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HISTORY OF ENGLAND
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PREFACE

THE object of this book is to carry the study of English History a stage further than has been done in my *Short History of England* (Longmans and Co.). It has been specially designed to meet the wants of four classes of readers : (1) of those, either at school or college, who, having mastered the elements of English History in such a book as the authors *Elementary History of England* (Rivington and Co.), and what are known as the 'outlines' in such a book as the author's *Short History*, are preparing to study in greater detail such a period as 1485 to 1603, or 1714 to 1815 ; (2) of teachers who, while taking a class in the 'elements' or 'outlines,' wish to have in their own hands a fuller and more developed treatment of events; (3) of university students, who require a fuller treatment of the whole course of events than is given in the *Short History*; and (4) of those of the general public who wish to have in their hands a handy but fairly full history to which they may turn for ready information on the historical points that crop up day by day in politics or conversation.

In trying to supply these needs I have throughout tried to keep in view certain principles which it may be useful to state.

In selecting materials my rule has been to give more about matters of great importance, but not to introduce new matter which is itself of secondary importance. For example, in the Civil War period, I have introduced very few new names and events beyond what are mentioned in the *Short History*, but I have given a great deal more about the characters **and** motives of Laud, Strafford, and Cromwell, the Petition of Right, **the** Solemn League and Covenant, and the King's trial.

As it is most important at this stage of historical teaching **to show** as far as may be **on** what history is based, **I have systematically**

introduced into the text the exact words of such great documents as the Petition of Right and Habeas Corpus Act; and throughout the narrative quotation marks, except in a few obvious cases, mean that the words enclosed come from some good contemporary authority.

In arranging the material my rule has been as far as possible—and it is a most difficult thing to do especially in the later part—to treat each matter as a whole, and to avoid the fatal error of having notices of a closely-connected series of events scattered about disconnectedly in the course of the general narrative. For example, the events which led to the Scottish and Irish Unions are respectively grouped together.

As a vivid idea of great national heroes ought to be one of the most valued treasures of the nation, I have throughout laid great stress on biography and character-sketching. In dealing with those great men, such as Strafford, Laud, and Cromwell, whose actions still provoke bitter controversy, I have followed as far as possible the rule of letting them speak for themselves, and, where I have been compelled to express an opinion on their actions, have endeavoured to give them credit for the best motives.

The same rule applies even more forcibly to the statesmen of our own age and of that immediately preceding it. The dictum of John Bright that there is no part of history so difficult for a young man to make himself acquainted with as that just beyond his own personal memory is undoubtedly true, and I have endeavoured to aid such persons by bringing the narrative down to the resignation of Lord Rosebery in 1895.¹ In dealing, however, with such recent history the difficulties are enormous, but I hope I may be thought to have, at any rate, made an honest attempt to overcome them.

One error of historians is to give to the minor details of modern politics a space wholly disproportioned to their relative importance. This I have tried to avoid, and have endeavoured to make the space allotted to any subject, wherever it may come in, bear a close relationship to its importance.

There is, however, one subject in which it is almost impossible

¹ See note to p. viii.

to do this. Probably the greatest event in modern history is the development of the British colonial empire; but it is most difficult to make colonial history occupy a space at all commensurate with its importance. With India the case is otherwise, for few events give greater opportunities for dramatic narrative than it; **but** no one can make the history of Australia exciting, and though **the** same remark does not apply to the early history of Canada, its development of late years has been along the happy but uneventful lines of peaceful progress.

In dealing with the question of religion, I have avoided, as far as possible, doctrinal points, and where they have been unavoidable have stated them in the words of the original documents, and have throughout used terms which I believe to be acceptable to the various religious bodies of whom history treats.

Similarly, in treating of points where the national feeling or prejudices of the various races who now share the common name of British may be touched, I have endeavoured to avoid anything which may add bitterness, have laid stress on such exploits as each remembers with pride, and have been careful by the use of the word British to draw attention to the common share in common glories and common dangers in which we have all participated.

One great difficulty has been to determine the amount of space, to be allotted to literature. This I would gladly have increased **had** it been possible ; but have been compelled to refrain, my rule being that in the earlier part of the history, say to the beginning of the Elizabethan period, literature is so closely connected with the history of the nation that it is impossible to separate them, but that after that date not only do considerations of **space become more** exacting, but also, as a matter of fact, the class **of readers I have** in view are in the habit of studying literature in a **different text-book**. Only where the literature bears a very close relation to politics have I ventured to allow myself **a few lines on the subject**. The same rule, applies to manners **and** customs.

The maps are numerous, and each contains **the minimum of**

necessary names, so as to enable its general effect to be seen at a glance. In deciding which battles should have plans allotted to them, I have acted on the principle that where the arrangements of a battle are fairly known, and cannot well be understood without a map of the ground, as in the case of Dunbar and Salamanca, there ought to be a map; in the case of a battle like Naseby, which though very important is perfectly easy to understand, there should not. In each plan I have endeavoured to picture some definite event in the course of the battle, and not tried to get in everything at once. In the case of Waterloo and Poitiers, in which latter battle I have followed the narrative of Galfrid le Baker, I have given two plans, showing the position of the forces at different times.

The names are spelt in the manner sanctioned by the only satisfactory rule—long usage—but in some of the earlier names, to void the possibility of mistake, the less familiar form has been added in a bracket.

As I hope the book may be largely used for reference, great pains has been taken with the index, and to aid those who are reading special periods numerous references have been inserted in the text, and even a certain amount of repetition has been introduced.

