Paris after she had gone there from St. Denis; but in five days she was healed. She confessed that she had directed an attack, called in French skirmish, before Paris.

And when she was questioned whether that were a feast day : she answered that to the best of her belief it was. Asked if she approved of this: she answered : " Pass on ".

After these things had been thus transacted, because it seemed quite enough for one day, we, the said bishop, postponed the trial until Saturday next following,.at eight o'clock in the morning.

46. A PROCLAMATION OF RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK (1452).

From the moment that Richard, Duke of York, became a political leader he was opposed to the Beauforts; first to the Cardinal, and later to his nephews John and Edmund, successively dukes of Somerset. The odium of losing France fell on the court party, and in the winter of 1452 York determined, under cover of popular discontent, to strike at his rival, the then Duke of Somerset, Edmund. At the beginning of February he sent a letter from Ludlow Castle to the burgesses of Shrewsbury, in which he accused Somerset of inefficiency and of plotting against him. He still professes himself a loyal subject of Henry V I . ; no claim is based on his genealogical tree; and his friends are simply asked to help him in pulling Somerset down. The enterprise failed, and York, after a reconcilation with the

king on 10th March, promised that in future when he wanted redress he would proceed according to law.

SOURCE.—*Historical Letters.* Ed Sir H. Ellis. London, 1824. First Series, vol i. p. 11.

Right worshipful friends, I recommend me unto you; and I suppose it is well known unto you, as well by experience as by common language said and reported throughout all Christendom, what laud, what worship, honour and manhood, was ascribed of all nations unto the people of this realm whilst the kingdom's sovereign lord stood possessed of his lordship in the realm of France and duchy of Normandy; and what derogation, loss of merchandise, lesion of honour and villainy, is said and reported generally unto the English nation for loss of the same; namely [especially] unto the Duke of Somerset, when he had the commandance and charge thereof: the which loss hath caused and encouraged the King's enemies for to conquer and get Gascony and Guienne, and now daily they make their advance for to lay siege unto Calais, and to other places in the marches there, for to apply them to their obeisance, and so for to come into the land with great puissance; to the final destruction thereof, if they might prevail, and to put the land in their subjection, which God defend. And on the other part it is to be supposed it is not unknown to you how that, after my coming out of Ireland,[1] I, as the King's true liegeman and servant (and ever shall be to my life's end) and for my true acquittal, perceiving the inconvenience before rehearsed, advised his Royal Majesty of certain articles concerning the weal and safeguard, as well of his most royal person, as the tranquillity and conservation of all this his realm: the which advertisements, howbeit that it was thought that they were full necessary, were laid apart, and to be of none effect, through the envy, malice and untruth of the said Duke of Somerset; which for my truth, faith and allegiance that I owe unto the King, and the good will and favour that I have to all the realm, laboureth continually about the King's highness for my undoing, and to corrupt my blood, and to disinherit me and my heirs, and such persons as be about me, without any desert or cause done or attempted on my part or theirs, I make our Lord Judge. Wherefore, worshipful friends, to the intent that every man shall know my purpose and desire for to declare me such as I am, I signify unto you

[1] In September, 1447, York was sent to Ireland as Royal Lieutenant with a commission for ten years. He remained there not quite three.

that, with the help and supportation of Almighty God, and of Our Lady, and of all the Company of Heaven, I, after 'long sufferance and delays, [though it is] not my will or intent to displease my sovereign Lord, seeing that the said Duke ever prevaileth and ruleth about the King's person, and that by this means the land is likely to be destroyed, am fully concluded to proceed in all haste against him with the help of my kinsmen and friends; in such wise that it shall prove to promote ease, peace, tranquillity and safeguard of all this land: and more, keeping me within the bounds of my allegiance, as it pertaineth to my duty, praying and exhorting you to fortify, enforce, and assist me, and to come to me with all diligence, wheresoever I shall be, or draw, with as many goodly and likely men as ye may, to execute the intent above said. Written under my signet at my castle of Ludlow, the 3rd day of February.

Furthermore I pray you that such strait appointment and ordinance be made that the people which shall come in your fellowship, or be sent unto me by your agreement, be demeaned in such wise by the way, that they do no offence, nor robbery, nor oppression npon the people, in lesion of justice. Written as above, etc.,

Your good friend,

R. YORK.

To my right worshipful friends, the bailiffs, burgesses and commons of the good town of Shrewsbury.

47. A MARRIAGE NEGOTIATION IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. (1476 or 1477).

Domestic correspondence is so rare before 1500 that the *Paston Letters* are considered a treasure. Otherwise they would not be entitled to great praise. The Paston family owned estates in Norfolk, were persons of consideration in their neighbourhood and took part in current politics. The letters which different members of the connection wrote extend in time from Henry VI. to Henry VII., and in subject from household *minutia* to questions of state. They fall short in wit, in learning and in personal dignity, but are a mine of information for the social state of England during the Wars of the Roses. As an instance of their sordid tone the bargaining over a marriage between John Paston and Margery Brews is selected.

SOURCE.—*Paston Letters,* Ed. James Gairdner. London, 1875. Vol. iii., p. 167.

Dame Elizabeth Brews to John Paston.

Right worshipful cousin, I recommend me to you, etc. And I sent my husband a bill of the matter that you know of, and he wrote another bill to me again touching the same matter; and he would that you should go to my mistress your mother, and essay if you might get the whole £20 into your hands, and then he would be more glad to many with you, and will give you an £100. And, cousin, that day that she is married, my father will give her fifty marks. But and we accord, I shall give you a greater treasure, that is, a witty gentlewoman, and if I say it, tooth good and virtuous; for if I should take money for her, I would not give her for a £1000. But, cousin, I trust you so much that I would think her well bestowed on you, and you were worth much more. And, cousin, a little after that you were gone, come a man from my cousin Derby, and brought me word that such a chance fell that he might not come at the day that was set, as I shall let you understand more plainly, when I speak with you, etc. But, cousin, and it would please you to come again what day that you will set, I dare undertake that they shall keep the same day; for I would be glad that, and my husband and you might accord in this marriage, that it might be my fortune to make an end in this matter between my cousins and you, that each of you might love other in friendly wise, etc. And, cousin, if this bill please not your intent, I pray you that it may be brent [burned], etc.

No more unto you at this time, but Almighty Jesus preserve you, etc

By your cousin,

DAME ELIZABETH BREWS.

Dame Elizabeth Brews to John Paston.

Cousin, I recommend me to you, thanking you heartily for the great cheer that ye made me and all my folks, the last time that I was at Norwich ; and you promised me that you would never break the matter to Margery until such time as you and I were at a point. But you have made her such advocate for you, that I may never have rest night nor day, for calling and crying upon to bring the said matter to effect, etc.

And, cousin, upon Friday is St. Valentine's Day, and every bird choseth him a make [mate], and if it like you to come on

Thursday at night, and so purvey you, that you may abide there till Monday, I trust to God, that you shall so speak to my husband; and I shall pray that we shall bring the matter to a conclusion, etc. For, cousin,

It is but a sympill oke,
That [is] cut down at the first stroke.

For you will be reasonable, I trust to God, which have you ever in His merciful keeping, etc.

By your cousin,
DAME ELIZABETH BREWS.

Margery Brews to John Paston.

Right reverend and worshipful, and my right well-beloved Valentine, I recommend me unto you, full heartily desiring to hear of your welfare, which I beseech Almighty God long for to preserve to His pleasure, and your heart's desire. And if it please you to hear of my welfare, I am not in good heele [health] of body, nor of heart, nor shall be till I hear from you;

For there wottys no creature what pein that I endure,
And for to be deede, I dare it not dysoure [discover].

And my lady my mother hath laboured the matter to my father full diligently, but she can no more get than you know of, for the which God knoweth I am full sorry. But if that you love me, as I trust verily that you do, you will not leave me therefore ; for if that you had not half the livelihood that you have, for to do the greatest labour that any woman alive might, 1 would not forsake you.

And yf ye commande me to keepe me true wherever I go,
I wyse I will do all my myght yowe to love and never no mo.
And yf my freends say, that I do amys,
Thei schal not me let so for to do,
Myne herte me bydds ever more to love yowe
Truly over all erthely thing,
And yf thei be never so wroth,
I tryst it schall be better in tyme commyng.

No more to you at this time, but the Holy Trinity have yon in keeping. And I beseech you that this bill be not seen of none earthly creature save only yourself, etc.

And this letter was indited at Topcroft, with full heavy heart, etc.

By your own
MARGERY BREWS,

Margery Brews to John ***Paston,***

Right worshipful and well-beloved Valentine, in my most humble wise, I recommend me to you, etc. And heartily I thank you for the letter which that you sent me by John Bekarton, whereby I understand and know, **that** you be purposed to come to Toperoft in short time, and without any errand or matter, but only to have a conclusion of the matter between my father and **you;** I would be most glad of any creature alive, so that the matter might grow to effect. And there as you say, and you come and find the matter no more towards you than you did aforetime, you would no more put my father and my lady my mother to any cost or business, for that cause, a good while after, which causeth my heart to be full heavy ; and if that you come, and the matter take to none effect, then should I be much more sorry and full of heaviness.

And as for myself, I have done and understood in the matter that I can or may, as God knoweth ; and I let you plainly understand that my father will no more money part with all in that behalf, but an £100 and fifty marks, which is right far from the accomplishment of your desire.

Wherefore, if that you could be content with that good, and my poor person, I would be the merriest maiden on ground ; and if you think not yourself so satisfied, or that you might have much more good, as I have understood by you before; good, true and loving Valentine, that you take no such labour upon you, as to come more for that matter, but let [it] pass, and never more to be spoken of, as I may be your true lover . . . during my life.

No more to you at this time, but Almighty Jesus preserve you, both body and soul, etc.

By your Valentine,

MARGERY BREWS.

48. THE PRINCES IN THE TOWER (1483).

More's nephew Rastell, who in 1557 edited the Life of Richard III., mentions 1513 as the date of composition. The value of its evidence against Richard has been often and warmly denied by reason of the source whence the author procured his facts, and of its' inaccuracy. When a boy More belonged to the household of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, an

active opponent of the late king. Information gained from such a quarter, or coloured by such an influence, could not, critics have urged, be trustworthy. Besides, the book contains errors of detail. Against these hostile arguments must be ranged More's shrewdness, probity and independence of judgment: nor are his slips unaccountable. For the present it may be said that, notwithstanding all attempts to reverse commonly accepted views of Richard's character, the burden of disproof rests with his defenders.

SOURCE.—*History of King Richard III.* Sic Thomas More (1478-1535). Ed. J. R. Lumby. Cambridge, 1833. P. 81.

But in the meantime for this present matter, I shall rehearse you the dolorous end of those babes, not after every way that I have heard, but after that way that I have so heard by such men and by such means, as me thinketh it were hard but it should be true. King Richard, after his coronation, taking his way to Gloucester to visit, in his new honour, the town of which lie bare the name of his old, devised as he rode to fulfil that thing which he before had intended. And forasmuch as his mind gave him that, his nephews living, men would not reckon that he could have right to the realm, he thought therefore without delay to rid them, as though the killing of his kinsmen could amend his cause, and make him a kindly king. Whereupon he sent one John Grene, whom he specially trusted, unto Sir Robert Brakenbery constable of the Tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same Sir Robert should in any wise put the two children to death. This John Grene did his errand unto Brakenbery kneeling before our Lady in the Tower, who plainly answered that he would never put them to death to die therefore, with which answer John Grene returning recounted the same to King Richard at Warwick yet in his way. Wherewith he took such displeasure and thought, that the same night, he said unto a secret page of his: " Ah, whom shall a man trust 1 Those that I have brought up myself, those that I had went [thought] would most surely serve me, even those fail me, and at my commandment will do nothing for me." " Sir, quoth his page, there lieth one on your pallet without, that I dare well say, to do your grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that he would refuse " ; meaning this by Sir James Tyrell, which was a man of right goodly personage, and for nature's gifts worthy to have served a much better prince, if he had well

served God, and by grace obtained as much truth and good will as he had strength and wit. The man had an high heart, and sore longed upward, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered and kept under by the means of Sir Richard Ratclife and Sir William Catesby, which longing for no more partners of the prince's favour, and namely not for him, whose pride they wist would bear no peer, kept him by secret drifts out of all secret trust. Which things this page well had marked and known. Wherefore this occasion offered, of very special friendship he took his time to put him forward, and by such wise do him good, that all the enemies he had except the devil, could never have done him so much hurt. For upon this page's words King Richard arose. (For this communication had he sitting at the, draught, a convenient carpet for such a council) and came out into the pallet chamber, on which he found in bed Sir James and Sir Thomas Tyrell, of person like and brethren of blood, but nothing of kin in conditions. Then said the king merely to them: "What, sirs, be ye in bed so Boon?" And calling up Sir James, brake to him secretly his mind in this mischievous matter. In which he found him nothing strange. Wherefore on the morrow he sent him to Brakenbery with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliver Sir James all the keys of the Tower for one night, to the end he might there accomplish the king's pleasure, in such thing as he had given him commandment. After which letter delivered and the keys received, Sir James appointed the night next ensuing to destroy them, devising before and preparing the means. The prince, as soon as the protector left that name and took himself as king, had it shewed unto him, that he should not reign, but his uncle should have the crown. At which word the prince sore abashed, began to sigh and said: "Alas, I would my uncle would let me have my life yet, though I lose my kingdom". Then he that told him the tale, used him with good words, and put him in the best comfort he could. But forthwith was the prince and his brother both shut up, and all other removed from them, only one called black Will or William Slaughter except, set to serve them and see them sure. After which time the prince never tied his points, not ought wrought of himself, but with that young babe his brother, lingered in thought and heaviness till this traitorous death delivered them of that wretchedness. For Sir James Tirel devised that they should be murdered in their beds. To the execution whereof, he appointed Miles Forest, one of the four that kept them, a fallow fleshed in. murder before time. To him he joined one

John Dighton, his own horse-keeper, a big, broad, square, strong knave. Then all the other being removed from them; this Miles Forest and John Dighton, about midnight (the silly [innocent] children lying in their beds) came into the chamber, and suddenly lapped them up among the clothes, so bewrapped them and entangled them, keeping down by force the feather bed and pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while smothered and stifled, their breath failing, they gave up to God their innocent souls into the joys of heaven, leaving to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bed. Which after that the wretches perceived, first by the struggling with the pains of death, and after long lying still, to be thoroughly dead; they laid their bodies naked out upon the bed, and fetched Sir James to see them. Which upon the sight of them, caused those murderers to bury them at the stair foot, metely deep in the ground under a great heap of stones. Then rode Sir James in great haste to King Richard, and shewed him all the manner of the murder, who gave him great thanks and, as some say, there made him knight. But he allowed not, as I have heard, the burying in so vile a corner, saying that he would have them buried in a better place, because they were a king's sons. Lo, the honourable courage of a king! Whereupon they say that a priest of Sir Robert Brakenbery took up the bodies again, and secretly enterred them in such place, as by the occasion of his death, which only knew it, could never since come to light. Very truth is it and well known, that at such time as Sir James Tirell was in the Tower, for treason committed against the most famous prince King Henry the Seventh, both Dighton and he were examined, and confessed the murder in manner above written, but whither the bodies were removed they could nothing tell. And thus as I have learned of them that much knew and little cause * had to lie, were these two noble princes, these innocent tender children, born of most royal blood, brought up in great wealth, likely long to live to reign and rule in the realm, by traitorous tyranny taken, deprived of their estate, shortly shut up in prison, and privily slain and murdered, their bodies cast God wot where by the cruel ambition of their unnatural uncle and his dispiteous tormentors.

49. DIVERSITIES OF ENGLISH SPEECH IN 1385 AND 1490 (1385).

(A) Under the same head may be combined two short comments upon the English language, one dated 1385 and the other 1490. The first comes from John of Trevisa, who in 1387 finished a translation of Higden's *Polychronicon.* He was a Cornish man removed to Gloucestershire, and he employed the southern dialect of English. In this passage he has so altered and enlarged Higden's text that it is simply a point of departure. The *Polychronicon* is a Latin compilation in seven books extending to the reign of Edward III., and towards its close gaining independent value as it assumes a contemporary character. Higden was a Benedictine monk of St. Werburg at Chester, and lived in the first half of the fourteenth century.

SOURCE.—Higden's *Polychronicon.* Trans, from Latin into middle English by John of Trevisa (fl. 1387). In *Specimens of Early English.* Ed. Morris and Skeat. Vol. ii., p. 240. Oxford, 1879. Literally translated into modern English for this edition by G. E Moyse.

As it is known, how many kinds of people are in this island, there are also of so many people languages and tongues ; nevertheless Welshmen and Scots, that are not intermingled with other nations, hold well nigh their first language and speech, except that the Scots that were sometime confederate and dwelt with the Picts, draw somewhat after their speech. But the Flemings that dwell in the west side of Wales, have left their foreign speech and speak Saxon sufficiently. Also Englishmen, though they had from the beginning three kinds of speech, Southern, Northern and Middle speech (in the middle of the land), as they came from three kinds of people of Germany, nevertheless by intermixture and mingling first with Danes and afterwards with Normans, in many the native language is impaired and some use foreign stammering, chattering, snarling and gnarling, hissing with the teeth.[1] This impairing of the birth-tongue is because of two things: one is, for that children in school, against the usage and manner of all other nations, are compelled for to leave their own language and for

[1] The meaning of several words in this passage is obscure.

to construe their lessons and their things in French, and have done so since the Normans came first into England. •» Also gentlemen's children are taught for to speak French from the time that they are rocked in their cradle and can speak and play with a child's brooch ; and countrified men wish to liken themselves to gentlemen and try with great diligence for to speak French, for to be more thought of.

This custom was much used before the first plague [A.D. 1348-1349] and is since somewhat changed. For John Cornwall, a master of grammar, changed the teaching in grammar-schools and construction of French into English; and Richard Pencrych learned that manner of teaching from him and other men from Pencrych ; so that now, the year of our Lord a thousand three hundred fourscore and five—of the second king Richard after the Conquest, nine—in all the grammar-schools of England children leave French and construe and learn in English, and have thereby advantage on one side and disadvantage on another. Their advantage is, that they learn their grammar in less time than children were wont to do : [the] disadvantage is that now children of the grammar-school know no more French than their left heel knows, and that is harm for them if they cross the sea and travel in foreign lands, and in many [other] cases too. Also gentlemen have now largely ceased teaching their children French. It seems a great wonder how English that is the birth-tongue of Englishmen and their own language and tongue is so diverse of sound in this island, and the language of Normandy is a stranger from another land and hath one kind of sound among all men that speak it aright in England. Nevertheless there are as many diverse kinds of French in the realm of France as there are diverse kinds of English in the realm of England.

Also of the aforesaid Saxon tongue,—that is divided in three, and has with difficulty been retained by a few countrified men, and it is a great wonder ; for men of the east with men of the west, as it were under the same part of heaven," accord more in sound of speech than men of the north with men of the south; therefore it is that Mercians who are men of middle England, as it were partners of the ends, understand better the side languages northern and southern, than northern and southern understand each other.

All the language of the Northumbrians, and especially of York, is so shrill, piercing and harsh and unshapely that we southern men can scarcely understand that language. I believe that that is because that they are near foreign men and

aliens that speak in foreign wise; and also because that the kings of England dwell always far from that country ; for they prefer the south country, and if they go to the north country they go with power and retinue. The reason why they are more in the south country than in the north may be, better cornland, more people, more noble cities and more profitable havens.

(1490).

(B) The second of these excerpts relating to the English tongue is by Caxton. About twenty years after the invention of printing he established a press at Westminster, and was brought face to face with practical difficulties arising from the fluidity of language. At this point we quit the Middle Ages, and the reader will perceive that with the disuse of Latin, the spread of new ideas, and the growing complexity of civilised life, our selections assume a different character. The few remaining translations are (one or two excepted) from modern languages, and the pervading tone becomes less foreign, more familiar.

Preface to *Eneydos*. William Caxton (1422 ?-1491). Taken from quotation in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Ed. ix., Edinburgh, 1878. Vol. viii., p. 399.

I doubted that it should not please some gentlemen, which late blamed me, saying, "That in my translations I had over curious terms, which could not be understood of common people," and desired me to use old and homely terms in my translations. And fain would I satisfy every man; and so to do, took an old book and read therein ; and certainly the English was so rude and broad that I could not well understand it. And also my lord abbot of Westminster showed to me late certain evidences written in old English for to reduce it into our English now used. And certainly it was written in such wise that it was more like to Dutch than to English; I could not reduce nor bring it to be understood. And certainly, our language now used varieth far from that which was used and spoken when I was born. For we Englishmen are born under the domination of the moon, which is never steadfast, but ever varying, waxing one season, and waneth and decreaseth another season. And that common English that is spoken in one shire varieth from another. In so much that in my days it happened that certain

merchants were in a ship in the Thames, fop to have sailed over the sea into Zealand, and for lack of wind they tarried at the foreland, and went to land for to refresh them. And one of them named Sheffelde, a mercer, came into an house and asked for meat, and specially he asked after egges, and the good wife answered that she could speak no French. And the merchant was angry, for he also could speak no French, but would have had egges; and she understood him not. And then at last another said that he would have eyren ; then the good wife said that she understood him well. Lo ! what should a man in these days now write, egges or eyren ? Certainly, it is hard to please every man, by cause of diversity and change of language. For in these days, every man that is, in any reputation in his country will utter his communication and matters in such manners and terms that few men shall understand them. And some honest and great clerks have been with me, and desired me to write the most curious terms that I could find. And thus between plain, rude, and curious, I stand abashed ; but in my judgment, the common terms that be daily used are lighter to be understood than the old and ancient English.

50, A VENETIAN VIEW OF ENGLISH SOCIETY (1496-1502).

If we assumed that the progress of English civilisation had been steady ever since the Norman Conquest, we should expect the reign of Henry VII. to be richer in historical literature than, let us say, the reign of Henry III. It inherited the advantage of more than 200 years' experience; it was a time of peace and prosperity coming after a generation of violence; and the newly-invented printing press gave authors a much larger audience than they could reach in the days of Matthew Paris. The astonishing fact is that since William the Conqueror no reign of anything like equal length is so poorly recorded by native chroniclers. One reason, which partially explains this circumstance, is that in the absence of ware and domestic revolutions the old school annalist found himself without topics. Nor had the new school historian who was to use the English language yet arisen. Fortunately there are several foreigners whose summaries of English events or notices of English society can be trusted, and among these the Italians

easily lead. Italy was then the teacher of Europe, and every piece of information about England from an independent Italian source is valuable. In the *Venetian Relation* we see the impressions of an alien who was familiar with a higher standard of domestic refinement than England could show. The work is anonymous, but was probably written by some one attached to the legation at the time when Francesco Capella was ambassador at London.

SOURCE.—*Venetian Relation.* Trans. 0. A. Sneyd. Camden Society, 1847. P. 20.

The English are, for the most part, both men and women of all ages, handsome and well-proportioned ; though not quite so much so, in my opinion, as it had been asserted to me, before your Magnificence went to that kingdom; and I have understood from persons acquainted with these countries, that the Scotch are much handsomer; and that the English are great lovers of themselves, and of everything belonging to them ; they think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England ; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that " he looks like an Englishman," and that "it is a great pity that he should not be an Englishman " ; and when they partake of any delicacy with a foreigner, they ask him, " whether such a thing is made in *their* country?" They take great pleasure in having a quantity of excellent victuals, and also in remaining a long time at table, being very sparing of wine when they drink it at their own expense. And this, it is said, they do in order to induce their other English guests to drink in moderation also; not considering it any inconvenience for three or four persons to drink out of the same cup. Few people keep wine in their own houses, but buy it for the most part at a tavern; and when they mean to drink a great deal they go to the tavern, and this is done not only by the men, but by ladies of distinction. The deficiency of wine, however, is amply supplied by the abundance of ale and beer, to the use of which these people are become so habituated, that, at an entertainment where there is plenty of wine, they will drink them in preference to it, and in great quantities. Like discreet people, however, they do not offer them to Italians, unless they should ask for them; and *they* think that no greater honour can be conferred or received, than to invite others to eat with them, or

to be invited themselves; and they would sooner give five or six ducats to provide an entertainment for a person, than a groat to assist him in any distress.

They all from time immemorial wear very fine clothes, and are extremely polite in their language; which, although it is as well as the Flemish derived from the German, has lost its natural harshness, and is pleasing enough as they pronounce it. In addition to their civil speeches, they have the incredible courtesy of remaining with their heads uncovered with an admirable grace, whilst they talk to each other. They are gifted with good understandings, and are very quick at everything they apply their minds to ; few, however, excepting the clergy, are addicted to the study of letters ; and this is the reason why any one who has learning, though he may be a layman, is called by them *a Clerk.* And yet they have great advantages for study, there being two general Universities in the kingdom, Oxford and Cambridge; in which are many colleges founded for the maintenance of poor scholars. And your Magnificence lodged at one named Magdalen, in the University of Oxford, of which the founders having been prelates, so the scholars are also ecclesiastics.

The common people apply themselves to trade, or to fishing, or else they practise navigation; and they are so diligent in mercantile pursuits, that they do not fear to make contracts on usury.

Although they all attend mass every day, and say many Paternosters in public (the women carrying long rosaries in their hands, and any who can read taking the office of Our Lady with them, and with some companion reciting it in the church verse by verse, in a low voice, after the manner of churchmen), they always hear mass on Sunday in their parish church, and give liberal alms, because they may not offer less than a piece of money of which fourteen are equivalent to a golden ducat; nor do they omit any form incumbent upon good Christians; there are, however, many who have various opinions concerning religion.

They have a very high reputation in arms; and from the great fear the French entertain of them, one must believe it to be justly acquired. But I have it on the best information, that when the war is raging most furiously, they will seek for good eating, and all their other comforts, without thinking of what harm might befal them.

They have an antipathy to foreigners, and imagine that they never come into their island, but to make themselves masters

of it, and to usurp their goods ; neither have they any sincere and solid friendships amongst themselves, insomuch that they do not trust each other to discuss either public or private affairs together, in the confidential manner we do in Italy. And although their dispositions are somewhat licentious, I never have noticed any one, either at court or amongst the lower orders, to be in love; whence one must necessarily conclude, either that the English are the most discreet lovers in the world, or that they are incapable of love. I say this of the men, for I understand it is quite the contrary with the women, who are very violent in their passions. Howbeit the English keep a very jealous guard over their wives, though anything may be compensated in the end by the power of money.

The want of affection in the English is strongly manifested towards their children; for after having kept them at home till they arrive at the age of seven or nine years at the utmost, they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the houses of other people, binding them generally for another seven or nine years. And these are called apprentices, and during that time they perform all the most menial offices; and few are born who are exempted from this fate, for every one, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others, whilst he, in return, receives those of strangers into his own. And on inquiring their reason for this severity, they answered that they did it in order that their children might learn better manners. But I, for my part, believe that they do it because they like to enjoy all their comforts themselves, and that they are better served by strangers than they would be by their own children. Besides which the English being great epicures, and very avaricious by nature, indulge in the most delicate fare themselves and give their household the coarsest bread, and beer, and cold meat baked on Sunday for the week, which, however, they allow them in great abundance. That if they had their own children at home, they would be obliged to give them the same food they made use of for themselves. That if the English sent their children away from home to learn virtue and good manners, and took them back again when their apprenticeship was over, they might, perhaps, be excused; but they never return, for the girls are settled by their patrons, and the boys make the best marriages they can, and, assisted by their patrons, not by their fathers, they also open a house and strive diligently by this means to make some fortune for themselves ; whence It proceeds that, having no hope of their paternal inheritance, they all become so greedy of gain that they feel

no shame in asking, almost "for the love of God," for the smallest sums of money; and to this it may be attributed, that there is no injury that can be committed against the lower orders of the English, that may not be atoned for by money.

81. JOHN CABOT'S FIRST VOYAGE (1497).

Soncino was the representative in England of Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, and the information with which he supplied his master concerning John Cabot was sent off shortly after the *Matthew* returned to Bristol. Cabot himself was an Italian like Columbus, his native land being prolific in navigators as England afterwards was in colonists. His landfall on the coast of North America disclosed a new sphere of English influence, and opened an era in Anglo-Saxon history which is hardly less important than the settlement of the race in Britain. Cabot set out with the intention of reaching Marco Polo's " Cipango," '* where he believed all the spices of the world grow,'' and thought that he had actually touched on some part of Asiatic soil.

SOURCE.—*Annuario Scientifico . . . del* 1865. Milano, 1866. P. 700. Raimondo de Sonoino *(fl. circ.* 1500). Titans. G. E. Weare in *Cabot's Discovery of North America.* London, 1897. P. 147.

Perhaps your Excellency, in the press of so much business, will not be disturbed to learn that his Majesty [Henry VII.] has gained a part of Asia without a stroke of the sword. In this Kingdom is a popular Venetian called Messer Joanne Caboto, a man of considerable ability, most skilful in navigation, who having seen the most serene Kings, first him of Portugal, then him of Spain, that they had occupied unknown islands, thought to make a similar acquisition for his Majesty [Henry VII.]. And having obtained the royal privileges which gave him the use of the land found by him, provided the right of possession was reserved to the Crown, he departed in a little ship from the port of Bristol, in the western part of this kingdom, with eighteen persons, who placed their fortunes with him. Passing Ireland more to the west, and then ascending towards the north, he began to navigate the eastern part of the ocean. Leaving, for some days, the north to the right hand, and having wandered enough, he came at last to main land, where he planted the royal banner, took possession for his Highness [Henry VII.], made

certain marks and returned. The said Messer Joanne, as he is a foreigner and poor, would not be believed, if his partners, who are all Englishmen, and from Bristol, did not testify to the truth of what he tells. This Messer Joanne has the representation of the world on a map, and also on a globe, which he has made, and he shows by them where he arrived, and going towards the East, has passed much of the country of Tanais.[1] And they say that the land is fertile and temperate, and think that the red wood grows there, and the silks, and they affirm that there the sea is full of fish that can be taken not only with nets, but with fishing-baskets, a stone being placed in the basket to sink it in the water, and this, as I have said, is told me by the said Messer Joanne.

And the said Englishmen, his partners, say that they can bring so many fish that this kingdom will have no more business with Islanda (Iceland), and that from that country there will be a very great trade in the fish which they call stock-fish (stochfissi). But Messer Joanne has his thoughts directed to a greater undertaking, for he thinks of going, after this place is occupied, along the coast farther toward the east until he is opposite the island called Cipango,[2] situate in the equinoctial region, where he believes all the spices of the world grow, and where there are also gems. And he says that he was once at Mecca, where from remote countries spices are carried by caravan, and that those carrying them, being asked where those spices grew, said they did not now, but that they came with other merohandise from remote countries to their home by other caravans, and that the same information was repeated by those who brought the spices in turn to them. And he argues that if the oriental people tell to those of the south that these things are brought from places remote from them, and thus from hand to hand, presupposing the rotundity of the earth, it follows that the last carry to the northern, toward the west. And he tells this in a way that makes it quite plain to me, and I believe it. And what is a greater thing, his Majesty, who is learned and not prodigal, places confidence in what he says, and since his return, provides well for him, as this Messer Joanne tells me.

And in the spring he says that his Majesty will arm some ships, and will give him all the criminals, so that he may go to this country and plant a colony there.

[1] Probably Sonoino " meant that Cabot had reached the regions of Asia on its north-eastern side " (Dawson). The point is ambiguous and debated.

* Probably Japan.

And in this way he hopes to make London a greater place for spices than Alexandria. And the principals of the business are citizens of Bristol, great mariners that now know where to go. They say that the voyage will not take more than fifteen days, if fortune favours them after leaving Ireland. I have talked with a Burgundian, a companion of Messer Joanne, who affirms the same, and who is willing to go, since the Admiral, as Messer Joanne is already styled, has given him an island,[1] and has also given another to his barber, a Genoese, and they regard the two as counts, and my lord, the admiral, the chief. And I believe that some poor Italian friars will go on the voyage, who have the promise of being bishops. And I, being a friend of the admiral, if I wished to go, could have an archbishopric.

52. THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING IN ENGLAND (*circ.* 1500-1520).

Polydore Vergil was a scholarly Italian and also a man of business, who collected Peter's Pence. His English residence began in 1502 or 1503. The merits of his *Historia Anglica* are style, discrimination and a wide command of fact nob otherwise reported. We may regret that he has said nothing of Grocyn and Linacre, the pioneers of Greek scholarship in England, yet when reading his rapid survey of the means whereby the country received that new learning which had been matured in Italy, it will appear appropriate that such a passage should come from an Italian pen. John Colet, whom Polydore mentions so prominently as the founder of St. Paul's School, should be connected with Sir Thomas More and Desiderius Erasmus, his close friends and associates in the reforming enterprises of the Oxford movement.

SOURCE.—*Historia Anglica.* Polydore Vergil (1470?-1555). Basel, 1570. P. 617. Trans. 0. W. Colby.

During the same period the excellent literature of Greece and Rome, which had been excluded, shut out and banished from Italy by unholy wars, extended itself across the Alps throughout all Germany, France, England and Scotland. The

[1] Compare Don Quixote's promise to Sancho Panza.

Germans, although they had been formerly the least learned of all races, after they received it into their towns became especially erudite. The same boon was bestowed by a good and wise God upon the French, the English, the Scotch, to say nothing of others. Indeed it is by letters alone that our good deeds are immortalised and the memory of our name preserved. Therefore very many distinguished men and high-born women everywhere began to aid the study of liberal arts and of learning; to promote the more ardent pursuit of which among the English, Margaret the king's mother, a most saintly woman, at the instance of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, a man of the highest learning, grace and uprightness, reared at noble and famous Cambridge two splendid edifices. In them she established two bodies of students, and dedicated the one to Christ our Saviour, the other to St. John the Evangelist, and she provided large endowments for their maintenance. In this same university John Alcock, a father of shining righteousness and virtue, had founded a little while before a college which he consecrated to Jesus, so that with him for a leader those who should there devote themselves to study should not wander, but should by the straight way advance to receive the true reward of glory and praise which He has promised to well-doers.

At the same time William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln, prompted by the example of Margaret, established a college at Oxford in Brasyn Nose Hall for youths who were following literary pursuits. This hall had its name from a statue with a huge brass face which stood just outside the gate. Moreover Richard, Bishop of Winchester, wrought a similar work at Oxford, and called his college Corpus Christi.

The same spur of virtue and glory incited John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, to promote in the same wise the study of good literature. He, illustrious alike for merit of soul and mind and for uprightness of life and conduct, was deemed by his countrymen to be almost another Apostle Paul. Nature made him holy and devout, so that from the time when he left off his boyish studies he betook him to divinity, and chose Paul for his teacher, to such purpose both at Oxford and Cambridge and afterward in Italy that he became a man finished, as the saying is, to the nail. When he came home he began to lecture upon the Epistles of St. Paul at London, his birthplace, and often to preach in church : and since his life and teaching were at one, people assented in wonderful wise to his good precepts: since he was the most temperate of men, only eating once a day, not thirsting for honours nor seeking riches, which nevertheless

followed him as he fled from them. He was the only survivor of the twenty-two children whom his father, Henry Colet, a citizen of the utmost modesty and weight, and his noble wife Christiana, had; and he inherited his father's estate.

Then John, seeing that many of his fellow citizens were in the habit of shunning quiet and serious men, thought that it would be much better for themselves if they were educated. Therefore at his own cost he determined to help the youth of London to *get* learning, and about this time established on the east of St. Paul's cemetery a splendid school. He made William Lily[1] head master, and there was another master to teach the beginners, so that provision was made for literature, good morals and earnestness: for Lily was such a man as Horace speaks of when he says *integer vitœ scelerisque purus.* After passing some years in Italy to complete his education he came home, and was the first of the English to teach his countrymen good literature. Before him, Cornelius Vitellius, a noble Italian from the sea-coast town of Corneto in Etruria, first taught literature to the youth of Oxford. He was next followed by John Ritwyse, a good and learned man, and then by Richard Jones. Colet paid these masters from his own purse year after year, to the end that they and afterwards others to all time should give free instruction. And as, thanks to St. Paul's School, the youth of London is far more polished than it used to be, so throughout all England studies and students prosper.

53. A VENETIAN AMBASSADOR'S IMPRESSION OF HENRY VIII. AND WOLSEY (1519).

The Republic of Venice was an aristocracy which despite many attacks preserved its independence from the early Middle Ages till 1797. Situated among powerful foes and rivals, it was during several centuries an object of envy, and depended largely for safety on the skill of its statesmen. Hence it cultivated the art of diplomacy, and Venetian envoys were a match for any in Europe. They reported to the seignory everything, great and small, which could have a bearing on public policy, and the importance of Venetian archives is largely due to this pains taking notice of details, Giustiniani's items about Henry VIII

[1] 1468 ?-1522. Author of the celebrated Latin Grammar.

and Wolsey are the jottings of a trained hand, and show the fulness of information which the home government required.[1] He was ambassador to England from 1515 to 1519.

SOURCE.—*(A) Calendar of State Papers, Venetian.* Ed. Rawdon Brown. Vol. i., p. 559. Rolls Series.

His majesty is twenty-nine years old and extremely handsome. Nature could not have done more for him. He is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom; a great deal handsomer than the King of France; very fair and his whole frame admirably proportioned. On hearing that Francis I. wore a beard, he allowed his own to grow, and as it is reddish, he has now a beard that looks like gold. He is very accomplished, a good musician, composes well, is a most capital horseman, a fine jouster, speaks good French, Latin and Spanish, is very religious, hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. He hears the office every day in the queen's chamber, that is to say vesper and compline. He is very fond of hunting, and never takes his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he causes to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he means to take, and when one is tired he mounts another, and before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture. He gambles with the French hostages, to the amount occasionally, it is said, of from 6000 to 8000 ducats in a day. Ho is affable and gracious, harms no one, does not covet his neighbour's goods, and is satisfied with his own dominions, having often said to me, " Sir Ambassador, we want all potentates to content themselves with their own territories; we are satisfied with this island of ours ". He seems extremely desirous of peace.

He is very,rich. His father left him ten millions of ready money in gold, of which he is supposed to have spent one-half in the war against France, when he had three armies on foot; one crossed the Channel with him, another was in the field against Scotland, and the third remained with the queen in reserve.

His revenues amount to about 350,000 ducats annually, and are derived from estates, forests and meres, the customs, hereditary and confiscated property, the duchies of Lancaster, York,

[1] These citations are Rawdon Brown's abstracts of Giustiniani's Utters, not translations of the original.

Cornwall and Suffolk, the county palatine of Chester and others, the principality of Wales, the export duties, the wool staple, the great seal, the annates[1] yielded by Church benefices, the Court of Wards and from New Year's gifts; for on the first day of the year it is customary for his majesty to make presents to everybody, but the value of those he receives in return greatly exceeds his own outlay. His majesty's expenses may be estimated at 100,000 ducats, those in ordinary having been reduced from 100,000 to 56,000, to which must be added 16,000 for salaries, 5000 for the stable, 5000 for the halberdiers, who have been reduced from 500 to 150, and 16,000 for the wardrobe, for he is the best dressed sovereign in the world. His robes are very rich and superb, und he puts on new clothes every holiday.

SOURCE.—*(B) Calendar of State Papers, Venetian.* Ed. Rawdon Brown. Vol. i., p. 560. Rolls Series.

The Cardinal of York is the same as he whom I have styled Orion, in a work composed by me. He is of low origin and has two brothers, one of whom holds an untitled benefice, and the other is pushing his fortune. He rules both the king and the entire kingdom. On my first arrival in England he used to say to me, " His majesty will do so and so ". Subsequently, by degrees, he forgot himself, and commenced saying, " We shall do so and so". At this present he has reached such a pitch that he says, " I shall do so and so". He is about forty-six years old, very handsome, learned, extremely eloquent, of vast ability and indefatigable. He alone transacts the same business as that which occupies all the magistracies, offices and councils of Venice, both civil and criminal, and all State affairs likewise are managed by him, let their nature be what it may.

He is thoughtful, and has the reputation of being extremely just. He favours the people exceedingly, and especially the poor, hearing their suits and seeking to despatch them instantly. He also makes the lawyers plead gratis for all who are poverty-stricken. He is in very great repute, seven times more so than if he were Pope. He has a very fine palace, where one traverses eight rooms before reaching his audience chamber. They are all hung with tapestry, which is changed once a week. Wherever he is, he always has a sideboard of plate worth 25,000 ducats. His silver is estimated at 150,000 ducats. In his

[1] First fruits. A sum of money exacted from a newly appointed bishop.

own chamber there is always a cupboard with vessels to the amount of 30,000 ducats, as is customary with the English nobility. He is supposed to be very rich indeed in money, plate and household stuff.

The Archbishopric of York yields him about 14,000 ducats, and the Bishopric of Bath 8000. One-third of the fees derived from the Great Seal are his, the other two are divided between the king and the chancellor. The cardinal's share amounts to about 5000 ducats. By New Year's gifts he makes about 15,000 ducats.

64. A LETTER OF WOLSEY TO PACE (1524).

Save for relations with France, mediaeval England was almost wholly isolated from European politics. At intervals an individual foreigner, like Peter of Savoy in the reign of Henry III., or the blind king of Bohemia at Crecy, touches her history at some point; but statecraft was little advanced then, and geographically England lay upon the fringe of civilisation. Furthermore, the Wars of the Roses reduced her greatly in the scale of powers, and when Wolsey entered office her prestige abroad was low. He earned lasting rank among statesmen in that by diplomacy he advanced England to unquestioned eminence, playing her off according to circumstances against France and Spain. He may be considered our first foreign minister, and Richard Pace, to whom this letter is addressed, comes among the earliest of English ambassadors. Pace was an excellent scholar, and a churchman who rose to the deanery of St. Paul's. In 1524 he represented his country at Venice, and was entrusted with the task of detaching that Republic from the French interest Wolsey's instructions will convey an idea of how English diplomacy when in its infancy was conducted.

SOURCE.—*Letter of Instructions to Richard Pace.* Thomas Wolsey (1471 ?-1530). Strype's *Memorials.* Oxford, 1822. Vol. i., part ii., p. 84.

I commend me unto you in my most hearty manner. Since my last writing unto you, I have received divers and sundry your letters to the King's Highness, and to me directed, bearing

date as well in Mantua and Verona, as also in Trent, after your arrival there. Whereof the last be of the 24th day of December. In your said letters you have full discreetly advertised the King's Highness, and me, of the occurrences in those parts, with such matters, as the Duke of Bourbon[1] hath desired you to write on his behalf. For which your diligence the King's Grace giveth unto you hearty thanks, like as I do the semblable [same].

. . . . . .