The figures at the top of the pages represent with a few obvious exceptions the furthest dates reached by the general narrative at the beginning of the left-hand page and the end of the right. The *Handbook in Outline of the English Political History*, by Acland and Ransome, now published by Longmans and Co., will be found a great assistance in following the chronology.

C. R.

NOTE BY THE PUBLISHERS

The book has now been brought up to the outbreak of the War in 1911

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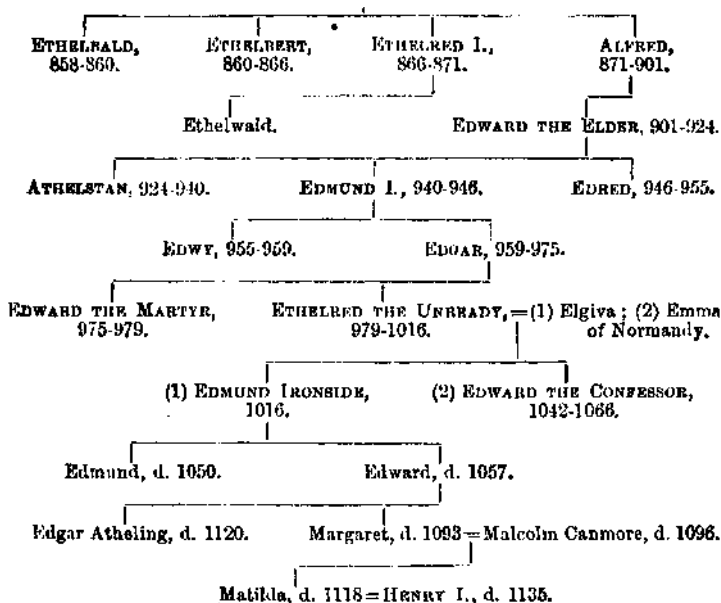
Book 1

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

I.—KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF EGBERT, 802-1066.

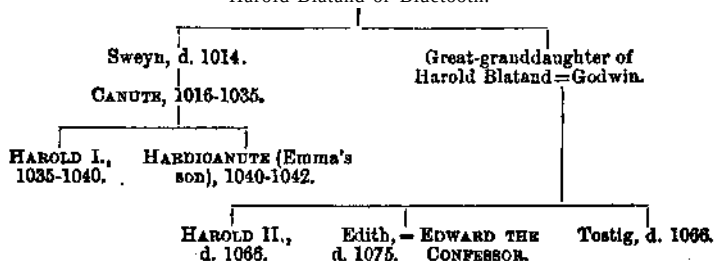
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Harold Blatand or Bluetooth.



Reigning sovereigns are in small capitals.

(1) or (2) signifies by first or second wife or **husband**.

CHAPTEE I

PREHISTORIC AND CELTIC BRITAIN

Prehistoric Inhabitants—The Ivernians—The Celts—First Civilised Visitors—
Caesar's Expeditions.

IN prehistoric times Great Britain and Ireland formed part of a large peninsula which stretched out into the Atlantic from the northern shores of France and Belgium. In those days the extremes of temperature were much greater than they are at present, and consequently this peninsula was inhabited during the warm season by the hippopotamus, the bison, and the mammoth, and in the cold weather by the lemming, the reindeer, and the musk-sheep. Among the remains of these creatures, found in the river deposits of the valley of the Thames, flint tools made by the hand of man are occasionally discovered. The makers of these tools were in the lowest state of civilisation, for they were unable to construct handles for their sharpened flints, and had to hold them in their hands. Their lot was in every way a hard one, and their livelihood most precarious, and they seem to have disappeared along with the now extinct animals among whom they lived. Their place was taken by a somewhat superior race, who used flints of a better shape, and fitted them into handles which they manufactured out of wood or bone. They had also considerable artistic skill, which they showed in ornamenting these weapons with spirited illustrations of the beasts they slew in the chase. Nevertheless, they were in a very low state of culture, for they took no care of their dead ; and, though they could clothe themselves with the skins of wild beasts sewn together by means of sinew threads, they had no domestic animals and knew nothing of the arts of spinning and weaving.

Years passed away, and, after a period of time of which it is impossible to from any trustworthy calculation, this race, like its predecessors,

disappeared for ever from Britain, and is only represented in our day by the Eskimos, who have something of its artistic skill and exhibit the same indifference in dealing with the bodies of their dead. To both these races archaeologists give the name of Palaeolithic or old stone men ; and they describe the former as River-drift men, and the latter as Cave-men. Their place was taken by a third race who came from the south-east, and

Neolithic Men. brought with them most of the domestic animals that are now in use, such as the dog, ox, pig, sheep, and goat; they were also acquainted with the arts of spinning and weaving, but in consequence of the imperfection of their tools these were only practised by them in a very rude form. Before the date of their arrival, owing to the sinking of the land, the ocean had overflowed the lower levels, and had formed the British Channel, the Irish Sea, and the German Ocean, so that they must have had some knowledge of navigation; while the discovery of their flint works at Brandon and elsewhere proves that they had considerable skill in excavation and mining. To this comparatively civilised people archaeologists give the name of Neolithic or newer stone men. They buried their dead with great care, making a chamber of flat stones in which they placed the body, and erecting over it a pile of earth or of stones, which naturally assumed an elliptic shape, not unlike a pear cut in half lengthwise and placed with its flat surface downwards. These burial-places are known as *long* barrows. From the remains found in them a good idea can be formed of the appearance and physique of the Neolithic men. In stature they were short, the height of the men averaging not more than five feet five inches, and in complexion they were swarthy. The colour of their hair, which was curly, was black ; and their eyes, it is believed, were dark. Their skulls, if looked at from above, were oval; their faces, too, had the same shape, the forehead being low, the chin small, and the cheek-bones not protruding.

For how long a period the Neolithic men of this race remained in undisturbed possession of these lands it is impossible to estimate ; but, having regard to the great geological changes that took place in their time, it must have been very considerable. At length, however, their settlements were invaded by a set of new-comers who, by reason of strength, numbers, or skill, were able to drive out the older race and to take forcible possession of the districts where game was the most plentiful

The Celtic Invasion. or where agriculture was most productive. The new-comers are known as Celts. They were the advanced guard of a group of nations who have played a most important part in the history of the world, and are known to ethnologists as the Aryan family. The terms Aryan and Celt are quite different from Palaeolithic and Neolithic

The former are race names, while the latter simply denote a state of civilisation. For a time both the Celts and the people they displaced were in the Neolithic stage, and consequently when it is needful to distinguish between them it is usual **fro** employ some other term. For this reason we designate the older race by the name of Iberians or Ivernians. The Ivernians are the oldest race which has taken any part in forming the blood of the present European population. As a separate nationality they are only represented at most by the Basques of the Pyrenees, and there is some doubt even about this. It is, however, certain that at one time they were spread over all Europe west of the Rhine and the Rhone, and over Switzerland ; and their blood has largely mingled with that of their Aryan conquerors. Where the Aryans came from is a matter of great dispute. Some cling to the theory that the original home of the race was in Central Asia, on the upland slopes which lead to the Himalayas; others believe that the true mother-land is to be found near the shores of the Baltic, on the flats of Pomerania, or among the marshes of Sweden. However this may be, the Aryans have now established themselves in all, or almost all, the temperate regions of the globe ; for there belong to this race not only the main stock of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans of the ancient world, but a considerable portion of the Hindoos, and of modern Europeans, the French, Spaniards, Germans, Slavs, and Italians, besides the inhabitants of the British Isles and their descendants in America, South Africa, and Australia. Climate and the continual mingling of their blood with that of other races have long since modified the aspect of the Aryans, and made it very hard to say which of these nations has preserved most of the original characteristics of the stock.

Ivernians.

The Aryans.

It is not difficult to distinguish between the two races. The Celts were light of limb and tall of stature, having indeed an average height of five feet eight inches, or three inches taller than that of the Ivernian men. The outline of their skulls, viewed from the same position, was round. Their foreheads were high, their cheek-bones prominent, and their eyes, it is believed, were blue. Like the Neolithic men, the Celts were in the habit of burying their dead with reverence ; but, unlike them, they covered the grave with a barrow shaped like a cone or a bell. Some of the bronze-using men, however, made a practice of burning their dead, and the two methods of burial were apparently carried on side by side. This difference of practice **may have been** caused by a difference in religion, or possibly the reason **may be** connected with the arrival of a new race. The language of the

The Celts.

Aryans, which is represented not only by those of the nations mentioned above, but also by Sanskrit and Latin and Greek, is very different in structure both from Basque, which is the modern representative of Ivernian, and also from Hebrew and Arabic, which belong to the Semitic family. For example, the first four numerals in Welsh are *un, dau, tri*, in Greek they are *eis, duo, tris*, and in Sanskrit *eka, dir, tri*, while in Basque they are *bat, hi, hiru*.

When the pioneers of the Celtic race invaded Britain they had almost brought to a close their contest with the Ivernians of the continent, Celtic Con- having compelled them to evacuate the north of Italy, quest. almost the whole of Gaul, and much of the Spanish Peninsula. This contest, which occupied a very considerable period, took place at a time when the Celts were passing through a transition stage in civilisation ; for whereas at the beginning of their invasions they were using practically the same stone weapons as their antagonists, at its close they had adopted weapons of bronze of an ancient Mediterranean type. The importance of this change is obvious ; for not only did their better weapons give the bronze-using men an enormous superiority over those who had nothing more effective than stone, but also in the unending struggle with nature man acquired a most valuable reinforcement of aggressive power. Hitherto, though Neolithic man had possessed some acquaintance with the cultivation of wheat, and knew the valuable properties of some of the herbs and vegetables which we now use at table, agriculture on a large scale had been impracticable. But the introduction of metal tools revolutionised the farmer's life. Henceforward the **axe** became more efficient, the spade and the plough became possible; forests could be felled, fens could be drained, wastes could be cultivated, and the age when nature, which was formerly the tyrant, became the handmaid of man may fairly be said to have begun. Whether the invading Celts met with much resistance at the hands of the older inhabitants of the island, or whether the stone-using men at once recognised the hopelessness of the contest, has not been determined ; but it is certain that the remains of both races are to be found in the same barrows, at any rate in France, and that skeletons combining the characteristics of both bear evidence of intermarriage.

After the lapse of some time a new swarm of Celts made their appearance in Britain and drove the older settlers before them, as they, at an earlier date, had displaced the Ivernians. The result of this was to cause a westerly movement of the whole population, in the course of which, if not **before**, the older race of Celts made their way into Ireland. **The Ivernians were driven into the west of that country and into the**

north of Scotland, and, probably being unable to maintain their independence, and impelled by the fear of a new danger, made common cause with their old antagonists against a common foe. It is not thought that there was any marked difference in the physical characteristics of the Celts, new and old; but they spoke different though kindred languages, and at a later date it is possible to tell by a study of their inscriptions and of their place-names which parts of the country were inhabited by each.

It is usual to speak of the older Celts as Goidels, Gaedels, or Gaels, and of the newer as Brythons or Britons. The name Brython probably means clothed; the meaning of Goidel is unknown.