His Highness and I desire you . . . to persuade the Venetians, upon such great and notable considerations as be mentioned in the same copy, touching the dangers imminent unto all Christendom, firmly and constantly to stick and adhere at this time unto the emperor's party, and not to suffer themselves to be brought into such danger as they are like to be, if the French king were lord of Naples and Milan. Who, they may be well assured, would be no quiet neighbour unto them; nor should they, without their great trouble and peril, conveniently resist or withstand any [of] his pleasures or commandments. The example whereof, and of his *entente* towards that seigniory, if he may have an overhand in Italy, appeared at such time as the late French King compassed and brought about the great league[2] of the Pope, Emperor, himself, and the King of Spain then being, with other great princes against the same.

And in this matter you shall the better animate and encourage them, if you say secretly to the Duke and others of the council, that it is not unknown to the King's Highness, how inhumanely the Spaniards have ordered themselves in Italy, giving thereby cause and occasion to such as favour the emperor's party to decline from the same, and rather to desire and suffer the Frenchmen there, not being so cruel, than the Spaniards. But you shall say that the matters well proceeding at this time, the King's Highness trusteth to do so much with the emperor, that he shall give the investiture of the duchy of Milan clearly unto the Duke of the same. Whereby Italy may be delivered both from the Frenchmen and also the Spaniards. And thus, by the best means you can, to further, by all the ways to you possible, the exclusion of the French King from this enterprise of Naples, and the strengthening the emperor's folks, to resist him in the duchy of Milan.

Whereunto if the Venetians will not condescend, like as they shall be partners of the peril, the French King having

[1] The Constable of Bourbon, who deserted Francis I. for Charles V.
[2] The League of Cambray, 1508.

such a foot in Italy, that he may command them at his pleasure, so they shall be of the first that shall suffer and put their state 'and dominion with the rest of Christendom in trouble, hazard and danger.

You shall say also unto them, that if their breaking their pacts, bands and conventions with the emperor, should give unto the French King commodity to attain the realm of Naples, the King's Highness cannot repute them as the emperor's friends, but rather his enemies: whereof in that case, as God forbid, should grow and ensue also cause of enmity between the King's Grace and them. In the declaration whereof you must handle them in doulce and pleasant manner ; putting them in remembrance of the great intelligence and friendship, that hath of long season continued between this realm and that seigniory. Which to be discontinued in their default, the King's Highness, for the great favour that his Grace beareth to the same, would be right loth to see. And the point of enmity between the King and them not to be spoken of, unless then you shall see a desperation in their proceeding.

It shall also be well done, that at some convenient time, as of yourself, you persuade the Duke of Venice, that these great things depending, touching as well the continuance of the good intelligence between the King's Grace and them, as other matters of weighty importance, concerning the state of their seigniory; it shall be right expedient for conducing of things to the better train and purpose, that they have an ambassador here resident, by whose means the matters may be directed to much the more perfection, as by their wisdoms they can well consider. And what answer shall be made unto you, upon all the premises, with other occurrences and successes there, I pray you to advertise me with diligence from time to time, as the King's and my special trust is in you. And thus right heartily fare ye well. At my place beside Westminster the 16th day of January.

Your loving friend,
T. CAR[LIS]- EBOR.[1]

88. SHEEP WALKS (1516).

Every Englishman of moderate education has heard the name Utopia, and knows what the adjective Utopian means. The title of More's book has also been adopted by several European

[1] Thomas, Cardinal and Archbishop of York.

languages to signify an ideal state which is impossible of attainment. The pity is that so few read *Utopia.* More sets out by cataloguing the worst social and political evils which he sees around him, especially in England. He then professes that he has a remedy, namely the common ownership of all things. Part I. states in dialogue form the main species of existing wrongs, and Part I I . contains a sketch of the communal government which is established in Utopia (Nowhere). Historically Part I. excels Part I I., and is invaluable to students of the period which lies just before the Reformation. One of More's complaints is that the monks evict tenants from their farms because wool-raising pays better than agriculture. It has been doubted whether the extent of this hardship was as he represented, but it was certainly a cause of discontent. With regard to the author, a considerable portion of More's life is part and parcel of his country's history. His writings prove his strength of mind, his learning, his warmth of sympathies and the quickness of his wit.

BOURCE.—*Utopia.* Sir T. More (1478-1635). Ed. Arber. Birmingham, 1869. P. 40.

There is another [cause of stealing] which, as I suppose is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that? quoth the Cardinal;[1] forsooth, my lord (quoth I) your sheep that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up, and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses and cities. For look in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest, and therefore dearest wool, there noblemen and gentlemen : yea and certain abbots, holy men no doubt, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits, that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure nothing profiting, yea much noying [annoying] the weal public : leave no ground for tillage, they enclose all into pastures : they throw down houses : they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing, but only the church to be made a sheephouse. And

[1] John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury (1420 7-1600).

as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, lands and parks, those good holy men turn all dwelling places and all glebeland into desolation and wilderness. Therefore that one covetous and insatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country may compass about and enclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else either by coveyne [deceit] and fraud, or by violent oppression they be put besides it, or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all: by one means therefore or by other, either by hook or crook they must needs depart away, poor, selye [innocent], wretched fools, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers, with their young babes, arid their whole household small in substance, and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands. Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it might well abide the sale : yet being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of naught. And when they have wandered abroad till that be spent, what can they then else do but steal, and then justly pardy be hanged, or else go about a begging. And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not: whom no man will set to work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto. For one shepherd or herdman is enough to eat up that ground with cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requisite. And this is also the cause why victuals be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wool is so risen, that poor folks, which were wont to work it, and make cloth thereof, be now able to buy none at all. And by this means very many bo forced to forsake work, and to give themselves to idleness. For after that so much ground was enclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of sheep died of the rot, such vengeance God took of their inordinate and insatiable covetousness, sending among the sheep that pestiferous murrain, which much more justly should have fallen on the sheep masters' own heads. And though the number of sheep increase never so fast, yet the price falleth not one mite, because there be so few sellers. For they be almost all come into a few rich men's hands, whom no need forceth to sell before they list, and they list not before they may sell as dear as they list. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kinds of cattle, yea and that so

much the more, because that after farms plucked down, and husbandry decayed, there is no man that passeth for the breeding of young stoore [stock].[1] For these rich men bring not up the young ones of great cattle as they do lambs. But first they buy them abroad very cheap, and afterward when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them again exceeding dear. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommodity hereof is not yet felt. For yet they make dearth only in those places, where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence where they be bred faster than they can be brought up: then shall there also be felt great dearth, stoore beginning there to fail, where the ware is bought. Thus the unreasonable couvetousness of a few hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of your land, in the, which thing the chief felicity of your realm did consist.

56. AN OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO HENRY VIII. (1534).

This " Form or Example of the Profession and Oath exhibited to Henry VIII., king of England, by the Bishops and Clergy assembled in the Convocation in Parliament held anno Domini, 1534," will indicate the length to which by that date the revolt from Rome had gone. Parliament met in January, and in March the pope, Clement VII., finally pronounced that Henry's marriage with Catharine was valid, declaring the king excommunicate if he would not accept the decision. Doctrinal divergence from the mother church had not yet advanced so far as ecclesiastical.

SOURCE.—*Exemplar Professionis et Juramenti.* Trans, in *Sowers' Tracts.* Vol. i., p. 35.

To the most invincible and our most pious Lord in Christ, the Lord Henry the eighth, by the grace of God, king of England and France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and on earth, under Christ, supreme head of the Church of England, your humble subjects and most obliged supplicants.

Reverence and obedience due to, and worthy of so excellent and mighty a prince, with all honour of subjection.

We, not constrained by force or fear, not hereunto induced or seduced by any deceit or other sinister machination, but out of our own certain knowledge, deliberate minds and mere and

[1] *Utopia* was written in Latin. The original form of this last phrase is : *non sunt qui foeturam curent.*

spontaneous wills, do, purely of our own accord, and absolutely in the word of our priesthood, profess, promise and swear, unto your most illustrious majesty, our singular and most high lord and patron, Henry the eighth, by the grace of God King of England and France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and on earth of the English Church, immediately under Christ, supreme head : That from henceforth we will promise or give, or cause to be given, to. no foreign emperor, king, prince, or prelate, nor to the bishop of Rome (whom they call Pope) fidelity or obedience in word or writing, simple or by oath; but at all times, in every case and condition, we will follow and observe, and to our power defend the parts of your royal majesty, and of your successors, against every man whom we shall know or suspect to be an adversary to your majesty, or to your successors : and we will sincerely and heartily perforin fidelity and obedience to your royal majesty alone, as to our supreme prince, and head of the English Church : we profess that the papacy of Rome is not ordained by God in holy writ, but that it is of human tradition; we constantly affirm, and openly do declare, and will declare, and will diligently take care that others shall so publish the same. Neither will we privately or publicly treat with any mortal man, or give our consent, that the bishop of Rome may here have, or exercise any longer, any authority or jurisdiction, or that he may hereafter be restored to any. And we do knowingly, publicly aver the modern bishop of Rome or his successor in that bishopric whosoever, not to bo pope, nor high priest, nor universal bishop, nor the most high lord, but only bishop or prelate of Rome, as by our ancestors used : and the laws and statutes of this realm, at any time set forth and enacted, for the extirpation and taking away of popery, and of the authority aud jurisdiction of the said bishop of Rome, we will, after our strength, knowledge and wit, firmly observe ourselves, and, as much as in us lies, will take care, and cause the same to be in like manner observed by others: neither will we henceforth appeal to the said bishop of Rome, or consent to any that shall appeal: neither will we act in his court for right or justice, nor will answer to any that there doth act, nor will there take upon us the person of a plaintiff or defendant: and if the said bishop, by message, or by his letters, shall signify anything unto us, whatsoever it be, we will, as soon as conveniently we may, signify or cause the same to be signified, either to your royal majesty, or to your privy council, or to your successors, or to their privy council; and we will neither send, or cause to be sent, any letters or message to the said bishop of Rome, or to his court, unless your majesty or your

successor first know or consent that such letter or message shall be sent to him. We will not procure any bulls, briefs or rescripts whatsoever, for ourselves or others, from the bishop of Rome or his court, neither will we counsel any such to be procured by any other. And if any such shall be procured generally or specially for us without our knowledge, or any otherwise shall be granted, we will renounce the same, nor will we consent thereto, nor any way use the same, but will take care that the same be delivered to your majesty, or to your successors. And we do by this writing expressly renounce all exemption whereby, mediately or immediately, we are or have been subject to the bishop of Rome, highest prelate (as they call him), or to him by what name soever he is called, or to his church of Rome, and all his grants, privileges, gifts, whatsoever conferred; and we profess ourselves to be subjects and vassals to your majesty alone, and we do thereto submit ourselves, and promise only to be subject thereunto. Neither will we by ourselves, or by any other interposed person or persons, pay or cause to be paid, to the said bishop of Rome, or to his messengers, orators, collectors, or legates, any procuration, pension, portion, taxes, or any other sum of moneys, by what name Boever it be called. Moreover, to confirm this our covenant, we profess and undertake, and in the word of a priest, and under the fidelity due to your majesty and our own conscience before God, we promise, that, against this our aforesaid profession and undertaking, we will use no dispensation, no exception, no appellation or provocation, and no remedy of law or of fact; and if we have made any profession to the hindrance of this our profession and undertaking, we do revoke the same, for the time present, and for all time to come, and to renounce the same by these present letters; whereunto we have subscribed our names, either under our own hands, or the hands of our procurators at our request: and the same we have caused to be confirmed by the fixing of our common seal thereto; and by the mark and subscription of the public notary under written. Dated and acted in our Chapter-House.

57. THE SUPPRESSION OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY (1539).

The suppression of the monasteries was carried out under the direction of Thomas Cromwell, and the agents who examined their condition reported to him. Considering the Crown's need of money, and its wish that the nobles might be committed to a support of the late religious changes, we cannot doubt that the

monasteries were prejudged. Certain of them might deserve to be reformed or even closed, and their existence was not compatible with the new system. The point is that the commissioners were watchful for traces of immorality or laxness, and the evidence which they collected was used to justify a resort to spoliation. The small houses were seized first because they were easier to attack than the large ones, and were, moreover, in worse condition. Glastonbury, an ancient and important foundation, offered some difficulties, and before it was taken over by government its last abbot suffered death for treason.

SOURCE.—*Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries.* Camden Society, 1843. A., p. 255; B, p. 261.

(A) A letter of the visitors sent to examine the Abbot of Glastonbury.

Please it your lordship to be advertised, that we came to Glastonbury on Friday last past, about ten of the clock in the forenoon: and for that the Abbot[1] was then at Sharpham, a place of his, a mile and somewhat more from the abbey, we, without any delay, went unto the same place; and there, after communication declaring unto him the effect of our coming, examined him upon certain articles. And for that his answer was not then to our purpose, we advised him to call to his remembrance that which he had as then forgotten, and so declare the truth, and then came with him the same day to the abbey; and there of new proceeded that night to search his study for letters and books: and found in his study secretly laid, as well a written book of arguments against the divorce of his king's majesty and the lady dowager, which we take to be a great matters [ground of accusation], as also divers pardons, copies of bulls, and the counterfeit life of Thomas Becket in print; but we could not find any letter that was material. And so we proceeded again to his examination concerning the articles we received from your lordship, in the answers whereof, as we take it, shall appear his cankered and traitorous heart and mind against the king's majesty and his succession; as by the same answers, signed with his hand, and sent to your lordship by this bearer, more plainly shall appear. And so, with as fair words as we could, we have conveyed him from hence into the tower, being but a very weak man and sickly. And as

[1] Richard Whiting.

yet we have neither discharged servant nor monk; but **now** the abbot being gone, we will, with as much celerity as **we** may, proceed to the despatching of them* We have in money 300l. and above; but the certainty of plate and other stuff there as yet we know not, for we have not had opportunity for the same, but shortly we intend (God willing) to proceed to the same; whereof we shall ascertain your lordship so shortly as we may. This is also to advertise your lordship, that we have found a fair chalice of gold, and divers other parcels of plate, which the abbot had hid secretly from all such commissioners as have been there in times past; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found the same: whereby we think that he thought to make his hand, by his untruth to his king's majesty. It may please your lordship to advertise us of the king's pleasure by this bearer, to whom we shall deliver the custody and Keeping of the house, with such stuff as we intend to leave there convenient to the king's use. We assure your lordship it is the goodliest house of that sort that ever we have seen. We would that your lordship did know it as we do; then we doubt not but your lordship would judge it a house meet for the king's majesty, and for no man else : which is to our great comfort; and we trust verily that there shall never come any double hood within that house again. Also this is to advertise your lordship, that there is never a one doctor within that house; but there be three bachelors of divinity, which be but meanly learned, as we can perceive. And thus our Lord preserve your good lordship.

From Glastonbury, the 22nd day of September.

Yours to command,

RICHARD POLLARD.
THOMAS MOYLE.
RICHARD LAYTON.

TO the right honourable and their good lord, my Lord Privy Seal, this be delivered.

(B) Pleaseth it your lordship to be advertised, that since my last letter sent unto your lordship bearing date the 15th day of November, the same 15th day the late abbot of Glastonbury went from Wells to Glastonbury, and there was drawn through the town upon a hurdle to the hill called the Torre, where he was put to execution; at which time he asked God mercy and the king for his great offences towards his highness, and also desired my servants then being there present to **see** the

execution done, that they would be meane [communicate] to my lord president and to me that we should desire the king's highness of his merciful goodness and in the way of charity to forgive him his great offences by him committed and done against his grace, and thereupon took his death very patiently, and his head and body bestowed in like manner as I certified your lordship in my last letter. And likewise the other two monks desired like forgiveness, and took their death very patiently, whose souls God pardon. And whereas I at my last being with your lordship at London moved your lordship for my brother Paulett, desiring your lordship to be a mean that he might have the surveyorship of Glastonbury, which I doubt not but he will use and exercise the said office to the king's most profit and advantage, and your lordship's goodness herein to him to be shown he shall recompense to his little power, I assure your lordship he hath been very diligent, and divers others by his means, to serve the king at this time, according to his duty and right. So was Nicholas Fitz-James, John Sydnam, and Thomas Hornar, your servantes. Also this is to advertise your lordship that the late abbot of Glastonbury, afore his execution, was examined upon divers articles and interrogatories to him ministered by me, but he could accuse no man but him self of any offence against the king's highness, nor he would con fess no more gold nor silver nor any other thing more than he did before your lordship in the Tower. My lord Russell taketh his journey this present day from Wells towards London. I suppose it will be near Christmas before I shall have surveyed the lands at Glastonbury, and taken the audit there. Other news I know none, as knoweth God, who ever preserve your lordship. From Wells, the 16th day of November.

Your assured to command,

RYCHARD POLLARD.

88. AN EDICT AGAINST RELIGIOUS INNOVATIONS (1547).

Sixteenth century reformers in breaking away from the Latin Church aimed at changing one form of Christianity for another. Each found in his own the true system, and would not admit that the logic which justified dissent from Rome justified dissent from Lutheranism, Calvinism or Anglicanism. Even the extreme radicals were at times unwilling to permit liberty of conscience. Somerset's proclamation, issued nine days after the

reign of Edward VI. began, is a good example of official procedure. The gist of it is that no further innovations are desirable or will be permitted. England must accept the religion which government sanctions.

SOURCE.—*A Proclamation against such as Innovate any Ceremony.* Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset (1506 ?-1552). Strype's *Memorials.* Oxford, 1822. Vol. ii., part ii., p. 346.

A proclamation against stock as innovate any ceremony or preach without licence. Dated the 6th of February, an. reg. primo.

The King's Highness by the advi6e of his most entirely beloved uncle, the Duke of Somerset, governor of his most royal person, and protector of all his realms, dominions and subjects, and others of his Council; considering nothing so much to tend to the disquieting of his realm, as diversity of opinions, and variety of rites and ceremonies, concerning religion and worshipping Almighty God; and therefore studying all the ways and means which can be, to direct this Church, and the cure committed to his Highness, in one and most true doctrine, rite and usage.

Yet it is advertised, that certain private curates, preachers and other laymen, contrary to their bounden duties of obedience, do rashly attempt, of their own and singular wit and mind, in some parish churches, and otherwise, not only to persuade the people from the old and accustomed rites and ceremonies, but also themself bringeth in new and strange orders, every one in their church, according to their phantasies; the which, as it is an evident token of pride and arrogancy, so it tendeth both to confusion and disorder, and also to the high displeasure of Almighty God; who loveth nothing so much as order and obedience.

Wherefore his Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner person, of what estate, order, or degree soever he be, of his private mind, will, or fantasy, do omit, leave down, change, altar, or innovate any order, rite, or ceremony, commonly used and frequented in the Church of England, and not commanded to be left down at any time in the reign of our late sovereign Lord his Highness' father; other than such as his Highness by the advice aforesaid, by his Majesty's visitors, injunctions, statutes, or proclamations, hath already, or hereafter shall command to be omitted, left, innovated, or changed : but

that they be observed after that sort as before they were accuctomed, or else now sith prescribed by the authority of his Majesty and by the means aforesaid: upon pain, that whosoever shall offend contrary to this proclamation, shall incur his Highness* indignation, and suffer imprisonment and other grievous punishments at his Majesty's will and pleasure.

And to the intent, that rash and seditious preachers should not abuse his Highness' people, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that whosoever shall take upon him to preach openly in any parish church, chapel, or any other open place, other than those which be licensed by the King's Majesty or his Highness' visitors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese where he doth preach (except it be the bishop, person, vicar, dean, or provost, in his or their own cure), shall be forthwith, upon such attempt and preaching contrary to this proclamation, committed to prison, and there remain, until such time as his Majesty by the advice aforesaid, hath taken order for the further punishment of the same.

And that the premises should be more speedily and diligently done and performed, his Highness giveth straitly in commandment to all justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, constables, headboroughs [petty constables], church-wardens and all other his Majesty's officers and ministers, and rulers of towns, parishes and hamlets, that they be diligent and attendant to the true and faithful execution of this proclamation, and every part thereof, according to the intent, purport, and effect of the same; and that they of their proceedings herein (or if any offender be, after they have committed the. same to prison) do certify his Highness the Lord Protector, or his Majesty's Council, with all speed thereof accordingly, as they tender his Majesty's pleasure, the wealth of the realm, and will answer the contrary at their uttermost perils.

59. LADY JANE GREY (1550).

Mary's ministers and the English people recognised that Lady Jane Grey was a puppet rather than a plotter, and that she belonged to a different class from Northumberland. Whereas he was promptly beheaded, she and her husband were merely imprisoned. A little later, when it was decided that she must be executed, the real cause was not her conspiracy but her

birth. The scholar and moralist, Roger Ascham, who knew her well, has celebrated her wit and learning in his *Scholemaster*

SOURCE.—Scholemaster. Roger Ascham (1515-1568). Ed. Arber. Birmingham, 1870. P. 46.

One example, whether love or fear doth work more in a ohild, for virtue or learning, I will gladly report; which may be heard with some pleasure, and followed with more profit. Before I went into Germany, I came to Broadgate in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble lady, Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholden. Her parents, the duke and duchess, with all the household, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park; I found her in her chamber, reading *Phaedon Platonis* in Greek, and that with as much delight, as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccacio. After salutation, and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her, " Why she would lose such pastime in the park ?" Smiling, she answered me, " I know, all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that I find in Plato: Alas ! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant". " And how came you, madam," quoth I, " to this deep knowledge of pleasure, and what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, but very few men have attained thereunto?" " I will tell you," quoth she, " and tell you a truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits, that ever God gave me, is, that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For, when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go; eat, drink, be merry, or sad; be sowing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure and number, even so perfectly, as God made the world ; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes, with pinches, nips and bobs, and other ways (which I will not name for the honour I bear them) so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer; who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing, whilst I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall to weeping, because whatsoever I do else, but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure, and more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but

trifles **and** troubles unto me." I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also it was the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady.

60. THE LOSS OF CALAIS (1558).

Under Mary the different branches of the national administration were badly managed, and the loss of Calais, England's last possession in France, may be reckoned among the consequences. Its capture by the Duke of Guise was a deep humiliation to Englishmen, and they could get no consolation from reflecting that it followed from their part in fighting the battles of the hated Spaniard. Several accounts of the military operations remain, including letters of Lord Wentworth, Deputy or Governor of the town. The version given in Grafton's chronicle —which appeared only eleven years after the event—is selected as being more compact than the others. It is matter of dispute whether this precise passage was written by Richard Grafton, a London printer, or by George Ferrers, the poet. The antiquary Stow asserted Ferrer's authorship, which Grafton vigorously denied. An any rate the chronicler, though not an eye-witness, was a contemporary, and published his description while the disaster was still a living memory.

SOURCE.—*Grafton's Chronicle.* Reprinted in Arber'a *Garner.* Birmingham, 1882. Vol. iv., p. 174.

For if aught were won by the having of St. Quentin,[1] England got nothing at all; for the gain thereof came only to King Philip: but the loss of Calais, Hammes and Guisnes, with all the country V)n that side of the sea, which followed soon after, was such a buffet to England as had not happened in more than an hundred years before; and a dishonour wherewith this realm shall be blotted until God shall give power to redub [redress] it with some like requittal to the French.

At this time, although open hostility and war were between England and France, yet, contrary to the ancient custom afore

[1] The battle of St. Quentin, in which the French under Constable Montmorency were badly defeated, was fought 10th August, 1557. The town itself fell into Spanish hands on the 27th of the same month.

used, the town of Calais and the forts thereabouts were not supplied with any new accrues [reinforcements] of soldiers; which negligence was not unknown to the enemy, who, long before, had practised [plotted] the winning of the said town and country. The French King[1] therefore (being sharply nettled with the late loss of St Quentin and a great piece of his country adjoining, and desirous of revenge) thought it not meet to let slip this occasion; and having presently a full army in a readiness to employ where most advantage should appear, determined to put in proof, with all speed, the enterprise of Calais; which long, and many times before, was purposed upon.

This practice [design] was not so secret but that the Deputies of Calais and Guisnes had some intelligence thereof; and informed the Queen and her Council accordingly: nevertheless, either by wilful negligence there, or lack of credit by the Queen's Council here, this great case was so slenderly regarded as no provision of defence was made until it was somewhat too late.

The Duke of Guise,[2] being General of the French army, proceeded in this enterprise with marvellous policy. For approaching the English frontier, under colour to victual Boulogne and Ardes; he entered upon the same, on a sudden ;[3] and took a little bulwark called Sandgate, by assault. He then divided his army into two parts, sending one part with certain great pieces of artillery along the downs' by the sea-side towards Risbank; and the other part, furnished also with battery pieces, marched straight forth to Newnham Bridge : meaning to batter the two forts, both at one time. Which thing he did with such celerity, that coming thither very late in the evening, he was master of both by the next morning.

At the first shot discharged at Newnham Bridge, the head of the Master Gunner of that piece [fort], whose name was Horseley, was clean stricken off. The Captain considering the great power of the French army; and having his fort but slenderly manned to make sufficient resistance, fled to Calais. And by the time he was come thither, the other part of the French army, that went by the seaside, with their battery, had won Risbank ; being abandoned to their hands.

The next day, the Frenchmen, with five double-cannons and three culverins, began a battery from the sandhills next Risbank, against the town of Calais; and continued the same, by the

[1] Henry I I . [2] Francis, " le grand Guise ". Assassinated 1562.
[3] Jan, 1st, 1558.

space of two or three days, until they made a little breach in the wall next unto the Water Gate, which, nevertheless, was not yet assaultable : for that which was broken in the day, was by them within the town made up again in the night, stronger than before. But the battery was not begun there by the French because they intended to enter in that place; but rather to abuse the English, to have the less regard to the defence of the Castle^: which was the weakest part of the town, and the place where they were we ascertained, by their espials, to win an easy entry.

So that while our people travailed fondly to defend that counterfeit breach of the town wall, the Duke had in the mean season, planted fifteen double-cannons against the Castle. Which Castle being considered by the Rulers of the town to be of no such force as might resist the battery of cannon, by reason that it was old, and without any rampires [ramparts]; it was devised to make a train with certain barrels of powder to this purpose, that when the Frenchmen should enter, as they well knew, that there they would, to have fired the said train, and blown up the Keep: and for that purpose left never a man within to defend it. But the Frenchmen, at their entry, espied the train, and so avoided the same. So that the device came to no purpose; and, without any resistance, they entered the Castle; and thought to have entered the town by that way.

But by the prowess and hardy courage of Sir Anthony Ager [Aucher], Knight, and Marshal of the Town, with his soldiers, they were repulsed and driven back again into the Castle: and followed so hard after, that our men forced them to close and shut the Castle gate for their surety, lest it should have been recovered against them. As it was once attempted by Sir Anthony Ager: who there, with his son and heir, and a Pursuivant at Arms called Calais, and divers others, to the number of fifteen or sixteen Englishmen, lost their lives.

The same flight, after the recule [retreat] of the Frenchmen, whose number so increased in the Castle, that the town was not able to resist their force; the Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Calais, sent a Pursuivant called Guisnes, unto the Duke of Guise, requiring a composition; which, after long debate, was agreed to, upon this sort.

First.—That the town, with all the great artillery, victuals and munition, should be freely yielded to the French King.

The lives of the inhabitants only saved ; to whom safe conduct should be granted, to pass where they listed.

Saving the Lord Deputy, with fifty others, such as the Duke

should appoint, to remain prisoners; and be **put** to their ransom.

The next morning, the Frenchmen entered and possessed the town: and forthwith all the men, women and children, were commanded to leave their houses, and to go into the two churches, of Our Lady, and St. Nicholas; upon pain of death. Where they remained a great part of that day, and one whole night, and until three o'clock at afternoon the next day: without either meat or drink.

And while they were thus in the churches, the Duke of Guise, in the name of the French King, in their hearing, made a proclamation straitly charging and commanding all and every person that were inhabitants of the town of Calais, having about them any money, plate, or jewels to the value of [but] one groat[1] to bring the same forthwith, and lay it down on the high altars of the said churches, upon pain of death : bearing them in hand [inducing them to think] also that they should be searched.

By reason of which proclamation, there was made a great and Sorrowful offertory. And while they were 'at this offering within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same; where was found inestimable riches and treasure, but especially of ordnance, armour, and other munition.

About two o'clock, the next day at afternoon, being the 7th of January, all the Englishmen, except the Lord Deputy and the others reserved for prisoners, were suffered to pass out of the town in safety, being guarded through the army by a num. ber of Scottish Light Horsemen.

There were in the town of Calais, 500 English soldiers ordinarily, and no more : and of the townsmen, not fully 200 fighting men: a small garrison for the defence of such a town. And there were in the whole number of men, women and children, as they were counted when they went out of the gate, 4200 persons.

But the Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Calais; Sir Ralph Chamberlain, Captain of the Castle; [John] Harlestone, Captain of Risbank ; Nicholas Alexander, Captain of Newn[h]ambridge ; Edward Grimstone, Controller; with others of the chief of the town, to the number of fifty, as aforesaid, such as it pleased the Duke of Guise to appoint, were sent prisoners into France.

Thus have ye heard the discourse of the overthrow and

[1] Value 4d.

loss of the Town of Calais ; the which enterprise was begun and ended in less than eight days, to the great marvel of the world, that a town of such strength, and so well furnished of all things as that was, should so suddenly be taken and conquered : but most especially, in the winter season; what time all the country about, being marsh ground, is commonly overflown with water.

61. TWO SPEECHES OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

In approaching the Elizabethan age one is arrested on the threshold by a contrast between the sovereign's public and private traits. A friendly historian can make her out the noblest of rulers; a hostile historian can make her out the meanest of women. In other words, her personal character was soiled by much that was petty, sordid and dishonourable; yet she showed genuine devotion to England's national interests- As proof that she possessed the qualities which fit a person to govern, two examples are adduced : first, her speech at Tilbury, disclosing a sense of unity with her subjects; and secondly, her last speech to parliament, disclosing the tact which can draw back without loss of dignity before an unpopular measure.

The Armada Speech (1588).

(A) Elizabeth's visit to the Earl of Leicester's camp at Tilbury is among the famous episodes of our history. She there addressed the troops in words which, it is believed, have been authentically preserved by Dr. Leonel Sharp, a chaplain to the Earl of Essex. Sharp in his *Cabala* states that he was directed to repeat before the assembled army what the queen had said.

SOURCE.—The Armada Speech. Elizabeth (1633-1603). In *Somer's Tracts.* Vol. i., p. 429.

My loving People,—

We have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery ; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people.

Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard

in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects, and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my kingdoms, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust.

I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma[1] or Spain, or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.

I know already for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assume you in the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the meantime my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people.

The Golden Speech (1601).

SOURCE.—*The Golden Speech.* In *Somers' Tracts.* Vol. i., p. 244.

(B) Elizabeth was so economical as to be almost a miser. Instead of granting her courtiers and favourites pensions out of the royal civil list, she issued for their benefit patents of monopoly which extended to staple articles. "Iron, oil, vinegar, coal, saltpetre, lead, starch, yarn, skins, leather, glass "were thus forced up to exorbitant prices. Trade suffered and the public murmured. At last, in 1601, the House of Commons grew dangerously incensed on this subject, and was preparing to speak in the tone which it afterwards used towards the Stuarts, when the queen of her own accord offered to redress the grievance. Her graciousness was met by an outburst of universal joy, and the Commons hastened with Mr. Speaker at their head to thank her. In receiving them she spoke thus :—

[1] Alexander of Parma, the viceroy of Philip I I . in the Low Countries.

Mr. Speaker,—

We perceive your coming is to present thanks unto us. Know I accept them with no less joy than your loves can have desire to offer such a present, and do more esteem it than any treasure, or riches; for those we know how to prize, but loyalty, love, and thanks, I account them invaluable; and though God hath raised me high, yet this I account the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves. This makes that I do not so much rejoice that God hath made me to be a queen as to be a queen over so thankful a people, and to be the means under God to conserve you in safety, and preserve you from danger, yea to be the instrument to deliver you from dishonour, from shame, and from infamy, to keep you from out of servitude, and from slavery under our enemies; and cruel tyranny, and vile oppression intended against us; for the better withstanding whereof, we take very acceptable their intended helps, and chiefly in that it manifesteth your loves and largeness of hearts to your sovereign. Of myself I must say this, I never was any greedy, scraping grasper, nor a strict fast-holding prince, nor yet a waster, my heart was never set upon any worldly goods, but only for my subjects good. What you do bestow on me I will not hoard up, but receive it to bestow on you again; yea mine own properties I account yours to be expended for your good, and your eyes shall see the bestowing of it for your welfare.

Mr. Speaker, I would wish you and the rest to stand up, for I fear I shall yet trouble you with longer speech.

Mr. Speaker, you give me thanks, but I am more to thank you, and I charge you thank them of the Lower House for me; for had I not received knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lapse of an error, only for want of true information.

Since I was queen, yet did I never put my pen to any grant but upon pretext and semblance made me, that it was for the good and avail of my subjects generally, though a private profit to some of my ancient servants, who have deserved well; but that my grants shall be made grievances to my people, and oppressions, to be privileged under colour of our patents, our princely dignity shall not suffer it.

When I heard it, I could give no rest unto my thoughts until I had reformed it, and those varlets, lewd [base] persons, abusers of my bounty, shall know I will not suffer it. And, Mr. Speaker, tell the House from me, I take it exceeding grateful, that the knowledge of these things are come unto me from them. And though amongst them the principal members are such as are not touched in private, and therefore need not speak

from any feeling of the grief, yet we have heard that other gentlemen also of the House, who stand as free, have sp#ken as freely in it; which gives us to know, that no respects or interests have moved them other than the minds they bear to suffer no diminution of our honour and our subjects love unto us. The zeal of which affection tending to ease my people, and knit their hearts unto us, I embrace with a princely care far above all earthly treasures. I esteem my people's love, more than which I desire not to merit: and God, that gave me here to sit, and placed me over you, knows, that I never respected myself, but as your good was conserved in me; yet what dangers, what practices, and what perils I have passed, some, if not all of you know ; but none of these things do move me, or ever made me fear, but it's God that hath delivered me.

And in my governing this land, I have ever set the last judgment day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged and answer before a higher Judge, to whose judgment seat I do appeal: in that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good.

And if my princely bounty have been abused ; and my grants turned to the hurt of my people contrary to my will and meaning, or if any in authority under me have neglected, or converted what I have committed unto them, I hope God will not lay their culps to my charge.

To be a king, and wear a crown, is a thing more glorious to them that see it than it's pleasant to them that bear it: for myself, I never was so much enticed with the glorious name of a king, or the royal authority of a queen, as delighted that God hath made me his instrument to maintain his truth and glory, and to defend this kingdom from dishonour, damage, tyranny and oppression. But should I ascribe any of these things to myself or my sexly weakness, I were not worthy to live, and of all most unworthy of the mercies I have received at God's hands, but to God only and wholly all is given and, ascribed.

The cares and troubles of a crown I cannot more fitly resemble than to the drugs of a learned physician, perfumed with some aromatical savour, or to bitter pills gilded over, by which they are made more acceptable or less offensive, which indeed are bitter and unpleasant to take; and for my own part, were it not for conscience sake to discharge the duty that God hath laid upon me, and to maintain his glory, and keep you in safety, in mine own disposition I should be willing to, resign the place I hold to any other, and glad to be freed of the glory with the labours, for it is not my desire to live nor to reign, longer

than my life and reign shall be for your good. And though you have had and may have many mightier and wiser princes sitting in this seat, yet you never had nor shall have any that will love you better.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, I commend me to your loyal loves, and yours to my best care and your further councils; and I pray you, Mr. Controller and Mr. Secretary, and you of my council, that before these gentlemen depart into their countries, you bring them all to kiss my hand.

62. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI. OP SCOTLAND (1587).

Let us now return to Elizabeth's baser qualities, which were mentioned in the preface to her speeches—Extract 61. They include duplicity, or, to speak frankly, habitual lying. If an immediate purpose could be attained by falsehood, she said what would serve her turn. This side of her nature is illustrated by a letter to James VI. of Scotland after his mother's execution. Elizabeth, fearing a possible attempt at revenge, pretends that the tragedy at Fotheringay Castle was all a mistake. Some historians have accepted her statement, forgetting that no minister nor council would have dared take the decision in such a matter out of her hands.

SOURCE.—*Historical Letters.* Ed. Sir H. Ellis. London, 1824. First Series. Vol. iii., p. 22.

My dear Brother,—

I would you knew (though not felt) the extreme dolor that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which (far contrary to my meaning) hath befallen. I have now sent this kinsman of .mine[1] whom ere now it hath pleased you to favour to instruct you truly of that which is too irksome for my pen to tell you. I beseech you that as God and many more know, how innocent I am in this case: so you will believe me that if I had bid [directed] ought I would have bid [abided] by it. I am not so base minded that fear of any living creature or prince should make me afraid to do that were just, or don [make me] to deny the same. I am not of so base a lineage, nor carry so vile a mind. But, as not to disguise, fits not a King, so will I

[1] Sir Robert Carey.

never dissemble my actions, but cause them show even as I meant them. Thus assuring yourself of me, that as I Know this was deserved, yet if I had meant it I would never lay it on others' shoulders; no more will I not damnify myself, that thought it not.

The circumstance it may please you to have of this bearer. And for your part, think you have not in the world a more loving kinswoman, nor a more dear friend than myself; nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your estate. And who shall otherwise persuade you, judge them more partial to others than you. And thus in haste I leave to trouble [cease troubling] you: beseeching God to send you a long reign. The 14th of Feb., 1586.[1]

Your most assured loving sister
and cousin,

ELIZAB. R.

63. MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH (1582).

Considered solely as a woman, Elizabeth lacks the grace and spirit, the vivacity and the charm which are conspicuous in her cousin Mary Stuart. The vexed question of the latter's character can be debated only at length, but her dash and directness of utterance are visible in the letter which she sent to Elizabeth on receipt of the news that her son James had been seized by the Protestant nobles of Scotland. Her plea for permission to leave the kingdom, that she might devote the rest of her life to religion was not very sincere, if we may judge from the plots in which she subsequently engaged. The point involved, however, is not one of morals: it is the captive's fire and passion which should be noted. This letter was written in French at Sheffield Castle, where the Queen of Scotland was confined under Lord Shrewsbury's guard.

SOURCE.—*Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart* (1542-1587). Ed. Prince Labanoff. London, 1884. Vol. v., p. 829. Trans. 0. W. Colby.

I tell you quite openly that I regard this last conspiracy and change as pure treason against the life of my son, his welfare and that of the country: and that so long as he shall be in the condition in which I understand that he is, I shall not consider

[1] Old style.

any **word,** writing or other act which comes from him, or **passes** under his name to proceed from his frank and free disposition, but only from the said conspirators, who at the price of his life use him as their mask.

With all this liberty of speech, Madame, which I foresee may in some way displease you (although it is truth itself), you will find it I am sure still more strange that I now come again to importune you with a request of much greater importance and one which is nevertheless very easy for you to grant and effect . . . I beseech you, and, in honour of the dolorous passion of our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, I beseech you once more to permit me to retire from this kingdom to some place of rest, to seek some relief, for my poor body, so worn with constant suffering, and, with liberty of conscience, to prepare my soul for God who daily calls it.

Believe, Madame (and the doctors whom you sent me this last summer can have formed an opinion), that I am not likely long to be in a condition which can justify jealousy or distrust. And this notwithstanding, exact from me such assurances and just and reasonable conditions as you wish. Superior force is always on your side to make me keep them, even though for any reason whatever I should wish to break them. You have had from observation enough experience of my bare promises, sometimes even to my own damage, as I showed you on this subject two years ago. Remember if you please what I then wrote you and that in no way could you so much win over my heart to yourself as by kindness, although you have confined forever my poor body to languish between four walls ; those of my rank and disposition not permitting themselves to be gained over or forced by any amount of harshness.

Your prison without right or just warrant has already destroyed my body of which you will soon have an end, if it remains there any longer, and my enemies will have but little time to satiate their cruelty upon me. My soul alone remains to me, which it is not in your power to enthral. Give it then a place to breathe in, a little more -freely, its salvation, which, alone it now seeks more than any grandeur of this world. It seems to me that it cannot be much satisfaction, honour or advantage to you that my enemies trample my life at your feet, even to the point of suffocating me before you; but if instead (although too late) you would take me in this extremity out of their hands, you would make me and all those who belong to me greatly beholden to you, especially my poor child, whom thereby you might possibly secure. I shall not cease to weary you

incessantly with this request until it be granted me; and on this account I pray you to let me understand your intention, as in order to please you I have waited two years before renewing my entreaty, to which the wretched state of my health urges me more than you can think. Provide, however, if you please, for the improvement of my keeping, because it is not in my power to suffer longer; and do not place me at the discretion of any one else save yourself, from whom alone (as I said when I last wrote you) I wish henceforth to take all the good and evil which I shall receive in your country. Do me this favour that I may have your intention in writing or that the French ambassador may have it for me; for to rest satisfied with what the Earl of Shrewsbury or others shall say or write on your behalf, I have too much experience to derive any assurance therefrom. . . .

In conclusion I have to request two things especially: the one, that about as I am to leave this world I may have by me for my consolation some honourable churchman, in order that I may daily examine the road which I have to traverse and be instructed how to complete it according to my religion, in which I am firmly resolved to live and die. This is a last duty which cannot be denied to the most wretched and miserable person alive; it is a liberty which you give to all foreign ambassadors, just as all other Catholic kings allow yours the practice of their religion. And as for myself, have I ever forced my own subjects to do anything against their religion even when I had all power and authority over them? And you cannot justly bring it to pass that I should be in this extremity, deprived of such a privilege. What advantage can accrue to you from denying me this? I hope that God will forgive'me if, oppressed by you in this wise, I do not cease from paying him that duty which in my heart will be permitted. But you will give a very ill example to other princes of Christendom of employing, towards their subjects and relatives, the same harshness which you meet; out to me, a sovereign queen and your nearest relative, as I am and shall be in despite of my enemies so long as I live.

I do not wish to trouble you now about the increase of my household, about which for the time that I still have to live here I shall not have much need. I only ask you for two female attendants to assist me during my illness; assuring you before God that they would be very necessary even were I a poor creature of the common people. Grant them to me in honour of God, and prove that my enemies have not so much

credit with you against me as to wreak their vengeance and crueky in a thing of so little consequence and relating to a mere act of humanity.

64. SIR HENRY SIDNEY TO HIS SON PHILIP (1565).

Sir Philip Sidney is the typical knight of Elizabethan chivalry, and one of England's truest heroes. He embodied the best traits of the "spacious times" which he ornamented, and any one of several striking incidents might be borrowed from his career. In preference to these may be taken a letter that he received from his father when at Shrewsbury school. The question of nurture and training is so prominent in every life, whether great or mean, that it cannot be amiss to reprint the precepts which were set before Philip Sidney in his youth. His father, Sir Henry, was an eminent man, Lord Deputy of Ireland and one of Elizabeth's trusted councillors.

SOURCE.--*Letter to his Son, Philip Sidney.* Sir H. Sidney (1529-1586) In *Somers' Tracts,* vol. i., p. 492.

Son Philip,—

I have received two letters from you, the one written in Latin, the other in French, which I take in good part, and will you to exercise that practice of learning often, for it will stand you in stead, in that profession of life which you are born to live in: and now, since that this is my first letter that ever I did write to you, I will not that it be all empty of some advices, which my natural care of you provoketh me to with you, to follow as documents [lessons] to you in this tender age. Let your first action be the lifting up of your hands and mind to Almighty God, by hearty prayers, and feelingly digest the words you speak in prayer with continual meditations and thinking of him to whom you pray; and use this at an ordinary hour, whereby the time itself will put you in remembrance to do that thing which you are accustomed in that time.

Apply to your study such hours as your discreet master doth assign you earnestly, and the time, I know, he will so limit, as shall be both sufficient for your learning, and safe for your health; and mark the sense and matter of that you read, as well as the words; so shall you both enrich your tongue with words, and your wit with matter; and judgment will grow as years grow on you.

Be humble and obedient to your master; for, unless you frame yourself to obey, yea, and to feel in yourself what obedience is, you shall never be able to teach others how to obey you hereafter.

Be courteous of gesture, and affable to all men with universality of reverence, according to the dignity of the person: there is nothing that winneth so much with so little cost.

Use moderate diet, so as after your meat, you may find your wit fresher, and not duller; and your body more lively, and not more heavy.

Seldom drink wines, and yet sometimes do; lest, being forced to drink upon the sudden, you should find yourself inflamed.

Use exercise of body, but such as is without peril of your bones or joints; it will much increase your force, and enlarge your breath.

Delight to be cleanly, as well in all parts of your body, as in your garments; it shall make you grateful in each company, and otherwise loathsome.

Give yourself to be merry; for you degenerate from your father, if you find not yourself most able in wit and body to do anything, when you be most merry ; but let your mirth be ever void of scurrility and biting words to any man; for a wound given by a word is harder to be cured than that which is given by a sword.

Be you rather a hearer and bearer away of other men's talk, than a beginner, or procurer of speech, otherwise you will be accounted to delight to hear yourself speak.

Be modest in each assembly, and rather be rebuffed of light fellows for a maiden shamefacedness, than of your sober friends, for pert boldness.

Think upon every word you will speak before you utter it, and remember how nature hath, as it were, rampired up [built ramparts about] the tongue with teeth, lips, yea, and hair without the lips, and all betoken reins and bridles to the restraining the use of that member.

Above all things, tell no untruth, no not in trifles; the custom of it is naught: and let it not satisfy you, that the hearers, for a time, take it for a truth; for afterwards it will be known as it is to shame; and there cannot be a greater reproach to a gentleman, than to be accounted a liar.

Study, and endeavour yourself to be virtuously occupied ; so shall you make such a habit of well doing; as you shall not know how to do evilj though you would.

Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of by

your mother's side,[1] and think, that only by a virtuous life and good actions, you may be an ornament to your illustrious family, and otherwise, through vice and sloth, you may be esteemed *Labes Generis,* one of the greatest curses that can happen to a man. Well, my little Philip, this is enough for me, and I fear too much for you at this time; but yet, if I find that this light meat of digestion do nourish anything the weak stomach of your young capacity, I will, as I find the same grow stronger, feed it with tougher food. Farewell; your mother and 1 send you our blessing, and Almighty God grant you his; nourish you with his fear, guide you with his grace, and make you a good servant to your prince and country.

Your loving Father,
HENRY SIDNEY.

65. EUPHUISM (1579).

The speech of Elizabethan gallants was flowery and fantastic, often to the point of grotesqueness. During the last twenty years of the reign it was customary at court to embroider one's conversation with high-flown metaphors and similes drawn from nature. This dialect is styled " Euphuism," because John Lyly, in his *Euphues, or the Anatomy of Wit,* 1579, poured forth a tide of ingenious and far-fetched sentences which laid hold upon aristocratic fancy, and at once set a new fashion. Not only was the spoken language infected by Lyly's mannerism: prose and poetry after for a while reflecting, ended by exaggerating it. The two specimens cited below are from *Euphues* itself. Lyly's prologues and epilogues are far more " conceited ".

SOURCE.—*Euphues.* John Lyly (1564 ?-1606). Ed. Arber. Birmingham, 1868. A, p. 47 ; B, p. 78.

(A) Euphues having sojourned by the space of two months in Naples, whether he were moved by the courtesy of a young gentleman named Philautus, or enforced by destiny: whether his pregnant wit, or his pleasant conceits wrought the greater liking in the mind of Euphues, I know not for certainty : But Euphues showed such entire love towards him, that he seemed to make small account of any others, determining to enter into

[1]She was a daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who was executed in August, 1558, for his action in proclaiming Lady Jane Grey.

such an inviolable league of friendship with him, as neither time by piecemeal should impair, neither fancy utterly dissolve, nor any suspicion infringe. I have read (saith he) and well I believe it, that a friend is in prosperity a pleasure, a solace in adversity, in grief a comfort, in joy a merry companion, at all times another I, in all places the express image of mine own person: insomuch that I cannot tell whether the immortal Gods have bestowed any gift upon mortal men, either more noble or more necessary than friendship. Is there anything in the world to be reputed (I will not say compared) to friendship? Can any treasure in this transitory pilgrimage be of more value than a friend? in whose bosom thou mayest sleep secure without fear, whom thou mayest make partner of all thy secrets without suspicion of fraud, and partaker of all thy misfortune without mistrust of fleeting, who will account thy bale his bane, thy mishap his misery, the pricking of thy finger the piercing of his heart. But whither am I carried? Have I not also learned that one should eat a bushel of salt with him whom he meaneth to make his friend? that trial maketh trust? that there is falsehood in fellowship? and what then? Doth not the sympathy of manners make the conjunction of minds? Is it not a byword like will to like? Not so common as commendable it is, to see young gentlemen choose them such friends, with whom they may seem being absent to be present, being asunder to be conversant, being dead to be alive. I will therefore have Philautus for my pheere [companion], and by so much the more I make myself sure to have Philautus, by how much the more I view in him the lively image of Euphues.

Although there be none so ignorant that doth not know, neither any so impudent that will not confess, friendship to bo the jewel of human joy: yet whosoever shall see this amity grounded upon a little affection, will soon conjecture that it shall be dissolved upon a light occasion: as in the sequel of Euphues and Philautus you shall soon see, whose hot love waxed soon cold: For as the best wine doth make the sharpest vinegar, so the deepest love turneth to the deadliest hate. Who deserved the most blame, in mine opinion, it is doubtful and BO difficult, that I dare not presume to give verdict. For love being the cause for which so many mischiefs have been attempted, I am not yet persuaded, whether of them was most to be blamed, but certainly neither of them was blameless. I appeal to your judgment, Gentlemen, not that I think any of you of the like disposition, able to decide the question, but being of deeper discretion than I am, are more fit to debate

the quarrel. Though the discourse of their friendship and falling out be somewhat long, yet being somewhat strange, I hope the delightfulness of the one will attenuate the tediousness of the other.

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A Speech of Ltccilla.

(B) Although I myself were never burnt whereby I should dread the fire, yet the scorching of others in the flames of fancy, warneth me to beware : Though I as yet never tried any faithless whereby I should be fearful, yet have I read of many that have been perjured, which causeth me to be careful: though I am able to convince none by proof, yet am I enforced to suspect one upon probabilities. Alas, we silly fools which have neither wit to decipher the wiles of men, nor wisdom to dissemble our affection, neither craft to train in young lovers, neither courage to withstand their encounters, neither discretion to discern their doubling, neither hard hearts to reject their complaints: we, I say, are soon enticed, being by nature simple, and easily entangled, being apt to receive the impression of love. But alas, it is both common and lamentable, to behold simplicity entrapped by subtlety, and those that have most might, to be infected with most malice. The Spider weaveth a fine web to hang the Fly, the Wolf weareth a fair face to devour the Lamb, the Mirlin striketh at the Partridge, the Eagle often snappeth at the Fly, men are always laying baits for women, which are the weaker vessels : but as yet I could never hear man by such snares to entrap man: For true it is that men themselves have by use observed, that it must be a hard winter when one Wolf eateth another. I have read that the Bull being tied to the Fig tree loseth his strength, that the whole herd of Deer stand at the gaze, if they smell a sweet apple: that the Dolphin by the sound of Music is brought to the shore. A*nd* then no marvel it is that if the fierce Bull be tamed with the Fig tree, if that women being as weak as sheep, be overcome with a Fig: if the wild Deer be caught with an apple, that the tame Damsel is won with a blossom: if the fleet Dolphin be allured with harmony, that women be entangled with the melody of men's speech, fair promises and solemn protestations. But folly it were for me to mark their mischiefs, since I am neither able, neither they willing to amend their manners : it becometh me rather to show what our sex should do, than to open what yours doth.

66. THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA (1588).

Throughout the sixteenth century Europe indulged in wild dreams of the wealth which could be immediately seized or discovered in the Western Hemisphere. Of the two chief colonising races the Spaniards, unfortunately for themselves in the end, discovered large quantities of gold and silver. Mexico and Peru spoiled them for any means of getting money so humdrum as agriculture. The English, on the other hand, were lucky in not finding the mines they coveted. By intercepting Spanish treasure ships they secured some bullion, but not enough to corrupt national character. The founder of England's colonial system was a man unsurpassed in versatility, Sir Walter Ralegh, who divined that in the end a surer profit would flow from agriculture and commerce than from the precious metals. The Virginia Colony was his scheme, and the failure of the original expeditions in no way detracts from his real foresight: it is rather a tribute to his confidence. The eminent mathematician Harriot, then twenty-five years of age, was sent out by Ralegh in 1585 as surveyor to Sir Richard Grenville. He was away from England rather more than a year, and in 1588 published his *Brief and True Report,* of which the conclusion appears below. By insisting on the value of natural products, Harriot revealed the secret which has effected England's colonial success.

SOURCE.—*A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia.* Thomas Harriot (1560-1621). Holbein Society. Manchester, 1888. P. 31.

The Conclusion.

Now I have as I hope made relation not of so few and small things but that the country, of men that are indifferent and well disposed, may be sufficiently liked : if there were no more known than I have mentioned, which doubtless and in great reason is nothing to that which remaineth to be discovered, neither the soil, nor commodities. As we have reason so to gather by the difference we found in our travels: for although all which I have before spoken of, have been discovered and experimented not far from the sea coast where was our abode and most of our travelling: yet sometimes as we made our

journeys farther into the main [mainland] and country, we found the soil to be fatter; the trees greater and to grow thinner; the ground more firm and deeper mould; more and larger champions [meadows]; finer grass and as good as ever we saw any in England; in some places rocky and far more high and hilly ground; more plenty of their fruits; more abundance of beasts; the more inhabited with people, and of greater policy and larger dominions, with greater towns and houses.

Why may we not then look for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plenty, as well of other things, as of those which we have already discovered? Unto the Spaniards happened the like in discovering the main of the West Indies. The main also of this country of Virginia, extending some ways so many hundreds of leagues, as otherwise than by the relation of the inhabitants we have most certain knowledge of, where yet no Christian Prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yield many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discovery have not yet seen.

What hope there is else to be gathered of the nature of the climate, being answerable to the land of Japan, the land of China, Persia, Jury, the Islands of Cyprus and Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy, and Spain, and of many other notable and famous countries, because I mean not to be tedious, I leave to your own consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the air there at all seasons, much warmer than in England, and never so violently hot, as sometimes is under and between the Tropics, or near them; cannot be unknown unto you without farther relation.

For the wholesomeness thereof I need to say but thus much: that for all the want of provision, as first of English victual; excepting for twenty days, we lived only by drinking water and by the victual of the country, of which some sorts were very strange unto us, and might have been thought to have altered our temperatures in such sort as to have brought us into some grievous and dangerous diseases: secondly, the want of English means, for the taking of beasts, fish and fowl, which by the help only of the inhabitants and their means, could not be so suddenly and easily provided for us, nor in so great numbers and quantities, nor of that choice as otherwise might have been to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we had of clothes. Furthermore, in all our travels which were most special and often in the time of winter, our lodging was

in **the open air** upon the ground. And yet I say for all this, there were but four of our whole company (being one hundred and eight) that died all the year, and that but at the latter end thereof, and upon none of the aforesaid causes. For all four especially three were feeble, weak and sickly persons before ever they came thither, and those that knew them much marvelled that they lived so long being in that case, or had adventured to travel.

Seeing therefore the air there is so temperate and wholesome, the soil so fertile and yielding such commodities as I have before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented, to be performed thrice a year with ease and at any season thereof : And the dealing of Sir Walter Raleigh so liberal in large giving and granting land there, as is already known, with many helps and furtherances else: (The least that he hath granted hath been five hundred acres to a man, only for the adventure of his person): I hope there remain no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither travel to inhabit and plant be but reasonably provided for the first year as those are which were transported the last, and being there do but use that diligence and care as is requisite, and as they may with ease, there is no doubt but for the time following they may have victuals that is excellent good and plenty enough ; some more English sorts of cattle also hereafter, as some have been before, and are there yet remaining, may and shall be God willing thither transported: So likewise our kind of fruits, roots and herbs may be there planted and sowed, as some have been already, and prove well: And in short time also they may raise of those sorts of commodities which I have spoken of as shall both enrich themselves, as also others that shall deal with them.

And this is all the fruits of our labours, that I have thought necessary to advertise you of at this present: what else concerneth the nature and manners of the inhabitants of Virginia: The number with the particularities of the voyages thither made; and of the actions of such that have been by Sir Walter Raleigh therein and there employed, many worthy to be remembered ; as of the first discoverers of the Country : of our general for the time Sir Richard Grenville; and after his departure, of our Governor there Master Rafe Lane; with divers other directed and employed under their government: Of the Captains and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation ; of the Governors and assistants of those already trans-

ported, as of many persons, accidents and things else, I have already in a discourse by itself in manner of a Chronicle according to the course of times, and when time shall be thought convenient shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your favourable constructions, expecting good success of the action, from Him which is to be acknowledged the Author and Governor not only of this but of all things else, I take my leave of you, this month of February, 1588. Finis.

67. THE FIGHT OF THE "REVENGE" (1591).

Sir Richard Grenville's 'fight of the *Revenge* against a large Spanish fleet is an undying exploit, which has been fitly commemorated in Tennyson's ballad. As Lord Thomas Howard was cruising off the Azores in 1591, a Spanish armada of fifty-three sail hove in sight, and forced the English admiral to withdraw with five of his six ships. It happened that many of the sailors were invalided, and numbers of the sick had been put ashore. Grenville took them on board, and by the time he had done so the Spaniards were upon him. Either he must make what he considered a disgraceful retreat or cut his way through the enemy's squadron. He chose the latter course, with results which Ralegh has eloquently described. After every means of resistance was exhausted, Grenville wished to blow up the ship, and the master gunner would have obeyed him; but the surviving sailors declined a death of pure glory, and surrendered on good terms. Grenville soon died of his wounds, and the *Revenge* was lost in a wild storm which sent many of the Spanish ships to the bottom. Ralegh's report of the fight was published as a separate tract in 1591.

SOURCE.—*A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores.* W.Ralegh (1552 ?-1618). In *Somers' Tracts.* Vol. i., p. 465.

Sir Richard Granvill was the last that weighed, to recover the men that were upon that island, which otherwise had been lost. The Lord Thomas, with the rest, very hardly recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Granvill not being able

to do, was persuaded by the master, and others, to cut his main-sail, and cast about, and to trust to the sailing of the ship,; for the squadron of Sivil were on his weather-bow. But Sir Richard utterly refused to turn from the enemies, alleging that he would rather choose to die, than to dishonour himself, his country, and her majesty's ship, persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons, in despite of them, and enforce those of Sivil to give him way. Which he performed upon divers of the foremost, who, as the mariners term it, sprang their luff, and fell under the lee of the *Revenge.* But the other course had been the better, and might right well have been answered, in so great an impossibility of prevailing. Notwithstanding, out of the greatness of his mind, he could not be persuaded. In the meanwhile, as he* attended those which were nearest him, the great *San Philip* being in the wind of him, and coming towards him, becalmed his sails in such sort, as the ship could neither make way, nor feel the helm : so huge and high-charged was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and five hundred tons, who after laid the *Revenge* aboard. When he was thus bereft of his sails, the ships that were under his lee luffing up, also laid him aboard : of which the next was the admiral of the *Biscaines,* a very mighty and puissant ship, commanded by Britandona; the said *Philip* carried three tiers of ordnance on a side, and eleven pieces in every tier. She shot eight forthright out of her chase, besides those of her Btern-ports.

After the *Revenge* was entangled with this *Philips* four others ooarded her: two on her larboard, and two on her starboard. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoon, continued very terribly all that evening. But the great *San Philip* having received the lower tier of the *Revenge*^ discharged with cross-bar shot, shifted herself with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment. Some say that the ship foundered, but we cannot report it for truth, unless we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of soldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners, in some five, in others eight hundred. In ours there were none at all besides the mariners, but the servants of the commanders, and some few voluntary gentlemen only. After many interchanged volleys of great ordnance and small shot, the .Spaniards deliberated to enter the *Revenge,* and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed soldiers and musketeers, but were still repulsed again and again, and at all times beaten back into their own ships, or into the seas.

In the beginning of the fight, the *George Noble* of London having received some shot through her by the armadas, fell under the lee of the *Revenge*, and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victuallers and of small force ; Sir Richard bid him save himself, and leave him to his fortune. After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted, and some hours of the night, many of our men were slain and hurt, and one of the great galleons of the Armada, and the Admiral of the Hulks both sunk, and in many other of the Spanish ships great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechless for a time ere he recovered.

The Spanish ships which attempted to board the *Revenge*, as they were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their places, she having never less than two mighty galleons by her sides, and aboard her ; so that ere the morning, from three of the clock of the day before, there had fifteen several armadas assailed her, and all so ill approved for their entertainment, as they were by the break of day, far more willing to hearken to a composition, than hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day increased, so our men decreased : and as the light grew more, by so much more grew our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, saving one small ship called the *Pilgrim*, commanded by Jacob Whiddon, who hovered all night to see the success; but in the morning bearing with the *Revenge*, was hunted like a hare amongst many ravenous hounds, but escaped.

Ali the powder of the *Revenge*, to the last barrel, was now spent, all their pikes broken, forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness, and fourscore and ten siok, laid in hold upon the ballast. A small troop to man such a ship, and a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred all was sustained, the volleys, boardings, and enterings of fifteen ships of war, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were always supplied with soldiers brought from every squadron ; all manner of arms and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the masts all beaten overboard, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper work altogether rased, and in effect evened she was with the water, but the very foundation or bottom of a ship, nothing

being left overhead either for flight or defence. Sir Richard finding himself in this distress, and unable any longer to make resistance, having endured in this fifteen hours' fight, the assault of fifteen several armadas, all by turns aboard him, and by estimation, eight hundred shot of great artillery, besides many assaults and entries; and that himself and the ship must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him (the *Revenge* not able to move one way or other, but as she was moved with the waves and billows of the sea), commanded the master gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship, that thereby nothing might remain of glory or victory to the Spaniards: seeing, in so many hours' fight, and with so great a navy, they were not able to take her, having had fifteen hours' time, above ten thousand men, and fifty and three sail of men-of-war to perform it withal; and persuaded the company, or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves unto God, and to the mercy of none else; but as they, like valiant, resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not now shorten the honour of their nation, by prolonging their own lives for a few hours, or a few days.

68. THE LANCASHIRE WITCHES (1612).

The witchcraft delusion is a sad though not a very strange chapter in European history. Its essence was the belief that certain persons could by satanic assistance exercise a malign influence over others, even to the point of causing death. This idea was of universal prevalence and of long duration. One understands its existence in the Middle Ages easily enough, but the extraordinary thing is that it should have survived the Revival of Learning. Prejudices, however, die hard, and many innocent victims were sacrificed to this particular one as late as the seventeenth century. During the reign of James I. accusations were freely brought, and often resulted in a death sentence. One striking fact about the trials is that the prisoners confessed their guilt with alacrity, in the hope that they would receive a milder sentence than if they proved stubborn. How trumpery was the evidence adduced, and how convinced the judges were, may be gathered from the following citations.

SOURCE.—*The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster. Somers' Tracts.* Vol. iii., A, p. 150; B, p. 152.

(A) The Examination of Peter Chaddock of Windle, in the County of Lancaster, taken at Windle aforesaid, the 12th day of July, 1612. Anno Reg. Regis, Jacobi, Angliae, etc., Decimo, et Scotiae xlv. Before Sir Thomas Gerrard, Knight and Baronet, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace within the said County.

The said examinate upon his oath saith, That before his marriage, he heard say that the said Isabel Robey was not pleased that he should marry his now wife; whereupon this examinate called the said Isabel witch, and said that he did not care for her. Then within two days next after, this examinate was sore pained in his bones. And this examinate having occasion to meet Master John Hawarden at Peaseley Crosse, wished one Thomas Lyon to go thither with him, which they both did so; but as they came homewards, they both were in evil case. But within a short time after, this examinate and the said Thomas Lyon were both well amended.

And this examinate further saith, That about four years last past, his now wife was angry with the said Isabel, she then being in his house, and his said wife thereupon went out of the house, and presently after that, the said Isabel went likewise out of the house, not well pleased, as this examinate then did think; and presently after, upon the same day, this examinate, with his said wife, working in the hay, a pain and a starkness [rigidity] fell into the neck of this examinate, which grieved him very sore; whereupon this examinate sent to one James a glover, which then dwelt in Windle, and desired him to pray for him, and within four or five days next after, this examinate did mend very well. Nevertheless, this examinate, during the same time, was very sore pained, and so thirsty withal, and hot within his body, that he would have given anything he had, to have slaked kis thirst, having drink enough in the house, and yet could not drink until the time the said James, the glover, came to him; and this examinate then said before the said glover, I would to God that I could drink ; whereupon the said glover said to this examinate, take that drink, and in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, drink it, saying, the devil and witches are not able to prevail against God and his word; whereupon this examinate then took the glass of drink, and did drink it all, and afterwards mended very well, and so did continue in good health, until our Lady-day in Lent

was twelve month, or thereabouts; since which time, the examinate saith, that he hath been sore pained with great warch [ache] in his bones, and all his limbs, and so yet continueth; and this examinate further saith, that his said warch and pain came to him rather by means of the said Isabel Robey, than otherwise, as he verily thinketh.

(B) The Names of the Prisoners at the Bar to receive their Judgment of Life and Death.

Anne Whittle, *alias* Chattox.	Katherine Hewet.
Elizabeth Device.	John Bulcock.
James Device.	Jane Bulcock.
Anne Bedferne.	Alizon Device.
Alice Nutter.	Isabel Bobey.

The Judgment of the Right Honourable Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesty's Justices of Assize at Lancaster, upon the Witches convicted as followeth.

There is no man alive more unwilling to pronounce this woeful and heavy judgment against you, than myself: and if it were possible, I would to God this cup might pass from me. But since it is otherwise provided, that after all proceedings of the law, there must be a judgment; and the execution of that judgment must succeed and follow in due time: I pray you to have patience to receive that which the law doth lay upon you. You of all people have the least cause to complain: since in the trial of your lives there hath been great care and pains taken, and much time spent: and very few or none of you, but stand convicted upon your own voluntary confessions and examinations, *ex ore proprio.* Few witnesses examined against you, but such as were present, and parties in your assemblies. Nay, I may further affirm, What persons of your nature and condition, ever were arraigned and tried with more solemnity, had more liberty given to plead or answer to every particular point of evidence against you? In conclusion, such hath been the general care of all that had to deal with you, that you have neither cause to be offended in the proceedings of the justices, that first took pains in these businesses, nor with the court that hath had great care to give nothing in evidence against you but matter of fact; sufficient matter upon record, and not to induce or lead the jury to find any one of you guilty upon matter of suspicion or presumption, nor with the witnesses, who have been tried as it were in the fire: Nay, you cannot deny but must confess, what extraordinary means hath been used to

make trial of their evidence, and to discover the least intended practice in any one of them, to touch your lives unjustly.

As you stand simply (your offences and bloody practices not considered) your fall would rather move compassion, than exasperate any man. For whom would not the ruin of so many poor creatures at one time, touch, as in appearance simple, and of little understanding?

But the blood of those innocent children, and others his majesty's subjects, whom cruelly and barbarously you have murdered, and cut off, with all the rest of your offences, hath cried out unto the Lord against you, and solicited for satisfaction and revenge, and that hath brought this heavy judgment upon you at this time.

It is therefore now time no longer wilfully to strive, both against the providence of God, and the justice of the land: The more you labour to acquit yourselves, the more evident and apparent you make your offences to the world. And impossible it is that they shall either prosper or continue in this world, or receive reward in the next, that are stained with so much innocent blood.

The worst then I wish to you, standing at the bar convicted, to receive your judgment, is remorse and true repentance, for the safeguard of your souls, and after, an humble, penitent and hearty acknowledgment of your grievous sins and offences, committed both against God and man.

First, yield humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God for taking hold of you in your beginning, and making stay of your intended bloody practices (although God knows there is too much done already) which would in time have cast so great a weight of judgment upon your souls.

Then praise God that it pleased Him not to surprise or strike you suddenly, even in the execution of your bloody murders, and in the midst of your wicked practices, but hath given you time, and takes you away by a judicial course and trial of the law..

Last of all, crave pardon of the world, and especially of all such as you have justly offended, either by tormenting themselves, children, or friends, murder of their kinsfolks, or loss of any of their goods.

And for leaving to future times the precedent of so many barbarous and bloody murders, with such meetings, practices, consultations, and means to execute revenge, being the greatest part of your comfort in all your actions, which may instruct others to **hold the** like course, or fall in the like sort.

It only remains I pronounce the judgment of the court against you by the king's authority, which is, You shall go from hence to the castle, from whence you came; from thence you shall be carried to the place of execution for this county: where your bodies will be hanged until you be dead. And God have mercy upon your souls. For your comfort in this world, I shall commend a learned and worthy preacher to instruct you, and prepare you for another world. All I can do for you is to pray for your repentance in this world, for the satisfaction of many, and forgiveness in the next world, for saving of your souls. And God grant you may make good use of the time you have in this world, to His glory and your own comfort.

69. JAMES I. AND THE PURITANS (1618).

It is a historical commonplace that the Tudors were notable for tact, and the Stuarts for want of it. The reign of James I. was one continuous wrangle with parliament or with the Puritans. Instead of glossing over unpopular measures, he invented forms of gratuitous insult. This proclamation on Sunday sports, besides containing a reference to the pastimes of the period, is inserted because it addresses Papists and Puritans in studied language of affront.

SOURCE.—*The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects concerning Lawful Sports to be used.* Arbor's *Garner.* Birmingham, 1882. Vol. iv., p. 511.

By the King,—

Whereas, upon our return the last year out of Scotland, we did publish our pleasure touching the recreation of our people in those parts under our hand: for some causes us thereunto moving, we have thought good to command these our directions then given in Lancashire, with a few words thereunto added, and most applicable to these parts of our realms, to be published to all our subjects.

Whereas we did justly, in our progress through Lancashire, rebuke some Puritans and precise people, and took order that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawful punishing of our good people for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises upon Sunday, and other holy days, after the afternoon sermon or service: we now find, that two sorts of people

wherewith that country [county] is much infested (we mean Papists and Puritans) have maliciously traduced and calumniated those our just and honourable proceedings. And, therefore, lest our reputation might upon the one side (though innocently) have some aspersion laid upon it, and that upon the other our good people in that country be misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of our meaning, we have, therefore, thought good hereby to clear and make our pleasure to be manifested to all our good people in those parts.

It is true, that at our first entry to this crown and kingdom, we were informed, and that too truly, that our county of Lancashire abounded more in Popish recusants than any county of England, and thus hath still continued since, to our great regret, with little amendment, save that now of late, in our last riding through our said county, we find, both by the report of the judges and of the bishop of that diocese, that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to us.

The report of this growing amendment amongst them made us the more sorry, when with our own ears we heard the general complaint of our people, that they were barred from all lawful recreation and exercise upon the Sundays afternoon, after the ending of all divine service, which cannot but produce two evils; the one, the hindering of the conversion of many, whom their priests will take occasion hereby to vex, persuading them, that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in our religion, which cannot but breed a great discontentment in our people's hearts, especially of such as are peradventure upon the point of turning; the other inconvenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises as may make their bodies more able for war, when we or our successors shall have occasion to use them, and in place thereof sets up filthy tiplings and drunkenness, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their ale-houses; for when shall the common people have leave to exercise if not upon the Sundays and holy days, seeing they must apply their labour and win their living in all working days?

Our express pleasure therefore is, that the laws of our kingdom and canons of our church be as well observed in that county, as in all other places of this our kingdom; and, on' the other part, that no lawful recreation shall be barred to our good people, which shall not tend to the breach of our foresaid laws and canons of our church, which to express more

particularly our pleasure is, that the bishop, and all other inferior churchmen and churchwardens shall, for their parts, be careful and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and convince them that are misled in religion, presenting them that will not conform themselves, but obstinately stand out, to our judges and justices, whom we likewise command to put the law in due execution against them.

Our pleasure likewise is, that the bishop of that diocese take the like straight order with all the Puritans and Precisians within the same, either constraining them to conform themselves or to leave the country according to the laws of our kingdom and canons of our church, and so to strike equally on both hands against the contemners of our authority and adversaries of our church. And as for our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is, that, after the end of divine service, our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor from having of May-games, Whitson ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting up of May-poles, and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom. But withal we do here account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only, as bear and bull baitings, interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people, by law prohibited, bowling.

And likewise we bar from this benefit and liberty all such known recusants, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to church or divine service, being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to the church and serve God; prohibiting in like sort the said recreations to any that, though cotiforme [conformable] in religion, are not present in the church at the service of God, before their going to the said recreations. Our pleasure likewise is, that they to whom it belongeth in office shall present and sharply punish all such as in abuse of this our liberty will use these exercises before the ends of all divine services for that day. And we likewise straightly command, that every person shall resort to his own parish church to hear divine service, and each parish by itself to use the said recreation after divine service. Prohibiting likewise any offensive weapons to be carried or, used in the said times of recreations

And our pleasure is, that this our declaration shall be published by order of the bishop of the diocese through all the parish churches, and that both our judges of the circuit, and our justices of our peace be informed thereof.

Given at our manor of Greenwich, the four and twentieth day of May, in the sixteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the one and fiftieth.

God save the king.

70. THE VOYAGE OP THE "MAYFLOWER" (1620).

The earliest permanent settlement in New England was founded by Puritans acting for themselves, and not on behalf of a chartered company. These colonists belonged to a religious group or congregation which had for twelve years previously been living in Holland. The severity of James I. towards Protestant dissenters from the Established Church caused an Independent congregation of Scrooby in Nottinghamshire to seek religious freedom in exile, and at Leyden they were joined by others of like purpose. Holland gave them the most generous toleration, but for certain reasons they chose to try their fortune beyond seas. Having received assurance that they might take up land in America, they proceeded from Leyden to Southampton, whence they sailed in August, 1620. The band numbered 120 persons, who embarked in two ships, the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower.* The former proved unseaworthy and turned back: the latter continued on its way and came safe to land. William Bradford, whose narrative of the voyage is such a fine commentary on Puritan character, was a leading man in the company, and afterwards second Governor of Plymouth.

SOURCE.—*History of Plymouth Plantation.* William Bradford (1590-1657). Ed. Charles Deane. Boston, 1856. P. 74.

Of their voyage, and how they passed the sea, and of their safe arrival at Cape Cod.

Sept. 6. These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a

prosperous wind, which continued diverse days together, which was some encouragement unto them; yet according to the usual manner many were afflicted with sea-sickness. And I may not omit here a special work of God's providence. There was a proud and very profane young man, one of the seamen, of a lusty, able body, which made him the more haughty; he would always be condemning the poor people in their sickness, and cursing them daily with grievous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end, and to make merry with what they had; and if he were by any gently reproved, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pleased God before they came half ,seas over, to smite this young man with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and so was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his curses lighted on his own head; and it was an astonishment to all his fellows, for they noted it to be the just hand of God upon him.

After they had enjoyed fair winds and weather for a season, they were encountered many times with cross winds, and met with many fierce storms, with which the ship was shroudly [severely] shaken, and her upper works made very leaky ; and one of the main beams in the mid ships was bowed and cracked, which put them in some fear that the ship could not be able to perform the voyage. So some of the chief of the company, perceiving the mariners to fear the sufficiency of the ship, as appeared by their muttering, they entered into serious consultation with the master and other officers of the ship, to consider in time of the danger; and rather to return, than to cast them-Belves into a desperate and inevitable peril. And truly there was great distraction and difference of opinion amongst the mariners themselves ; fain would they do what could be done for their wages sake (being now half the seas over) and on the other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately. But in examining of all opinions, the master and others affirmed they knew the ship to be strong and firm under water; and for the buckling of the main beam, there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beam into his place; the which being done, the carpenter and master affirmed that with a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck, and otherways bound, he would make it sufficient. And as for the decks and upper works they would caulk them as well as they could, and though with the working of the ship they would not long keep staunch, yet there would otherwise

be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails. So they committed themselves to the will of God, and resolved to proceed. In sundry of these storms the winds were so fierce, and the seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of sail, but were forced to hull, for diverse days together. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storm, a lusty young man (called John Howland) coming upon same occasion above the gratings, was, with a seel [lurch] of the ship thrown into the sea; but it pleased God that he caught hold of the top-sail halyards, which hung overboard, and ran out at length; yet he held his hold (though he was sundry fathoms under water) till he was hauled up by the same rope to the brim of the water, and then with a boat hook and other means got into the ship again, and his life saved; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church and commonwealth. In all this voyage there died but one of the passengers, which was William Butten, a youth, servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew near the coast. But to omit other things (that I may be brief), after long beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod ; the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find some place about Hudson's river for their habitation. But after they had sailed that course about half the day, they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great dang ar; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did. And the next day they got into the Cape-harbour where they ridd [rode] in safety. A word or two by the way of this Cape; it was thus first named by Captain Gosnold and his company, anno 1602, and after by Captain Smith was called Cape James; but it retains the former name amongst seaman. Also that point which first showed those dangerous shoals unto them, they called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; but the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabar, by reason of those perilous shoals, and the losses they have suffered there.

Being thus arrived in a good harbour and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and

delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his own Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land, than pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious and dreadful was the same unto him.

But here I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at this poor people's present condition; and so I think will the reader too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of trou' les before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which went before), they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weather-beaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succour. It is recorded in scripture as a mercy to the apostle and his shipwrecked company, that the barbarians showed them no small kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows than otherwise. And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could, they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weather-beaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage view. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. If it be said they had a ship to succour them, it is true; but what heard they daily from the master and company *1* but that with speed they should look out a place with their shallop, where they would be at some near distance; for the season was such as he would not stir from thence till a safe harbour was discovered by them where they would be, and he might go without danger; and that victuals consumed apace, but he must and would keep sufficient for themselves and their return. Yes, it was muttered

by **some, that** if they got not a place in time, they would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them. Let it also be considered what weak hopes of supply and succour they left behind them, that might bear up their minds in this sad condition and trials they were under; and they could not but be very small. It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leyden was cordial and entire towards them, but they had little power to help them, or themselves; and how the case stood between them and the merchants at their coming away, hath already been declared. What could now sustain them but the spirit of God and His grace? May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: *Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to 'perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and Be heard their voice, and looked on their adversity, etc. Let them therefore praise the Lord, because He is good, and His mercies endure for ever, Yea, let them which have been redeemed of the Lord, show how He hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. When they wandered in the desert wilderness out of the way, and found no city to dwell in, both hungry and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before the Lord His loving-kindness, and His wonderful works before the sons of men.*

71. THE FIRST DRAFT OF CHARGES AGAINST STRAFFORD (1640).

The following articles are not the final charges which were brought against Strafford by the House of Commons. The whole indictment occupies seventeen folio pages, and on that account cannot be cited. But this interesting draft of accusations, supported by Pym and accepted by the House on 24th Nov., 1640, shows suocinctly what bitter antagonism the chief adviser of Charles I. had aroused.

SOURCE.—Rushworth's *Collections.* London, 1721. Vol. viii., p. 8.

Articles of the Commons against Thomas, Earl of Strafford.

1. That he the said Thomas, Earl of Strafford, hath traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the Realms of England and Ireland, and instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against

law, which he hath declared by traitorous words, counsels and actions, and by giving His Majesty advice, by force of arms, to compel his loyal subjects to submit thereunto.

2. That he hath traitorously assumed to himself regal power over the lives, liberties, persons, lands and goods of His Majesty's subjects in England and Ireland, and hath exercised the same tyrannically, to the subversion and undoing of many, both of Peers and others of His Majesty's liege people.

3. That the better to enrich and enable himself to go through with his traitorous designs, he hath detained a great part of His Majesty's revenue, without giving legal account; and hath taken great sums out of the exchequer, converting them to his own use, when His Majesty wanted money for his own urgent occasions, and his army had been a long time unpaid.

4. That he hath traitorously abused the power and authority of his government, to the increasing, countenancing and encouraging of Papists, that so he might settle a mutual dependence and confidence betwixt himself and that party, and by their help prosecute and accomplish his malicious and tyrannical designs.

5. That he hath maliciously endeavoured to stir up enmity and hostility between His Majesty's subjects of England, and those of Scotland.

6. That he hath traitorously broke the great trust reposed in him by His Majesty, of Lieutenant-General of his army, by wilful betraying divers of His Majesty's subjects to death, his army to a dishonourable defeat by the Scots at Newborne, and the town of Newcastle into their hands, to the end, that by the effusion of blood, by dishonour, and so great a loss as that of Newcastle, His Majesty's realm of England might be engaged in a national and irreconcilable quarrel with the Scots.

7. That to preserve himself from being questioned for those and other his traitorous courses, he laboured to subvert the right of Parliaments, and the ancient course of Parliamentary proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders, to incense His Majesty against Parliaments. By which words, counsels and actions, he hath traitorously, and contrary to his allegiance, laboured to alienate the hearts of the King's liege people from His Majesty, to set a division between them, and to ruin and destroy His Majesty's kingdoms, for which they impeach him of High Treason against our sovereign lord, the King, his crown and dignity.

8. And he the said Earl of Strafford was Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and Lieutenant-General of the army there, *viz.* His

most excellent Majesty, for his kingdoms both of England and Ireland, and the Lord President of the North, during the time that all and every the crimes and offences before set forth were done and committed; and he the said Earl was Lieutenant-General of all His Majesty's army in the North parts of England, during the time that the crimes and offences in the fifth and sixth articles set forth were done and committed.

9. That the said Commons by protestations, saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other accusation or impeachment against the said Earl; and also of replying to the answers that he the said Earl shall make unto the said articles, or to any of them and of offering proofs; also of the premises, or any of them; or any other impeachment or accusation that shall be exhibited by them, as the cause shall, according to the course of Parliaments, require, do pray that the said Earl may be put to answer for all and every of the premises, that such proceedings, examinations, trials and judgments may be upon every of them, had and used as is agreeablo to law and justice.

72. HAMPDEN.

Hampden should not be identified with Ship Money in such a way that his parliamentary prominence is overlooked. He had "House of Commons' tact" to an unusual degree, and won the admiration of political opponents beyond any other member of his party. He prevented a riot which was on the point of breaking forth in the House over the Grand Remonstrance, and what he said was always heard attentively. It is unfortunate that no authentic speech of his remains. The testimony of Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs to Hampden's influence, and to the respect he inspired, is the more credible as coming from a steadfast royalist.

SOURCE.—*Memoirs.* Sir Philip Warwick. London, 1701. A, p. 201; B, p. 231.

1641.

(A) Upon the King's return out of Scotland, the City of London's splendid entertainment of him, and the discourses that flew in all parts of the ample satisfaction the King had given (both which they foresaw, before it was put in execution), made them

prepare so foul a Remonstrance to give the King his first entertainment amongst them, that a blacker libel could not be framed either against his person or government; and it passed so tumultuously two or three nights before the King came to town, that at three of the clock in the morning, when they voted it, I thought, we had all sat in the valley of the shadow of death; for we, like Joab's and Abner's young men,[1] had caught at each others' locks, and sheathed our swords in each others' bowels, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden by a short speech prevented it, and led us to defer our angry debate, until the next morning. The King's first entertainment, therefore, must be the presenting this libel or Remonstrance to him, and not long after contrary to his desire, printing and dispersing it; and tumultuously pressing both him and the two Houses with a Bill for the casting out the Bishops from their seat in Parliament.

1643.

(B) A sickness at this time had seized upon the Earl of Essex's army; so that considerable man Colonel Hampden, with Colonel Sheffield, was about Chinner, levying recruits for that army in Oxfordshire towards Tame. Prince Rupert with a strong party drawn out of Oxford, being advertised of it by Colonel Hurry, a Scot, defeated them there in Chalgrove-field,[2] which was the very place where Mr. Hampden had first put in execution the first Parliament-Commission for the Militia against the King's authority. Hampden himself was retreated with a small party into a little field very near the place of engagement: a small party of the Prince's perceiving that little body so at distance, briskly charged them, having not the least knowledge that Mr. Hampden was among them. Here he received an hurt in the shoulder, whereof in three or four days after he died; for his blood in its temper was acrimonious, as the scurfe commonly on his face shewed.

He was certainly a person of the greatest abilities of any of that party. He had a great knowledge both in scholarship and in the law. He was of a concise and significant language, and the mildest, yet subtlest, speaker of any man in the House ; and had a dexterity when a question was going to be put, which agreed not with his sense, to draw it over to it by adding some equivocal or sly word, which would enervate the meaning of it as first put. He was very well read in history; and I remember

[1] bee 2 Samuel, chap. iii.