It is from the Brythons that the name of Britain is derived; but the oldest name of the island is Albion, the origin of which, however, is a matter of uncertainty.

Meanwhile, the existence of the islands had become an object of interest to the civilised races which dwelt round the Mediterranean. The necessity of securing a constant supply of tin forced the bronze-using nations of antiquity to search in all directions for that metal, and produced a keen rivalry for the possession of those districts where it could be found in the greatest abundance. Amongst these the Spanish Peninsula was famous, and it was early monopolised by the merchants of Tyre and, on the decline of that city, by its colony Carthage, which made the rigid exclusion of all rivals a matter of unvarying policy. Such jealous exclusiveness naturally provoked reprisals, and in the latter half of the fourth century before Christ, when Alexander was in the midst of his Asiatic conquests, the Romans sent an ambassador to the Greek colony of Massilia (Marseilles) to inquire whether the merchants there could tell them anything as to the possibility of opening up a trade with the tin-producing countries of the north-west. The Massilians could tell the Romans little or nothing; but, their own curiosity having been aroused, they fitted out two expeditions, one of which was to explore the coast of Africa southwards; the other, passing by Cadiz, the most westerly of the old Phœnician settlements, was to make its way to the northwards in hopes of finding new stores of tin, and also of discovering the situation of the coast whence from time immemorial large quantities of amber had been carried overland to the shores of the Adriatic. Pytheas, who took command of the latter fleet, was a man of science who gained a great reputation by accurately calculating the latitude of Massilia, and also by explaining the causes of the tides; and it is from his own pen that we learn what is known of the expedition in which he bore so distinguished a part. Unhappily, his original work has been lost; but so great was his reputation that

almost all the Greek and Roman geographies contain quotations from it, so that a considerable number of fragments have in this way been preserved.

After calling at Cadiz, Pytheas made his way to the mouth of the river Loire, and thence, without attempting to land in what is now called Cornwall, of whose wealth in tin he appears to have been ignorant, continued his voyage to the coast of Kent, and, landing there, was probably the first civilised man who set foot on the shores of Britain. He seems to have reached the island in early spring, and remained there till the summer, when he set sail in search of the amber-coast, and is thought by some to have penetrated the Baltic as far east as the mouth of the Vistula; he also followed the coast of Norway till he found himself within the Arctic circle, where the sun ceases to set, but * revolves from west to east and shines through the whole summer's night.' At this point he changed his course and returned to the coast of Britain, which he followed southwards as far as Kent. After a short rest he sailed for home, and, landing at the mouth of the Garonne, made his way to Marseilles by land. Unfortunately, Pytheas was not versed in ethnology, so he does not tell us much that we should like to know about the distribution of the races of Britain, and his chief inquiries were doubtless about the supply of tin. He tells us, however, of the abundance of grain which he observed in the fields; of the peculiar but pleasant drink which the islanders made by mixing wheat and honey, in much later ages known to their Welsh descendants under the name of *metheglin*; of their threshing-floors roofed in to provide against changes of weather; and of a species of beer.

Though there is no written authority for the fact, it is believed that the explorations of Pytheas led to the opening up of a trade between Marseilles and the north, the staples of which were British tin and Baltic amber; and this theory is supported by the fact that the earliest Greek coins found in the island belong to the age of Alexander. About

two hundred years after the time of Pytheas, Britain was visited by Posidonius of Rhodes, who in his old age was the tutor of Cicero and possibly of Julius Cæsar. He made his way as far west as Cornwall, and describes how the natives brought the tin in wagons as far as the island of Ictis,¹ where it was carried on board the ships of the Gallic merchants, who transported it to *Portus Itius*.¹ There it was placed upon the backs of pack-horses for conveyance to the Rhone, down which it was carried in boats to Marseilles. This

* Ictis is generally thought to be Isle of Thanet, and *Portus Itius* is taken to be Boulogne.

long journey with its many changes points to a very considerable degree of civilisation along the route and of a widespread commercial spirit.

Meanwhile, the steady pressure of the Germans from across the Rhine caused the Celts of Gaul to continue their westerly movement, and the Belgse, a tribe who dwelt between the Seine and the Scheldt, began to send colonies across the Channel and to dispossess the Brythons of southern Britain. The main settlement of the Belgse took place during the earlier half of the first century before Christ, but it is possible that some of them may have made their way over at an even earlier date.

It is not unlikely that the restlessness of the Belgse was connected with the conquests that the Romans were at this time making in the south of Gaul. The first serious attempt of the Romans to conquer Gaul was made in the year 118 B.C. By that date the Roman dominion had been established throughout Italy, Spain, the Balkan Peninsula, including Greece, the coasts of Asia Minor, and over all the islands of the Mediterranean. It was only necessary for them to conquer Gaul to make themselves masters of the whole of the northern shores of that great inland sea.