[2] 18th June, 1648.

the first time I ever saw that of D'Avila[1] of the Civil Wars of France, it was lent me under the title of Mr. Hampden's *Vade mecum;* and I believe no copy was liker an original, than that rebellion was like ours. He was a man of a great and plentiful estate, and of great interest in his country, and of a regular life ; and though he took upon him but the title of a colonel (for he had greater interest to raise the men, than aptitude to range or fight them) yet he thus died (as is before expressed) in a martial engagement. The news whereof (he being so eminent a man) soon came to Oxford by a tenant of Dr Giles's, who was parson of Chinner, not far from the place where the engagement was; who accidently meeting me, first told it unto me, and I brought him unto the King. The Doctor was a near neighbour and friend of Mr. Hampden's, and being an opulent man, he chad built himself a very good parsonage-house, in the contrivance of which structure Mr. Hampden had used his skill. The King required the doctor, as from himself, to send to see him; for I found the King would have sent him over any surgeon of his, if any had been wanting; for he looked upon his interest if he could gain his affection, as a powerful means of begetting a right understanding betwixt him and his two Houses. I remember how the doctor regretted the King's command ; for, says he, I have seemed unlucky to him in several conjunctures of time, when I made addresses to him in my own behalf: for he having been formerly so kindly my friend, before I came to Oxford, we the prebendaries of Windsor being all turned out of our houses, in the carrying off of my goods, my wagons were robbed and plundered, though warranted by pass-port ; and I addressing to him for relief, my messenger came in that very instant, in which the news of his eldest son's death came to him; and some good time after falling into a like calamity, though I failed of the fruit of his intended relief the first time, yet I hoped to have found it the second; but my messenger unfortunately met then with another, that brought the news of his beloved daughter, Mrs. Knightley's death; so I seemed to scritch-owl him [bring him bad luck]. However the doctor sent, and when he heard of a message from him, this poor gentleman, though he was in a high fever, and not very sensible, much was amated [distressed] at it. These little stories I put down, because the discovery of great men's natures are often lively expositions of their great counsels : history being but a reduction of morals into examples. It was usually said, that he had more

[1]1676-1631. The historian of the Religious Wars in France.

ambition to have been the Prince's governor, than any greater place: for aiming at the alteration of some parts of the Government (for at first probably it amounted not unto a design of a total new form), he knew of how great a consequence it would be, that a young Prince should have principles suitable to what should be established as laws.

73. "THE WONDERFUL WORK OF GOD IN THE GUIDANCE OF BULLETS" (1642).

Roundhead soldiers fought with the determination of men who believed themselves instruments of God for the accomplishment of His work. They marched to the field under the divine banner, and if they fell in battle it was because a destiny, which none could escape, ordained that they should fall. This confidence in providential oversight and protection is visible in the comments of Nehemiah Wallington on various encounters of 1642, including the battle of Edgehill. Wallington was a London shopkeeper who kept careful watch of the war, and in his journal never lost a chance of ascribing parliamentary success to heavenly guidance.

SOURCE.—*Historical Notices.* Nehemiah Wallington (1598-1658). London, 1870. Vol. ii., p. 152.

The wonderful work of God in the guidance of bullets,

1642.—August the 23rd, being Tuesday, at eight o'clock, there was a skirmish for three hours at Southam (in Warwickshire) between the Army under the conduct of the Lord Brooks, the Lord Grey, Colonel Hampden, Colonel Hollis and Colonel Cholmley; and the Army under the command of the Earl of Northampton, Lord Saville, Lord Paget.

The enemy discharged three times their two pieces of ordnance upon the very body of our army, but not a man hurt by God's great mercy. Nay, God's wonderful mark was observed in the guidance of the adverse party's bullets. For one went over the Lord Brooks, his head, as also another bullet went close to the Lord Grey; some went on one side, and some flew clean over their heads, both horse and foot, torching no man, nor doing any harm at all.

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Experiment was the keynote of his system, and when his ideas had once been well grasped the modern examination of nature began. After the Restoration laboratory researches were adopted as a fashionable pastime at court, while with the incorporation of the Royal Society scientific pursuits gained a recognised basis. The nucleus of this distinguished body had been formed during the civil wars, as Dr. Wallis says in his statement concerning its origin. The allusion to Aristotle is important, since he typified the old philosophy in opposition to the new. Passages A. and B are derived from an autobiographical sketch of Dr. John Wallis, the mathematician; G. from his Defence of the Royal Society.

SOURCE.—*Account of some Passages of his Life.* John Wallis (1616. 1703). Cited by C. R. Weld in his *History of the Royal Society,* London, 1848. A, p. 81; B, p. 35.

(A) About the year 1645, while I lived in London (at a time when, by our civil wars, academical studies were much interrupted in both our Universities), beside the conversation of divers eminent divines, as to matters theological, I had the opportunity of being acquainted with divers worthy persons, inquisitive into natural philosophy, and other parts of human learning ; and particularly of what hath been called the *New Philosophy,* or *Experimental Philosophy.* We did by agreements, divers of us, meet weekly in London on a certain day, to treat and discourse of such affairs; of which number were *Dr. John Wilhins* (afterward *Bishop of Chester), Br Jonathan Goddard, Dr. George Ent, Dr. Glisson, Dr. Merret* (Drs. in Physic), *Mr. Samuel Foster,* then Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, *Mr. Theodore Hank* (a German of the Palatinate, and then resident in London, who, I think, gave the first occasion, and first suggested those meetings), and many others.

These meetings we held sometimes at *Dr. Goddard's* lodgings in *Wood Street* (or some convenient place near), on occasion of his keeping an operator in his house for grinding glasses for telescopes and microscopes; sometimes at a convenient place in *Cheapside,* and sometimes at *Gresham College,* or some place near adjoining.

Our business was (precluding matters of theology and state affairs) to discourse and consider of *Philosophical Enquiries,*

and such as related thereunto: as *physic, anatomy, geometry,* ***astronomy, navigation, statics, magnetics, chemics, mechanics,*** and natural *experiments;* with the state of these studies, as then cultivated at home and abroad. We then discoursed of **the *circulation of the blood, the valves in the veins, the vena lactce, the lymphatic vessels, the Copernican hypothesis, the nature of comets and new stars, the satellites of Jupiter, the oval shape* (as it then appeared) *of Saturn, the spots in the sun, and its turning on its own axis, the inequalities and selenography of the moon, the several phases of Venus and Mercury, the improvement of telescopes, and grinding of glasses for that purpose, the weight of air, the possibility, or impossibility of vacuities, and nature's abhorrence thereof, the Torricellian experiment in quicksilver, the descent of heavy bodies, and the degrees of acceleration therein* ; and divers other things** of like nature. Some of which were then but new discoveries, and others not so generally known and embraced, as now they are, with other things appertaining to what hath been called ***The New Philosophy,*** **which from the times of *Galileo* at *Florence,* and *Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam)* in England,** hath been much cultivated in *Italy, France, Germany,* and other parts abroad, as well as with us in *England.*

About the year 1648, 1649, some of our company being removed to Oxford (first *Dr. Wilkins,* then I, and soon after *Dr. Goddard),* our company divided. Those in London continued to meet there as before (and we with them when we had occasion to be there), and those of us at Oxford; with *Dr. Ward* **(since *Bishop of Salisbury), Dr. Ralph Bathurst* (now *President of Trinity College in Oxford), Dr. Petty*[1] (since *Sir** *William Petty), Dr. Willis* (then an eminent physician in *Oxford),* and divers others, continued such meetings in Oxford, and brought those studies into fashion there; meeting first at Dr. Petty's lodgings (in an apothecary's house), because of the convenience of inspecting drugs, and the like, as there was occasion; **and** after his remove to Ireland (though not so constantly), at the lodgings of Dr. Wilkin's, then Warden of Wadham College, and after his removal to Trinity College in Cambridge, at the lodgings of the Honourable Mr. Robert Boyle, then resident for divers years in Oxford.

(B) We would by no means be thought to slight or undervalue the philosophy of Aristotle, which hath for many ages obtained in the schools. But have (as we ought) **a** great esteem

[1] gee No. 80.

for him, and judge him to have been a very great man, and think those who do most slight him, to be such as are less acquainted with him. He was a great enquirer into the history of nature, but we do not think (nor did he think) that he had so exhausted the stock of knowledge of that kind as that there would be nothing left for the enquiry of aftertimes, as neither can we of this age hope to find out so much, but that there will be much left for those that come after us.

(0) (For *Source,* see end.)

I take its first ground and foundation to have been in London, about the year 1645, if not sooner, when Dr. Wilkins, (then chaplain to the Prince Elector Palatine, in London) and others, met weekly at a certain day and hour, under a certain penalty, and a weekly contribution for the charge of experiments, with certain rules agreed upon amongst us. When (to avoid diversion to other discourses, and for some other reasons) we barred all discourses of divinity, of state affairs, and of news, other than what concerned our business of Philosophy. These meetings we removed soon after to the Bull Head in Cheapside, and in term-time to Gresham College, where we met weekly at Mr. Fosters lecture (then Astronomy Professor there), and, after the lecture ended, repaired, sometimes to Mr. Foster's lodgings, sometimes to some other place not far distant, where we continued such enquiries, and our numbers increased.

About the years 1648-9 some of our company were removed to Oxford; first, Dr. Wilkins, then I, and soon after, Dr. Goddard, whereupon our company divided. Those at London (and we, when we had occasion to be there) met as before. Those of us at Oxford, with Dr. Ward, Dr. Petty, and many others of the most inquisitive persons in Oxford, met weekly (for some years) at Dr. Petty's lodgings, on the like account, to wit, so long as Dr. Petty continued in Oxford, and for some while after, because of the conveniences we had there (being the house of an apothecary) to view, and make use of, drugs and other like matters, as there was occasion.

Our meetings there were very numerous and very considerable. For, besides the diligence of persons studiously inquisitive, the novelty of the design made many to resort thither; who, when it ceased to be new, began to grow more remiss, or did pursue such inquiries at home. We did afterwards (Dr. Petty being gone for Ireland, and our numbers growing less) remove thence; and (some years before His Majesty's return) did meet at Dr. Wilkins's lodgings in Wadham College. In the meanwhile, our company at Gresham College being much again

increased, by the accession of divers eminent and noble persons, upon His Majesty's return, we were (about the beginning of the year 1662) by His Majesty's grace and favour, incorporated by the name of the Royal Society.

(G) SOURCE.—*A Defence of the Royal Society.* John Wallis (1616-1703). London, 1678. Cited by 0. R. Weld in his *History of the Royal Society.* London, 1848. P. 86.

75. CROMWELL'S DISSOLUTION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT (1653).

Before the spring of 1653 the Long Parliament had degenerated sadly from its original condition. Still its overthrow by arms was a heroic measure. Cromwell was not a brutal dictator who delighted in displays of force. He ran no risk of rousing a reaction by ending the sessions of a worthless assembly, for the Long Parliament had few friends and the army was supreme. But he shrank from violent remedies in the case of a body which had so often been the refuge of liberty. What determined him was a knowledge of its corruption as well as of its inefficiency. He acted after much thought and under conviction, believing that of two evils a forced dissolution of Parliament was the lesser. The description which is here given of this unique scene comes from a journal kept by Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester. His son Algernon Sidney, afterwards executed for complicity in the Rye House Plot, was a member of the House, and present on the morning of April 20.

SOURCE.—*Sydney Papers.* Ed. R. W. Blencowe. London, 1825. P. 139. This entry is by Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester (1595-1677).

Wednesday, 20th April.—The Parliament sitting as usual, and being on debate upon the Bill with the amendments, which it was thought would have been passed that day, the Lord General Cromwell came into the House, clad in plain black clothes, with grey worsted stockings, and sat down as he used to do in an ordinary place. After a while he rose up, put oft his hat, and spake ; at the first and for a good while, he spake to the commendation of the Parliament, for their pains and care of the public good; but afterwards he changed his style, told

them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest and other faults. Then he said: " Perhaps you think this is not Parliamentary language; I confess it is not, neither are you to expect any such from me". Then he put on his hat, went out of his place, and walked up and down the stage or floor in the midst of the House, with his hat on his head, and chid them soundly, looking sometimes, and pointing particularly upon some persons, as Sir R. Whitlock, one of the Commissioners for the Great Seal, Sir Henry Vane, to whom he gave very sharp language, though he named them not, but by his gestures it was well known that he meant them. After this he said to Colonel Harrison (who was a Member of the House): " Call them in ". Then Harrison went out, and presently brought in Lieutenant Colonel Wortltey (who commanded the General's own regiment of foot) with five or six files of musqueteers, about 20 or 30, with their musquets. Then the General, pointing to the Speaker in his chair, said to Harrison, "Fetch him down". Harrison went to the Speaker, and spoke to him to come down, Dut the Speaker sat still, and said nothing. " Take him down," said the General; then Harrison went and pulled the Speaker by the gown, and he came down. It happened that day, that Algernon Sydney sat next to the Speaker on the right hand; the General said to Harrison," Put him out". Harrison spake to Sydney to go out, but he said he would not go out, and sat still. The General said again, " Put him out". Then Harrison and Wortley put their hands upon Sydney's shoulders, as if they would force him to go out; then he rose and went towards the door. Then the General went to the table where the mace lay, which used to be carried before the Speaker, and said, " Take away these baubles ". So the soldiers took away the mace, and all the House went out; and at the going out, they say, the General said to young Sir Henry Vane, calling him by his name, that he might have prevented this extraordinary course, but he was a juggler, and had not so much as common honesty. All being gone out, the door of the House was locked, and the key with the mace was carried away, as I heard, by Colonel Otley.

76. BLAKE AT SANTA CRUZ (1657).

All political parties unite in praising the energy of Cromwell's foreign policy. It is, for instance, with the Protectorate that English fleets begin to count as a fixed quantity in European combinations. Blake's victories confirmed the tradition which

Elizabethan seamen had founded, and reduced Spain to naval insignificance. The notice which Heath's *Chronicle* contains of the exploit at Santa Cruz may be likened to a modern newspaper report, as Heath culled his information from pamphlets, broadsides and journalistic literature generally.

SOURCE.—*Chronicle of the Civil Wars of England, Scotland and Ireland,* James Heath (1629-1664). London, 1676. P. 391.

Of all the desperate attempts that ever were made in the world against an enemy by sea, this of noble Blake's is not inferior to any. He lying upon the Spanish coast, had intelligence given him that the West India fleet were arrived at the Canary Islands, and put into the Bay of Santa Cruz, on the Island of Teneriffe. Upon this the fleet weighed anchor on the 13th of April, 1657, and by the 20th of the same month, were fair in the offing of Santa Cruz, where they discovered how bravely the Spanish ships (sixteen in number) were barricaded in this bay, where they lay in a manner semi-circular. Near to the mouth of this haven, stands a castle sufficiently furnished with great ordnance, which threatened destruction to any that durst enter without its leave into the harbour: besides this, there stood seven forts more round about the bay, with six, four, and three great guns apiece; and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was manned with musketeers. To make all safe, Don Diego Diagues, General of the Spanish fleet, was not idle in making provision for the best defence of his Armado : he caused all the smaller ships to be moored close along the shore, and the six great galleons stood farther out at anchor, with their broadsides towards the sea. It happened at this time, there was a Dutch merchant's ship in the bay; the master whereof seeing the English ready to enter, and that a combat would presently bo commenced, it made him fear that among all the blows that would be given, he could not avoid some knocks; 'therefore to save himself, he went to Don Diego, and desired his leave to depart the harbour: for (said he) *I am very sure Blake will presently be amongst you.* To this, the resolute Don made no other reply, but, *get you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares.*

They that knew Blake's courage, could not but know it needless to dare him to an engagement. All things being ordered for fight, a squadron of ships was drawn out of the whole fleet to make the first onset; these were commanded by Captain

Stainer in the *Speaker* frigate, who no sooner had received orders, but immediately he flew into the bay with his canvas wings, and by eight in the morning fell pell-mell upon the Spanish fleet, without the least regard to the forts, that spent their shot prodigally upon him. No sooner were these entered into the bay, but Blake following after, placed certain ships to pour broadsides into the castle and forts: these played their parts so well, that after some time the Spaniards found their forts too hot to be held. In the meantime Blake strikes in with Stainer, and bravely fought the Spanish ships, which were not much inferior in number to the English, but in men they were far the superior. Here we see a resolute bravery many times may carry the day, and make number lie by the lee : this was manifest; for by two of the clock in the afternoon, the English had beaten their enemies out of their ships.

Now Blake seeing an impossibility of carrying them away, he ordered his men to fire their prizes; which was done so effectually, that all the Spanish fleet were reduced to ashes, except two ships that sunk downright, nothing remaining of them above water but some part of their masts.

The English having now got a complete victory, were put to another difficulty by the wind, which blew so strong into the bay, that many despaired of getting out again. But God's providence was miraculously seen, in causing the wind upon the sudden to veer about to the south-west (a thing not known in many years before), which brought Blake and his fleet safe to sea again, notwithstanding the Spaniards from the castle played their great guns perpetually upon them as they passed by. The wind, as it proved a friend to bring the English forth, so it continued to carry them back again to their former station near to Cadiz.

This noble service made Blake as terrible as Drake to the Spaniard; there being less difference betwixt the fame and report of their actions and exploits, than in the sound of their names; and it was accordingly resented[1] here by all parties. Cromwell (whom it most concerned) sent his secretary to acquaint the House with the particulars, who ordered a thanksgiving and 500Z. to buy the General a jewel, as a testimony of his country's gratitude, and the honour they bore him; one hundred pound to the Captain that brought the tidings, and thanks to all officers and soldiers: and shortly after the *Speaker* returning home (being so bruised and torn in the late engage-

[1] Here used in the etymological sense of entertaining a certain feeling—which may be pleasurable, instead of the opposite as is now usually meant by the word.

ment, that she was unfit for further service till repaired), the Captain of her (Richard Stainer) was knighted, who indeed deserved that honour from a better hand; nor did his'merit miss of it. This was achieved on Monday, the 20th of April.

77. THE RESTORATION FESTIVITIES (1660).

The festivities attending the return of Charles I I . in 1660 were perfectly spontaneous, and serve as a measure whereby we can gauge the popular dislike of Puritan and military rule. The disgraces of the reign could not be forecast at the Restoration, and amid universal rejoicing Charles exclaimed with that rich humour which was one of his redeeming traits: "Surely it is my own fault that I have remained these years in exile from a country which is so glad to see mo", Our source for the ensuing excerpt is a tract printed in 1660, and called *"England's Joy; or, a Relation of the most remarkable Passages from his Majesty's Arrival at Dover to his Entrance at White-Hall"*.

SOURCE.—*England's Joy.* Arber's *Garner.* Birmingham, 1877. Vol. i.,p. 27.

From Canterbury he came, on Monday, to Rochester, where the people had hung up, over the midst of the streets as he rode, many beautiful garlands, curiously made up with costly scarfs and ribands, decorated with spoons and bodkins of silver, and small plate of several sorts, and some with gold chains, in like sort as at Canterbury, each striving to outdo others in all expressions of joy.

On Tuesday, May the 29th (which happily fell out to be the anniversary of his Majesty's birth-day), he set forth from Rochester in his coach ; but afterwards took horse on the farther side of Black-heath, on which spacious plain he found divers great and eminent troops of horse, in a most splendid and glorious equipage ; and a kind of rural triumph, expressed by the country swains in a morrice-dance, with the old music of taber and pipe, which was performed will all agility and cheerfulness imaginable.

And from this heath the troops marched off before him, *viz.* Major-general Brown's, the Merchant-Adventurers, Alderman Robinson's, the Lord Maynard's, the Earls pf Norwich, Peterborough, Cleveland, Derby, Duke of Richmond's, and his Majesty's own Life Guards

In this order, proceeding towards London, there were placed in Deptford, on his right hand (as he passed through the town), above an hundred proper maids, clad all alike in white garments, with scarfs about them, who, having prepared many flaskets covered with fine linen, and adorned with rich scarfs and ribands, which flaskets were full of flowers and sweet herbs, strowed the way before him as he rode.

From thence, passing on, he came into St. George's Fields, in Southwark, where the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, in their scarlet, with the recorder and other city council, waited for him in a large tent, hung with tapestry, in which they had placed a chair of state, with a rich canopy over it. When ho came thither, the Lord Mayor presented him with the city sword, and the recorder made a speech to him, which being done, he alighted, and went into' the tent, where a noble banquet was prepared for him.

From this tent the proceeding was thus ordered, *viz.* First, the city marshal to follow in the rear of his Majesty's Life Guards; next, the sheriff's trumpets; then the sheriffs men, in scarlet cloaks, laced with silver on the capes, carrying jave lins in their hands ; then divers eminent citizens, well mounted, all in black velvet coats, and chains of gold about their necks, and every one his footman, with suit, cassock, and ribands of the colour of his company, all which were made choice of out of the several companies in this famous city, and so distinguished; and, at the head of each distinction, the ensign, or arms of the company, painted or embroidered.

After these followed the city council by two and two, near the aldermen; then certain noblemen and noblemen's sons; then the king's trumpets; then the heralds at arms.

After them the Duke of Buckingham; then the Earl of Lindsey, Lord High Chamberlain of England, and the Lord General Monk; next to them Garter, Principal King of Arms, the Lord Mayor on his right hand, bearing the city sword, and a gentleman usher on his left, and on each side of them the Serjeants at arms with their maces.

Then the King's Majesty, with his equeries and footmen on each side of him, and at a little distance on each hand, his royal brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester; and after them divers of the king's servants, who came with him from beyond sea; and, in the rear of all, those gallant troops, *viz.*, the Duke of Buckingham, Earls of Oxford, Northampton, Winchelsea, Litchfield, and the Lord Mordaunt; also five regiments of horse belonging to the army.

In this magnificent fashion his Majesty entered the borough of South wark, about half an hour past three of the clock in the afternoon ; and, within half an hour after, the city of London, at the bridge, where he found the windows and. streets exceedingly thronged with people to behold him, and the walls adorned with hangings and carpets of tapestry, and other costly stuffs, and in many places sets of loud music. All the conduits, as he passed, running claret wine, and the several companies in their liveries, with the ensigns belonging to them; as also the trained bands of the city standing along the streets as ha passed, welcoming him with joyful acclamations.

And within the rails, where Charing-Cross formerly was, a stand of six hundred pikes, consisting of knights and gentlemen as had been officers of the armies of his late Majesty of blessed memory; the truly noble and valiant Sir John Stowell, knight of the honourable order of the Bath, a person famous for his eminent actions and sufferings, being in the head of them.

From which place the citizens, in velvet coats and gold chains, being drawn up on each hand, and divers companies of foot soldiers, his Majesty passed betwixt them, and entered Whitehall at seven of the clock, the people making loud shouts, and the horse and foot several volleys of shot at this his happy arrival, where the House of Lords and Commons of Parliament received him, and kissed his royal .hand. At the same time, likewise, the reverend bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Rochester, and Chichester, in their episcopal habits, with divers of the long-oppressed orthodox clergy, met in that royal chapel of King Henry the VII. at Westminster, there also sung *Te Deum,* etc., in praise and thanks to Almighty God for this His unspeakable mercy in the deliverance of his Majesty from many dangers, and so happily restoring him to rule these kingdoms according to his just and undoubted right.

78. THE FIRE OF LONDON (1666).

Samuel Pepys held a post in the civil service under Charles II., being attached to the admiralty office. He was neither great nor good, but he kept in cipher an important diary of public occurrences and of the gossip which came his way. This has been translated, and now stands among the rarities and treasures of English history. It can be regarded from several

points of view according as the reader's interests are biographical, or political, or social The entries extend from 1659 to 1669.

SoURCE.—*Diary.* Samuel Pepys (1638-1703). Ed. Wheatley. London, 1893. Vol. v., p. 392.

2nd[1] (Lord's day).—Some of our mayds sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast to-day, Jane called us up about three in the morning, to tell us of a great fire they saw in the City. So I rose and slipped on my night-gown, and went to her window, and thought it to be on the back-side of Marke-lane at the farthest; but, being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it far enough off; and so went to bed again and to sleep. About seven rose again to dress myself, and there looked out at the .window, and saw the fire not so much as it was and further off. So to my closet to set things to rights after yesterday's cleaning. By and by Jane comes and tells me that she hears that above 300 houses have been burned down to-night by the fire we saw, and that it is now burning down all Fish-street, by London Bridge. So I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower, and there got up upon one of the high places, Sir J. Robertson's little son going up with me; and there I did see the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side the end of the bridge; which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the bridge. So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it begun this morning in the King's baker's house in Pudding-lane, and that it hath burned St. Magnus's Church and most part of Fish-street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, as far as the Old Swan, already burned that way, and the fire running further, that in a very little time it got as far as the Steele-yard, while I was there. Everybody endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs by the water-side to another. And among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconies till they were, some of them burned,' their wings, and fell down. Having staid, and in an hour's

[1] Sept. 2nd, 1666.

time seen the fire rage every way, and nobody, to my sight, endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods, and leave all to the fire, and having seen it get as far as the Sfceele-yard, and the wind mighty high and driving it into the City; and everything, after so long a drought, proving combustible, even the very stones of churches, and among other things the poor steeple by which pretty Mrs.———lives, and whereof my old schoolfellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top, and there burned till it fell down: I to White Hall (with a gentleman with me who desired to go off from the Tower, to see the fire, in my boat); to White Hall, and there up to the King's closet in the Chappell, where people come about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried into the King. So I was called for, and did tell the King and Duke of Yorke what I saw, and that unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. The Duke of York bid me tell him that if he would have any more soldiers he shall; and so did my Lord Arlington afterwards, as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach which he lent me, and Creed with me to Paul's, and there walked along Watling-street, as well as I could, every creature coming away loaden with goods to save, and here and there sicke people carried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs. At last met my Lord Mayor in Canning-street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message he cried, like a fainting woman, "Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it." That he needed no more soldiers; and that, for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night. So he left me, and I him, and walked home, seeing people all almost distracted, and no manger of means used to quench the fire. The houses, too, so very thick there-abouts, and full of matter for burning, as pitch and tar, in Thames-street; and warehouses of oyle, and wines, and brandy, and other things. Here I saw Mr. Isaake Houblon, the hand-some man prettily dressed and dirty, at his door at Dowgate, receiving some of his brothers' things, whose houses were on fire; and, as he says, have been removed twice already; and he doubts (as it soon proved) that they must be in a little time removed from his house also, which was a sad

consideration. And to see the churches all filling with goods by people who themselves should have been quietly there at this time By this time it was about twelve o'clock; and so home, and there, find my guests, which was Mr. Wood and his wife Barbary Sheldon, and also Mr. Moone: she mighty fine, and her husband, for aught I see, a likely man. But Mr. Moone's design and mine, which was to look over my closet and please him with the sight thereof, which he hath long desired, was wholly disappointed; for we were in great trouble and disturbance at this fire, not knowing what to think of it. However, we had an extraordinary good dinner, and as merry as at this time we could be.

79. THE COFFEE-HOUSE.

Between 1670 and 1*685 coffee-houses multiplied in London, and attained some degree of political importance from the volume of talk which they caused. Each sect, party or shade of fashion, had its meeting place of this sort, and London life grew more animated from the presence in its midst of public centres where witty conversation could be heard. Danby, fearing that conspiracy might flourish under the cloak of social rendezvous at coffee-houses, endeavoured feebly to suppress them. His attempt was an excellent advertisement, and nothing more: they continued to be thronged till well into the next century. When coffee-houses were still a novelty, they had their partisans and their opponents, who exchanged highly-spiced pamphlets in praise or condemnation of the herb and its patrons. Specimens of this literature, both *pro* and *con*, are subjoined.

(1673).

SOURCE.—(4) *The Character of a Coffee-House.* 1673. Harleian Miscellany. Ed. 1810. Vol. viii., p. 7.

A coffee-house is a lay conventicle, good-fellowship turned puritan, ill-husbandry in masquerade, whither people come, after toping all day, to purchase, at the expense of their last penny, the repute of sober companions: A Rota [club] room, that, like Noah's ark, receives animals of every sort, from the precise diminutive band, to the hectoring cravat and cuffs in folio; a nursery for training up the smaller fry of virtuosi in confident tattling, or a cabal of kittling [carping] critics that have only

learned to spit and mew ; a mint of intelligence, that, to make each man his pennyworth, draws out into petty parcels, what the merchant receives in bullion: he, that comes often, saves twopence a week in Gazettes, and has his news and his coffee for the same charge, as at a threepenny ordinary they give in broth to your chop of mutton; it is an exchange, where haberdashers of political small-wares meet, and mutually abuse each other, and the public, with bottomless stories, and headless notions; the rendezvous of idle pamphlets, and persons more idly employed to read them ; a high court of justice, where every little fellow in a camlet[1] cloak takes upon him to transpose affairs both in church and state, to show reasons against acts of parliament, and condemn the decrees of general councils.

. . . . . .

As you have a hodge-podge of drinks, such too is your company, for each man seems a leveller, and ranks and files himself as he lists, without regard to degrees or order; so that often you may see a silly fop and a worshipful justice, a griping rook and a grave citizen, a worthy lawyer and an errant pickpocket, a reverend nonconformist and a canting mountebank, all blended together to compose an oglio [medley] of impertinence.

If any pragmatic, to show himself witty or eloquent, begin to talk high, presently the further tables are abandoned, and all the rest flock round (like smaller birdei, to admire the gravity of the madge-howlet [barn-owl]). They listen to him awhile with their mouths, and let their pipes go out, and coffee grow cold, for pure zeal of attention, but on the sudden fall all a yelping at once with more noise, but not half so much harmony, as a pack of beagles on the full cry. To still this bawling, up starts Capt. All-man-sir,[2] the man of mouth, with a face as blustering as that of Æolus and his four sons, in painting, and a voice louder than the speaking trumpet, he begins you the story of a sea-fight; and though he never were further, by water, than the Bear-garden, . . . yet, having pirated the names of ships and captains, he persuades you himself was present, and performed miracles; that he waded knee-deep in blood on the upper-deck, and never thought to serenade his mistress so pleasant as the bullets whistling; how he stopped a vice-admiral of the enemy's under full sail; till she was boarded, with his single arm, instead of grappling-irons, and puffed out with his

[1]Originally camlet was an eastern fabric. In the seventeenth century it was made from the hair of the Angora goat.

[2] Doubtless a fling at John Dryden.

breath a fire-ship that fell foul on them. All this he relates, sitting in a cloud of smoke, and belching so many common oaths to vouch it, you can scarce guess whether the real engagement, or his romancing account of it, be the more dreadful: however, he concludes with railing at the conduct of some eminent officers (that, perhaps, he never saw), and protests, had they taken his advice at the council of war, not a sail had escaped us.

He is no sooner out of breath, but another begins a lecture on the Gazette, where, finding several prizes taken, he gravely observes, if this trade hold, we shall quickly rout the Dutch, horse and foot, by sea: he nicknames the Polish gentlemen wherever he meets them, and enquires whether Gayland and Taffaletta be Lutherans or Calvinists? *stilo novo* he interprets a vast new stile, or turnpike, erected by his electoral highness on the borders of Westphalia, to keep Monsieur Turenne's cavalry from falling on his retreating troops; he takes words by the sound, without examining their sense : Morea he believes to be the country of the Moors, and Hungary a place where famine always keeps her court, nor is there anything more cer tain, than that he made a whole room full of fops, as wise as himself, spend above two hours in searching the map for Aristocracy and Democracy, not doubting but to have found them there, as well as Dalmatia and Croatia.

(1675)

SOURCE.—*(B) Coffee-Houses Vindicated.* 1675. Harleian Miscellany. Ed. 1610. Vol. viii.,p. 75.

Though the happy Arabia, nature's spicery, prodigally furnishes the voluptuous world with all kinds of aromatics, and divers other rarities; yet I scarce know whether mankind be not still as much obliged to it for the excellent fruit of the humble coffee-shrub, as for any other of its more specious productions : for, since there is nothing we here enjoy, next to life, valuable beyond health, certainly those things that contribute to preserve us in good plight and eucrasy,[1] and fortify our weak bodies against the continual assaults and batteries of disease, deserve our regards much more than those which only gratify a liquorish palate, or otherwise prove subservient to our delights. As for this salutiferous berry, of so general a use through all the regions of the east, it is sufficiently known,

[1] " Such a due mixture of qualities as constitutes health."

when prepared, to be moderately hot, and of a very drying attenuating and cleansing quality; whence reason infers, that its decoction must contain many good physical properties, and cannot but be an incomparable remedy to dissolve crudities,[1] comfort the brain, and dry up ill humours in the stomach. In brief, to prevent or redress, in those that frequently drink it, all cold drowsy rheumatic distempers whatsoever, that proceed from excess of moisture, which are so numerous, that but to name them would tire the tongue of a mountebank.

. . . . . .

Lastly, for diversion. It is older than Aristotle, and will be true, when Hobbes is forgot, that man is a sociable creature, and delights in company. Now, whither shall a person, wearied with hard study, or the laborious turmoils of a tedious day, repair to refresh himself *1* Or where can young gentlemen, or shop-keepers, more innocently and advantageously spend an hour or two in the evening, than at a coffee-house *1* Where they shall be sure to meet company, and, by the custom of the house, not such as at other places, stingy and reserved to themselves, but free and communicative; where every man may modestly begin his story, and propose to, or answer another, as he thinks fit. Discourse is *pabulum animi, cos ingenii;* the mind's best diet, and the great whetstone and incentive of ingenuity; by that we come to know men better than by their physiognomy. *Loquere, ut te videam,* speak, that I may see thee, was the philosopher's adage. To read men is acknowledged more useful than books; but where is there a better library for that study, generally, than here, amongst such a variety of humours, all expressing themselves on divers subjects, according to their respective abilities ?

. . . . . .

In brief, it is undeniable, that, as you have here the most civil, so it is, generally, the most intelligent society; the frequenting whose converse, and observing their discourses and deportment, cannot but civilise our manners, enlarge our understandings, refine our language, teach us a generous confidence and handsome mode of address, and brush off that *pudor rubrusticus* (as, I remember, Tully somewhere calls it), that clownish kind of modesty frequently incident to the best natures, which renders them sheepish and ridiculous in company.

So that, upon the whole matter, spite of the idle sarcasms and paltry reproaches thrown upon it, we may, with no less

[1] Undigested matter in the stomach.

truth than plainness, give this brief character of a well-regulated coffee-house (for our pen disdains to be an advocate for any sordid holes, that assume that name to cloak the practice of debauchery), that it is the sanctuary of health, the nursery of temperance, the delight of frugality, an academy of civility, and free-school of ingenuity.

80. ON THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH POWER AND WEALTH (1677).

Sir William Petty, 1623-87, was the best English authority of his day on the subject which he called " political arithmetic," or, as we should say, political economy. He was a man of wit, practical ability and thoroughness. The passage quoted below is Chapter VI. in his *Political Arithmetic ;* of which work the second title is added, in order that the reader may know what topics Petty deemed worthy his attention as a studeut of politic and society.

A Discourse
Concerning
The extent and value of Lands, People,
Buildings; Husbandry, Manufacture,
Commerce, Fishery, Artizans, Seamen,
Soldiers; Public Revenues, Interest,
Taxes, Superlucration, Registries, Banks;
Valuation of Men, Increasing of Seamen;
of Militias, harbours, Situation, Shipping,
Power at Sea, etc.: as the same relates
to every country in general, but more
particularly to the territories of His
Majesty of Great Britain, and his
neighbours of Holland, Zealand, and France.

SOURCE.—Political *Arithmetic*. Sir W. Petty (1623-1687). Arber's *Garner*. Birmingham, 1883. Vol. vi., p. 378.

That the power and wealth of England hath increased this last forty years.

It is not much to be doubted but that the territories under the King's dominion have increased, forasmuch as New England,

Virginia, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, Tangier, and Bombay, have, since that time, been either added to His Majesty's territories, or improved from a desert condition, to abound with people, buildings, shipping, and the production of many useful commodities.

And as for the land of England, Scotland and Ireland, as it is not less in quantity than it was forty years ago, so it is manifest that, by reason of the draining of the fens, watering of dry grounds, improving of forests and commons, making of heathy and barren grounds to bear sanfoin and clover grass, ameliorating and multiplying several sorts of fruit and garden stuff, making some rivers navigable, etc.; I say, it is manifest that the land in its present condition is able to bear more provisions and commodities than it was forty years ago.

Secondly, although the PEOPLE OF England, Scotland and Ireland, which have extraordinarily perished, by the Plague and Sword, within these last forty years, do amount to about 300,000 above what would have died in the ordinary way : yet the ordinary increase by generation of 10,000,000 which doubles in 200 years, as hath been shown by the observators upon the bills of mortality, may, in forty years, which is a fifth part of the same time, have increased one-fifth part of the whole number, or 2,000,000.

Where note by the way, that the accession of negroes to the American Plantations, being all men of great labour and little expense, is not inconsiderable. Besides, it is hoped that New England (where few or no women are barren, and most have many children; and where people live long and healthfully) hath produced an increase of as many people as were destroyed in the late tumults in Ireland.

As for HOUSING, the streets of London itself speaks it. I conceive it is double in value in that city to what it was forty years since. And for Housing in the country, it has increased at Newcastle, Yarmouth, Norwich, Exeter, Portsmouth, Cowes ; Dublin, Kinsale, Londonderry and Coleraine in Ireland, far beyond the proportion of what I can learn has been dilapidated in other places. For in Ireland, where the ruin was greatest, the Housing, taking all together, is now more valuable than forty years ago. Nor is this to be doubted : since Housing is now more splendid than in those days; and the number of dwellers is increased by nearly one-fifth part; as on the last paragraph is set forth.

As for SHIPPING, His Majesty's Navy is now triple or quadruple to what it was forty years since, and before the *Sovereign* was built,

The shipping trading to Newcastle, which is now 80,000 tons, could not be then above a quarter of that quantity.

1. Because the City of London is doubled.
2. Because the use of coals is also at least doubled: because they were heretofore seldom used in chambers as now they are; nor were there so many bricks burned with them, as of late; nor did the country on both sides the Thames make use of them as now.

Besides, there are employed in Guinea and American trade, above 40,000 tons of shipping per annum ; which trade in those days was inconsiderable.

The quantity of wines was not nearly so much as now, and, to be short, the Customs upon imported and exported commodities did not then yield a third part of the present value: which shows that not only Shipping, but Trade îtself hath increased somewhat near that proportion.

As to MONEY, the interest thereof was, within these fifty years, at £10 per cent.; forty years ago, at *£8;* and now at £6 : no thanks to any laws which have been made to that purpose; forasmuch as those who can give good security, may now have it at less. But the natural fall of increase is the effect of the increase of money.

Moreover if rented lands and houses have increased, and if trade hath increased also : it is certain that money, which payeth those rents and driveth on trade, must have increased also.

Lastly, I leave it to the consideration of all observers, whether the number and splendour of Coaches, Equipage, and Household Furniture hath not increased since that time: to say nothing of the Postage of Letters, which has increased from one to Twenty ; which argues the increase of business and negotiation.

I might add that His Majesty's Revenue is nearly tripled; and therefore the means to pay, and bear the same, have increased also.

81. LORD JEFFREYS ON THE BENOH (1685).

One of the worst blots on the reign of James I I . is the favour and promotion which the king extended to Jeffreys, the brutal judge of the Taunton assizes. His conduct on the bench is unparalleled among English cases of judicial unfairness. Take *the* trial of Lady Alice Lisle. She, was an old gentlewoman

who had been accused of harbouring fugitives after the battle of Sedgmoor. Jeffreys decided beforehand that she should suffer, and abused witnesses till they were frightened out of their wits. The stigma of such language as follows does not rest on him alone, but must be shared by the government whose tool he was. The outcome of this particular trial was that by Jeffrey's active assistance Lady Lisle was condemned at Winchester and executed.

SOURCE.—*State Trials.* Ed. T. B. Howell. London, 1811. Vol. xi., p. 343.

L.C.J. But mind me, prithee: Thou didst tell that honest man there, that my lady Lisle asked thee, whether he knew anything of the business, and thou saidest no. What was that business *1*

DUNNE. That business that Barter did not know of?

L.C.J. Yes, that is the business; be ingenuous, tell the truth: Oh! how hard the truth is to come out of a lying Presbyterian knave. Prithee, friend, consider the oath that thou hast taken, and that thou art in the presence of a God that cannot endure a lie, nor whose holiness will not admit him to dispense with a lie: Consider that that God is an infinite being of purity, holiness, and truth; and it would be inconsistent with his being to dispense with the least untruth; and thou hast called him to witness, that thou wouldest testify the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. I charge thee, therefore, as thou wilt answer it to that God of truth, and that thou mayest be called to do, for ought I know, the very next minute, and there thou wilt not be able to palliate the truth; what was that business you and my lady spoke of?

[Then he paused for half a quarter of an hour, and at last said:]

DUNNE. I cannot give an account of it, my lord.

L.C.J. Oh blessed God! Was there ever such a villain upon the face of the earth; to what times are we reserved! Dost thou believe that there is a God?

DUNNE. Yes, my lord, I do.

L.C.J. Dost thou believe, that that God can endure a lie?

DUNNE. No, my lord, I know he cannot.

L.C.J. And dost thou believe then that he is a God of truth?

DUNNE. Yes, my lord, I do.

L.C.J. Dost thou think that that God of truth may immediately sink thee into hell-fire if thou tellest a lie?

DUNNE. I do, my lord.

L.C.J. Dost thou believe, that he dost observe everything that thou thinkest, sayest, or doest; knows the secrets of thy heart, and knows whether thou tellest a lie or not, though perhaps it may be hid from us; and knows whether thou dost prevaricate or not?

DUNNE. I know, the Lord does know all things.

L.C.J. Dost thou believe, that he knows the business that you and ray lady the prisoner were talking of, as well as you do; that he hath an almighty power over all his creatures, an all-piercing eye, that looks into the hearts of every one of them, and from which nothing can be concealed? Dost thou believe it possible to conceal that very discourse of yours from the knowledge of that infinite Being?

DUNNE. My lord, I do believe that there is a God above.

L.C.J. I ask thee then again; dost thou believe, that that God above, who is a God of truth himself, is omniscient, omnipresent, to whom all truth is naked and open, that he knows everything that is either thought, said or done by any of his creatures, sees and knows the hearts of all men; dost thou believe all this? [He stood silent for a good while.]

. . . . . .

L.C.J. He is going to ask that man there whether he shall tell the truth.

DUNNE. NO, my lord, I ask no man any such question.

L.C.J. Prithee tell us the truth then now: Thou art to know, that thou standest in the presence of the God of truth, and hast called him to witness, that thou wouldst tell the truth.

DUNNE. My lord, I do tell the truth, as far as I can remember.

L.C.J. Then what was that you told my lady Lisle, Barter did not know?

DUNNE. What Barter did not know, my lord?

L.C.J. Ay, is not that a plain question? Of all the witnesses that ever I met with, I never saw thy fellow.

[He stood a good while, and made no answer.]