**Advance
of the
Romans.**

For fifty years, however, they confined their operations to the coast, for their first object was the completion of a great military road between Italy and Spain along the route formerly followed by Hannibal in his famous march ; and they had also much ado to defend their new province from the attacks of wandering bodies of Teutons, who from time to time attempted to make settlements in the Roman territories. However, in the year 58 B.C., Julius Caesar, the greatest of all the Romans, was sent to Gaul, and, after severe fighting, he carried the Roman arms triumphant over the whole of modern France. He found, however, that there would be little chance of permanent tranquillity while on the one hand the eastern frontier was in terror of a renewal of the German invasions, and on the other the Belgse of northern Gaul could hope for assistance from their kinsmen across the British Channel. Accordingly, in the year 55 B.C., he determined to demonstrate to both the Germans and the Britons the invincibility of the Roman arms. He struck terror into the hearts of the Germans by suddenly throwing a bridge across the swift-rushing Rhine and appearing in force amidst the forests of Germany; and then, withdrawing his legions with equal rapidity, he appeared upon the shores of the Channel and embarked his troops for an invasion of Britain. With ten thousand foot soldiers he sailed from the Portus Itius and made his way to where the white cliffs of

Dover could be seen upon the horizon. Having with some difficulty effected a landing, the Romans found the Britons not unwilling to treat and even to give hostages. However, the sudden destruction of the Roman fleet by a storm encouraged the Britons to further resistance, and it was only after having been defeated in an attempt to storm the Roman camp that they offered terms. Csesar, who had repaired his ships, and perhaps found the enterprise to be more serious than he had anticipated, decided to accept

**Caesar's
second
Invasion.**

these, and forthwith returned to Gaul. The next year, having provided a larger fleet and more suitable vessels, he returned, and, landing without opposition, stormed an entrenched camp of the Britons situated about twelve miles from the place of his landing. Again time was lost in repairing the damages done by a storm, and this gave the Britons opportunity to organise an alliance under the leadership of Cassivellaunus, chief of the Catuvelauni, whose stronghold was an entrenched camp believed to have been situated not far from St. Albans. In the face of the enemy Caesar crossed the Thames, and marched against the allies. On the road, however, the Romans, as was their custom, contrived to sow dissension among their opponents, and one tribe of the Trinobantes, who lived in what is now called Essex, deserted Cassivellaunus and ranged itself on the side of Csesar. The Romans then stormed the camp, and the British leader, finding that a diversion which he had planned, by directing the four chiefs of Kent to attack the ships, had been repulsed by the Roman guard, determined to send in his submission. His proposals were well received, and Caesar, whose object had been accomplished by the submission of the Britons, and who was not prepared to undertake the conquest of the country, returned home, and left the brave islanders in peace.

In his celebrated narrative of the Gallic war, from which this account has been taken, Csesar gives a description of Britain. In this

**Caesar's De-
scription of
Britain.**

he speaks of its large population, its numerous houses, built almost in the Gaulish fashion, and of the large herds of cattle. Tin, he tells us, was common, but iron was scarce, and bronze had to be imported, from which it appears that the working of copper was as yet unknown. Of the trees common in Gaul the beech and the pine alone were wanting; and Caesar noticed that the climate was more temperate than that of Gaul, the cold being less severe. The inhabitants of Kent he found to be the most civilised, for some of the tribes of the interior sowed no corn, but lived on milk and flesh, and clothed themselves in skins. All of them, however, painted themselves with woad to present a more horrible appearance in battle, all wore their hair long, and shaved their faces except the upper lip. In their warfare the most striking

feature was the employment of war-chariots, with which their warriors did not charge among the ranks, but galloped along the front of the enemy's lines, and, when they perceived a weak place, flung themselves into it and fought on foot. Meanwhile, the charioteers awaited at a convenient distance the result of the conflict, and, if their comrades were defeated, were ready to take them up and either make a retreat or seek a fresh point for attack.

The religion of the Britons, which Caesar tells us had been adopted by the continental Celts, was Druidism. The Druids were an order of priests who exercised a paramount influence over their followers. 'They taught the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which, they believed, had a tendency to inspire men with courage by making them indifferent to death. They also devoted much thought to astronomy, to the magnitude of the universe and of the earth, to the nature of things, to the power and prerogatives of the immortal gods; and their learning they taught to the young men.' Some of their rites were utterly barbarous, and they did not scruple to offer human sacrifices. The influence that Druidism exercised over its followers was immense, for it is thought that it was under the direction of its votaries that the tremendous undertaking of collecting and placing in position the huge blocks of stone which form the mighty monument of Stonehenge and other similar works was carried out.

Caesar made no scientific distinction between the races of Britain; but modern research has decided that, speaking generally, the distribution of Brythons, Goidels, and Ivernians was as follows:—Except the south-eastern counties, inhabited by the Belgae, the great part of southern Britain was occupied by Celts of the Brythonic type, who touched the southern shores of the Bristol Channel, occupied a wedge of country between North and South Wales, afterwards known as Powys, the district between the Dee and Morecambe Bay, and extended northward across the friths

Druids.

**Ethnology
of Britain.**

Belgae.

Brythons.

as far as Loch Earn. This left South and North Wales, the Lake district, the Western Lowlands, and the low-lying lands north of the Forth in the hands of the Goidels, who also occupied the islands of Mona and Man, and all that part of the British isles which was not in the hands of the Ivernians. It is impossible to say how far the Ivernians existed as an independent people. It is probable, however, that the pressure of the Brythons on the Goidelic Celts had led to a fusion of the latter with the Ivernians. A century later Tacitus mentions that in his day the Silures of South Wales presented an appearance different from that of

Goidels.

Ivernians.

**day the
Silures of South Wales presented an appearance different from that of**

the other Britons, and speaks of the olive tincture of their skin and the natural curl of their hair as distinguishing them from the ruddy-haired Celts north of the Wall. From this it is probable that the inhabitants of South Wales had received a large infusion of Ivernian blood. North of the Firth of Clyde and the Tay, it is probable that the Goidels had not established themselves more than along the Eastern Lowlands, and that the Highlands, so far as they were inhabited at all, were still in the hands of an Ivernian population.

The conclusions arrived at from time to time with regard to the difficult but interesting question of the distribution of the early inhabitants of Britain depend upon a variety of evidence. This is supplied by archaeology, ethnology, place-names and inscriptions; and the deductions drawn are liable to modification* from time to time, as further information makes possible a more exact approximation to the truth.