L.C.J. I hope, gentlemen of the jury, you take notice of the strange and horrible carriage of this fellow; and withal, you cannot but observe the spirit of that sort of people, what a villainous and devilish one it is: Good God! that ever the

thing called religion (a word that people have so much abused) should ever wind up persons to such a height of impiety, that it should make them lose the belief that there is a God of truth in Heaven, that sees and knows, observes and registers, and will punish and take vengeance of falsehood and perjury. It may well make the rest of mankind, that have any sort of faith in a Deity and a future life, to abhor and detest both the men and their religion, if such abominable principles may be called so. A Turk is a saint to such a fellow as this, nay a Pagan would be ashamed to be thought to have no more truth in him. 0 blessed Jesus! What an age do we live in, and what a generation of vipers do we live among! Sirs, is this that you call the Piotestant religion? Shall so glorious a name be applied to so much villainy and hypocrisy? Is this the persuasion you hope to live, and die and find salvation in? Will any of you all, gentlemen, be contented to die with a lie in your mouth? Do not you all expect, according to the orthodox doctrine of the true Church of England, that eternal damnation will be the portion of liars? And thou, wicked wretch, how durst thou appear to give testimony, before even an earthly tribunal with so much impudence and falsehood, when every lie will cost thee so dear, except a sincere and hearty repentance, and the infinite mercy of the great God Interpose? I charge you once more, as you will answer it at the bar of the great Judge of all the world, that you tell me what that business was you and the prisoner talked about: do you consider what a condition thou bringest thyself into by all this shuffling and prevarication, even as to anything of mercy in this life; for indeed it is not fit thou shouldst have the least hopes of mercy on this side eternity, and truly there is no man can imagine less than infinite mercy can pardon so flagitious a sin, one that so impudently tells and stands in a lie.

[Still he would make no answer.]

82. THE PAPAL NUNCIO (1687).

The wish of James II. to restore papal power in England was his ruling motive, and the attempt resulted in his overthrow. He tried different means of relieving Catholics from political disabilities; he constituted an ecclesiastical commission presided over by Jeffreys; and he filled vacancies at the universities by the appointment of Romanists. Under his auspices.

too, a papal nunico appeared in England for the first time since the death of Mary. A short tract in the *Somers' Collection* thus describes the envoy's entry into Windsor.

SOURCE.—*A Full and True Belation of His Excellency the Pope's Nuncio making his Public Entry at Windsor. Somers' Tracts.* Vol. ix., p. 268.

The town of Windsor was so full of all sorts of people, from all parts, that some of the inhabitants were astonished; and it was very difficult to get provisions or room either for horse or man; nay, many persons of quality, and others, were forced to sit in their coaches and calashes almost all the day.

So great were the expectations of all people to see this ceremony, supposing it to be greater than ordinary, by reason there has not been any public minister of state from the pope, for above an hundred and forty years, that hath made any public entry, as I am informed.

All the spectators supposed he would set out a little after noon, but did not till between five and six of the clock in the afternoon ; at which time his excellency[1] took coach, it being one of his majesty's, for that purpose at his own lodgings, the Duke of Grafton and Sir Charles Cotterel being in the coach with him; his excellency was clothed in purple, and a gold crucifix hanging at his breast.

The first that appeared in this ceremony was one of the knight-marshal's men on horseback, and after him two others followed on foot; after them went his excellency's footmen, being twelve in number, their coats being all of a dark-grey coloured cloth, with white and purple lace. After them followed the coach of state, in which was his excellency, having four pages to attend him, two on each side taking hold of the coach; their coats were very richly laced. His excellency had three coaches, with six horses apiece in each coach. Immediately after his excellency, in two of his coaches, were ten priests, his coach of state going empty. After them went the lord chancellor's, two of the lord president's, the lord privy seal's, and the lord chamberlain's coach. There were eighteen coaches more beside, them, with six horses a-piece; in which number the Lord Bishop of Durham's was one, and the Bishop of Chester's another. In this order they went up to the castle, where they stayed about a quarter of an hour, and then his excellency returned back to his lodgings.

[1] Count Ferdinand of Adda, titular Archbishop of Amasia (in Pontus).

88. THE REACTION AGAINST ROMAN CATHOLICISM (1689).

The legislation with which the first year of William and Mary opens is clear proof that the ecclesiastical policy of James II. had incensed English parliamentary leaders. This statute removing papists from the vicinity of London is an act of recrimination, less stringent and sweeping than the revocation of the Edict of Nantes four years earlier,[1] hut sufficiently severe to illustrate the survival from Reformation days of religious dread and hatred. James II. would have subverted Protestantism, and his Protestant opponents, now that they were supreme, cast about for measures which should protect them from future attack.

SOURCE.—*Statutes of the Realm.* Vol. vi., p. 60.

An Act for the Amoving [removing] Papists and reputed Papists from the Cities of London and Westminster and Ten Miles distance from the same.

Whereas the great numbers of Papists resorting to the cities of London and Westminster are and for a long time have been found dangerous to the peace and safety of this kingdom, for the better preservation of the common safety and avoiding their mischievous practices and designs.

Be it enacted by the King and Queen's most excellent Majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that for the better discovering and amoving all Papists and reputed Papists out of the said cities and ten miles of the same, it shall and may be lawful and it is hereby required that the Lord Mayor of London for the time being and every Justice of the Peace (of the city of London and for the city and liberties of Westminster and borough of Southwark and of the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Kent and Sussex) within their respective counties, cities, boroughs and limits, do from time to time cause to be arrested and brought before him every person or persons, not being a merchant foreigner within the said cities or within ten miles of the same, as are or are reputed to be Papists, and tender unto him the declaration mentioned in the statute made in the thirtieth year of King Charles the Second, entitled "An Act for the more effectual preserving the King's person and government by disabling Papists from sitting in either house of parliament"

[1] By Louis XIV. of France, 1685,

And in case such person upon such tender refuse audibly and solemnly to repeat, make and subscribe the said declaration, and shall after such refusal remain, continue or be within the said city or cities or ten miles distance from the same, that in every such case he or she shall forfeit and suffer as a popish recusant convict by the laws already established shall or may forfeit or suffer.

And it is hereby further enacted that every Justice of Peace shall and do certify all and every subscription before him by virtue of this act taken, and likewise the names of all and every person refusing to repeat, take, make or subscribe as aforesaid upon tender, under the hand and seal of the said Justice, into the Court of King's Bench the next term or else at the next quarter sessions that shall be of or for the county or place where such taking, Subscribing or refusal shall happen. And if the said person so refusing and certified shall not within the next term or sessions after such refusal appear in the Court of King's Bench or sessions, where such certificate shall be returned, and in open court audibly and solemnly repeat, take, make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, and indorse or enter his so doing upon the certificates so returned, shall be from the time of such his neglect or refusal taken, esteemed and adjudged a popish recusant convict, and as such to forfeit and be proceeded against. . . .

Provided that nothing in this act shall relate to or have any effect upon any foreigner that is or shall be a menial servant to any ambassador or public agent.

Provided that nothing in this act shall relate to or have any effect upon any person being a natural born subject of the King of Portugal, who now is or hereafter shall be a sworn servant to the Queen Dowager, nor to any other servants being natural born subjects of their Majesties, as her Majesty the Queen Dowager shall under her hand and seal from time to time for that purpose be pleased to nominate; the said servants so nominated not exceeding the number of thirty at any one time, so as none of the said servants being natural born subjects of their Majesties be a Jesuit Priest, Monk or Friar, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

84. GLENCOE (1692).

These dreadful details of the Glencoe massacre form part of the evidence given before a Royal Commission which was appointed in 1695 to examine the affair,

SOURCE.—*Carstares Papers.* Edinburgh, **1774.** P. 242.

These things having preceded the slaughter, which happened not to be committed until the 13th of February, 1692, six weeks after the deceased Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance at Inverary; the slaughter of the Glenco men was in this manner, ***viz.*** John and Alexander M'Donalds, sons to the deceased Glenco, depose: That Glengarry's house being reduced, the forces were called back to the south ; and Glenlyon, a Captain of the Earl of Argyle's regiment, with Lieutenant Lindsay and Ensign Lindsay, and six score soldiers, returned to Glenco about the 1st of February, 1692; where, at their entry, the elder brother John met them, with about twenty men, and demanded the reason of their coming; and Lieutenant Lindsay shewed him his orders for quartering there, under Colonel Hill's hand; and gave assurance, that they were only come to quarter; whereupon, they were billeted in the country, and had free quarters and kind entertainment, living familiarly with the people, until the 13th day of February. And Alexander further deposes, That Glenlyon being his wife's uncle, came almost every day and took his morning drink at his house; and that the very night before the slaughter, Glenlyon did play at cards in his own quarters with both the brothers. And John deposes, That old Glenco his father had invited Glenlyon, Lieutenant Lindsay, and Ensign Lindsay to dine with him, upon the very day the slaughter happened : But, on the 13th day of February, being Saturday, about four or five in the morning, Lieutenant Lindsay, with a party of the foresaid soldiers, came to old Glenco's house, where having called in a friendly manner, and got in, they shot his father dead, with several shots, as he was rising out of his bed; and the mother having got up and put on her clothes, the soldiers stripped her naked, and drew the rings off her fingers with their teeth; as likewise they killed one man more, and wounded another grievously at the same place: And this relation they say they had from their mother; and is confirmed by the deposition of Archibald M' Donald indweller in Glenco, who farther deposes, That Glenco was shot behind his back with two shots, one through the head and another through the body; and two more were killed with him in that place, and a third wounded, and left for dead : And this he knows, because he came that same day to Glenco's house, and saw his dead body lying before the door, with the other two that were killed, and spoke with the third that was wounded, whose name was Duncan Don, who came there occasionally with letters from the Brae of **Marr.**

The **said** John M'Donald, eldest son to the deceased Glenco, deposes: The same morning that his father was killed, there came soldiers to his house before day, and called at his window, which gave him the alarm, and made him go to Innerriggen, where Glenlyon was quartered; and that he found Glenlyon and his men preparing their arms, which made the deponent ask the cause; but Glenlyon gave him only good words, and said, they were to march against some of Glengarry's men; and if there were ill intended, would not he have told Sandy and his niece? meaning the deponent's brother and his wife; which made the deponent go home, and go again to his bed, until his servant, who hindered him to sleep, raised him; and, when he rose and went out, he perceived about twenty men coming towards his house, with their bayonets fixed to their muskets; whereupon he fled to the hill; and having Auchnaion, a little village of Glenco, in view, he heard the shots, wherewith Auchintraiten and four more were killed; and that he heard also the shots at Innerriggen, where Glenlyon had caused to kill nine more, as shall be hereafter declared. And this confirmed by the concurring deposition of Alexander M'Donald his brother, whom a servant waked out of sleep, saying: It is no time for you to be sleeping when they are killing your brother at the door, which made Alexander to flee with his brother to the hill, where both of them heard the foresaid shots at Auchnaion and Innerriggen. And the said John, Alexander, and Archibald M' Donald, do all depose: That the same morning there was one Sergent Barber laid hold on Auchintreaten's brother, one of the four, and asked him if he were alive: He answered, that he was; and that he desired to die without, rather than within. Barber said, that, for his meat that he had eaten, he would do him the favour to kill him without. But when the man was brought out, and soldiers brought up to shoot him, he having his plaid loose, flung it over their faces, and so escaped; and the other three broke through the back of the house, and escaped: And this account the deponents had from the men that escaped. And at Innerriggen, where Glenlyon was quartered, the soldiers took other nine men, and did bind them hand and foot, killed them one by one with shot: And when Glenlyop inclined to save a young man of about twenty years of age, one Captain Drummond came and asked how came he to be saved, in respect of the orders that were given? and shot him dead: And another young boy, of about thirteen years, ran to Glenlyon to be saved; he was likewise shot dead: And in the same town there was a **woman,** and a boy about four or five years of **age,** killed: **And**

at Auchnaion there was also a child missed, and nothing found of him but the hand. There were likewise several killed at other places, whereof one was an old man about eighty years of age. And all this the deponents say they affirm, because they heard the shot, saw the dead bodies, and had an account from the women that were left.

85. PATERSON'S CLAIMS FOR THE BANK OF ENGLAND (1694).

William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, was a shrewd and energetic Scotchman, whose real merits are often depreciated because he promoted the Darien expedition. In securing support for the Bank he was met by loud and numerous objections, many of them mutually or even self contradictory. His answers are drawn up in *A Brief Account of the Intended Bank of England,* from which comes the passage cited. It exemplifies his manner of argument and the nature of the objections themselves.

SOURCE.—*A Brief Account of the Intended Bank of England.* William Paterson (1658-1719). Cited by S. Bannister in his *William Paterson.* Edinburgh, 1858. P. 85.

One pretended patriot comes and tells us, this design will make the king absolute, by becoming master thereof, nor is there any way to prevent it; *for,* says he, *rich and monied men, we find by experience, are naturally timorous and fearful, and are easily brought to comply with the times to save what they have.* And the keeping of this fund being of necessity committed to such, the prospect of their profit, in conjunction with their natural easiness, will of course induce them to join with the prince, who is always best able to encourage and support them.

Another comes, with a boast, and tells ye, that he, or his grandsire, uncle, or some of the race, have been abroad in some country or other, and in all their peregrinations they never met with *banks* nor *stocks* any where, but only in republics; and if we let them get footing in England, we shall certainly be in danger of a commonwealth. Nay, he goes further, and tells you, that the very establishing of a bank in England will of course alter the government; for that is to invest the funds of the nation in the hands of subjects, who naturally are, and will always be sure to be of the popular side, and will insensibly influence the Church and State.

Some, who pretend to see further into a millstone than others, will undertake to make it plain, that it will raise and enhance the price of land, and utterly discourage and ruin trade; *for, by this means,* say they, *all real securities will become current, or as near as good as current, in or by the bank,* which will very much lessen, if not put an end to the credit of personal securities; for usurers will be content with such an easy, secure, and convenient profit, rather than hazard their principal, and embarrass themselves in trouble, for a greater interest.

Others of the learned tell us that this bank, or fund, will be so profitable, easy, and secure, for receipts and payments, that all the money of the nation will naturally run into trade, and none will be left to purchase land, since men may continue their money in bank,' on demand, upon the best security in Europe, and yet have a daily interest running upon it, and thus have trade and real estate at once.

But to leave the objectors to compare notes, reconcile their notions, and answer one another, it may be to better purpose to pen some brief account of the nature of this intended bank, with the good effects and consequences which may be expected therefrom; and, in the first place, it is necessary to premise, whatever our notionists may imagine to the contrary,—

1st, That all money or credit, not having an intrinsic value to answer the contents on denomination thereof, is false or counterfeit, and the loss must fall one where or other.

2d, That the species of gold and silver being accepted and chosen by the commercial world as the standard or measure of other effects, everything else is only counted valuable as com* pared with them.

3d, Wherefore, all credit not founded on the universal species of gold and silver is impeachable, and can never subsist either safely or long—at least till some other species of credit be found out and chosen by the trading part of mankind, over and above, or in lieu thereof.

Thus, having said what a bank ought to be, it remains to show what this is designed, and wherein it will consist.

This bank will consist in a revenue and income of 8 per cent, per annum, for and upon the money subscribed; and what profits and improvements can be made from the business or credit of the bank, will be divided among the proprietors. Thus, this company or corporation will exceed all others of that kind known in the commercial world. For here will be 8 per cent, **per** annum certain upon the capital, and as good and great a

probability of other profits as ever any company had; and, as to the security of the bank, for such as may entrust their effects therein, it will be clear and visible, and every way equal to, if not exceeding, the best in Christendom. For the other funds or banks in the Christian world, at best have only effects to answer, without pretending to have anything over. Nor are they corroborated by the interest, property, and estates of private men, that of Genoa only excepted. But this bank will always have £1,200,000 or £100,000 per annum, over and above effects, to answer whatever credit they may have. For the company will be obliged never to make any dividend but out of the yearly profits arising from their capital stock or fund; nor will they ever make any dividend out of the profits, until after two months' notice, that such as apprehend the security will be weakened thereby may have an opportunity to withdraw their effects before the same be made. Thus, a society of private men will be obliged, by their estates and interests, to strengthen and corroborate the public security of this bank.

As to the common objection of the danger from alteration or change of government, this foundation is grounded upon a revenue that cannot fail but with the nation, settled by Parliament for the uses thereby limited and appointed. It will for many reasons, both of right and interest, become the best and highest property grounded upon so just and valuable a consideration as the value paid to their Majesties, for the use and service of the government. And there being no country in Christendom where property hath been more sacred and secure in ages past, notwithstanding all our revolutions, than in England, it must needs follow that nothing less than a conquest, wherein all property, justice, and right must fail, can any way affect this foundation; but in such a case this would be but in common with everything else.

* * * * * *

To conclude, reproaches and aspersions on such a work as this are neither new nor strange, as being the common fate of all good and generous undertakings that are, or ever were, in the world—the nature of men being bent against everything which they fancy innovation; as well out of a fond and presumptuous principle, that they have known, or at least ought to know, more than others, as out of a natural unbelief or suspicion of all they cannot see, *which makes them follow success, or anything like it, more than reason, and example more than rule.* But the apprehension and difficulties which were in the way have not discouraged the proposers from doing

their utmost to bring the designed work to perfection, *which seems to be reserved for stick a time as this,* the better to enable the government and people of England to revive, recover, and transmit to posterity the virtue, the lustre, and wonted glory of their renowned ancestors; and to lay a foundation of trade, security, and greatness, within this kingdom, for the present and succeeding ages.

86. THE BATTLE OP BLENHEIM (1704).

Blenheim was the greatest victory which Englishmen had won on land since Agincourt, and it saved the Whig party. Marlborough ran grave Visks from his plan of campaign, and anything short of complete success would have been his ruin. In announcing Tallard's defeat, he wrote to his wife before he had notified either the queen or the government. Of the two pieces brought together here, the first is a hasty line scribbled on the, field; the second, a fuller statement of the results. Both are addressed to the duchess. Concerning the former, Coxe, Marlborough's biographer, has a curious bibliographical statement. "This note is preserved in the family archives at Blenheim, as one of the most curious memorials which perhaps exists. It was written on a slip of paper, which was evidently torn from a memorandum book, and contains on the back a bill of tavern expenses. The book may probably have belonged to some commissary, as there is an entry relative to bread furnished to the troops."

SOURCE.—*Letters to his Wife.* John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722). Coxe's *Memoirs of Marlborough.* London, 1820. A, vol. i., p, 413; B, vol. ii., p. 6.

August 13,1704.

(A) I have not time to say more, but to beg you will give my duty to the queen, and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, colonel Parke, will give her an account of what has passed. I shall do it in a day or two, by another more at large.

MARLBOROUGH.

To the Duchess.

(B) August 14.—Before the battle was quite done yestenday, I writ to my dearest soul to let her know that I was well, and that God had blessed her majesty's arms with as great a victory as has ever been known; for prisoners I have the marshal de Tallard, and the greatest part of his general officers, above 8000 men, and near 1500 officers. In short the army of M. de Tallard, which was that which I fought with, is quite ruined; that of the elector of Bavaria and the marshal de Marsin, which Prince Eugene fought against, I am afraid has not had much loss, for I can't And that he has many prisoners. As soon as the elector knew that monsieur de Tallard was like to be beaten, he marched off, so that I came only time enough to see him retire. As all these prisoners are taken by the troops I command, it is in my power to send as many of them to England as her majesty shall think for her honour and service. My own opinion in this matter is, that the marshal de Tallard, and the general officers, should be sent or brought to her majesty when I come to England ; but should all the officers be brought, it would be a very great expense, and I think the honour is in having the marshal and such other officers as her majesty pleases. But I shall do in this as in all things, that which shall be most agreeable to her. I am so very much out of order with having been seventeen hours on horseback yesterday, and not having been able to sleep above three hours last night, that I can write to none of my friends. However I am so pleased with this action, that I can't end my letter without being so vain as to tell my dearest soul, that within the memory of man there has been no victory so great as this ; and as I am sure you love me entirely well, you will be infinitely pleased with what has been done, upon my account as well as the great benefit the public will have. For had the success of prince Eugene been equal to his merit, we should in that day's action have made an end of the war.

87. THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND (1706).

The union of the English and Scottish crowns in 1603 effected no real union of the two nations during the seventeenth century. They continued to have separate parliaments, and sources of friction were both numerous and deep-seated. It is but a weak statement that the legislative union is the chief glory of Anne's reign, for no other political change since Edward I. has so

stimulated industrial progress, BO promoted the happiness of Great Britain, or so led to the expansion of British influence. The Darien expedition, the Act of Settlement, and the probability of war in default of a closer union, were all factors which entered into the negotiations of 1704-1707. That the matter was virtually settled in 1706 may be gathered from the queen's speeches to parliament, dated January and March of that year.

SOURCE.—*Queen's Speech.* Anne (1665-1714). A, Jan. 28, 1706. London. Printed by Charles Bill. B, *Ibid.* March 6, 1706.

(A) MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

Having acquainted you at the opening of this session, that the treaty for an union between England and Scotland, which had been concluded here by the commissioners appointed fol that purpose, in pursuance of the powers given by the Parliaments of both kingdoms, was then under the consideration of the Parliament of Scotland, 1 can now, with great satisfaction, inform you, that the said treaty has been ratified by Act of Parliament in Scotland with some alterations and additions.

1 have directed the treaty agreed to by the commissioners of both kingdoms, and also the Act of Ratification from Scotland, to be laid before you, and I hope it will meet with your concurrence and approbation.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—

It being agreed by this treaty, that Scotland is to have an equivalent[1] for what that kingdom is obliged to contribute towards paying the debts of England, I must recommend to you that in case you agree to the treaty, you would take care to provide for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland accordingly.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

You have now an opportunity before you, of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms, which I hope will be a lasting blessing to the whole Island, a great addition to its wealth and power, and a firm security to the Protestant Religion.

The advantages which will accrue to us all from an union are so apparent, that I will add no more, but that I shall look upon it as a particular happiness, if this great work, which has been so often attempted without success, can be brought to perfection in my reign.

[1] £398,085, 109.

(B) MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

It is with the greatest satisfaction, that I have given, my assent to a bill for uniting England and Scotland into one kingdom.

I consider this union, as a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole Island, and at the same time as a work of so much difficulty, and nicety in its own nature, that till now all attempts, which have been made towards it in the course of above a hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and therefore I make no doubt but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter to the honour of those, who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion.

I desire and expect from all my subjects of both nations, that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness to one another, that so it may appear to all the world, they have hearts disposed to become one people.

This will be a great pleasure to me, and will make us all quickly sensible of the good effect of this Union.

And 1 cannot but look upon it as a peculiar happiness, that in my reign so full a provision is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the security of our religion, by so firm an establishment of the Protestant succession throughout Great Britain.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—

I take this occasion to remind you of making effectual provision for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland within the time appointed by this act, and I am persuaded you will show as much readiness in this particular as you have done in all the other parts of this great work.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

The season of the year being now pretty far advanced, I hope you will continue the same zeal, which has appeared throughout this session, in despatching what yet remains unfinished of the public business before you.

88. A SOUTH SEA TRACT (1721).

The rapid decline of South Sea shares, which in August 1720 brought ten times their par value, ruined investors, and through a widespread bankruptcy demoralised national trade.

The flight of the Company's treasurer, Robert Knight, was a signal for vociferous outcry, and men whom ruin had made furious did not mince words. Whether the pamphlet of which the opening paragraphs appear below was written by an actual shareholder or not, is immaterial. It expresses the inordinate rage which succeeded inordinate confidence.

SOURCE.—*The Naked and Undisguised Truth,* 1721. Redpath Collection of Tracts (McGill University). P. 1.

THE
Naked and Undisguis'd
T R U T H
Plainly and faithfully told:
What was the UNHAPPY RISK,
Which were the FATAL CAUSES,
And who the WICKED AUTHORS,
OF
Great Britain's and Ireland's
Present Dreadful (and before unheard of)
CALAMITIES.

By a passionate Lover of his Country. 1721.[1]

In the Name of the Great God of all Justice, Truth, and Wisdom.

It being become the general and just Complaint of the whole Nation, that Publick Credit is lost and destroy'd, and by that means Trade ruin'd, Manufacturers starving, Money scarce and that all Ranks of People, from the highest to the lowest within this (lately famous) City, and our (not long since flourishing) Country, (all, except the Traytors, whose boundless Avarice occasioned it) are reduc'd to a Degree of Misery before unheard of in the known world;

I, who have liv'd about Forty Years in the publick Affairs of this Kingdom, do presume to assert, and doubt not but to demonstrate,

That our present sudden and dismal Change of Fortune (due Allowances being made for God's just Judgments upon us for the horrid Blasphemies, and other before unheard of Impieties, of late openly practised), is owing to a most corrupt and impudent Set of Men, sprung out of the Mud and Filth of the

[1] The spelling and typography of this piece are preserved for the sake of showing the appearance of an eighteenth century tract.

Earth, greedy of scraping up the Dirt they came from, and yet without Hearts to use, for the Gratification of their leaden Carcasses, what they had sacrificed their immortal Souls to obtain.

I mean the late *leading Directors* of Three great Stocks; a Heap of sordid Animals, who (tho' solid, heavy, and exquisitely dull in all Matters and Things, but the Art of Cheating; in which Diabolical Science, a *Footman*, a *Drayman*, a *Butcher*, or a *Wool-picker* (as by dreadful Experience we have found, and by Examples may be made out) may, with the Aid, and under the Direction of the Devil, their universal Master, arrive at as great Perfection, as a *Pope*, a *Cardinal*, or even a *Jamaica Bucanier:* yet) wretched Tools as they are (upon pretence of letting their Fellow-Subjects into the fatal Secret, how such Lumps of Clay had amass'd the immense Riches the voracious Monsters then possess'd) have deluded the dextrous Courtier, the ancient Nobility, the brave Gentry, the devout Clergy, the honest fair-trading Merchant, the diligent Shopkeeper, and the Charitable and useful Employers of our numberless Manufacturers, with other Persons of all Religions, Qualities, Denominations, Sexes, and Parties; and that by Impositions greater, and more opposite to all the Senses than Transubstantiation it self: As

First, By persuading them to believe that Paper, dignify'd with the Name of *Knight* or *Casivall*, upon it,[1] was preferable to Gold, Silver, or the Land of their Ancestors: And then, that One Pound in their Stocks (could they but be so happy as to get in there) would, under the Management of these leaden Rogues, be intrinsically worth more than Ten Pounds in the honest Mens Pockets who trusted them.

And this Mystery of Iniquity having been carried the Lengths we have seen it, even to the imminent Hazard of the most happy of all Constitutions both in Church and State, I shall endeavour to let the World see by what deceitful Methods these mean, weak, wicked Upstarts have been enabled to impose upon Men of a Thousand times more refin'd Parts, and greater Experience, than themselves.

[1] Knight, the absconding treasurer, and Caswall countersigned the South Sea securities.

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89. THE "DRAPIER LETTERS" (1724).

Among the thousands of political pamphlets which have been published in England since the meeting of the Long Parliament, a few survive by intrinsic merit; the rest, so far as common knowledge goes, have perished. Most of them are anonymous and irresponsible, issued in support of a factious interest and paid for with ready money. But if at one end of the scale the Grub Street hack figures conspicuously, at the other end are Swift and Burke. The century 1650-1750 is the prolific age of pamphleteers, and its climax may be fixed at the reign of Queen Anne. Swift was then a trenchant advocate of Tory principles, and his tractarian activity continued into the reign of George I. His *Drapier Letters*, attacking Wood's coinage, proved very effective, and are to this day an example of the political pamphlet at its best. The series opens as follows.

SOURCE.—*The Drapier Letters.* Jonathan Swift (1667-1745). Works ed. John Nichols. London (no date). Vol. viii., p. 3.

Letter I.

TO THE TRADESMEN, SHOPKEEPERS, FARMERS,
AND COUNTRY PEOPLE IN GENERAL, OP
THE KINGDOM OP IRELAND,
CONCERNING THE BRASS HALFPENCE COINED BY ONE WILLIAM WOOD, HARDWAREMAN, WITH A DESIGN
TO HAVE THEM PASS IN THIS KINGDOM.

Wherein is shown the power of his Patent, the value of his Halfpence, and how far every person may be obliged to take the same in payments, and how to behave himself, in case such an attempt should be made by Wood, or any other person.

(Very proper to be kept in every family).

BY M. B. DRAPIER. 1724.

BRETHREN, FRIENDS, COUNTRYMEN,
AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS,

What I intend now to say to you, is, next to your duty to God, and the care of your salvation, of the greatest concern to yourselves and your children : your bread and clothing, and

every common necessary of life, entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you, as men, as Christians, as parents, and as lovers of your country, to read this paper with the utmost attention, or get it read to you by others ; which that you may do at the less expense, I have ordered the printer to sell it at the lowest rate.

It is a great fault among you, that when a person writes with no other intention than to do you good, you will not be at the pains to read his advices. One copy of this paper may serve a dozen of you, which will be less than a farthing a-piece. It is your folly, that you have no common or general interest in your view, not even the wisest among you; neither do you know, or inquire, or care, who are your friends, or who are your enemies.

About four years ago a little book was written,[1] to advise all people to wear the manufactures of this our own dear country. It had no other design, said nothing against the king or parliament, or any person whatsoever; yet the poor printer was prosecuted two years with the utmost violence, and even some weavers themselves (for whose sake it was written) being upon the JURY, found him guilty. This would be enough to discourage any man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his face for his pains, and when be must expect only danger to himself, and to be fined and imprisoned, perhaps to his ruin.

However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest destruction before your eyes, if you do not behave yourselves as you ought.

I will therefore first tell you the plain story of the fact; and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common prudence, according to the laws of your country.

The fact is this: It having been many years since COPPER HALFPENCE OR FARTHINGS were last coined in this kingdom, they have been for some time very scarce, and many counterfeits passed about under the name of raps; several applications were made to England, that we might have liberty to coin new ones, as in former times we did; but they did not succeed. At last one Mr. Wood, a mean ordinary man, a hardware dealer, procured a patent under his majesty's broad seal to coin £108,000 in copper for this kingdom; which patent, however, did not oblige anyone here to take them, unless they pleased. Now you must know, that the halfpence and farthings in England pass for very little more than they are worth; and if you

[1] Swift's *Proposal for, the Use of Irish Manufactures.*

should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the brasier, you would not lose much above a penny in the shilling. But Mr. Wood made his halfpence of such base metal, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the brasier would hardly give you above a penny of good money for a shilling of his; so that this sum of £108,000, in good gold and silver, must be given for trash, that will not be worth above eight or nine thousand pounds real value. But this is not the worst; for Mr. Wood, when he pleases, may by stealth send over another £108,000, and buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve under the value. For example, if a hatter sells a dozen of hats for five shillings a-piece, which amounts to three pounds, and receives the payment in Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of five shillings.

Perhaps you will wonder how such an ordinary fellow as this Mr. Wood could have so much interest as to get his MAJESTY'S broad seal for so great a sum of bad money to be sent to this poor country; and that all the nobility and gentry here could not obtain the same favour, and let us make our own halfpence, as we used to do. Now I will make that matter very plain: we are at great distance from the king's court, and have nobody there to solicit for us, although a great number of lords and 'squires, whose estates are here, and are our countrymen, spend all their lives and fortunes there; but this same Mr. Wood was able to attend constantly for his own interest; he is an Englishman, and had great friends; and, it seems, knew very well where to give money to those that would speak to others, that could speak to the king, and would tell a fair story. And his majesty, and perhaps the great lord or lords who advise him, might think it was for our country's good; and BO, as the lawyers express it, "the king was deceived in his grant," which often happens in all reigns. And I am sure if his majesty knew that such a patent, if it should take effect according to the desire of Mr. Wood, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which has given such great proofs of its loyalty, he would immediately recall it, and perhaps show his displeasure to somebody or other: but a word to the wise is enough. Most of you must have heard with what anger our honourable House of Commons received an account of this Wood's patent. There were several fine speeches made upon it, and plain proofs, that it was all a wicked cheat from the bottom to the top; and several smart votes were printed, which that same Wood had the assurance to answer likewise in print; and in so confident a way, as if he were a better man than our whole parliament put together.

90. BOLINGBROKE AND WALPOLE (1733).

Walpole'a Excise Bill was a target which collected many shafts, some sharp and some blunt. The cleverest attacks on this measure appeared in the *Craftsman,* a newspaper founded in 1726 by Pulteney, Bolingbroke and Wyndham, and deriving its best ideas from Bolingbroke. He was then at his intellectual prime and a dangerous foe, despite the parliamentary torpor which Walpole's system of corruption had secured. His papers in the *Craftsman,* of which one is selected, are typical of his style in discussing political subjects, and convey a clear idea of his animosity towards Walpole.

SOURCE.—*The Craftsman.* Probably by Bolingbroke (1678-1751). July 14, 1733. No. 367.

The Craftsman, July 14,1733.

SIR,—

A Portuguese Carpenter, with some friends, passing by a crucifix erected on the road near Lisbon, his companions pulled off their hats as usual, but he took no notice of it. Being asked the reason, he reply'd, he could not bring himself to worship a cross which he made but yesterday out of his own crabtree. This carries a good moral, and is an instance that the sudden elevation of an unworthy object, instead of acquiring dignity will only be attended with contempt and ridicule.

The matter must, in some measure, answer the dignity intended to be given it. Let the most ingenious artist represent Jove with his eagle and thunderbolt in straw, or Alexander the Great in mud, the God, the Hero, and the Artist will all three become contemptible.

The ludicrous image of St. Taffy, hung up every first of March, justly excites the resentment of the brave Cambro-Britons, who cannot patiently see their patron-saint represented in straw and ticking.

The anniversary, national justice, executed every 5th of Novemb. on the Devil, the Pope, and their adherents, would make deeper impressions on the minds of my fellow subjects, if those personages were exhibited in nobler materials. For this reason, when a famous Projector was treated in the same manner, on the 11th of April last, he was equip'd in a manner suitable to his character; which had such an uncommon effect

on the populace, that a certain learned gentleman thought it his duty to interpose.

I took upon a First Minister as a political carpenter, carver, or statuary, and to have a sort of delegated power of creation, which in former ages was carry'd to great excesses, both by political and real sculptors. Caligula made a consul of his horse. Nebuchadnezzar made a golden image, which he order'd all his subjects to worship, tho' Le Clerc thinks the golden image was only typical, and denoted the King's First Minister, to whom he had given all his power. As to our modern sculptors one may see at Hyde Park Corner, what absurd and incongruous figures they expose to view.

I knew a statuary in the country, who had a quarry of stone of a bad sort, porous, and susceptible of dirt and corruption. Being a very impudent fellow and of a flippant tongue, he made the country believe, there was no good stone but his, and no good sculptor but himself. They all employ'd him, but at last found his materials bad, and his workmanship worse; and were obliged, for their own security, to get rid of it as soon as they could, and to prop in all haste to prevent ruin.

This would be the case of such a political sculptor, who should ileal in nepotism, and cut only out of his own quarry; the same materials not being fit for all sorts of figures. For instance, should a First Minister be nearly related to a person, who bad neither head nor heart to recommend him; who began the world with being laughed at as a buffoon, and became still more ridiculous by attempting to be grave; saucy and insolent when merry, and absurd when serious; . . . equally ignorant and self-sufficient; equally greedy of money and power, and equally incapable of using either; whose experience in business served only to give him pride without dignity, and presumption without knowledge; if such a creature, by his relation to a First Minister, be erected into a Minister, the workman would be exclaim'd against and the work despis'd.

JOHN ENGLISH.

The *Craftsman,* from his own chambers, informs us, that the newspapers continue to give us pompous accounts of the manner, in which several cities and corporations have received those gentlemen who opposed the Excise-Bill; and says, if we may credit private advices, another set of gentlemen are distress'd how to behave, or justify their late conduct. Many of them, 'tis said, congratulated their neighbours on defeat of the scheme, and gave themselves an air of being against it;

but the lists, now published, have undeceived the people, and reduc'd those gentlemen to several shifts.

Some of 'em are so modest as to confine themselves at home ; while their creatures are employ'd to put the best gloss they can upon a bad cause; and corrupt, where they cannot persuade.

Others put a bold face on the matter, and persist in it sturdily that they opposed the project in some shape or other. For this purpose, they have procur'd false lists to be dispers'd to impose on those, whose confidence they have already abused.

Some ingenuously acknowledged they were for the scheme, but allege, they did it to prevent frauds, and relieve the Land-Tax.

But of all their arguments, none pleases me so much as this. It is true, say they, we voted for the Excise; but did it only to gain credit with the projector, and by those means prevail'd upon him to drop it. I am told this plea hath been already used in several boroughs, and 1 shall not be surprised to hear that the projector hath issued out certificates of this kind to every one of his creatures, assuring their corporations, that it was solely at their request, he laid aside such a glorious project.

But I think the best way for these gentlemen would be, to take the advice of one of their advocates in the C*ourant,* June 19, who proposed that every gentleman, who voted fol the Excise, should be catechis'd upon a little stool by the Minister, and be obliged to explain the grounds and motives of his conduct, in the face of a full congregation.

91. THE OPPOSITION TO JOHN WESLEY (1743).

The rise of Methodism is the leading phenomenon in English religious history during the eighteenth century. John Wesley, its founder, was an Oxford graduate, an original writer, a translator and an effective field preacher. In the course of his progresses he frequently endured insult, which sometimes amounted to attack. An instance of this violent opposition is presented in his own words. The date is 1743, and the scene Wednesbury, in Staffordshire.

SOURCE.—Works. John Wesley (1703-1791). London, 1809. Vol. ii., p. 214.

I was writing at Francis Ward's in the afternoon, when the cry arose that " the mob had beset the house ". We prayed that

God would disperse them. And it was so: one went this way, and another that: so that in half an hour not a man was left I told our brethren, " Now is the time for us to go". But they pressed me exceedingly to stay; so, that I might not offend them, I sat down, though I foresaw what would follow. Before five the mob surrounded the house again, in greater numbers than ever. The cry of one and all was, " Bring out the minister; we will have the minister ". I desired one to take their captain by the hand and bring him into the house. After a few sentences interchanged between us, the lion was become a lamb. I desired him to go and bring one or two more of the most angry of his companions. He brought in two, who were ready to swallow the ground with rage; but in two minutes they were as calm as he. , I then bade them make way, that 1 might go out among the people. As soon as I was in the midst of them I called for a chair, and standing up, asked, " What do any of you want with me?" Some said, " We want you to go with us to the Justice". I replied, "That I will with all my heart". I then spoke a few words, which God applied ; so that they cried out with might and main, "This gentleman is a honest gentleman, and we will spill our blood in his defence ". T asked, " Shall wo go to the Justice to-night or in the morning ?" Most of them cried, " To-night, to-night". On which I went before, and two or three hundred followed, the rest returning whence they came.

The night came on before we had walked a mile, together with heavy rain. However, on we went to Bentley-Hall, two miles from Wednesbury. One or two ran before to tell Mr. Lane, " They had brought Mr. Wesley before his worship ". Mr. Lane replied, " What have I to do with Mr. Wesley ? Go, and carry him back again.[11] By this time the main body came up, and began knocking at the door. A servant told them, "Mr. Lane was in bed ". His son followed and asked, " What was the matter ?" One replied, " Why, an't please you, they sing psalms all day; nay, and make folks rise at five in the morning. And what would your worship advise us to do?" "To go home," said Mr. Lane, "and be quiet."

Here they were at a full stop, till one advised, "To go to Justice Persehouse, at Walsal". All agreed to this. So we hastened on, and about seven came to his house. But Mr. P. likewise sent word, " That he was in bed ". Now they were at a stand again; but at last they all thought it the wisest course to make the best of their way home. About fifty of them undertook to convoy me. But we had not gone a hundred yards,

when the mob of Walsal came, pouring in like a flood, and bore down all before them. The Darlaston mob made what defence they could; but they were weary, as well as out-numbe/ed ; BO that, in a short time, many being knocked down, the rest ran away, and left me in their hands.

To attempt speaking was vain, for the noise on every side was like the roaring of the sea. So they dragged me along till we came to the town; where, seeing the door of a large house open, I attempted to go in; but a man catching me by the hair, pulled me back into the middle of the mob. They made no more stop till they had carried toe through the main street from one end of the town to the other. I continued speaking all the time to those within hearing, feeling no pain or weariness. At the west end of the town, seeing a door half open, I made toward it, and would have gone »in, but a gentleman in the house would not suffer me, saying, "They would pull the house down to the ground". However, I stood at the door, and asked, " Are you willing to hear me speak ?" Many cried out, " No, no; knock his brains out! down with him! kill him at once ! " Others said, " Nay, but we will hear him first". I began asking, " What evil have I done?—which of you all have I wronged in word or deed?'' And continued speaking for above a quarter of an hour, till my voice suddenly failed. Then the floods began to lift up their voice again ; many crying out, " Bring him away, bring him away ".

In the meantime my strength and my voice returned, and I broke out aloud into prayer. And now the man who just before headed the mob, turned and said, " Sir, I will spend my life for you ; follow me, and not one soul here shall touch a hair of your head ". Two or three of his fellows confirmed his words, and got close to me immediately. At the same time the gentleman in the shop cried out, " For shame, for shame, let him go ." An honest butcher, who was a little farther off, said, " It was a shame they should do thus"; and pulled back four or five one after another, who were running on the most fiercely. The people then, as if it had been by common consent, fell back to the right and left; while those three or four men took me between them, and carried me through them all. But on the bridge the mob rallied again: we therefore went on one side, over the mill-dam, and thence through the meadows; till a little before ten, God brought me safe to Wednesbury, having lost only one flap of my waistcoat, and a little skin from one of my hands.

92. £30,000 REWARD FOR THE YOUNG PRETENDER (1745).

When the Young Pretender landed on British shores, George II. was absent in Hanover, and the responsibility of immediate action fell to his ministers. This proclamation offering the huge reward of £30,000 is a sign of their activity. It was drafted before the Jacobite leader had reached Scotland, for the government possessed full intelligence of his purpose. The main point which it emphasises is the extent of Highland loyalty. After Culloden Prince Charlie became a fugitive, and his life was for months at the mercy of any man who would inform on him and get the money. Considering the poverty-stricken state of the clansmen, their steadfastness in shielding an acknowledged if defeated king, should be included among the noblest deeds of honour.

SOURCE.—*Royal Proclamation,* 1745. Cited from text in *Gentleman's Magazine,* vol. xv., p. 419.

By the Lords Justices.

A PROCLAMATION.

Ordering a reward of 30,000l. to any person who shall seize and secure the eldest son of the pretender, in case he shall land, or attempt to land, in any of his majesty's dominions.

Jo. Cant.	Bedford.
Hardwicke, C.	Holies Newcastle.
Dorset, P.	Tweeddale.
Gower, C.P.S.	Chesterfield.
Devonshire.	Stair.
Grafton.	H. Pelham.
Bolton.	