CHIEF DATES

		B.C.
Visit of Pytheas,	. . . »	c. 330
Caesar's invasions of Britain,	. . .	55 and 64

CHAPTEE II

BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMANS

Roman Conquest of Britain—Introduction of Roman Civilisation—Causes of the Withdrawal of the Romans.

AFTER Caesar's invasion, Britain was left in peace by the Romans, partly because their attention was absorbed by the civil wars which preceded the establishment of the Empire, partly because after the restoration of tranquillity it was the policy of Augustus and Tiberius not to engage in wars of aggression. For nearly a century a Roman force was not seen in Britain, and during this interval the Britons made much progress in the arts of peace. Trade with Gaul flourished, and the coins of this period give evidence of the ingenuity and wealth of the inhabitants. However, in the year 43, Tiberius Claudius (41-54 A.D.), the fourth Emperor, determined to annex Britain, and sent Aulus Plautius to effect its subjugation. Plautius found the chief power in the hands of the children of Cunobelinus, who appears to have been a grandson of Cassivellaunus and to have succeeded to his position. The names of his sons were Togodumnus and Caractacus. Aulus Plautius, who had serving under him the famous Aulus Plautius. Third Roman Invasion. Vespasian and his son Titus, defeated the islanders in a battle in which Togodumnus was killed ; and thereupon Caractacus betook himself to the Silures, who lived among the mountains and moorlands of South Wales, and who were probably largely Ivernians. This success led the way to the conquest of the south-eastern portion of the island, and Claudius himself came over to be present at the reduction of Oamulodunum (Colchester), where Ostorius Scapula, the next governor, founded a Roman colony. His next step was to march against Caractacus, Ostorius Scapula. who had been taken as king by the warlike Silures. Him he defeated and sent prisoner to Rome ; but he was unable to effect the subjugation of the mountaineers, and had to content himself for the present with bridling their territory with a line of forts, stretching from the Usk to the Dee, the

chief of which were Caerleon and Chester. The next governor, Suetonius Paullinus, made an attack upon the island of Mona, now called Anglesea, then the headquarters of the Druids, whom the Romans rightly regarded as the centre of national resistance. In the battle which ensued the Britons fought with unexampled fury, even the women mingling in the fray, and the Druids themselves struck terror into the soldiers by the violence of their imprecations; but at length Roman discipline carried the day, the Druids were massacred, and the sacred altars and groves were burnt to the ground. Meanwhile the unaccustomed exactions of the Roman tax-collectors had roused the resentment of the high-spirited Celts. Moreover, they were indignant at the monstrous treatment received by Boadicea and her daughters, in spite of the fact that they had been specially commended to the kind treatment of the Romans by her husband, the late king of the Iceni. Accordingly, the Britons took advantage of the governor's absence in Mona to break out into open revolt. Camulodunum was stormed, and it is said that 70,000 Romans fell victims to the vengeance of the infuriated Britons. Suetonius, however, was prompt to return; against the trained skill of the legions the valour of the Britons only served to swell the number of the slain; and though numbers of the rebels continued under arms, the new province was saved to the Empire. Boadicea, scorning to fall into the hands of her oppressors, saved herself by suicide.

The next important governor of Britain was Agricola, an old officer of Suetonius, and the father-in-law of the historian Tacitus, who has handed down to us a valuable narrative of his career. On his arrival he found that his immediate predecessor, Frontinus, had subjugated the Silures. So he turned his attention to their neighbours the Ordovices, a Brythonic race who lived in what is now Central Wales; and after conquering them he passed on to attack Mona. By causing his auxiliary soldiers to swim across the straits he appears to have surprised the defenders, and the surrender of the island immediately followed. 'Agricola,' says Tacitus, 'was an excellent ruler'; he was well acquainted with past events, and knew 'that conquest, while it loads the vanquished with injury and oppression, can never be secure and permanent.' He determined, therefore, to remove the seeds of future hostility. 'For this purpose he reformed abuses in the army; made promotion strictly a matter of merit; arranged that the forced contributions to the maintenance of the army should be as little irksome as possible,' and was so successful that after his time the Britons are described as 'willingly supplying the army with new levies, paying their tribute without a murmur, and performing all the services of government

with alacrity, provided they had no reason to complain of oppression. When injured their resentment was quick, sudden, and impatient; they were conquered, not broken ; reduced to obedience, not reduced to slavery.' Agricola also encouraged and even aided the Britons to erect temples, courts of justice, and commodious dwelling-houses ; he encouraged the use of Latin, and in fact did all he could to Romanise the natives. The Brigantes, who occupied the territory north of the Humber, having been already conquered, Agricola carried the Roman arms across the Cheviots, and even across the Tay ; but though he beat the Caledonians at the battle of Mons Graupius, between the Tay and the Islay, he contented himself with fixing the Roman frontier between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and in 81 defended it by erecting a series of forts. Agricola was of opinion that a conquest of Ireland would have been both useful and easy, but was recalled before he had time to carry his plan into effect.

Battle of
Mons
Graupius.

In 121, while on a visit to Britain, the Emperor Hadrian gave orders for the building of a stone wall from the mouth of the Eden to that of the Tyne. This fortification was strengthened by succeeding commanders till ultimately it consisted of a stone wall to the north, an earthwork to the south, and a series of forts between them.

Hadrian's
Wall.