Whereas by an act of parliament made in the seventeenth year of his majesty's reign, it was enacted, that if the eldest, or any other son or sons of the person who pretended to be prince of Wales in the life-time of the late king James the Second, and since his decease assumed the name and title of James the Third, king of England, Scotland and Ireland should, after the first day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, land or attempt to land, or be

found in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the .dominions or territories belonging to the crown of Great Britain, or should be found on board any ship, vessel or boat, being so on board with intent to land in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominionsorterritoriesaforesaid, he and they respectively should, by virtue of the said act, stand and be adjudged attainted of high treason to all intents and purposes whatsoever. And whereas we have received information, that the eldest son of the said pretender did lately embark in France, in order to land in some part of his majesty's kingdoms, we being moved with just indignation at so daring an attempt, and desirous that the said act may be carried effectually into execution, have thought fit, by the advice of his majesty's privy council, and do hereby, in his majesty's name, command and require all his majesty's officers, civil and military, and all other his majesty's loving subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to seize and secure the said son of the pretender, whenever he shall land, or attempt to land, or be found in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories belonging to the crown of Great Britain; or shall be found on board any ship, vessel, or boat, being so on board with intent to land in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories afore said, in order to his being brought to justice, and to give notice thereof immediately when he shall be so seized and secured, to one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state. And to the intent that all due encouragement may be given to so important a service, we do hereby further, in his majesty's name, promise a reward of thirty thousand pounds to such person and persons who shall so seize and secure the said son of the said pretender, so as that he may be brought to justice. And his majesty's high treasurer, or the commissioners of his majesty's treasury for the time being, is and are hereby required to make payment thereof accordingly. And if any of the persons, who have adhered to or assisted, or who shall adhere to or assist the said pretender, or his said son, shall seize and secure him the said son as aforesaid, he or they who shall so seize and secure him, shall have his majesty's gracious pardon, and shall also receive the said reward, to be paid in manner aforesaid.

Given at Whitehall the first day of August, in the nineteenth year of his majesty's reign.

God save the King.

98. LIFE ON BOARD A MAN-OF-WAE (1748).

Tobias Smollett, the novelist, was also a surgeon, and served in that capacity on men-of-war. The condition of the navy was disgracefully bad, and none of its evils could be concealed from him. Many of the sailors were driven on board by press gangs, and, once afloat, their health—to say nothing of their comfort—was disregarded. Captain Cook, the explorer, proved for the first time, 1772-75, that mortality at sea could be kept low by proper hygienic precautions. The merit of English sailors during the Seven Years' War is vastly enhanced by the everyday sufferings to which they were subject. These glimpses of naval life come from *Roderick Random.* They are somewhat overdrawn for purposes of effect, but will not convey an undue impression of the hardships which British sailors overcame in Hawke's day.

SOURCE.—*Roderick Random,* T. Smollett (1721-1771), Edinburgh, 1817. A, p. 159; B, p. 165 ; and C, p. 181.

(A) As I crossed Tower-wharf, a squat tawny fellow, with a hanger by his side, and a cudgel in his hand, came up to me, calling: " Yo, ho! brother, you must come along with me !" As I did not like his appearance, instead of answering his salutation, I quickened my pace, in hope of ridding myself of his company; upon which he whistled aloud, and immediately another sailor appeared before me, who laid hold of me by the collar, and began to drag me along. Not being of a humour to relish such treatment, I disengaged myself of the assailant, and, with one blow of my cudgel, laid him motionless on the ground; and perceiving myself surrounded in a trice, by ten or a dozen more, exerted myself with such dexterity and success, that seme of my opponents were fain to attack me with drawn cutlasses; and, after an obstinate engagement, in which 1 received a large wound on my head, and another on my left cheek, 1 was disarmed, taken prisoner, and carried on board a pressing tender, where, after being pinioned like a malefactor, was thrust down into the hold among a parcel of miserable wretches, the sight of whom well nigh distracted me. As the commanding officer had not humanity enough to order my wounds to be dressed, and I could not use my own hands, I desired one of my fellow-captives, who was unfettered, to take

a handkerchief out of my pocket, and tie it round my head to stop the bleeding. He pulled out my handkerchief, 'tis true, but, instead of applying it to the use for which I designed it, went to the grating of the hatchway, and, with astonishing composure, sold it before my face to a bumboat woman, then on board, for a quart of gin, with which he treated my companions, regardless of my circumstances and entreaties.

I complained bitterly of this robbery to the midshipman on deck, telling him at the same time that, unless my hurts were dressed, I should bleed to death. But compassion was a weakness of which no man could justly accuse this person, who, squirting a mouthful of dissolved tobacco upon me, through the gratings, told me "I was a mutinous dog, and that I might die and be d——d ". Finding there was no other remedy, I appealed to patience, and laid up this usage in my memory, to be recalled at a fitter season. In the meantime, loss of blood, vexation, and want of food, contributed, with the noisome stench of the place, to throw me into a swoon; out of which I was recovered by a tweak of the nose, administered by the tar who stood sentinel over us, who at the same time regaled me with a draught of flip, and comforted me with the hopes of being put on board the *Thunder* next day, where I should be freed of my handcuffs, and cured of my wounds by the doctor.

(B) When I had obtained this favour, my friend Thomson carried me down to the cockpit, which is the place allotted for the habitation of the surgeon's mates : and when he had shown me their berth (as he called it), I was filled with astonishment and horror. We descended by divers' ladders to a space as dark as a dungeon, which I understood was immersed several feet under water, being immediately above the hold. I had no sooner approached this dismal gulf, than my nose was saluted with an intolerable stench of putrefied cheese and rancid butter, that issued from an apartment at the foot of the ladder, resembling a chandler's shop, where, by the faint glimmering of a candle, I could perceive a man with a pale meagre countenance, sitting behind a kind of desk, having spectacles on his nose, and a pen in his hand. This (I learned of Mr. Thomson) was the ship's steward, who sat there to distribute provision to the several messes, and to mark what each received. He therefore presented my name to him, and desired that I might be entered in his mess; then, taking a light in his hand, conducted me to the place of his residence, which was a square of about six feet, surrounded with the medicine chest, that of the first mate, his own, and a board, by way of table, fastened

to the after powder-room: it was also inclosed with canvas nailed round to the beams of the ship, to screen us from the cold* as well as from the view of the midshipmen and quarter-masters, who lodged within the cable tiers on each side of us. In this gloomy mansion he entertained me with some cold salt pork, which he brought from a sort of locker fixed above the table; and, calling for the boy of the mess, sent for a can of beer, of which he made excellent flip to crown the banquet

(0) The surgeon grinned approbation, and, taking the list, began to examine the complaints of each, as they could crawl to the place appointed. The first who came under his cognizance was a poor fellow just freed of a fever, which had weakened him so much, that he could hardly stand. Mr. Mackshane (for that was the doctor's name) having felt his pulse, protested he was as well as any man in the world; and the captain delivered him over to the boatswain's mate, with orders that he should receive a round dozen at the gang-way immediately, for counterfeiting himself sick; but before the discipline could be executed, the man dropt down on the deck, and had well nigh perished under the hands of the executioner. The next patient to be considered laboured under a quartan ague, and being then in his interval of health, discovered no other symptoms of distemper than a pale, meagre countenance, and emaciated body; upon which he was declared fit for duty, and turned over to the boatswain: but being resolved to disgrace the doctor, died upon the forecastle next day, during his cold fit. The third complained of a pleuritic stitch, and spitting of blood; for which Doctor Mackshane prescribed exercise at the pump, to promote expectoration: but whether this was improper for one in his situation, or that it was used to excess, I know not; for in less than half an hour he was suffocated with a deluge of blood that issued from his lungs. A fourth, with much difficulty, climbed to the quarter-deck, being loaded with a monstrous ascites or dropsy, that invaded his chest so much, he could scarce fetch his breath; but his disease being interpreted into fat, occasioned by idleness and excess of eating, he was ordered, with a view to promote perspiration, and enlarge his chest, to go aloft immediately; it was in vain for this unwieldy wretch to allege his utter incapacity, the boatswain's driver was commanded to whip him up with the cat-o'-nine-tails: the smart of this application made him exert himself so much, that he actually arrived at the puttock shrouds; but when the enormous weight of his body had nothing else to support it than his weakened arms, either out of spite or necessity, he

quitted his hold, and plumped into the sea, where he must have been drowned, had not a sailor, who was in a boat alongside, saved his life, by keeping him afloat till he was hoisted on board by a tackle. It would be tedious and disagreeable to describe the fate of every miserable object that suffered by the inhumanity and ignorance of the captain and surgeon, who so wantonly sacrificed the lives of their fellow-creatures. Many were brought up in the height of fevers, and rendered delirious by the injuries they received in the way.

Some gave up the ghost in the presence of their inspectors; and others, who were ordered to their duty, languished a few days at work among their fellows, and then departed without any ceremony. On the whole, the number of the sick was reduced to less than a dozen.

04. THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY (1757).

The rise of British power in India was assisted by a ruinouo native policy of asking foreign aid in the settlement of domestic disputes. Nominally the battle of Plassey resulted in the substitution of Mir Jaffier for Suraj-ud-Dowlah : actually it handed over Bengal to England with Clive as governor. What discipline means can be inferred from the disparity of forces in this decisive conflict. Clive had in all 3000 men, less than one third of whom were English. Suraj-ud-Dowlah's army numbered 35,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry, with forty cannon.

SOURCE.—*Despatch to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors* (E. I. Co.). Robert Clive (1725-1774). Malcolm's *Life of Clive.* London, 1836. Vol. i., p. 263.

I gave you an account of the taking of Chandernagore; the subject of this address is an event of much higher importance, no less than the entire overthrow of Nabob Suraj-u-Dowlah, and the placing of Meer Jaffier on the throne. I intimated, in my last, how dilatory Suraj-u-Dowlah appeared in fulfilling the articles of the treaty. This disposition not only continued but increased, and we discovered that he was designing our ruin, by a conjunction with the French. To this end Monsieur Bussy was pressingly invited to come into this province, and Monsieur Law of Cossimbazar (who before had been privately entertained in his service) was ordered to return from Patna,

About this time some of his principal officers made over-

tures to us for dethroning him. At the head of these was Meer Jaffier, then Bukhshee [paymaster] to the army, a man as generally esteemed as the other was detested. As we had reason to believe this disaffection pretty general, we soon entered into engagements with Meer Jaffier to put the crown on his head. All necessary preparations being completed with the utmost secrecy, the army, consisting of about one thousand Europeans, and two thousand sepoys, with eight pieces of cannon, marched from Chandernagore on the 13th,[1] and arrived on the 18th at Cutwa Fort, which was taken without opposition. The 22nd, in the evening, we crossed the river, and landing on the island, marched straight for Plassey Grove, where we arrived by one in the morning. At daybreak, we discovered the Nabob's army moving toward us, consisting, as we since found, of about fifteen thousand horse, and thirty-five thousand foot, with upwards of forty pieces of cannon. They approached apace, and by six began to attack with a number of heavy cannon, supported by the whole army, and continued to play on us very briskly for several hours, during which our situation was of the utmost service to us, being lodged in a large grove, with good mud banks. To succeed in an attempt on their cannon was next to impossible, as they were planted in a manner round us, and at considerable distances from each other. We therefore remained quiet in our post, in expectation of a successful attack upon their camp at night. About noon, the enemy drew off their artillery, and retired to their camp, being the same day which Roy Dullub[2] had left but a few days before, and which he had fortified with a good ditch and breast-work. We immediately sent a detachment, accompanied with two field-pieces, to take possession of a tank with high banks, which was advanced about three hundred yards above our grove, and from whence the enemy had considerably annoyed us with some cannon managed by Frenchmen. This motion brought them out a second time; but on finding them make no great effort to dislodge us, we proceeded to take possession of one or two more eminences lying very near an angle of their camp, from whence, and an adjacent eminence in their possession, they kept a smart fire of musketry upon us. They made several attempts to bring out their cannon, but our advanced field-pieces played so warmly and so well upon them, that they

[1] July.

[2] Suraj-ud-Dowlah's minister of finance, and ope of the chief conspirators against him.

were always drove back. Their horse exposing themselves a good deal on this occasion, many of them were killed, and among the rest four or five officers of the first distinction, by which the whole army being visibly dispirited and thrown into some confusion, we were encouraged to storm both the eminence and the angle of their camp, which were carried at the same instant, with little or no loss ; though the latter was defended (exclusively of blacks) by forty French and two pieces of cannon ; and the former by a large body of blacks, both foot and horse. On this, a general rout ensued, and we pursued the enemy six miles, passing upwards of forty pieces of cannon they had abandoned, with an infinite number of hackaries,[1] and carriages filled with baggage of all kinds. Suraj-u-Dowlah escaped on a camel, and reaching Moorshedabad early next morning, despatched away what jewels and treasure he conveniently could, and he himself followed at midnight, with only two or three attendants.

It is computed there are killed of the enemy about five hundred. Our loss amounted to twenty-two killed, and fifty wounded, and those chiefly blacks. During the warmest part of the action we observed a large body of troops hovering on our right, which proved to be our friends; but as they never discovered themselves by any signal whatsoever, we frequently fired on them to make them keep their distance. When the battle was over, they sent a congratulatory message, and encamped in our neighbourhood that night. The next morning Meer Jaffier paid me a visit, and expressed much gratitude at the service done him, assuring me, in the most solemn manner, that he would faithfully perform his engagement to the English. He then proceeded to the city, which he reached some hours before Suraj-u-Dowlah left it.

98. WOLFE BEFORE QUEBEC (1759).

Wolfe's victory before Quebec banished the French flag from the mainland of North America and added half a continent to British possessions. One would not like to say that had he lost in 1759 his cause would never have triumphed, but as it was he did win by the barest margin. His despatch to Pitt (Sept. 2nd) (sent off only eleven days before he scaled the heights)

[1] " A species of cart drawn by a couple of bullocks. "—Malcolm.

and General Townshend's letter to his wife,[1] will enable the reader to see how dramatic the situation was. Considering the latehess of the season and the posture of public affairs, it is evident that victory came in the nick of time.

SOURCE.—*(A) Letter to Pitt.* James Wolfe (1727-1759). *Annual Register,* 1759. P. 246.

The admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault; but, after consulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and, after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found, that though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men of war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages that lead from the lower to the upper town, are carefully intrenched; and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them, and from the mortars. The admiral would readily join in this, or in any other measure for the public service; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

To the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy have added (for the defence of the river) a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute anything by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side.

By the list of disabled officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation, there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, Sir, that the small part of the campaign, which remains, shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his majesty, and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral, and by the generals. Happy if our efforts here

[1] Written four days after Wolfe's despatch to Pitt, 6th Sept., 1759.

can contribute to the success of his majesty's arms in any other parts of America. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

J. WOLFE.

SOURCE.—*(B) Letter to his Wife.* General George Townsbend (1724-1807). *Histor. MSS. Commission.* Report xi., Appendix lv., p. 808.

MY DEAREST CHARLOTTE,—

I hope Mr. Perceval will arrive safe & bring you these two letters from me. The happiness of writing to you is beyond all I know. My concern for your sufiferings, my affection for you & your dear little ones, convince me how unfit I am for this sceene, which another month will thank God give a conclusion to. The captive women & children which I see every day brought in here, often tell me what I am and who belong to me, but above all, the malencholly news I received the day before yesterday upon my arrival here from the cursed camp of Montmorenci of my poor brother's death has reproved me for not consulting my own nature more, when I ask'd you to [let me] return to the Army. It had then pleaded for you, when you did not plead for yourself & I had not been now in a sceene of umbition, confusion, misery; and you oppress'd as I know you must be, with terrours & affliction. I dare say poor Lady Tounshend too now starts at every knock at the door. Let us look up with hopes my Charlotte to the Disposer of all things & trust he will in his mercy & goodness do all for the best. I have wrote a line to poor Lady Tounshend to comfort her by convincing her of my own health & safety. One month more will put an end to our troubles. I never served so disagreeable a campaign as this. Our unequal force has reduced our operations to a sceene of skirmishing cruelty & devastation. It is war of the worst shape. A sceene I ought not to be in, for the future believe me my dear Charlotte I will seek the reverse of it.

Genl. Wolfs health is but very bad. His generalship in my poor opinion—is not a bit better, this only between us. He never consulted any of us till the latter end of August, so that we have nothing to answer for I hope as to the success of this campaign, which from the disposition the French have made of their force must chiefly fall to Genl. Amherst & Genl. Johnson.

God bless you my most dear wife, my blessing ,to my children, my good George in particular, and thank him for his letters. I have constantly thanked God for the success in the inoculation, a most comfortable circumstance for you. Mr. Barker has been slightly wounded. Mr. Gay quite recover'd & join'd us. Our

campaign is just over. I shall come back in Adl. Saunders's ship & in two months shall again belong to those I ought never to have left.—Adieu.—Your most affectionate husband, & faithful friend,

GEO. TOWNSHEND.

96. THE EARL OF CHATHAM (1761).

The tradition of the elder Pitt's eloquence is still fresh, but the solid basis of his renown is what he wrought for Great Britain during the Seven Years' War. He communicated his own hope and confidence to every department of administration and to the fighting forces. He snatched North America and India from France, and, in alliance with Frederick the Great, carried through the most advantageous war in which England has ever been engaged. This, too, in the face of great initial disadvantages. Pitt was forced out of office by Lord Bute soon after George III. succeeded to the throne, and his retirement from the ministry led the *Annual Register* to publish an appreciation of his skill in conducting government at such a time of crisis. The authorship of this passage cannot be determined. It was possibly written by Edmund Burke, who in 1758 founded the *Annual Register*—a record of the year's events at home and abroad. The series has been continued to the present day. Whether or not the following extract is from Burke's own pen, it may be accepted as a reflex of his views.

SOURCE.—*Annual Register.* London, 1761. P. 47.

A torrent of low and illiberal abuse was poured out on this occasion. His whole life, public and private, was scrutinized with the utmost malignity, to furnish matter of calumny against him. The successes of his administration were depreciated; his faults were monstrously exaggerated; and the reward and honours so justly conferred on him by his sovereign, were by every trick of wit, ridicule, and buffoonery, converted into matter of degradation and disgrace.

Without presuming to take any part in a controversy, which (however unequally) divided the royal council, or without entering into the sentiments of any faction, which we have

always shunned, we may affirm with truth and impartiality, that no man was ever better fitted than Mr. Pitt, to be the minister in a great and powerful nation, or better qualified to carry that power and greatness to their utmost limits. There was in all his designs a magnitude, and even a vastness, which was not easily comprehended by every mind, and which nothing but success could have made to appear reasonable. If he was sometimes incorrect, he was never vulgar.

His power, as it was not acquired, so neither was it exercised in an ordinary manner. With very little parliamentary and with less court influence, he swayed both at court and in parliament with an authority unknown before to the best supported ministers. He was called to the ministry by the voice of the people; and what is more rare, he held it with that approbation; and under him for the first time, administration and popularity were seen united. Under him Great Britain carried on the most important war, in which she ever was engaged, alone, and unassisted, with greater splendour, and with more success than she had ever enjoyed at the head of the most powerful alliances. Alone this island seemed to balance the rest of Europe.

In the conduct of the war he never suffered the enemy to breathe, but overwhelmed them with reiterated blows, and kept up the alarm in every quarter. If one of his expeditions was not so well calculated or so successfully executed, amends was made by another, and by a third. The spirit of the nation once roused, was not suffered for a moment to subside; and the French, dazzled as it were, by the multitude and celerity of his enterprizes, seemed to have lost all power of resistance. In short, he revived the military genius of our people; he supported our allies; he extended our trade; he raised our reputation; he augmented our dominions; and on his departure from administration, left the nation in no other danger than that which ever must attend exorbitant power, and the temptation which may be, to the invidious exertion of it. Happy it had been for him, for his sovereign, and his country, if a temper less austere, and a disposition more practicable, more compliant, and conciliating, had been joined to his other great virtues. The want of these qualities disabled him from acting any otherwise than alone: it prevented our enjoying the joint fruit of the wisdom of many able men, who might mutually have tempered, and mutually forwarded each other; and finally, which was not the meanest loss, it deprived us of his own immediate service*,

Those who censured his political conduct the most severely, could raise but few exceptions to it; none of them singly, and perhaps, the whole united, of no great weight against a person long engaged in so great a scene of action.

Whether the part, which under his administration we rather continued to act than newly took, with regard to the affairs of Germany, be for the real interest of Great Britain, is a question of the utmost difficulty, and which perhaps will never admit a satisfactory solution. To condemn him on this head, we must be sure of this solution. It has been observed in favour of that contested measure, that France demonstrated, through the whole progress of the late treaty,[1] the most earnest desire, that we should abandon that German connection; no trifling argument, that our enemy did not look upon it to be extremely prejudicial to our interests. If he has carried on that war at a vast expense, a prodigious stand has been made against the entire power of France; had less been expended, the whole expense might have been lost. How far this part of his conduct was agreeable to his former declarations, is a discussion which can avail but little. He found the nation engaged in these affairs; it was more easy to push them forward, than to extricate himself from them; as he proceeded, he discovered by experience the advantages of that plan of action, and his opinion was changed.

But even admitting, that, to attain the ends of opposition, he had once fallen upon popular topics, which even then he knew were not tenable, it can form but a very small blemish in a public character, however wrong it may be by application to the strict rules of morality. Ill would it fare with statesmen if this sort of consistency were to be expected from the most consistent of them.

With regard to the pension[2] and title,[3] it is a shame that any defence should be necessary. What eye cannot distinguish at the first glance, the difference between this and the exceptionable case of titles and pensions? What Briton, with the smallest sense of honour and gratitude, but must blush for his country, if such a man retired unrewarded from the public service, let the motives to that retirement be what they would? It was not possible that his sovereign could let his eminent services pass unrequited; the sum that was given was

[1] Conducted fruitlessly during the spring of 1761.
[2] £8000 a year for three lives.
[3] His wife was created Baroness Chatham.

undoubtedly inadequate to his merits; and the quantum was rather regulated by the moderation of the great mind that received it, than by the liberality of that which bestowed it.

The conduct of Mr. Pitt when the parliament met, in which he made his own justification, without impeaching the conduct of any of his colleagues, or taking one measure that might seem to arise from disgust or opposition, has set a seal upon his character.

97. No. 45 OP THE "NORTH BRITON" (1763).

Wilkes first issued the *North Briton* to attack Lord Bute and, after a short suspension, continued it to attack George Grenville's ministry in No. 45. Lack of space prevents insertion of the full text, but the sections which alarmed the government and led to Wilkes' illegal prosecution are given.

SOURCE.—*North Briton.* No. xlv. John Wilkes (1727-1797). Taken from *Shorter Works in English Prose,* Ed. H. Morley. London. (Cassell). No date. P. 300.

The King's Speech has always been considered by the legislature, and by the public at large, as the Speech of the Minister. It has regularly, at the beginning of every session of parliament, been referred by both houses to the consideration of a committee, and has been generally canvassed with the utmost freedom, when the minister of the crown has been obnoxious to the nation. The ministers of this free country, conscious of the undoubted privileges of so spirited a people, and with the terrors of parliament before their eyes, have ever been cautious, no less with regard to the matter, than to the expressions of speeches, which they have advised the sovereign to make from the throne, at the opening of each session. They well knew, that an honest house of parliament, true to their trust, could not fail to detect the fallacious arts,or to remonstrate against the daring acts of violence, committed by any minister. The Speech at the close of the session has ever been considered as the most secure method of promulgating the favourite court creed among the vulgar; because the parliament, which is the constitutional guardian of the liberties of the people, has in this case no opportunity of remonstrating, or of impeaching any wicked servant of the crown.

This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on

mankind. The minister's speech of last Tuesday, is not to be paralleled in the annals of this country. I am in doubt, whether the imposition is greater on the sovereign, or on the nation. Every friend of his country must lament that a prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable, public declarations, from a throne ever renowned for truth, honour, and unsullied virtue. 1 am sure all foreigners, especially the king of Prussia, will hold the minister in contempt and abhorrence. He has made our sovereign declare, " My expectations have been fully answered by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this salutary measure of the definitive Treaty.[1] The powers at war with my good brother the King of Prussia have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation as that great prince has approved ; and the success which has attended my negotiation, has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe." The infamous fallacy of this whole sentence is apparent to all mankind: for it is known, that the King of Prussia did not barely approve, but absolutely dictated, as conqueror, every article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous prince from our negotiation, but he was basely deserted by the Scottish prime minister of England.[2] He was known by every court in Europe to be scarcely on better terms of friendship here, than at Vienna; and he was betrayed by us in the treaty of peace. What a strain of insolence, therefore, is it in a minister to lay claim to what he is conscious all his efforts tended to prevent, and meanly to arrogate to himself a share in the fame and glory of one of the greatest princes the world has ever seen ? The king of Prussia, however, has gloriously kept all his former conquests, and stipulated security for all his allies, except for the elector of Hanover. I know in what light this great prince is considered in Europe, and in what manner he has been treated here; among other reasons, perhaps, from some contemptuous expressions he may have used of the Scot: expressions which are everyday echoed by the whole body of Englishmen through the southern part of this island.

The Preliminary Articles of Peace were such as have drawn the contempt of mankind on our wretched negotiators. All our most valuable conquests were agreed to be restored, and the

[1] Treaty of Paris. [2] Lord Bute.

East-India company would have been infallibly ruined by a single article of this fallacious and baneful negotiation. No hireling of the minister has been hardy enough to dispute this; yet the minister himself has made our sovereign declare, the satisfaction which he felt at the approaching re-establishment of peace upon conditions so honourable to his crown, and so beneficial to his people. As to the entire approbation of parliament, which is so vainly boasted of, the world knows how that was obtained. The large debt on the Civil List, already above half a year in ar rear, shows pretty clearly the transactions of the winter. It is, however, remarkable, that the minister's speech dwells on the entire approbation given by Parliament to the Preliminary Articles, which I will venture to say, he must by this time be ashamed of; for he has been brought to confess the total want of that knowledge, accuracy, and precision, by which such immense advantages both of trade and territory were sacrificed to our inveterate enemies. These gross blunders are, indeed, in some measure set right by the Definitive Treaty; yet, the most important articles, relative to cessions, commerce, and the fishery, remain as they were, with respect to the French. The proud and feeble Spaniard too does not renounce, but only desists from all pretentions, which he may have formed, to the right of fishing—where? only about the island of Newfoundland—till a favourable opportunity arises of insisting on it, there, as well as elsewhere.

. . . . . .

In vain will such a minister, or the foul dregs of his power, the tools of corruption and despotism, preach up in the speech that spirit of concord, and that obedience to the laws, which is essential to good order. They have sent the spirit of discord through the land, and I will prophesy, that it will never be extinguished, but by the extinction of their power. Is the spirit of concord to go hand in hand with the PEACE and EXCISE through this nation? Is it to be expected between an insolent Exciseman, and a peer, gentleman, freeholder, or farmer whose private houses are now made liable to be entered and searched at pleasure? Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and in general all the cyder countries, are not surely the several counties which are alluded to in the speech. The spirit of concord hath not gone forth among them; but the spirit of liberty has, and a noble opposition has been given to the wicked instruments of oppression. A nation as sensible as the English, will see that a spirit of concord, when they are Oppressed, means a tame submission to injury, and that a spirit of liberty ought

then to arise, and I am sure ever will, in proportion to the weight of the grievance they feel. Every legal attempt of a contrary tendency to the spirit of concord will be deemed a justifiable resistance, warranted by the spirit of the English constitution.

. . . . . .

The Stuart line has ever been intoxicated with the slavish doctrines of the absolute, independent, unlimited power of the crown. Some of that line were so weakly advised, as to endeavour to reduce them into practice: but the English nation was too spirited to suffer the least encroachment on the ancient liberties of this kingdom. "The King of England is only the first magistrate of this country; but is invested by law with the whole executive power. He is, however, responsible to his people for the due .execution of the royal functions, in the choice of ministers, etc., equally with the meanest of his subjects in his particular duty." The personal character of our present amiable sovereign makes us easy and happy that so great a power is lodged in such hands; but the favourite has given too just cause for him to escape the general odium. The prerogative of the crown is to exert the constitutional powers entrusted to it in a way, not of blind favour and partiality, but of wisdom and judgment. This is the spirit of our constitii' tion. The people too have their prerogative, and, I hope, the fine words of Dryden will be engraven on our hearts—

•• Freedom is the English subject's Prerogative".

98. JUNIUS TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD (1769).

The *Letters of Junius* are hardly worth the ingenuity which has been lavished on the debate over their authorship. They have a vitriolic pungency of their own, but are unsuggestive of broad political ideas. A comparison, for instance, between Junius and Burke would be absurd, and the virulence which made his attacks lively reading once will almost certainly create a bad impression now. Still these *Letters* are secure of a place in English political literature, both from their contemporary vogue and because they are unlike other writings. Nor can one deny that in style they surpass the vast majority of tracts. They are ascribed to Sir Philip Francis oftener than to **any** one else.

SOURCE.—*Letters.* Junius (1769-1771). London, 1875. P. 192.

Let us consider you, then, as arrived at the summit of worldly greatness;[1] let us suppose that all your plans of avarice and ambition are accomplished, and your most 'sanguine wishes gratified in the fear as well as the hatred of the people: Can age itself forget that you are now in the last act of life? Can grey hairs make folly venerable? and is there no period to be reserved for meditation and retirement? For shame! my Lord: let it not be recorded of you, that the latest moments of your life were dedicated to the same unworthy pursuits, the same busy agitations in which your youth and manhood were exhausted. Consider, that, although you cannot disgrace your former life, you are violating the character of age, and exposing the impotent imbecility after you have lost the vigour of the passions.

Your friends will ask, perhaps, whither shall this unhappy old man retire? Can he remain in the metropolis, where his life has been so often threatened, and his palace so often attacked? If he returns to Woburn, scorn and mockery await him. He must create a solitude round his estate, if he would avoid the face of reproach and derision. At Plymouth, his de struction would be more than probable; at Exeter, inevitable. No honest Englishman will ever forget his attachment, not any honest Scotchman forgive his treachery, to Lord Bute. At every town he enters, he must change his liveries and his name. Whichever way he flies, the Hue and Cry of the country pursues him.

In another kingdom, indeed, the blessings of his administration have been more sensibly felt; his virtues better understood; or at worst, they will not, for him alone, forget their hospitality. As well might Verres have returned to Sicily. You have twice escaped, my Lord; beware of a third experiment. The indignation of a whole people, plundered, insulted, and oppressed as they have been, will not always be disappointed.

It is in vain therefore to shift the scene. You can no more fly from your enemies than from yourself. Persecuted abroad, you look into your own heart for consolation, and find nothing but reproaches and despair. But, my Lord, you may quit the field of business, though not the field of danger; and though you cannot be safe, you may cease to be ridiculous. I fear you have listened too long to the advice of those pernicious friends,

[1] Bedford was not in office himself, but he had looked out for the interests of his followers, the so-called " Bloomsbury Gang ".

with whose interests you have sordidly united your own, and for whom you have sacrificed everything that ought to be dear to a man of honour. They are still base enough to encourage the follies of you* age, as they once did the vices of your youth. As little acquainted with the rules of decorum, as with the laws of morality, they will not suffer you to profit by experience, nor even to consult the propriety of a bad character. Even now they tell you, that life is no more than a dramatic scene, in which the hero should preserve his consistency to the last, and that as you lived without virtue, you should die without repentance.

JUNIUS.

99. BURKE ON CONCILIATION WITH THE COLONIES (1775).

Ireland's contribution to the great men of the British Islands includes many illustrious names (especially since the time of George I.), and among them is Edmund Burke, the foremost of philosophical statesmen. His speeches and works on the American War, the Warren Hastings trial, and the French Revolution would all supply illustrations of his eminence in thought and in expression. He was uniformly the leader of the cause which he espoused, whether it were that of generosity to the colonies, or of justice to the subject populations of India, or of resistance to the doctrines of French radicalism. The end of his speech on conciliation with America is given, because it is the finest proclamation of sound colonial policy which has ever been uttered.

SOURCE.—*Works.* Edmund Burke (1729-1797). London, 1852. Vol. iii., p. 289.

I, for one, protest against compounding our demands: I declare against compounding for a poor limited sum, the immense, ever-growing, eternal debt, which is due to generous government from protected freedom. And so may I speed in the great object I propose to you, as I think it would not only be an act of injustice, but would be the worst economy in the world, to compel the colonies to a sum certain, either in the way of ransom, or in the way of compulsory compact.

But to clear up my ideas on this subject—a revenue from America transmitted hither—do not delude yourselves—you never can receive it—No, not a shilling. We have

experience that from remote countries it is not to be expected. If, when you attempted to extract revenue from Bengal, you were obliged to return in loan what you had taken in imposttion, what can you expect from North America? #For certainly, if ever there was a country qualified to produce wealth, it is India; or an institution fit for the transmission, it is the East India Company. America has none of these aptitudes. If America gives you taxable objects, on which you lay your duties here, and gives you, at the same time, a surplus by a foreign sale of her commodities to pay the duties on these objects, which you tax at home, she has performed her part to the British revenue. But with regard to her own internal establishments ; she may, I doubt not she will, Contribute in moderation. I say in moderation ; for she ought not to be permitted to exhaust herself. She ought to be reserved to a war; the weight of which, with the enemies that we are most likely to have, must be considerable in her quarter of the globe. There she may serve you and serve you essentially.

For that service, for all service, whether of revenue, trade, or empire, my trust is in her interest in the British constitution. My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties, which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government;—they will cling and grapple to you; and no force under heaven would be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood, that your government may be one thing, and their privileges'another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened; and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true act of navigation, which binds to

you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond, which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the empire. Do not entertain so weak an imagination, as that your registers and your bonds, your affidavits and your sufferances, your cockets[1] and your clearances,[2] are what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions, and your suspending clauses, are the things that hold together the great contexture of this mysterious whole. These things do not make your government Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English 'constitution, which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the empire, even down to the minutest member.

Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England? Do you imagine then, that it is the land tax act which raises your revenue? that it is the annual vote in the committee of supply, which gives you your army? or that it is the mutiny bill, which inspires it with bravery and discipline? No! surely no! It is the love of the people; it is their attachment to their government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience, without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us; a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material; and who therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything, and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our situation, and glow with zeal to fill our places as becomes our station and ourselves,

[1] " A dooument sealed by officers of the Custom House, and delivered to merchants as a certificate that their merchandise has been duly entered and has paid duty."—Oxford Dictionary, *sub voce.*

[2] The clearing of a ship at the Custom House.

we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America, with the old warning of the Church, *Sursum corda!* We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire : and have made the most extensive, and the only honourable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race. Let us got an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is; English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

100. JOHN HOWARD, THE PRISON REFORMER (1777).

Growing sympathy with the weak, the unfortunate and the oppressed is an encouraging symptom which one observes in the second half of the eighteenth century. Better treatment of prisoners, better provision for the poor, and the liberation of slaves attained the magnitude of causes; while the same disposition which prompted Howard, Clarkson and Eden quickened private benevolence in a hundred directions. John Howard in his preface to *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* has told how he began his philanthropic task. In connection with this extract may be mentioned some of the topics which he considers in the body of the work. Section I., under the head " General View of Distress in Prisons," takes up Food, Water, Air, Sewers, Bedding, Morals, Lunatics, Gaol Fever and Vicious Examples. Section II. is entitled, " Bad Customs in Prisons," and discusses Gaming, Irons, Non-resident Gaolers, Wives and Children, and Gaols as Private Property, besides Garnish, or the initiation fee which a new prisoner was bound by custom to pay his fellows.

SOURCE.—The *State of the Prisons in England and Wales.* John Howard (1726 ?-1790). London, 1792. P. 1.

Introduction.

The distress of prisoners, of which there are few who have not some imperfect idea, came more immediately under my

notice when I was sheriff of the county of *Bedford*; and the circumstance which excited me to activity in their behalf was, the teeing, some—who by the verdict of juries were declared *not guilty ;* some—on whom the grand jury did not find such an appearance of guilt as subjected them to trial; and some—whose persecutors did not appear against them;—after having been confined for months, dragged back to gaol, and locked up again till they should pay *sundry fees* to the gaoler, the clerk of assize, &c.

In order to redress this hardship, I applied to the justices of the county for a salary to the *gaoler* in lieu of *his* fees. The bench were properly affected with the grievance, and willing to grant the relief desired: but they wanted a precedent for charging the county with the expense. I therefore rode into several neighbouring counties in search of one; but I soon learned that the same injustice was practised in them; and looking into the prisons, I beheld scenes of calamity, which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate. In order therefore to gain a more perfect knowledge of the particulars and extent of it, by various and accurate observation, I visited most of the *county gaols* in England.

Seeing in two or three of them some poor creatures whose aspect was singularly deplorable, and asking the cause of it, the answer was, "they were lately brought from the *bridewells* ". This started a fresh subject of inquiry. I resolved to inspect the bridewells: and for that purpose travelled again into the counties where I had been; and, indeed, into all the rest; examining *houses of correction, city* and *town gaols.* I beheld in many of them, as well as in the *county gaols,* a complication of distress; but my attention was principally fixed by the *gaol fever* and the *small pox,* which I saw prevailing to the destruction of multitudes, not only of *felons* in their dungeons, but of *debtors* also.

The gaol fever is no new subject of complaint. *Stow,* in his *Survey,* mentions, that " in the year 1414, the gaolers of Newgate and Ludgate dyed, and prisoners in Newgate to the number of sixty-four ". And speaking of the King's Bench prison, says, that in the six years preceding the year 1579, one hundred prisoners died there: and twelve between Michaelmas and March of the last mentioned year, "through a certain contagion called *the sickness of the house ";* and I shall presently have occasion, among the fatal effects of this distemper propagated from prisons, and infecting many abroad, to mention another *ancient* instance of that sort also. These effects

are now so notorious, that what terrifies most of us from looking into prisons, is the gaol distemper so frequent in them.

Upon this subject I was examined in the House of Commons in March, 1774: when I had the *honour* of their thanks. Soon after that, Mr. *Popham,* member for Taunton, repeated the humane attempt which had miscarried a fow years before; and brought in a bill for the relief of prisoners who should be acquitted—respecting their *fees;* and another bill for preserving the *health* of prisoners, and preventing the gaol distemper. They both passed that sessions: these two acts I printed in a different character, and sent them to the keeper of every county gaol in England. By those acts, the tear was wiped from many an eye; and the legislature had for them *the blessing of many that were ready to perish.*

The great honour done me by the House has excited the curiosity of some to inquire what facts I had collected. This is one reason of the present publication; but it is not the only, nor yet the principal one. There are still remaining many disorders that ought to be rectified: prisoners suffer great hardships, from which I am desirous that they should be set free: the *gaol fever* is not, as I am persuaded it may be, totally eradicated. These are my motives for printing this book. I think it will show plainly, that much is yet to be done for the regulation of prisons; and I am not without hope, that the legislature will finish what was so laudably begun.

I was called to the first part of my talk by my office as sheriff. To the pursuit of it I was prompted by the sorrows of the sufferers, and love to my country. The work grew upon me insensibly. I could not enjoy my ease and leisure in the neglect of an opportunity offered me by Providence of attempting the relief of the miserable. The attention of parliament to the subject, led me to conclude that some additional labour would not be lost; and I extended my plan. The difficulty I found in searching out evidence of fraud and cruelty in various articles, together with other real sources of distress, obliged me to repeat my visits, and travel over the kingdom more than once: and after all, I suspect that many frauds have been concealed from me; and that sometimes the interest of my informants prevailed over their veracity. Besides, as I had in my first journeys gathered, from facts and experience, proofs of the mischievous effects of the want of cleanliness and fresh air, I had in my latter visits these strong arguments to enforce my persuasions; and, in consequence, some gaolers grew at

last more mindful and complying, for the sake, not only of their prisoners, but of themselves and their own families.

It was not, I own, without some apprehensions of danger, that I *first* visited the prisons; and 1 guarded myself by smelling to vinegar, while I was in those places, and changing my apparel afterwards. This I did constantly and carefully when I began ; but by degrees I grew less attentive to these precautions, and have long since entirely omitted them. On account of the alteration made by the act *for preserving the health of prisoners,* one may now look into many a prison without gaining an idea of the condition it was in a few years ago. I wish the. reformation to be not for the present only, but lasting. If the motive for amendment has any where been merely temporary, there is no doubt but the effect will cease with the cause: those who from such inducement have obeyed, will in future follow the example of others who have disregarded the law; and prisons that have been amended, will relapse into their former state.

As to what is still wrong, I set down matter of fact without amplification ; which would in the end rather impede than promote the object of my wishes; that is, the correction of what is really amiss.

The journeys were not undertaken for the traveller's amusement ; and the collections are not published for general entertainment ; but for the perusal of those who have it in their power to give redress to the sufferers.

The writer begs his reader to excuse the frequent egotisms ; which he did not know how to avoid, without using circumlocutions that might have been more disgusting.

101. WARREN HASTINGS AT THE COUNCIL BOARD (1780).

In governing India Warren Hastings was beset by foes without and within. The task of confirming England's position would have been beyond the compass of ordinary ability, quite apart from extending her sphere. Then Hastings must find profits for the Company, and, not least, must frustrate the opposition at his Council Board. His colleagues were at first Francis, Clavering, Monson and Barwell, of whom only Harwell supported his policy. The India state papers teem with their differences, and had Hastings not possessed uncommon tenacity

of purpose the majority would have beaten him. Upon political rivalry personal hatred ensued, and relations between the Governor and Francis had been purely official for years before their duel. It was the Mahratta War which precipitated this crisis. On August 17, 1780, they fought with pistols; Francis was wounded, and by his speedy withdrawal to England Hastings was relieved of the worst foe his administration had Francis afterwards assisted in bringing about his impeachment by the Commons at the bar of the Lords. This minute was drafted six weeks before the duel for perusal by the home authorities. The Mr. Wheler referred to,was a new councillor who sided with Francis.

SOURCE.—*Minute to East India Board.* Warren Hastings (1732-1818). *Selections from State Papers.* Ed. G. W. Forrest. Calcutta, 1890. Vol. ii., p. 711.

Why Mr. Wheler has thus repeatedly chosen to join his name to Mr. Francis's in the minute lately delivered to them by the Board, I can neither conjecture, nor seek to know. I can easily conceive Mr. Francis's intention in obtaining this association. But as the rectitude of these acts in Mr. Francis is to be judged upon very different principles from those in which he has a common concern with Mr. Wheler, I shall consider them solely as his, and reply to them accordingly. Indeed I have no doubt of their being all the entire composition of Mr. Francis. They are not the less his by this apparent division of the property; and his name affixed to them gives me the right of regarding them as entirely his.