South of this line of demarcation the Romans set themselves the task of creating a civilised Britain, as they had already created a civilised Gaul and a civilised Spain. In the first place they secured a complete military ascendancy by occupying all the old *duns* or natural fortifications which had already been selected by the Britons, and fortifying them after their own fashion, selecting the most important of them as sites of future towns, and connecting these by a series of first-rate military roads. Of the towns the most noteworthy are London, situated at the lowest point on the Thames where the river is sufficiently narrow to be bridged, and where there was also a firm bank suitable for un-lading merchandise ; York, at the junction of the Foss and the Ouse, the centre of the great plain of the north ; Lincoln, on the highest point of the low ridge that bounds the Trent valley towards the east; Chester, which commands the lowest crossing-place of the Dee; Uriconium, on the Severn; Caerleon-upon-Usk ; and Bath, even then celebrated for its hot springs.

Roman
Towns.

The main trunk roads were four in number. First, the Watling Street, which, setting out from Dover, crossed the Thames at London, and then turning north-west, made its way to Chester along a line not very different from that followed in our own day by the London and North - Western

Military
Roads.
Watling
Street

Railway, taking in Uriconium on its route; second, the Fosseway, which, starting from Falmouth, crossed the country to Lincoln, cutting the Watling Street not far from Rugby at a place now called High Cross; third, the Ermine Street, which, passing north from London, made its way to Lincoln, whence one portion of it went northwards to the Humber, across which travellers were taken in a ferry-boat, and so on to York; the other, crossing the Trent, made for Doncaster, and then, keeping direct north, reached Tadcaster, where a branch road completed the connection with York. Beyond Tadcaster the main road was continued to Borough Bridge, or rather to the station of Isurium (Aldborough), about a mile lower down the Ure, where it met a branch road from York. After crossing the Ure it went straight to Catterick Bridge on the Swale, where it parted into two branches, one of which crossed the hills to Carlisle and the other made its way to Newcastle, and so completed the connection between London and the two extremities of the great Wall. The fourth of the trunk roads was the Icknield Street, believed to have been called after the Iceni, which ran from Norwich south-west, and ultimately joined the Fosseway near Exeter. These roads were the chief lines of communication, but a network of local roads connected the main thoroughfares with each other, and with towns and ports lying off their track. For example, a continuation of the Watling Street ran from Chester to Manchester and thence to Isurium, where it joined the Ermine Street. The roads did an immense work for the furtherance of civilisation by opening up the country, facilitating town life, and by introducing habits of commercial enterprise. In short, they made Britain for the first time a part of the civilised world.

Nothing proves this more forcibly than a study of the Roman remains which have been brought to light in various parts of the country by the labours of archæologists. They have enabled us to picture for ourselves Roman Britain almost as if it had been visited by travellers of our own time. We can see before us the lofty walls by which the towns were surrounded, and the fortified gates at which watch was kept day and night. We know, too, of beautiful villas with tessellated pavements, of baths public and private, of temples and law-courts, of theatres and amphitheatres, some of which we can see with our own eyes, others which we are able to realise by the aid of the more perfect remains which have been preserved upon the Continent. Besides building towns, bridges, and roads, the Romans did much to develop the natural resources of the country. Traces of their

manufactories of glass and pottery are abundant. Iron, tin, and lead were worked by them upon an extensive scale, and the corn-producing powers of the island were so far developed that Britain became the granary for the legions on the Rhine. As regards the influence of the Roman occupation upon the population of the island, it is probable that its tendency would be towards increasing the mixture of races which already existed. It was the practice of the **Influence on Population.**

Romans never to quarter troops in the district or country where they had been enrolled ; and they sent the British recruits to Africa or the Rhine while foreigners took their places in the stations along the Roman wall. These, when paid off, settled on lands assigned to them in Britain, and added a new element to the race. Another result of this intermixture of the races was the spread of ideas. After exterminating the Druids, the Romans, as was their habit, left the Britons perfect freedom in the exercise of their religion, and the old gods seem to have been worshipped under Roman names; but after a time the knowledge of Christianity was brought over, and, though little is known of its arrival or of the history of the British Church, it is **Introduction of Christianity.**

certain that it acquired a strong hold not only over the Romans in the island, but also over the Romanised Britons. In consequence of its distance from the capital, Britain, happily for its tranquillity, took little part in the political life of the Empire ; and the chief events in its history were the visits of the Emperors Hadrian and **Severus. Constantine.** Severus and the expedition of Constantine, whose career as the son of a Roman father and a British mother may possibly even have excited a national sentiment.

In this way the history of Britain flowed peacefully on for more than three hundred years, when rumours of impending troubles began to make their appearance. This was due to the fact that, owing to internal decay, the Empire was unable to defend itself any longer against the hosts of Barbarians who from the earliest days of Roman ascendancy had been trying to establish themselves within its limits, and had only been kept back from doing so by the whole **Saxon Pirates.** strength of the Roman arms. Of this pressure from the Barbarians Britain felt her full share. Not only did the incursions of the non-Romanised Britons from beyond the Wall and the raids of the Scots from Ireland become more persistent, but also the eastern coast was so much harassed by Saxon pirates from the Elbe that a line of forts had to be constructed to guard the coast, and its defence was intrusted to a special officer with the title of Count of the Saxon shore. As the danger to the heart of the Empire became more and more pressing, the

Romans naturally withdrew their garrisons from the outlying provinces, and the inhabitants of these had either to make terms with the Barbarians or organise the best resistance they could. This was precisely what happened in Britain'; and in the year 410 the Britons were informed that they must take the responsibility of defending themselves, and need no longer look upon their island as part of the Roman Empire. 'Then,' in the words of the Venerable Bede, 'the Romans ceased to rule in Britain, almost 470 years after Caius Julius Csesar entered the island. They resided within the rampart which Severus made across the island, on the south side of it, as the cities, temples, bridges, and paved roads there made testify to this day.' Bede died in the year 735, but long after his day Gerald the Welshman, who lived in the time of Henry i i., tells us of the magnificent ruins which still astonished the eyes of travellers on the site of the ruined Caerleon.