I did hope that the intimation conveyed in my last minute would have awakened in Mr. Francis's breast, if it were susceptible of such sensations, a consciousness of the faithless part which he was acting towards me. I have been disappointed, and must now assume a plainer style and a louder tone. In a word, my objections do not lie to the special matter of his minutes, to which I shall separately reply, but to the spirit of opposition which dictated them. I have lately offered various plans for the operations of the war. These have been successively rejected as I have successively amended and endeavoured to accommodate them to Mr. Francis's objections. I had a right to his implicit acquiescence. I have lastly proposed a service requiring immediate execution, and I'have freed it from the only objection formally made to it.

In answer, he says that he adheres to the reasons which had before induced him to withhold his consent, and composedly invites me to lay before the Board a complete detail of the plan for conducting the war, a comparative state of the whole of the object with the whole of the means of attaining it, and the final extent of my demands on the Mahrattas, or what concession I would make to them: and he promises to enter into the consideration of these points with the utmost candour. If his design in this enquiry was simply to gain information, I might refer him to the large and confidential discussions in which I have laid all my views open to his, with all the ground* on which they were formed. If his purpose was to enable him to form a more clear or competent judgment of the plans which I have proposed, its object would be lost in the time required for the deliberation. . But in truth I do not trust to his promise of candour, corivinced that he is incapable of it, and that his sole purpose and wish are to embarrass and defeat every measure which 1 may undertake or which may tend even to promote the public interests, if my credit is connected with them. Such has been the tendency, and such the manifest spirit of all his actions from the beginning. Almost every measure proposed by me has for that reason had his opposition to it. When carried against his opposition, and too far engaged to be withdrawn, yet even then and in every stage of it, his labours to overcome it have been unremitted; every disappointment and misfortune have been aggravated by him, and every fabricated tale of armies devoted to famine or to massacre have found their first and ready way to his office, where it was known they would meet the most welcome reception. To the same design may be attributed the annual computations of declining finances ana an exhausted treasury, computations which though made in the time of abundance must verge to truth at last, from the effect of a discordant government, not a constitutional decay. To the same design shall I attribute the policy of accelerating the boded event, and creating an artificial want, by keeping up an useless hoard of treasure, and withholding it from a temporary circulation.

I am aware of the answer which will be made to* these imputations and I will anticipate it. Mr. Francis may safely deny them, for they are incapable of positive evidence. He may complain of the injustice or indecency of assuming the interpretation of his thoughts, and assigning intentions to him, upon the reality of which he alone can pronounce with certainty. He may claim an equal right to recriminate upon me, and to

pass the same free judgment upon the motives which have influenced my public actions. Against such conclusions I trust. that my character will be sufficient to defend me, unless some known instance of it can be produced as a warrant for them, and such I am certain do not exist, either known or unknown.

My authority for the opinions which I have declared concerning Mr. Francis depends upon facts which have passed within my own certain knowledge. I judge of his public conduct by my experience of his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour. This is a severe charge, but temperately and deliberately made, from the firm persuasion that I owe this justice to the public and to myself, as the only redress to both, for artifices of which I have been a victim, and which threaten to involve their interests with disgrace and ruin. The only redress for a fraud for which the law has made no provisions is the exposure of it. I proceed to the proofs of my allegation.

In the latter end of the month of February last Mr. Francis concluded with me an engagement of which one Article alone is necessary to the present occasion. It is as follows :—

"Mr. Francis will not oppose any measures which the Governor-General shall recommend for the prosecution of the war in which we are supposed to be engaged with the Mahrattas, or for the general support of the present political system of this Government. Neither will he himself either propose, or vote with any other member who shall propose, any measure that shall be contrary to the Governor-General's opinion on these points."

By the sanction of this engagement, and the liberal professions which accompanied it, I was seduced to part with the friend [1] to whose generous and honourable support steadfastly yielded in a course of six years I am indebted for the existence of the little power which I have ever possessed in that long and disgraceful period, to throw myself on the mercy of Mr. Francis, and on the desperate hazard of his integrity. It was impossible to afford a stronger demonstration of the good faith with which I entered into this accommodation, nor of my confidence in his, than thus consenting to deprive myself of the means of breaking the engagement on my part, and of preventing the breach of it on his : and surely this difference in our relative situations ought to have impressed him with a sense of what he owed to the delicacy attending it, and have made him dread even an

[1] Barwell

approach towards the precise line of his obligations, by the slightest advantage taken of my inability to repel it: and how muck more ought it to have restrained him from the direct transgression of it!

I must now revert to the Article of Mr. Francis's engagement which I have recited above, and to the minutes lately delivered to the Board under the signatures of Messieurs Francis and Wheler. On these I rest the proofs which I have promised of the charge herein preferred against Mr. Francis.

If it shall appear on a fair comparison of these evidences that Mr. Francis has faithfully adhered to his engagements, I have wrongfully accused him. If on the contrary, it shall appear that in violation of these engagements he has opposed any measures which I have recommended for the prosecution of the war in which we are engaged with the Mahrattas, or for the general support of the present political system of this Government, or that he has either himself proposed or joined with another member in proposing a measure contrary to my opinion on these points, my charge is established. I wish to avoid a repetition of the terms of it.

WARREN HASTINGS.

102. THE STEAM ENGINE (1770-85).[1]

The steam engine, which has been such an agent of material progress during the past 125 years, was perfected, not invented, by Watt. Nevertheless, by turning a more or less floating idea into concrete form, he established a just claim to be always remembered in connection with the endless applications of steam power to industry. He was no rough mechanic (as will be seen from Jeffrey's estimate of his character), but an engineer of fine tastes and broad sympathies. In England's struggle with Napoleon the steam engine was a force of the first magnitude: not at sea, because Trafalgar was fought before steamships were introduced, but on land, in creating the sinews of war which were turned against France. Lord Jeffrey, the author of this eulogy, was a distinguished critic and editor of the *Edinburgh Review.*

[1] **Jeffrey's appreciation was not written till 1819, the year of Watt's death, but is inserted earlier because Watt was a prominent engineer from 1770 forward. Muirhead fixes 1785 as the time of his greates activity and inventiveness.**

SOURCE.—Muirhead's *Life of Watt.* Francis Jeffrey (1778-1860). New York, 1859. P. 402.

We have said that Mr. Watt was the great, *improver* of the steam-engine; but, in truth, as to all that is admirable in its structure, or vast in its utility, he should rather be described as its *inventor.* It was by his inventions that its action was so regulated, as to make it capable of being applied to the finest and most delicate manufactures, and its power so increased, as to set weight and solidity at defiance. By his admirable contrivance, it has become a thing stupendous alike for its force and its flexibility,—for the prodigious power which it can exert, and the ease, and precision and ductility, with which it can be varied, distributed and applied. The trunk of an elephant, that can pick up a pin or rend an oak, is as nothing to it. It can engrave a seal, and crush masses of obdurate metal before it,—draw out, without breaking, a thread as fine as a gossamer, and lift a ship of war like a bauble in the air. It can embroider muslin and forge anchors,—cut steel into ribbons, and impel loaded vessels against the fury of the winds and waves.

It would be difficult to estimate the value of the benefits which these inventions have conferred upon this country. There is no branch of industry that has not been indebted to them; and, in all the most material, they have not only widened most magnificently the field of its exertions, but multiplied a thousandfold the amount of its productions. It is our improved steam-engine that has fought the battles of Europe, and exalted and sustained, through the late tremendous contest, the political greatness of our land. It is the same great power which now enables us to pay the interest of our debt, and to maintain the arduous struggle in which we are still engaged [1819] with the skill and capital of countries less oppressed with taxation. But these are poor and narrow views of its importance. It has increased indefinitely the mass of human comforts and enjoyments, and rendered cheap and accessible, all over the world, the materials of wealth and prosperity. It has armed the feeble hand of man, in short, with a power to which no limits can be assigned; completed the dominion of mind over the most refractory qualities of matter; and laid a wire foundation for all those future miracles of mechanic power which are to aid and reward the labours of after generations. It is to the genius of one man, too, that all this is mainly owing; and certainly no man ever bestowed such a gift on his kind. The blessing is not only universal, but unbounded ;

and the fabled inventors of the plough and the loom, who were deified by the erring gratitude of their rude contemporaries, conferred less important benefits on mankind than the inventor of our present steam-engine.

This will be the fame of Watt with future generations; and it is sufficient for his race and his country. But to those to whom he more immediately belonged, who lived in his society and enjoyed his conversation, it is not, perhaps, the character in which he will be most frequently recalled,—most deeply lamented,—or even most highly admired. Independently of his great attainments in mechanics, Mr. Watt was an extraordinary, and in many respects a wonderful man. Perhaps no individual in his age possessed so much and such varied and exact information,—had read so much, or remembered what he had read so accurately and well. He had infinite quickness of apprehension, a prodigious memory, and a certain rectifying and methodising power of understanding, which extracted something precious, out of all that was presented to it. His stores of miscellaneous knowledge were immense,—and yet less astonishing than the command he had at all times over them. It seemed as if every subject that was casually started in conversation with him, had been that which he had been last occupied in studying and exhausting;—such was the copiousness, the precision and the admirable clearness of the information which he poured out upon it without effort or hesitation. Nor was this promptitude and compass of knowledge confined in any degree to the studies connected with his ordinary pursuits. That he should have been minutely and extensively skilled in chemistry and the arts, and in most of the branches of physical science, might perhaps have been conjectured ; but it could not have been inferred from his usual occupations, and probably is not generally known that he was curiously learned in many branches of antiquity, metaphysics, medicine and etymology, and perfectly at home in all the details of architecture, music and law. He was well acquainted, too, with most of the modern languages,—and familiar with their most recent literature. Nor was it at all extraordinary to hear the great mechanician and engineer detailing and expounding, for hours together, the metaphysical theories of the German logicians, or criticising the measures or the matter of the German poetry.

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108. THE CRUSADE AGAINST SLAVERY (1787).

Before Wilberforce entered on his crusade in parliament, Thomas Clarkson had succeeded in partially touching the national conscience. The formation of a league against the slave trade must be ascribed to his efforts, and it was he who won over Wilberforce. In 1808, after slavery had been abolished by parliament, Clarkson published a history of the movement, from which we derive this account of its origin as a practical enterprise. The Emancipation Bill, with its indemnity clause of .£20,000,000, was not passed till 1833.

SOURCE.—*History of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade.* Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846). London, 1808. Vol. i., p.252.

On receiving a card from Mr. Langton, I went to dine with him. I found the party consist of Sir Charles Middleton, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Hawkins Browne, Mr. Windham, Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. Boswell. The latter was then known as the friend of Dr. Johnson, and afterwards as the writer of his *Tour to the Hebrides.* After dinner the subject of the Slave-trade was purposely introduced. Many questions were put to me, and I dilated upon each in my answers that I might inform and interest those present as'much as I could. They seemed to be greatly impressed with my account of the loss of seamen in the trade, and with the little samples of African cloth, which I had procured for their inspection. Sir Joshua Reynolds gave his unqualified approbation of the abolition of this cruel traffic. Mr. Hawkins Browne joined heartily with him in sentiment; he spoke with much feeling upon it, and pronounced it to be barbarous, and contrary to every principle of morality and religion. Mr. Boswell after saying the planters would urge that the Africans were made happier by being carried from their own country to the West Indies, observed, " Be it so. But we have no right to make people happy against their will." Mr. Windham, when it was suggested that the great importance of our West Indian islands, and the grandeur of Liverpool, would be brought against those who should propose the abolition of the Slave-trade, replied, " We have nothing to do with the policy of the measure. Rather let Liverpool and the Islands be swallowed up in the sea, than this monstrous system of iniquity be carried on." While such conversation was passing, and when all appeared to be interested in the cause, Mr. Langton

put the question, about the proposal of which I had been so diffident, to Mr. Wilberforce, in the shape of a delicate compliment. The latter replied that he had no objection to bring forward the measure in parliament, when he was better prepared for it, and provided no person more proper could be found. Upon this, Mr. Hawkins Browne and Mr. Windham both said they would support him there. Before I left the company, I took Mr. Wilberforce aside, and asked him if I might mention this his resolution to those of my friends in the City, of whom he had often heard me speak, as desirous of aiding him by becoming a committee for the purpose. He replied, I might. I then asked Mr. Langton, privately, if he had any objection to belong to a society of which there might be a committee for the abolition of the Slave-trade. He said he should be pleased to become a member of it. Having received these satisfactory answers, I returned home.

The next day, having previously taken down the substance of the conversation at the dinner, I went to James Phillips, and desired that our friends might be called together as soon as they conveniently could, to hear my report. In the interim I wrote to Dr. Peckard, and waited upon Lord Scarsdale, Dr. Baker, and others, to know (supposing a society were formed for the abolition of the Slave-trade) if I might say they would belong to it ? All of them replied in the affirmative, and desired me to represent them, if there should be any meeting for this purpose.

At the time appointed, I met my friends. I read over the substance of the conversation which had taken place at Mr. Langton's. No difficulty occurred. All were unanimous for the formation of a committee. On the next day we met by agreement for this purpose. It was then resolved unanimously, among other things, That the Slave-trade was both impolitic and unjust. It was resolved also, That the following persons be a committee for procuring such information and evidence, and publishing the same, as may tend to the abolition of the Slave-trade, and for directing the application of such moneys as have been already, and may hereafter be collected for the above purpose.

Granville Sharp.	Thomas Clarkson.
William Dillwyn.	Richard Phillips.
Samuel Hoare.	John Barton.
George Harrison.	Joseph Hooper.
John Lloyd.	James Phillips.
Joseph Woods.	Philip Sansome.

All these were present. Granville Sharp, who stands at the head of the list, and who, as the father of the cause in England, was called to the chair, may be considered as representing the first class of forerunners and coadjutors, as it has been before described.[1] The five next, of whom Samuel Hoare was chosen as the treasurer, were they who had been the committee of the second class, or of the Quakers in England, with the exception of Dr. Knowles, who was then dying, but who, having heard of our meeting, sent a message to us, to exhort us to proceed. The third class, or that of the* Quakers in America, may be considered as represented by William Dillwyn, by whom they were afterwards joined to us in correspondence. The two who stand next, and in which I am included, may be considered as representing the fourth, most of the members of which we had been the means of raising.[2] Thus, on the twenty-second of May, 1787, the representatives of all the four classes, of which I have been giving a history from the year 1516, met together, and were united in that committee, to which I have been all along directing the attention of the reader; a committee, which, labouring afterwards with Mr. Wilberforce as a parliamentary head, did, under Providence, in the space of twenty years, contribute to put an end to a trade, which, measuring its magnitude by its crimes and sufferings, was the greatest practical evil that ever afflicted the human race.

After the formation of the committee, notice was sent t6 Mr. Wilberforce of the event, and a friendship began, which has continued uninterruptedly between them, from that to the present day.

104. THE REVOLUTION SOCIETY (1789).

The Revolution Society would now be forgotten had not Burke attacked it in his *Reflections on the French Revolution.* Any intrinsic interest which it possesses for the historian springs from the character of its membership, and from its communications with the National Assembly of France. It was founded to commemorate the principles of 1688, with an original membership drawn from advanced Whigs and Nonconformists. It had transactions, an annual sermon and an annual banquet When disturbances broke out in France it welcomed them enthusiasti-

[1] Pioneers. [2] Agitators connected with Clarkson's movement

cally as the herald of a new era wherein democracy should cover the earth. Its president in 1789 was a peer, Lord Stanhope, and Several others of its council were persons of prominence. The despatches tent by the Revolution Society to the French legislature, and those sent by patriotic societies at Dijon and Lille to the Revolution Society (together with the replies received), make a thick tract, and vividly recall the ideals which were then cherished by radicals on both sides of the Channel.

SOURCE.—*History and Proceedings of the Revolution Society for* 1789. A, p. 60; B, pp. 60 and 62.

(A) Dr. Price[1] then moved, and it was unanimously resolved, that the following congratulatory address to the National Assembly of Fiance, be transmitted to them, signed by the Chairman :—

The Society for commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain, disdaining national partialities, and rejoicing in every triumph of liberty and justice over arbitrary power, offer to the National Assembly of France their congratulations on the Revolution in that country, and on the prospect it gives to the two first kingdoms in the world, of a common participation in the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

They cannot help adding their ardent wishes of an happy settlement of so important a Revolution, and at the same time expressing the particular satisfaction with which they reflect on the tendency of the glorious example given in France to encourage other nations to assert the unalienable rights of mankind, and thereby to introduce a general reformation in the governments of Europe, and to make the world free and happy.

STANHOPE.

Resolved unanimously.

(B) Extract from the Votes of the National Assembly of Wednesday, the 25th Nov., 1789.

A member having read a congratulatory address of the English Society called the Revolution Society, the Assembly, deeply affected with this extraordinary proof of esteem, expressed its satisfaction by loud applause, and resolved that the President be directed to write a letter to Lord Stanhope, Chairman of the Society, expressing the lively and deep sensibility with which

[1] See Burke's *Reflections, passim.*

the National Assembly of France received the address of the Revolution Society in England, which breathes those sentiments of humanity and universal benevolence, that ought to unite together, in all countries of the world, the true friends of liberty and the happiness of mankind.

(Signed) THE ARCHBISHOP OP AIX,
President of the National Assembly.

Sealed with the Arms
of the National Assembly of France.

(Counter-Signed) THE Visc, DE MIRABBAU,
Secretary.
SALOMON DE LA SAUGERIE,
Secretary.

PARIS, *the 5th December,* 1789.

It is worthy, my Lord, of a celebrated society, and of an happy and free people, to interest themselves in the progress of public liberty and happiness.

The French nation has long been improving in knowledge and arts; and its government was directed by opinions derived from them even before the country governed itself by the laws which they dictated.

The nation pursued with ardour useful truths, and daily diffusing light over every branch of the administration, it appeared to be carried, as by an universal impulse, to those changes which now give it strength and stability.

A King whom we may call the best of men, and the first of citizens, encouraged by his virtues the hopes of the nation, and now, by universal concurrence, a durable Constitution is established, founded on the unalienable rights of men and citizens.

It undoubtedly belongs to our age, in which reason and liberty are extending themselves together, to extinguish for ever national hatred and rivalship.

We must not allow the prejudices which disgrace nations to produce wars, those errors of governments. But the two most enlightened People of Europe ought to show, by their example, that the love of their country is perfectly compatible with every sentiment of humanity.

The National Assembly discovers in the address of the Revolution Society of England, those principles of universal benevolence which ought to bind together, in all countries of the world, the true friends to the happiness and liberty of mankind.

The National Assembly has given the most undeniable testimony of its strong and deep sense of this truth, by the solemn vote which it has directed me to communicate to you.

Accept the assurance of those sentiments with which I have the honour to be,

My Lord,
Your most humble,
And most obedient servant,
THE ARCHBISHOP OF AIX,
President of the National Assembly.

To Lord Stanhope, Chairman of the
Revolution Society in England.

105. Fox's EULOGY OF WASHINGTON (1794).

Fox's eulogy of Washington (which forms part of a speech on the relations between England and France) bespeaks the Whig leader. It is, moreover, the honest utterance of one who believed in liberal ideals. During the early wars of the French Revolution the Whigs consistently advocated a neutral policy, and those of them who were not driven by Jacobin excesses into conservatism, remained true to this principle until Napoleon and England were pitted against each other beyond hope of reconciliation.

SOURCE.—*Hansard's Parliamentary History*, London, 1817. Vol. xxx., p. 1274.

And here, sir, I cannot help alluding to the president of the United States, General Washington; a character whose conduct has been so different from that which has been pursued by the ministers of this country. How infinitely wiser must appear the spirit and principles manifested in his late address to congress than the policy of modern European courts! Illustrious man! deriving honour less from the splendour of his situation than from the dignity of his mind, before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance, and all the potentates of Europe (excepting the members of our own royal family) become little and contemptible ! He has had no occasion to have recourse to any tricks of policy or arts of alarm: hisauthority has been sufficiently supported by the same means by which it was acquired, and his conduct has uniformly been characterised by wisdom, moderation and firmness. Feeling gratitude to

France for the assistance received from her in that great contest which secured the independence of America, he, nevertheless, did not choose to give up the system of neutrality. Having once laid down that line of conduct which both gratitude and policy pointed out as most proper, to be pursued, not all the insults or provocations of the French minister Genet[1] could turn him from his purpose. Intrusted with the welfare of a great people, he did not allow the misconduct of another, with respect to himself, for one moment to withdraw his attention from their interests. He had no fear of the Jacobins; he felt no alarm from their principles, and considered no precaution as necessary in order to stop their progress. The people over whom he presided he knew to be acquainted with their rights and their duties. He trusted to their own good sense to defeat the effect of those arts which might be employed to inflame or mislead their minds; and was sensible that a government could be in no danger while it retained the attachment and confidence of its subjects ; attachment, in this instance, not blindly adopted, confidence not implicitly given, but arising from the conviction of its excellence and the experience of its blessings. I cannot, indeed, help admiring the wisdom and the fortune of this great man; by the phrase "fortune," I mean not in the smallest degree to derogate from his merit; but, notwithstanding his extraordinary talents and exalted integrity, it must be considered as singularly fortunate, that he should have experienced a lot which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity, and have passed through such a variety of scenes without stain and without reproach. It must, indeed, create astonishment, that, placed in circumstances so critical, and filling for a series of years a station so conspicuous, his character should never once have been called in question; that he should in no one instance have been accused either of improper insolence, or of mean submission, in his transactions with foreign nations. For him it has been reserved to run the race of glory without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career. But, sir, if the maxims now held out were adopted, the man who now ranks as the assertor of his country's freedom, and the guardian of its interests and its honour, would be deemed to have betrayed that country and entailed upon himself indelible reproach. How, sir, did he act

[1] Or Genest, Edmond 0. French Ambassador in the United States. Sent over in Dec, 1792. He tried in America to stir up feeling against Great Britain, but was firmly resisted by Washington.

when insulted by Genet? Did he consider it as necessary to avenge himself for the misconduct or madness of an individual, by involving a whole continent in the horrors of war ? No; he contented himself with procuring satisfaction for the insult, by causing Genet to be recalled; and thus at once consulted his own dignity and the interests of his country. Happy Americans! while the whirlwind spreads desolation over one quarter of the globe, you remain protected from its baneful effects by your own virtues and the wisdom of your government! Separated from Europe by an immense ocean, you feel not the effect of those prejudices and passions which convert the boasted seats of civilisation into scenes of horror and bloodshed ! You profit by the folly und madness of contending nations, and afford in your more congenial clime an asylum to those blessings and virtues which they wantonly contemn, or wickedly exclude from their bosom ! Cultivating the arts of peace under the, influence of freedom, you advance by rapid strides to opulence and distinction: and if by any accident you should be compelled to take part in the present unhappy contest, if you should find it necessary to avenge insult or repel injury, the world will bear witness to the equity of your sentiments and the moderation of your views, and the success of your arms will, no doubt, be proportioned to the justice of your cause!

106. THE RATE OF WAGES IN 1795 (1795.)

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) gave a marked impetus to economic studies in Great Britain, and Sir Frederick Eden may be included among his most useful disciples. The circumstances which suggested *The State of the Poor* are thus stated in its preface. "The difficulties which the labouring classes experience, from the high price of grain and of provisions in general, as well as of clothing and fuel, during the years 1794 and 1795, induced me, from motives both of benevolence and personal curiosity, to investigate their condition in various parts of the kingdom." Eden was wealthy, and he collected much trustworthy information; partly by personal visits, but quite as much by the deputies whom he employed. His work is a model of timely research, and is quoted with confidence by all serious historians of this period, When comparing the wage

rates in Eden's book with those of the present time, it must be remembered that the purchasing power of money was about double then what it is now.

SOURCE.—The *State of the Poor*. Sir F. Eden. (1766-1809). London, 1797. Vol. i., pp. 671, 572, and 574.

Northumberland.

About 60 years ago, reapers, in this county, received 4d. a day and victuals ; 40 years ago, they received 6d. a day, and diet: these wages continued for several years much the same. A. Young, in his *Northern Tour*, states agricultural wages to have been, 30 years ago, from 5s. 2d. to 8s. 9d.—(Lett. xxxi.). Wages kept advancing, irregularly, till last year, when they were generally 2s. a day, without victuals. An old tailor, in the neighbourhood of Morpeth, who is now upwards of 90, says, that when he was between 20 and 30 years of age, 4d. per day were the common wages for men in his line of business, with diet: that, a few years afterwards, they rose to 6d., which were the highest day-wages he ever took for sewing: common tailors, in Morpeth, now receive 1s. a day, and their victuals. He adds, that although the usual day's pay for a reaper, when he was young, was 4d., he and a partner, being remarkably good reapers, demanded 6d. the day, which their employer at last agreed to give, although his wife grumbled at what she thought was extravagance : however, to reconcile matters, the tailor proposed that he and his partner should do as much work in a day as three of the farmer's best reapers usually performed; which was assented to. Common labourers, 60 years ago, barely received 4d. a day, and victuals: they have now 10s. a week, with a house and fuel, but no board. Spinners of wool, 30 years ago, had 2d. a day, and board: they have now 4d. a day, and victuals. About 50 years ago, they only received 9d. a week, and diet. Women, working in the fields, as woeders, etc, 30 years ago, had 4d. a day, without diet: they have now double that sum. Masons, in Newcastle, 40 years ago, were paid 1s. 4d. and ls. 6d. a day: they now receive 2s. 6d. and 2s. 9d. A mason's labourer, 40 years ago, had Is.; he has now Is. 6d. a day.

Oxfordshire.

Nuneham.—The ordinary wages of labourers are : for men, 8s. the week ; arid 12s. the week in harvest, together with three

pints of beer: women, in common, have 3s. the week ; and 6s. in harvest: children, above 9 years of age, can earn from Is. to 3s* the week. Men, by ordinary work, can earn from 10s. to 12s. the week; and from 16s. to 18s. in harvest. Each cottage has a small garden, which supplies the family with potatoes. A considerable quantity is also distributed among the poor, every winter, by Lord Harcourt. He likewise allows such families as behave well, a guinea a year, for every fourth child, till the child is ten years old; and when it goes to service, some clothes are usually given. Poor families are also enabled to send their children to school, without any expense: and various other charities are bestowed by Lord and Lady Harcourt on the parish. Every parishioner is allowed to purchase flour, one-third of barley, and two-thirds of wheat, at 7d. the quartern-loaf ; and to buy at this price as many half-peck loaves, every week, as there are persons in the family. Such flour, as the above, is sold them at 2s. 4d. the peck : potatoes cost 2s. the bushel; bacon, 9d. the Ib.; and meat, 5d. the Ib.

Yorkshire.

East Riding—Neighbourhood of Hornsey.—Common wages, with diet, from Martinmas to Lady-day, 5s. the week; ditto, from Lady-day to Midsummer, 6s.; ditto, from Midsummer to Michaelmas, 9s.; ditto, from Michaelmas to Martinmas, 6s. Common wages, without diet, 9s. the week, in winter; and 12s. in summer. In harvest, men receive 12s. and 14s. the week, and victuals; and women, 6s. and 7s. the week, with beer, but no meat. There is very constant employment in the winter. The labourers are, in general, supplied by their employers with corn, etc., much below the market price. The rents of cottages vary according to the quantity of land annexed; and are from £1 to £1 10s. Many of the cottages on this coast are miserable hovels; built of mud and straw. Such habitations are sometimes grunted by the parish to poor families ; and sometimes the parishes supply their poor inhabitants with fuel. Many cottagers cultivate potatoes in their garths and gardens: some have a pig; and a few keep cows.

From the preceding statements, the reader will, I trust, be enabled to form some general idea of the present condition and circumstances of the labouring classes of the community. That they have, during the last two years, been subjected to great distress, from a rise, unexampled within the present century, in the price of the necessaries of life, every one will readily

acknowledge. It is not, however, from a view of their situation, in a period of scarcity, that we are to estimate the comparative ability of a man to support himself by his labour, in modem, and in ancient times. Still less is a period of War to be selected, as the moment of ascertaining the ordinary comforts and gratifications of the peasant or working manufacturer. It does not fall within my plan to enter into minute comparative estimates relative to the progress of society in England; but there can be little doubt, that the ten years ending in January 1793, exhibit the most flattering appearances, in every circumstance* that has been considered, by political economists, as demonstrative of national prosperity. The demand for employment, and a consequent advance in income, have risen in a progressive ratio : and to those who investigate the state of the nation, without a disposition to blame the present, and admire the past, which too often influences even " persons endued with the profoundest judgment, and most extensive learning," both these and other symptoms of increasing industry and wealth must have been perfectly satisfactory. It may, indeed, be contended, that the rapid advance in the Poor's Rate is an unequivocal proof of the inability of labourers to maintain themselves on the ordinary wages of labour. But before this can be admitted, it should be proved, that more persons are maintained by the present Poor's Rate, which probably exceeds three millions sterling, than were by half that sum twenty years ago. Even allowing this to be the fact, it by no means proves that the able-bodied labourer, whom it has been the fashion of late years, upon benevolent, though mistaken, principles of policy, to quarter on the parish, would, if unassisted by the overseer, have been unable to benefit himself, whilst his employer was getting riches by his labour.

107. THE BATTLE OF THE NILE (1798).

Southey's *Life of Nelson* preserves admirably the sentiment of reverence and gratitude which its hero kindled among his contemporaries. Southey was ignorant of one or two essential facts in Nelson's career, and, on the score of mere information, has been superseded. What assures his biography a place among the classics of English prose is a simple, graceful and straightforward manner through which shines (to quote Canning's line on Pitt) " the thanks of a nation thy firmness has

saved". Southey was not an eye-witness of the appalling incident described below, but his version could hardly be surpassed by one who had heard the explosion and seen the shattered *Orient* sink beneath the waves. The passage also reveals Nelson's generosity and care for his men.

SOURCE.—*Life of Nelson.* Robert Southey (1774-1848). London, 1897. P. 168.

The two first ships of the French line had been dismasted within a quarter of an hour after the commencement of the action; and the others had in that time suffered so severely, that victory was already certain. The third, fourth and fifth were taken possession of at half-past eight.

Meantime, Nelsonreceived a severe wound on the head from a piece of langrage shot. Captain Berry caught him in his arms as he was falling. The great effusion of blood occasioned an apprehension that the wound was mortal: Nelson himself thought so: a large flap of the skin of the forehead, cut from the bone, had fallen over one eye: and the other being blind, he was in total darkness. When he was carried down, the surgeon,—in the midst of a scene scarcely to be conceived by those who have never seen a cock-pit in time of action, and the heroism which is displayed amid its horrors,—with a natural and pardonable eagerness, quitted the poor fellow then under his hands, that he might instantly attend the admiral. "No!" said Nelson, "I will take my turn with my brave fellows." Nor would he suffer his own wound to be examined till every man who had been previously wounded was properly attended to. Fully believing that the wound was mortal, and that he was about to die, as he had ever desired, in battle and in victory, he called the chaplain, and desired him to deliver what he supposed to be his dying remembrance to Lady Nelson: he then sent for Captain Louis on board from the *Minotaur,* that he might thank him personally for the great assistance which he had rendered to the *Vanguard*; and, ever mindful of those who deserved to be his friends, appointed Captain Hardy from the brig to the command of his own ship, Captain Berry having to go home with the news of the victory. When the surgeon came in due time to examine his wound (for it was in vain to entreat him to let it be examined sooner) the most anxious silence prevailed; and the joy of the wounded men, and of the whole crew, when they heard that the hurt was merely superficial, gave Nelson deeper pleasure than the unexpected assurance

that his life was in no danger. The surgeon requested, and as far as he could, ordered him to remain quiet: but Nelson could not rest. He called for his secretary, Mr. Campbell, to write the despatches. Campbell had himself been wounded; and was so affected at the blind and suifering state of the admiral, that he was unable to write. The chaplain was then sent for; but, before he came, Nelson, with his characteristic eagerness, took the pen, and contrived to trace a few words, marking his devout sense of the success which had already been obtained. He was now left alone; when suddenly a cry was heard on the deck, that the *Orient* was on fire. In the confusion he found his way up, unassisted, and unnoticed; and, to the astonishment of every one, appeared on the quarter deck, where he immediately gave orders that boats should be sent to the relief of the enemy.

It was soon after nine that the fire on board the *Orient* broke out. Brueys was dead: he had received three wounds, yet would not leave his post: a fourth cut him almost in two. He desired not to be carried below, but to be left to die upon deck. The flames soon mastered his ship. Her sides had just been painted; and the oil-jars and paint-buckets were lying on the poop. By the prodigious light of this conflagration, the situation of the two fleets could now be perceived, the colours of both being clearly distinguishable. About ten o'clock the ship blew up, with a shock which was felt to the very bottom of every vessel. Many of her officers and men jumped overboard, some clinging to the spars and pieces of wreck, with which the sea was strewn, others swimming to escape from the destruction which they momentarily dreaded. Some were picked up by our boats; and some even in the heat and fury of the action, were dragged into the lower ports of the nearest British vessel by the British sailors. The greater part of her crew, however, stood the danger till the last, and continued to fire from the lower deck. This tremendous explosion was followed by a silence not less awful: the firing immediately ceased on both sides; and the first sound which broke the silence was the dash of her shattered masts and yards, falling into the water from the vast heigh to which they had been exploded. It is upon record that a battle between two armies was once broken off by an earthquake:—such an event would be felt like a miracle; but no incident in war, produced by human means, has ever equalled the sublimity of this co-instantaneous pause, and all its circumstances.

108. JENNER'S PETITION TO PARLIAMENT (1802).

The discovery of vaccination, apart from its immediate benefit to mankind, may be said to mark an epoch in the treatment of disease by means of anti-toxins. Jenner reached his results by happy observation and not by a grasp of the principles involved; yet he hit upon a method of mitigating disease—through the use of attenuated virus—which has been successfully applied to the treatment of other maladies during the last decade. A plain and fair statement of his services is contained in his petition to parliament for financial aid—(A). He received £30,000, in separate grants of £10,000 and £20,000 each. Jenner was, naturally; loaded with scientific honours in the form of degrees, votes of thanks, letters of congratulations, etc. A more remarkable sign of appreciation than any of these was the string of wampum which the Five Nations of Iroquois sent him. The gift is explained by the accompanying letters—(B).

SOURCE.—*Petition to Parliament.* Jenner (1749-1823). Printed in Baron's *Life of Jenner.* London, 1838. A, vol. i., p. 490; B, vol. ii., p. 102.

[A) To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of EDWARD JKNNER, Doctor of Physic,

SHEWETH,

That your petitioner having discovered that a disease which occasionally exists in a particular form among cattle, known by the name of the cow-pox, admits of being inoculated on the human frame with the most perfect ease and safety, and is attended with the singularly beneficial effect of rendering through life the persons so inoculated perfectly secure from the infection of the small-pox.

That your petitioner after a most attentive and laborious investigation of the subject, setting aside considerations of private and personal advantage, and anxious to promote the safety and welfare of his countrymen and of mankind in general, did not wish to conceal the discovery he so made on the mode of conducting this new species of inoculation, but immediately disclosed the whole to the public; and by communication with

medical men in all parts of this kingdom, and in foreign countries, sedulously endeavoured to spread the knowledge of his discovery and the benefit of his labours as widely as possible.

That in this latter respect the views and wishes of your petitioner have been completely fulfilled, for to his high gratification he has to say that this inoculation is in practice throughout a great proportion of the civilized world, and has in particular been productive of great advantage to these kingdoms, in consequence of its being introduced, under authority, into the army and navy.

That the said inoculation hath already checked the progress of small-pox, and from its nature must finally annihilate that dreadful disorder.

That the series of experiments by which this discovery was developed and completed have not only occupied a considerable portion of your petitioner's life, and have not merely been a cause of great expense and anxiety to him, but have so interrupted him in the ordinary exercise of his profession as materially to abridge its pecuniary advantages, without their being counterbalanced by those derived from the new practice.

Your petitioner, therefore, with the full persuasion that he shall meet with that attention and indulgence of which this Honourable House may deem him worthy, humbly prays this Honourable House to take the premises into consideration, and to grant him such remuneration as to their wisdom shall seem meet

(1807).

(B) BROTHERS OF THE FIVE NATIONS,—

Early in May last, His Excellency Lieutenant-Governor Gore took every possible means to introduce vaccine inoculation among your tribes; but, owing to your people being then out on their hunt, it did not take place. When on public business here about a month after, I spoke to you again, and strongly recommended to your serious consideration the introducing among your people this valuable discovery, the want of which you soon afterwards felt very severely in the loss of one of your chiefs, Oughquaghga John.

Brothers ! I have now the satisfaction to deliver to you a book, sent to you from England, by that great man, Dr. Jenner, whom God enabled to discover so great a blessing to mankind: it explains fully all the advantages derived from so great a discovery.

I, therefore, Brothers, at his request, and in his name, present this book to the Five Nations, as a token of his regard for you and your rising generation, by which many valuable lives may be preserved from that most dreadful pestilence, the small-pox.

(Signed) W. CLAUS, D.S.G.I.A.

Speech of the Five Nations, assembled in Council at Fort George, in Upper Canada, to Dr. Jenner, London, on the 8th of November, 1807.

Brother! Our Father has delivered to us the book you sent to instruct us how to use the discovery which the Great Spirit made to you, whereby the small-pox, that fatal enemy of our tribes, may be driven-from the earth. We have deposited your book in the hands of the man of skill whom our great Father employs to attend us when sick or wounded.

We shall not tail to teach our children to speak the name of Jenner ; and to thank the Great Spirit for bestowing upon him so much wisdom and so much benevolence.

We send with this a belt and string of Wampum, in token of our acceptance of your precious gift; and we beseech the Great Spirit to take care of you in this world and in the land of spirits.

Signed by two representatives of each of the Five Nations, Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Oneidas, Cayougas.

109. A SPIRITED STATE PAPER (1805).

England's share in the general European contest which arose from the French Revolution was not of Pitt's seeking. Months after Louis XVI. fell[1] and the Republic was established[2] he favoured a neutral policy. Eventually the regicide, the wishes of George III., and popular excitement forced his hand, but the declaration of war in 1793 was against his judgment and his preferences. He saw in the light of a calamity what his father would have welcomed as a splendid opportunity. This was at the outset. When committed to the fight he showed great vigour, and endured bravely the reverses which English arms suffered by land. After the Peace of Amiens admirers called him " the pilot that weather'd the storm," and on the renewal of hostilities no one could question that his rightful place was at the head of English affairs. Mack's surrender to Napoleon

[1] 10th August, 1792. [2] 21st Sept., 1792.

(Ulm, Oct. 17, 1805) preceded Trafalgar by four days, and dealt Pitt a blow from which, even after receiving word of Nelson's final victory, he never recovered. Still it did not destroy his courage. The following anonymous despatch, though it proceeded technically from Lord Mulgrave and the Foreign Office, bears every sign of the Prime Minister's own hand. None of his subordinates commanded such eloquence, and, with public business in a critical state, he may well have taken upon himself the draft of instructions to Sir Arthur Paget, British Minister at Vienna.

SOURCE.— *Despatch to Sir Arthur Paget.*[1] William Pitt (1759-1806), for Lord Mulgrave.

Dispatch No. 10.
To Sir Arthur Paget,
by the Messenger Kaye.

Downing Street,
November 5, 1806.

SIR,—

Although no Official Dispatches have yet been received, nor any more authentic accounts than can be collected from the French Official Publications in the *Moniteur*, sufficient information has arrived through that channel to remove all doubt of the Surrender of the Fortress of Ulm, and of a Capitulation having been signed by General Mack by which that officer, with the whole force under his immediate command, are become Prisoners of War. Various other Accounts of Disaster and Discomfiture have been published under the same authority.

It is most probable that much exaggeration has been used in the Accounts given of the nature and extent of the events which have taken place, and that the true and accurate statements which may be daily expected to arrive from Vienna will give a more favourable aspect to the general result of the operations which have marked the Commencement of the War on the Continent. I have, however, received the King's Commands to communicate to you without delay, the Sentiments entertained by His Majesty with respect to the favourable prospects which still remain of an early change of circumstances, even if the successes of the enemy should prove to have been carried to the full extent of their own statements.

His Majesty places the fullest reliance on the Energy and

[1] This despatch is taken from the Austrian Papers belonging to the Foreign Office, but preserved in the Record Office. It is printed from the original MS.

Fortitude of His Imperial Majesty, and looks with Confidence to the great exertions which the Powerful Resources of the hardy and warlike Population of the Austrian Dominions may immediately afford, in conjunction with the Armies of Russia.

These to the amount of an Hundred and Forty Thousand Men (exclusive of the Force at Stralsund) were from the Beginning destined **for** active operations in Germany. The first Army, consisting of above Fifty Thousand Men, is stated to have already joined the Austrian Forces on the Inn, and the remainder may, at no distant period, be expected to arrive at the scene of Action. In addition to this powerful Force His. Majesty trusts that the favourable Disposition of the Court of Berlin may enable the Emperor of Russia to move forward another Body of Forty Thousand Men, which it had been originally intended to leave as an Army of Observation on the Frontier of Lithuania. This Corps may possibly, under the present circumstances, be moved forward to the immediate Aid of Austria, especially as the Emperor of Russia will probably find no difficulty in replacing it very speedily by an equal force from Russia.

His Majesty on His part sees with the most lively Interest the Fortitude with which the Court of Vienna has encountered the first impetuous Exertions of the Enemy, and His Majesty will leave no means untried, which the period of the Season and the nature of Maritime Operations will permit, to create a diversion favourable to the Allies.

Nothing but the Prevalence of contrary winds has retarded the sailing of 12,000 British and Hanoverian Troops, which have been for some time embarked in the Downs, for the purpose of landing in the Elbe, and co-operating with the Russian and Swedish Forces, and any others which may be collected in that Quarter. A large additional British Force is also prepared, and in the greatest forwardness, which will be ready to be used to the best advantage according to the Intelligence wljich is daily expected from the Continent, of the views and Motions of Prussia.

The King has already sent Lord Harrowby, one of His Cabinet Ministers,[1] to negotiate the Alliance of the Court of Berlin, and to urge the early activity of the Prussian Armies. There seems at present every reason to hope that this Mission will be effectual, and should the King of Prussia be prevailed upon to act, Saxony and Hesse (and perhaps Denmark)[2] will

[1] **Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.**

[2] **"(and perhaps Denmark)" crossed out in the Draft.**

also probably accede to the Confederacy. Great as have already been the Pecuniary Efforts which His Majesty has made for the Common Cause, He is ready still to extend them to such a farther Amount as may enable those Powers to bring forward an active Force of from Two Hundred to Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Men; and his Majesty has no doubt of being enabled Himself to augment His own Active Force, to be employed, either in co-operation on the Continent, or in Offensive Maritime operations against France, by the next Season, to not less than Sixty Thousand Men. The Cordial union and United Exertions of the Great Powers of Europe[1] cannot fail of ultimate success, and of the final establishment of a better order of Things, of General Tranquillity and of permanent Security in Europe. With so great and necessary an object in view, with such vast and extensive means in Reserve, His Majesty is persuaded that the antient Spirit of Austria would still remain unshaken and undismayed, though the Common Enemy of Europe should for a moment effect his declared purpose, and establish his Standard on the Walls of Vienna. Should he, contrary to expectations possess himself of the Capital of the Austrian Empire, he would there have to encounter the concentrated Energy of a great and loyal Nation, and the United Efforts of powerful Allies, all deeply interested in the Destruction of his Power, which he would also be less capable of maintaining in proportion as success shall have carried him to a distance from the source whence that Power must derive its Augmentation and Support. These are considerations too obvious to have escaped the Wisdom of the Court of Vienna, and they have doubtless already produced the determination which will naturally result from them.

The principal object of this Dispatch is to authorise you to express in the strongest Terms, the lively Interest which His Majesty takes in the Security and Success of Austria, and His determination to second the Efforts of that Power in every way that may most effectually conduce to their early and entire success.

110. THE BERLIN DEGREE (1806).

In 1805 Napoleon entered upon his first imperial campaign, not having commanded in any action since the battle of Marengo. (1800). Against him were allied England, Austria and Russia.

[1] " of Europe " crossed out in Draft.

Prussia made the fatal mistake of remaining neutral instead of striking at a moment when her assistance would have been worth something. Between the declaration of hostilities and the issue of the Berlin Decree, the military landmarks are Trafalgar, Austerlitz and Jena. The two latter battles left Napoleon as supreme in Central Europe as England was on the seas after Trafalgar. Jena was fought October 14th, 1806, and Napoleon entered Berlin thirteen days later. There he drafted the edict which he hoped would ensure the ruin of England's commerce and cause her speedy overthrow. It proved a two-edged sword, and in the end did him grievous damage. Quite apart from England's retaliation through the Orders in Council, continental trade was damaged to such an extent that hatred of this measure became a distinct factor in the final uprising of Europe against French ascendency.

SOURCE.—*The Berlin Decree.* Napoleon (1769-1821). Text trans, by J. H. Robinson. Philadelphia, 1897. (The Univ. *Translations and Reprints.* Vol. ii., No. 2.)

The Berlin Decree.

From our Imperial Camp at Berlin, November 21,1806.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French and King of Italy, in consideration of the fact:

1. That England does not recognise the system of international law universally observed by all civilised nations.

2. That she regards as an enemy every individual belonging to the enemy's state, and consequently makes prisoners of war not only of the crews of armed ships of war but of the crews of ships of commerce and merchantmen and even of commercial agents and of merchants travelling on business.

3. That she extends to the vessels and commercial wares and to the property of individuals the right of conquest, which is applicable only to the possessions of the belligerent power.

4. That she extends to unfortified towns and commercial ports, to harbours and the mouths of rivers, the right of blockade, which, in accordance with reason and the customs of all civilised nations, is applicable only to strong places. That she declares places in a state of blockade before which she has not even a single ship or war, although a place may not be blockaded except it be so completely guarded that no attempt to

approach it can be made without imminent danger. That she has declared districts in a state of blockade which all her united forces would be unable to blockade, such as entire coasts and the whole of an empire.

5. That this monstrous abuse of the right of blockade has no other aim than to prevent communication among the nations and to raise the commerce and the industry of England upon the ruins of that of the continent.

6. That, since this is the obvious aim of England, whoever deals of the continent in English goods, thereby favours and renders himself an accomplice of her designs.

7. That this policy of England, worthy of the earliest stages of barbarism, has profited that power to the detriment of every other nation.

8. That it is a natural right to oppose such arms against an enemy as he makes use of, and to combat in the same way as he combats. Since England has disregarded all ideas of justice and every high sentiment, due to the civilisation among mankind, we have resolved to apply to her the usages which she has ratified in her maritime legislation.

The provisions of the present decree shall continue to be looked upon as embodying the fundamental principles of the Empire until England shall recognise that the law of war is one and the same on land and sea, and that the rights of war cannot be extended so as to include private property of any kind or the persons of individuals unconnected with the profession of arms and that the right of blockade shall be restricted to fortified places actually invested by sufficient forces.

We have consequently decreed and do decree that which follows:—

ARTICLE I.—The British Isles are declared to be in a state of blockade.

ART. II.—All commerce and all correspondence with the British Isles is forbidden. Consequently letters or packages directed to England or to an Englishman or, written in the English language shall not pass through the mails and shall be seized.

ART. III.—Every individual who is an English subject, of whatever state or condition he may be, who shall be discovered in any country occupied by our troops or by those of our allies, shall be made a prisoner of war.

ART. IV.)—All warehouses, merchandise or property of what ever kind belonging to a subject of England shall be regarded as a lawful prize.

ART. V.—Trade in English goods is prohibited, and all goods belonging to England or coming from her factories or her colonies, are declared a lawful prize.

ART. VI.—Half of the product resulting from the confiscation of the goods and possessions declared a lawful prize by the preceding articles shall be applied to indemnify the merchants for the losses they have experienced by the capture of merchant vessels taken by English cruisers.

ART. VII.—No vessel coming directly from England or from the English colonies or which shall have visited these since the publication of the present decree shall be received in any port.

ART. VIII.—Any vessel contravening the above provision by a false declaration shall be seized, and the vessel and cargo shall be confiscated as if it were English property.

ART. IX.—Our Court of Prizes at Paris shall pronounce final judgment in ail cases arising in our Empire or in the countries occupied by the French Army relating to the execution of the present decree. Our Court of Prizes at Milan shall pronounce final judgment in the said cases which may arise within our Kingdom of Italy.

ART. X.—The present decree shall be communicated by ou? minister of foreign affairs to the King of Spain, of Naples, of Holland and of Etruria, and to our other allies whose subjects like ours are the victims of the unjust and barbarous maritime legislation of England.

ART. XI.—Our ministers of foreign affairs, of war, of the navy, of finance and of the police, and our Directors General of the port are charged with the execution of the present decree so far as it effects them.

(Signed)
NAPOLEON.

Done by the Emperor,
HUGUE MARET,
Ministerial Secretary of State.

111. THE PENINSULAR WAR (1808-13).

Napoleon's Spanish policy was beyond doubt a blunder, and British troops, after much mismanagement between 1793 and 1807, were at length given a chance to prove their metal in the Peninsular War. There they made Europe see that the French could be beaten, and in the person of Wellington they

developed a general of all but the highest class. The Peninsular War is a fine historical subject, and has been worthily treated by Sir William Napier, who fought in it with distinction. At the close of his work he offers some general considerations on the contest, and a quotation therefrom is reprinted because it brings out well the respective qualities' of the troops engaged. Napier's comparison of Napoleon and Wellington is also a striking piece of composition, based on careful military observation.

SOURCE.—*History of the War* in *the Peninsula,* Sir W. Napier (1786-1860). London, 1853. Vol. vi., p. 198.

Napoleon's system of war was admirably adapted to draw forth and augment the military excellence .and to strengthen the weakness of the national character. His discipline, severe, but appealing to the feelings of hope and honour, wrought the quick temperament of the French soldiers to patience under hardships, and strong endurance under fire; he taught the generals to rely on their own talents, to look to the country wherein they made war for resources, and to dare everything even with the smallest numbers, that the impetuous valour of France might have full play : hence the violence of their attacks. But he also taught them to combine all arms together, and to keep strong reserves that sudden disorders might be repaired and the discouraged troops have time to rally and recover their pristine spirit; certain that they would then renew the battle with the same confidence as before. He thus made his troops, not invincible indeed, nature had put a bar to that in the character of the British soldier; yet so terrible and sure in war that the number and greatness of their exploits surpassed those of all other nations, the Romans not excepted if regard be had to the shortness of the period, nor the Macedonians if the quality of their opponents be considered.

Look at their amazing toils in the Peninsular war alone, which though so great and important was but an episode in their military history. " In Spain large armies will starve and small armies will be beaten," was the saying of Henry IV. of France, and it was not the light phrase of an indolent king, but the profound conclusion of a sagacious general. Yet Napoleon's enormous armies were so wonderfully organized that they existed and fought in Spain for six years, and without cessation ; for to them winters and summers were alike; they endured incredible toils and privations, yet were not starved out, nor

were their small armies beaten by the Spaniards. And fol their daring and resource a single fact recorded by Wellington will suffice. They captured more than one strong place in Spain without any provision of bullets save those fired at them by their enemies, having trusted to that chance when they formed the siege! Before the British troops they fell; but how terrible was the struggle, how many defeats they recovered from, how many brave men they slew ; what changes and interpositions of fortune occurred before they could be rolled back upon their own frontiers! And this is the glory of England, that her soldiers and hers only were capable of overthrowing them in equal battle. I seek not to defraud the Portuguese of his well-earned fame, nor to. deny the Spaniard the merit of his constancy; but what battle except Baylen did the Peninsulars win? What fortress did they take by siege? What place defend ? Sir Arthur Wellesley twice delivered Portugal. Sir John Moore's march to Sahagun saved Andalusia and Lisbon from invasion at a critical moment. Sir Arthur's march to Talavera delivered Gallicia. Graham saved Cadiz. Smith saved Tariffa. Wellington recaptured Ciudad and Badajos, rescued Andalusia from Soult, and Valencia from Suchet; the Anglo-Sicilian army preserved Alicant, and finally recovered Taragona and Barcelona under the influence of the northern operations, which at the same time reduced Pampeluna and St Sebastian. England indeed could not alone have triumphed in the struggle, but for her share let this brief summary speak.

She expended more than one hundred millions sterling on her own operations, she subsidised both Spain and Portugal, and with her supplies of clothing, arms, and ammunition maintained the armies of each even to the guerillas. From thirty up to seventy thousand British troops were employed by her ; and while her naval squadrons harassed the French with descents upon the coasts, and supplied the Spaniards with arms and stores and money after every defeat, her land forces fought and won nineteen pitched battles and innumerable combats, made or sustained ten sieges, took four great fortresses, twice expelled the French from Portugal, preserved Alicant, Carthagena, Tarifa, Cadiz, Lisbon; they killed, wounded and took two hundred thousand enemies, and the bones of forty thousand British soldiers lie scattered on the plains and mountains of the Peninsula. For Portugal she re-organised a native army and supplied officers who led it to victory; and to the whole Peninsula she gave a general whose like has seldom gone forth

to conquer. And all this and more was necessary to redeem that land from France !

Wellington's campaigns furnish lessons for generals of all nations, but they must always be especial models for British commanders in future continental wars; because he modified and reconciled the great principles of art* with the peculiar difficulties which attend generals controlled by politicians who prefer parliamentary intrigue to national interests. An English commander must not trust his fortune. He dare not risk much, however conscious he may be of personal resources, when one disaster will be his ruin at home ; his measures must be subordinate to this primary consideration. Wellington's caution, springing from that source, has led friends and foes alike into wrong conclusions as to his system of war; the French call it want of enterprise, timidity ; the English have denominated it the Fabian system. These are mere phrases. His system was the same as that of all great generals. He held his army in hand, keeping it with unmitigated labour always in a fit state to march or to fight, and acted indifferently as occasion offered on the offensive or defensive, displaying in both a complete mastery of his art. Sometimes he was indebted to fortune, sometimes to his natural genius, always to his untiring industry, for he was emphatically a painstaking man.

That he was less vast in his designs, less daring in execution, neither so rapid nor so original a commander as Napoleon, must be admitted; and being later in the field of glory it is to be presumed he learned something of the art from that greatest of all masters. Yet something besides the difference of genius must be allowed for the difference of situation; Napoleon was never, even in his first campaign of Italy, so harassed by the French as Wellington was by the English, Spanish and Portuguese governments: their systems of war were however alike in principle, their operations being only modified by their different political positions. Great bodily exertion, unceasing watchfulness, exact combinations to protect their flanks and communications without scattering their forces ; these were common to both; in defence firm, cool, enduring, in attack fierce and obstinate ; daring when daring was politic, yet always operating by the flanks in preference to the front; in these things they were alike; in following up a victory the English general fell short of the French emperor. The battle of Wellington was the stroke of a battering-ram, down went the wall in ruins ; the battle of Napoleon was the swell and dash of a mighty wave before which the barrier yielded and the roaring flood poured onwards covering all.

112. ENGLISH FEELING TOWABD NAPOLEON AFTER WATERLOO (1815).

An editorial from the *Times* is chosen to renect English feeling towards Napoleon after he had lost his throne, because it represents the opinion of the country's leading newspaper. The article speaks for itself, and no further introduction is needed than the remark that Captain Maitland was just bringing the *Belkrophon* into Torbay.

SOURCE.—The *Times.* July 25,1815.

Our paper of this day will satisfy the sceptics, for such there were beginning to be," as to the capture of that bloody mis. creant, who has so long tortured Europe, NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE. Savages are always found to unite the greatest degree of cunning to the ferocious part of their nature. The cruelty of this person is written in characters of blood in almost every country in Europe, and in the contiguous angles of Africa and Asia which he visited; and nothing can more strongly evince the universal conviction of his low, perfidious craft, than the opinion, which was beginning to get abroad, that, even after his capture had been officially announced both in France and England, he might yet have found means to escape.

However all doubts upon this point are at an end, by his arrival off the British coast, and, if he be not now placed beyond the possibility of again outraging the peace of Europe, England will certainly never again deserve to have heroes such as those who have fought, and bled at Waterloo, for this his present overthrow. The lives of the brave men who fell on that memorable day will have been absolutely thrown away by a thoughtless country, the grand object obtained by their valour will have been frustrated, and we shall do little less than insult over *their* remains, almost before they have ceased to bleed. But Fortune, seconding their undaunted efforts, has put it in our power to do far otherwise.

Captain Sartorius of the *Slaney* frigate, arrived yesterday with despatches from Captain Maitland of the *Bellewphon,* confirming all the antecedent, accounts of Buonaparte's surrender, with various other details, and closing them by their natural catastrophe—his safe conveyance to England. He is, therefore, what we may call, here. Captain Sartorius delivered his

despatches to Lord Melville, at Wimbledon, by whom their contents were communicated to Lord Liverpool, at his seat at Coombe Wood; summonses were immediately issued for a Cabinet Council to meet at 12 o'clock; what passed there was, of course, not suffered to transpire; our narrative must therefore revert to the *Slaney* frigate, and the accounts brought by her. She had been sent forward by Captain Maitland, to Plymouth, with the despatches announcing that Buonaparte was on board the *Bellerophon*, with a numerous suite. But it was the intention of Captain Maitland himself, to proceed to Torbay, and not land his prisoners until he had received orders from Government.

Buonaparte's suite, as it is called, consists of upwards of forty persons, among whom are Bertrand, Salary, Lallemand, Grogau[1] and several women. He has been allowed to take on board carriages and horses, but admission was denied to about fifty calvary, for whom he had the impudence to require accommodation. This wretch has really lived in the commission of every crime, so long, that he has lost all sight and knowledge of the difference that exists between good and evil, and hardly knows when he is doing wrong, except he be taught by proper chastisement. A creature—who ought to be greeted with a gallows as soon as he lands—to think of an attendance of fifty horsemen ! He had at first wanted to make conditions with Captain Maitland, as to his treatment, but the British officer very properly declared that he must refer him upon this subject to his Government.

When he had been some time on board, he asked the Captain what chance two large frigates, well manned, would have with a seventy-four. The answer, we understand, which he received to this inquiry, did not give him any cause to regret that he had not risked his fortune in a naval combat with the relative forces in question. By the way, we should not have been surprised if he had come into an action with the two frigates, and then endeavoured to escape in his own, and leave the other to her fate. It has been the constant trick of this villain, when ever he has got his companions into a scrape, to leave them in it and seek his own safety by flight. In Egypt, in the Moscow expedition, and at Waterloo, such was his conduct

. . . . . .

The first procedure, we trust, will be a special Commission, or the appointment of a Court Martial to try him for the

[1] Gourgaud.

murder of Captain Wright.[1] It is nonsense to say, as some have, that Courts Martial are instituted only to try offences committed by soldiers of the country to which they belong : it was an American Court Martial that tried and shot Major André as a spy and Buonaparte himself appointed commissions of all kinds, and in all countries, to try offences committed against himself.

113. "THE PETERLOO MASSACRE" (1819).

The French Revolution is responsible for having postponed in England many reforms which had been rendered necessary by rapid industrial progress. Radicalism was associated in the public mind with a French origin, and that killed it politically. After Waterloo the tide turned and agitators gained a hearing. The landed interest wished to maintain the late war prices, and the artisan population desired cheap bread. Hence discontent, oratory, and riots which resulted in loss of life. The most celebrated disturbance of these years is the " Peterloo Massacre" of 1819. On August 16th a mass meeting was arranged by the Manchester radicals to hear Henry Hunt, a speaker who advocated annual parliaments, universal suffrage and the ballot. A crowd gathered in St. Peter's Fields, and trouble arose between it and the Lancashire yeomanry who were present on the plea of preserving order. The troops charged and killed several persons, to the intense indignation of radical sympathisers in every part of the island. The *Annual Register* contains an impartial story of the affair.

SOURCE.—*Annual Register*. London, 1819. P. 106.

The adjournment of the preceding meeting, the considerable interval of preparation which had been allowed; a vague feeling perhaps, that such assemblages would not much longer be permitted,—all conspired to render the concourse great beyond all former example. A little before noon on the 16th of August,

[1] An English naval officer who by shipwreck fell into French hands, and was taken to Paris at the time of Pichegru's conspiracy against Napoleon, 1804. He was examined during Cadoudal's trial, and afterwards killed himself or was murdered in prison at the Temple.

the first body of reformers began to arrive on the scene of action, which was a piece of ground called St. Peter's Field, adjoining a church of that name in the town of Manchester. These persons bore two banners, surmounted with caps of liberty, and bearing the inscriptions: "No Corn Laws," "Annual Parliaments," " Universal Suffrage," " Vote by Ballot ". Some of these flags, after being paraded round the field, were planted in the cart on which the speakers stood; but others remained in different parts of the crowd. Numerous large bodies of reformers continued to arrive from the towns in the neighbourhood of Manchester till about one o'clock, all preceded by flags, and many of them in regular marching order, five deep. Two clubs of female reformers advanced, one of them numbering more than 150 members, and bearing a white silk banner. One body of reformers timed their steps to the sound of a bugle with much of a disciplined air : another had assumed to itself the motto of the illustrious Wallace, " God armeth the Patriot". A band of special constables assumed a position on the field without resistance. The congregated multitude now amounted to a number roundly computed at 80,000, and the arrival of the hero of the day was impatiently expected. At length Mr. Hunt made his appearance, and after a rapturous greeting, was invited to preside; he signified his assent, and mounting a scaffolding, began to harangue his admirers. He had not proceeded far, when the appearance of the yeomanry cavalry advancing towards the area in a brisk trot, excited a panic in the outskirts of the meeting. They entered the inclosure, and after pausing a moment to recover their disordered ranks, and breathe their horses, they drew their swords, and brandished them fiercely in the air. The multitude, by the direction of their leaders, gave three cheers, to show that they were undaunted by this intrusion, and the orator had just resumed his speech to assure the people that this was only a trick to disturb the meeting, and to exhort them to stand firm, when the cavalry dashed into the crowd, making for the cart on which the speakers were placed. The multitude offered no resistance, they fell back on all sides. The commanding officer then approaching Mr. Hunt, and brandishing his sword, told him that he was his prisoner. Mr. Hunt, after enjoining the people to tranquillity, said, that he would readily surrender to any civil officer on showing his warrant, and Mr. Nadin, the principal police officer, received him in charge. Another person, named Johnson, was likewise apprehended, and a few of the mob; some others against whom there were warrants, escaped in the crowd. A cry now arose

among the military of "Have at their flags," and they dashed down not only those in the cart, but the others dispersed in the field; cutting to right and left to get at them. The people began running in all directions; and from this moment the yeomanry lost all command of temper: numbers were trampled under the feet of men and horses; many, both men and women were cut down by sabres; several, and a peace officer and a female in the number, slain on the spot. The whole number of persons injured amounted to between three and four hundred. The populace threw a few stones and brick bats in their re-. treat; but in less than ten minutes the ground was entirely cleared of its former occupants, and filled by various bodies of military, both horse ,and foot. Mr. Hunt was led to prison, not without incurring considerable danger, and some injury on his way from the swords of yeomanry and the bludgeons of police officers; the broken staves of two of his banners were carried in mock procession before him. The magistrates directed him to be locked up in a solitary cell, and the other prisoners were confined with the same precaution.

The town was brought into a tolerably quiet state before night, military patrols being stationed at the end of almost every street.

114. "HOLE AND CORNER" SURGERY (1824).

The Lancet was first issued in 1823, and its editor, Thomas Wakley, strenuously advocated the cause of reform in medicine and surgery. One principal feature of the paper was its full report of hospital cases. Publicity was then discouraged in the operating room, and Wakley determined that incompetence where it existed should be brought home to the surgeon. His criticism of the " Hole and Corner " system throws light on the imperfect management of hospitals at a comparatively recent date.

SOURCE.—The *Lancet.* Thomas Wakley (1795-1862), London, 1824. Vol. iv., p. 77.

"Hole and Corner" Surgery, at St. Thomas's Hospital

We observed in a former number that the arguments which had been put forth in defence of "Hole and Corner " Surgery were not founded on views of public utility, but that they were

addressed almost entirely to the passions and pecuniary interests of the surgeon; and among the pleas which were urged in behalf of the suppression of hospital cases, we took occasion, to examine those which were founded on the youth, the ignorance and the misfortunes of operating surgeons. That the surgeon's want of dexterity should ever have been urged as an argument in favour of the suppression of a case, in which the patient has been sacrificed to his ignorance, appears undoubtedly at the first blush, as the lawyers say, incredible ; but the *vis inertia* of human imbecility may afford a lesson to incredulity, and if we should have any readers who may not have seen our former article, we will again cite for their benefit the passage in whioh this argument is brought forward by Dr James Johnson, the sapient editor of the *Medico-Ghirurgigal Review.*

. . . . . .

Let us imagine a case in which one of the simplest operations in surgery has been performed by an hospital surgeon, in so bungling, unskilful, and disgraceful a manner, that the patients life was evidently sacrificed to his want of dexterity. If such a case as this were to occur in private practice, it might be said that it would be desirable to suppress the cause of failure, out of tenderness to the feelings of the relatives and friends of the deceased. This would be at least a plausible ground for concealment ; it would be a weak argument indeed, when put in competition with the paramount interests of public utility, but it would be at least an amiable, and an intelligible argument in favour of suppression. But that the expediency of suppressing a case of failure from the surgeon's want of dexterity should be defended—not because the mischief, as it respects the victim and his surviving relatives, is irremediable—not from an amiable, though, on public grounds, an injudicious regard for the feelings of those surviving relatives—but out of tenderness, forsooth, to the ignorant operator ! is so monstrous a proposition, that prepared as we were for the imbecilities of the "Hole and Corner " champions, we were somewhat staggered at the impudent absurdity with which it is advanced. We are the more disposed to dwell on this topic, because we know that the diatribe against THE LANCET in Dr. JAMBS JOHNSON'S Review was got up with great effort, and we have reason to believe that the Editor was assisted in that part of it, which is more especially devoted to the defence of " Hole and Corner " surgery, by one of the individuals who has taken the most active part in the recent attack upon the press. " If a surgeon fail from want of dexterity," we are told, he suffers mortifica-

tion enough, heaven knows, in the operation room, without being put to the cruel and demoniacal torture of seeing the failure blazoned forth in the public journals." The writer of this paragraph discovers such a tender sympathy for the operator who fails from want of dexterity, that we cannot help suspecting, that while he is advocating the cause of " Hole and Corner " surgery, he is at the same time vindicating his own claims to commiseration. Not a scintilla of compassion does the "Hole and Corner" advocate suffer to escape him, for the victim of the surgeon's want of dexterity; all his sympathy is reserved for the ignorant operator. The destruction of the* patient is a mere cypher in the account; *un homme mort n'est qu'un homme mort,* as was observed by his prototype in Moliere, but a surgeon who makes a cut in the wrong place is a fit object of commiseration, and the mortification to which his want of dexterity has already exposed him in the operation room, is quite a sufficient punishment for the destruction of a fellow creature. In a delicate operation, a few lines more or less in the extent or direction of an incision, may make all the difference between the life and the death of the patient; and even the simplest chirurgical operation may, as we have had occasion to witness, be performed in so unskilful a manner, as to occasion the destruction of life, when its success would have been morally certain in the hands of any surgeon of ordinary dexterity. Let us suppose that of two Hospital Surgeons A is less skilful than B, and that a patient is destroyed, because it is A's turn to operate. Will the public endure to be told in such a case as this that A, and not the unfortunate patient, is the proper object of commiseration, and that the mortification which the surgeon suffers in the operating theatre is a sufficient punishment for his ignorance, without exposing him to the torture of seeing his failure blazoned forth in the public journals? Not only do the public interests imperiously call for the publication of every case of failure on the part of a hospital surgeon, but we maintain that if the failure be clearly and indisputably attributable to want of dexterity, the public interests call imperiously for the surgeon's removal. We could name more than one hospital surgeon whose removal, or resignation (we will not stickle for a verbal distinction), has almost immediately followed the publication of cases in which they had operated ; and we have no hesitation in classing these removals, or resignations, among the most useful results of the publicity which has been given to all medical proceedings in THE LANCET. It is idle to talk of the respect due to the feelings or the pockets of

individual surgeons—it is absurd to propose any compromise between the private interests of hospital surgeons and the paramount consideration of the health and safety of the patients entrusted to their care. No surgeon who is well acquainted with his profession, and who is conscious of discharging his professional duties with ability, need fear the publication of the cases in which he operates; but if the surgeon of a public hospital be inadequately acquainted with his profession, or if he be incapable of operating with dexterity and precision, the sooner his removal is effected by giving publicity to his failures, the less will be the amount of injury inflicted on the public.

115. " O'CONNELL'S POLICE"(1829).

Daniel O'Connell, the leading Irish champion of Catholic Emancipation, was at the height of his fame immediately after the Clare election of 1828. His oratorical fire made him a national hero, and it was through him that Irish causes spoke most forcibly at Westminster. Catholic Emancipation is a matter of great consequence both in the history of English legislation and of English thought. With it O'Connell is here connected, and with O'Connell his enormous popularity in Dublin. Steuart Trench, from whom the excerpt is taken, was an able land agent, and during the middle years of this century managed several of the largest estates in southern Ireland. At the time in question he was an undergraduate of Trinity College, Dublin.

SOURCE.— *Realities of Irish Life.* W. Steuart Trenoh (1808-1872). London, 1869. P. 88.

These were the days of O'Connell's supremacy; and all Ireland, and England too, rang with his fame. His usual habit at that period, during term time, was, to walk home from the "Four Courts"—the Irish courts of law—with an immense gathering of wild and ragged followers at his back. These he called, in jest, his police; and "O'Connell's police" became, for a short time, one of the institutions of Dublin. But the Collegeyoung men could never be forced into an acknowledgment of their authority, and the consequence was that repeated rows took place between the parties.

One of the rules this strange police insisted on establishing

was, that all those walking in the streets should take off their hats as O'Connell passed by on his triumphant return from the courts; and any one who refused was mercilessly mobbed, and his hat knocked off or forced down over his eyes. In general, for peace sake, most of the passers-by took this new order of things good-humouredly, and raised their hats rather than submit to the unpleasant consequences of a refusal. But the College lads generally resisted this homage; so that a fight was almost certain to take place whenever they and O'Connell's police chanced to meet in the streets.

It happened one evening that a young college friend and I were walking down one of the main streets of Dublin, when O'Connell and his police appeared in view. We consulted for a moment whether we should cross over to the other side of the street and thus avoid a collision, but we considered this would be *infra dig.* And we therefore kept our course, resolving not to take off our hats.

"Hats off! hats off!" shouted the ragged police who preceded " the Liberator " as soon as we approached; but we did not acknowledge the order, and continued to walk steadily on. In a moment we were attacked, and sundry attempts were made to force our hats over our eyes, or knock them off in the street. My companion however—a very powerful young man—gave two or three of the foremost of these " policemen " such a hearty smash in the face that they kept their distance for a little, and we walked by O'Connell in safety. I well remember his smile as he nodded good-humouredly to us as we passed him, and I must say it was one of approval rather than otherwise at our refusal to do him homage. No sooner, however, had we got completely to the rear—O'Connell never allowed his police to commit any violence in his immediate presence—than a large party detached themselves on special duty, and followed us with a full resolve to force us into compliance. We continued to walk rapidly towards home, but we soon heard the double-quick footsteps of a number of men behind us, and again the cry of " Hats off! " resounded through the streets. It had a new and most unpleasant effect upon the nerves to find oneself pursued by a pack of hungry-looking ragged men—the scuta of the populace of Dublin (there were no Poor Laws in those days)—who were determined to force us into compliance with what we considered a deep indignity.

" Hold on," whispered my young friend to me: " we may get home before they get too many for us." So we held on still, and refused to take off our hats.

A violent blow in the back of the neck which sent me staggering forward was the reply of one of the party to my companion's whispered suggestions; but it had scarcely been given when the man who gave it was laid flat on his back, bleeding and almost senseless, by a blow in the face from my friend. After this, for some little time, they kept a more respectful distance, but they still followed us shouting " Hats off!" and increasing in numbers as we proceeded. We were frequently assailed, but the moment we turned round, drawing our clenched fists for a blow, the ragged policemen fell back, having evidently a keen recollection of the punishment which the chief of police had received a few minutes before.

At length, however, the party became reinforced by bolder members of this wild constabulary, and we began to feel, as they pressed closer and closer upon us. that we had no chance of reaching home in safety; and resolving, if we could, to make a stand until some relief might be afforded, we rushed up a flight of stone steps, outside a gentleman's door, and presenting our front to the crowd, we showed that we were determined to resist any further aggression to the utmost..

There were no Metropolitan Police, if I recollect right, in those days, and if there were, none certainly came to our assistance; and in a wonderfully short time the street was filled with a motley crowd of the very worst roughs of Dublin, who came running from every quarter to take part in their favourite pastime of a row, Twice a vigorous and direct attack was made upon our fortress; but partly from the determined resistance of my young friend, who forced back his assailants staggering amongst the crowd by the dint of his powerful blows, and partly from the advantageous nature of our position, the enemy was repulsed with loss, and blood flowed freely from our enemies. At length I bethought me of seeking admission to the gentleman's house, on the steps of which we were, and I knocked loudly at the door. It was opened immediately.

" Let us in," cried I. " Let us in, or this mob will murder us."

" Sir," replied the man in a hissing voice, and with his teeth clenched and grinning, " I hate the rascals ten times as much as ever you can do, but this is Lord Norbury's house, and the gentleman within is old, and those villains would pull it down about his ears if I let you in, should they find out whose house it is ; and so you must only fight them as best you can." And before I could answer a word he slammed the door in my face!

But the act of the man had not been unobserved by the mob; and seeing now that all chance of our retreat was cut off, they 'resolved to make a final rush upon our citadel and tear us down from it. This was soon effected. The strongest and boldest among them drew up two deep before us, and with a wild shout, or rather scream, went at us. In a moment we were surrounded, our hats knocked off, and we ourselves hurled violently into the middle of the street. I got off with a bloody nose and the loss of one of my shoes, and my friend with a split ear; but our hats were carried off by our assailants as trophies of war, and were set on high on broomsticks, whilst the victorious " police " of the Liberator marched off shouting and hurraying with their prize. Whether they laid the hats at O'Connell's feet or not I never heard: probably not, as we never saw them after.

116. THE SECOND BEADING OF THE FIRST REFORM BILI (1831).

Fifty years hence no parliamentary scene of the nineteenth century will appear so exciting as that which is here pictured in Macaulay's words. Lord John Russell's bill proposing a schema of electoral reform passed its second reading in the House of Commons by a majority of one (22nd March, 1831). It was amended in committee; a general election ensued; the Liberals returned with increased forces; and the measure sent up twice by the Commons was finally accepted by the Lords (4th June, 1832) on the threat that otherwise enough new Liberal Peers to carry it would be created. Francis Ellis, to whom this letter is addressed, was Macaulay's closest friend.

SOURCE.—*Letter to Francis Ellis.* T. B. Macaulay (1800-1859). Printed in Trevelyan's *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.* London, 1877. Library Edition, vol. i. p. 204.

LONDON, *March 20th,* 1881.

DEAR ELLIS,—I have little news for you, except what you will learn from the papers as well as from me. It is clear that the Reform Bill must pass, either in this or in another Parliament. The majority of one does not appear to me, as it does to you, by any means inauspicious. We should perhaps have had a better plea for a dissolution if the majority had been the

other way. But surely a dissolution under such circumstances would have been a most alarming thing. If there should be a dissolution now, there will not be that ferocity in the public mind which there would have been if the House of Commons had refused to entertain the bill at all. I confess that, till we had a majority, I was half inclined to tremble at the storm which we had raised. At present I think that we are absolutely certain of victory, and of victory without commotion.

Such a scene as the division of last Tuesday I never saw, and never expect to see again. If I should live fifty years, the impression of it will be as fresh and sharp in my mind as if it had just taken place. It was like seeing Cæsar stabbed in the Senate-house, or seeing Oliver taking the mace from the table; a sight to be seen only once, and never to be forgotten. The crowd overflowed the House in every part. When the strangers were cleared out, and the doors locked, we had,six hundred and eight members present—more by fifty-five than ever were in a division before. The ayes and noes were like two volleys of cannon from opposite sides of a field of battle. When the opposition went out into the lobby, an operation which took up twenty minutes or more, we spread ourselves over the benches on both sides of the House; for there were many of us who had not been able to find a seat during the evening. When the doors were shut we began to speculate on our numbers. Everybody was desponding. "We have lost it. We are only two hundred and eighty at most. I do not think we are two hundred and fifty. They are three hundred. Alderman Thompson has counted them. He says they are two hundred and ninety-nine." This was the talk on our benches. I wonder that men who have been long in Parliament do not acquire a better *coup d'œil* for numbers. The House, when only the ayes were in it, looked to me a very fair House—much fuller than it generally is even on debates of considerable interest. I had no hope, however, of three hundred. As the tellers passed along our lowest row on the left-hand side the interest was insupportable—two hundred and ninety-one—two hundred and ninety-two-a-we were all standing up and stretching forward, telling with the tellers. At three hundred there was a short cry of joy—-at three hundred and two another—suppressed, However, in a moment; for we did not yet know what the hostile force might be. We knew, however, that we could not be severely beaten. The doors were thrown open and in they came. Each of them, as he entered, brought some different

report of their numbers. It must have been impossible, as you may conceive, in the lobby, crowded as they were, to form any exact estimate. First we heard that they were three hundred and three; then that number rose to three hundred and ten; then went down to three hundred and seven. Alexander Barry told me that he had counted, and that they were three hundred and four. We were all breathless with anxiety, when Charles Wood, who stood near the door, jumped up on a bench and cried out, " They are only three hundred and one". We set up a shout that you might have heard to Charing Cross, waving our hats, stamping against the floor, and clapping our hands. The tellers scarcely got through the crowd; for the house was thronged up to the table, and all the floor was fluctuating with heads like the pit of a theatre. But you might have heard a pin drop as Duncannon read the numbers. Then again the shouts broke out, and many of us shed tears. I could scarcely refrain. And the jaw of Peel fell; and the face of Twiss was as the face of a damned soul; and Herriea looked like Judas taking his neck-tie off for the last operation. We shook hands and clapped each other on the back, and went out laughing, crying, and huzzaing into the lobby. And no sooner were the outer doors opened than another shout answered that within the House. All the passages and the stairs into the waiting-rooms were thronged by people who had waited till four in the morning to know the issue. We passed through a narrow lane between two thick masses of them; and all the way down they were shouting and waving their hats, till we got into the open air. I called a cabriolet, and the first thing the driver asked was, " Is the bill carried?" "Yes, by one." "Thank God, for it, sir!" And away I rode to Gray's Inn—and BO ended a scene which will probably never be equalled till the reformed Parliament wants reforming; and that I hope will not be till the days of our grandchildren—till that truly orthodox and apostolical person, Dr. Francis Ellis, is an archbishop of eighty.

117. THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

From the battle of Waterloo to his death Wellington was the most conspicuous subject in England. The bare list of his titles *(A)* speaks for the gratitude which prompted Napoleon's enemies to confer them, and illustrates the geographical extent

of the duke's prestige. In England he was almost always beloved by the masses, but his intense conservatism in politics, once or twice aroused personal animosity against him For instance, he opposed parliamentary reform when the nation was bent on having it. His unpopularity at this lime is alone proof of the enthusiasm which Lord John Russell's bill evoked. In 1832 a London mob hooted him on the anniversary of Waterloo (June 18th), although before that date the measure had received royal assent. Sugden, who describes this exciting incident (B), afterwards became Chancellor with the title Lord St. Leonard's.

SOURCE.—(4) *List of Wellington's Titles. Annual Register,* 1852. P. 495.

Most High, Mighty, and Most Noble Prince,
Arthur, Duke and Marquess of Wellington,
Marquess Douro, Earl of Wellington,
Viscount Wellington and Baron Douro,
Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter,
Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.
One of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Forces.
Field-Marshal of the Austrian Army,
Field-Marshal of the Hanoverian Army,
Field-Marshal of the Army of the Netherlands,
Marshal-General of the Portuguese Army,
Field-Marshal of the Prussian Army,
Field-Marshal of the Russian Army, and
Captain-General of the Spanish Army.

Prince of Waterloo, of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Grandee of Spain of the First Class. Duke of Vittoria, Marquess of Torres Vedras, and Count of Vimiera, in Portugal. Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of the Golden Fleece, and of the Military Orders of St. Ferdinand and of St. Hermenigilde of Spain. Knight Grand Cross of the Orders of the Black Eagle and of the Red Eagle of Prussia. Knight Grand Cross of the Imperial Military Order of Maria Teresa of Austria. Knight of the Imperial Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newski, and St. George of Russia. Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Portuguese Military Order of the Tower and Sword. Knight Grand Cross of the Royal and Military Order of the Sword of Sweden.

Knight of the Order of St. Esprit of France.
Knight of the Order of the Elephant of Denmark.
Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order. Knight of the Order of St. Januarius and of the Military Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit of the two Sicilies. Knight Grand Cross of the Supreme Order of the Annunciation of Sardinia. Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Military Order of Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria. Knight of the Royal Order of the Rue Crown of Saxony. Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Military Merit of Wurtemberg. Knight Grand Cross of the Military Order of William of the Netherlands. Knight of the Order of the Golden Lion of Hesse Cassel, and Knight Grand Cross of the Orders of Fidelity and of the Lion of Baden.

SOURCE__(B) Glegg's *life of Wellington. E.* B. Sugden (1781-1875). London, 1864. P. 875.

(1832).

On the 18th of June our Equity Courts were not sitting. I was, therefore, in chambers; and, as I sat working near the window on the ground floor, I was startled by three horsemen passing towards Stone Buildings, with a mob at their heels, shouting, hooting, and hissing. I sent my clerk to see what was the matter, and, upon his return, finding that the Duke of Wellington was the object of displeasure, I sent the clerk, with Borne others, round to the men's chambers, to beg them to come at once to protect the Duke. I found the Duke, with Lord Granville Somerset, and Lord Eliot, had been to the Tower on official business, and were then at the Chambers, in -Stone Buildings, of Mr. Maule, the Solicitor to the Treasury, with whom the Duke had an appointment In making my way to Mr. Maule's I found a considerable mob in Stone Buildings and its approaches, and their conduct was most violent.

When I joined the Duke, we considered what was the best mode of protecting him and his companions. He would not listen to any mode of retreat by which he might avoid the mob. I assured him that the Lincoln's Inn men would effectually prevent any violence, and he determined to got on horseback again, and to ride through the streets. I then went downstairs, and ordered the small gate leading to Portugal Street to be shut and guarded, so as to prevent the people getting round that way to interrupt us when we went through the great gates into Carey Street; and I ordered those gates to be shut as soon as the Duke had passed. I addressed a few words to the

gentlemen, who had assembled in considerable numbers, and, requested them to occupy the stone steps which the Duke would have to descend in order to reach his horse. This they did, with great heartiness, and they exhibited, I may say, a fierce determination to defend the Duke against all comers. A butcher was bawling lustily against the Duke, when a young gentleman, a solicitor, seized him by the collar with one hand, and knocked him down with the other, and the mob seemed rather amused at it. The Duke, upon my return upstairs, asked how he was to find his way out of the Inn. I told him that I would walk before him. He would allow no one to hold or touch his horse whilst he mounted. He was pale, with a severe countenance, and immovable in his saddle, and looked straight before him, and so continued whilst I was with him. Lords Granville Somerset and Eliot rode on each side of him, and, of course, his groom behind. I walked in front, and, shortly, a brother barrister came up, and asked me if he might walk with me. I gladly accepted his arm, and we moved on, *the* mob, all the time, being in a state of fury. When we reached Lincoln's Inn Fields, a policeman made his appearance, and, drawing his staff, prepared for an onslaught. I called to him, and told him that the Duke's progress was under my directions, and that I desired he would put up his truncheon and keep himself quiet until I called upon him to act, and that he would communicate this order to the other policemen as they came up. This kept them perfectly quiet. As we proceeded, the noise of the mob attracted the workmen in the shops and manufactories, particularly in Long Acre, where the upper windows were quickly opened by workmen, who, with their paper caps on, rushed to join the people; but nowhere was there any personal violence offered to the Duke, and the respectable portions of the crowd would promptly have crushed any attempt at violence.

I had walked from the West End to .my chambers that morning, and I recollected that there was an excavation at the west end of Long Acre, and a large mass of paving, and other stones collected there. I ordered several of the police to go there, in advance, quietly, and occupy the ground, so as to prevent any one from making use of the stones. This they did; but, scandalous as the conduct of the mob was, I must do them the justice to say that they showed no disposition to get at the stones. When we reached the West End streets, the people tailed off a good deal.

As the Duke passed the United Service Club, he maintained

his rigid posture, and cast no glance that way, whilst a few men who had rushed out of the club upon hearing the noise, looked down with wonder. Nothing more occurred; and, when we got opposite to the clock of St. James's palace, I, for the first time, turned round, and, there being only a few stragglers left, the Duke and his companions shook hands with me, and thanked me; and, putting their horses into a trot, reached Apsley House without further annoyance.

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