**Withdrawal
of the
Romans
from Britain.**

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Roman conquest begun, ...	43
Agricola's forts built, ...	81
Hadrian's Wall begun, ...	121
Britons left to defend themselves, ...	410

CHAPTEE III

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN BRITAIN

Utterly known of first English Invasions—Gildas's Account most trustworthy
—Later Conquests of Ceawlin and Ethelfrith—Effects of the Conquest on
the Britons.

AFTER the departure of the Roman legions in the year 410, a thick darkness settles down over the fate of the island, which is not finally dispelled for more than a century and a half. Consequently, we are quite ignorant of the details of the English conquest, and even of **Some** essential particulars ; and the imagination of historians, both mediæval and modern, has been freely taxed to supply the deficiency.

Details of
Conquest
unknown.

For some time before the final departure of the legions their presence had been intermittent; and as during all that time Britain had been exposed to the constant incursions of the Barbarians both by land and by sea, some experience of defence must have been acquired by the native levies. Besides the possession of an army, there was no lack of fortifications. Against invasion from the north there were the Walls ; and every inlet of the sea from the Solent to the Wash was secured by a fortress against the intrusion of the Saxons. These coast defences saved southern Britain from immediate invasion, and by their means the Britons of the Saxon shore were able for a whole generation to keep their German assailants at bay. In the north, however, the attacks of the Picts and Scots were incessant, but appear to have been raids rather than attempted conquests ; and neither the Barbarians from beyond the Wall nor the marauders from Ireland ever succeeded in making a permanent settlement on the southern side of Hadrian's great barrier. For some years, therefore, after the departure of the Romans the Britons contrived to present to their enemies a creditable front; and though some of the Latin-speaking inhabit a tith of the south wrote a pitiful request for Roman assistance, styled ' the tears of the Britons/ there does not appeal

Defences of
Britain.

to have been any real danger so long as the battler of the Saxon shore was successfully maintained. However, about thirty years after the departure of the Romans, the Saxons made their way into the country, and before many years had passed they were masters of all the south-east corner of the island—that is, of those districts where the domination of Rome had been most complete; and these marauders were known as Picts, Scots, or Saxons. Besides these, the Britons were attacked by the Scots of Ireland and by the Picts from beyond the Wall

The home of the Saxons was the tract of low-lying country that borders the banks of the river Elbe, the peninsula of Denmark, and the islands which etud that part of the Baltic Sea. They belonged to the Low German branch of the Teutonic family of the Aryan race. At that date the Saxons had no pretensions to education, so for our knowledge of their manners we have to rely upon the accounts of others. Of these the most important is that which Tacitus gives in his *Germania*, a description written by him in the first century after Christ for the information of the Roman world. Speaking of all the tribes who dwelt between the extremity of the Baltic and the Rhine, he remarked that they were an unmixed race,¹ having, the same form and feature, stern blue eyes, ruddy hair, their bodies large and robust, but powerful only in sudden efforts.' A few tribes had kings, others had chiefs, but the authority of their kings or chiefs was extremely limited ; indeed, as one of these told Caesar, ' the people had as many rights against him as he had against them.' Both the kings and the military leaders were chosen in open meeting of the freemen of the tribe or clan. In matters of inferior moment the council of chiefs decided, but graver questions were submitted to the assembly of freemen; and so independent were the warriors, that they rarely arrived punctually on the day appointed for fear of being thought to have shown a servile respect for authority. * In the assembly the king or chief of the community opened the debate : the rest were heard : ' their turn, according to age, nobility of descent, renown in war, or fan for eloquence. No man dictated to the assembly; he might persuade, bt he could not command.' For purposes of government the territory each tribe was divided into districts called *pagi*, and each of these seq one hundred men to the host. In war the warriors were ranged in

¹ Some limitation must be put on what Tacitus says of the purity of German " blood. Probably he speaks only of the warriors; the mass of slaves by whom they were followed must have been recruited from many races, especially after habits of piracy were adopted.

families, and the women were accustomed to accompany the army, so that every man felt that the eyes of his whole kindred were upon him. Both in war and peace 'those who had signalised themselves by a spirit of enterprise had always a number of retainers in their train.' A spirit of emulation prevailed among the whole band, all struggling to be first in their lord's favour. In battle it was disgraceful for the chief to fall behind his followers, or for the followers to fall behind their chief : food was the only pay provided by the leader, and this he was expected to give in abundance. In Germany the utmost sanctity was given to the institution of marriage, polygamy was the exception, and vice of all kinds was severely punished. Unlike the Romans, the Germans detested town life, and Ammianus Marcellinus says 'that they beheld the Roman cities with contempt, and called them sepulchres encompassed with nets.' Their habit was to live apart, and even in their villages the houses were always detached one from another. Their chief wealth consisted of cattle; and, though corn was grown, they despised agriculture. 'To cultivate the earth and wait the regular produce of the seasons was not the maxim of a German; you more easily persuaded him to attack the enemy and provoke honourable wounds in the day of battle.' In a word, to earn by the sweat of your brow what you might gain by the price of your blood was, in the opinion of a German, a sluggish principle unworthy of a soldier. It is clear from the account of Tacitus that the German warriors were incorrigibly idle: they left the work of the field to their slaves, and that of the house to their wives and daughters, while they themselves, when not engaged in council or war, occupied themselves with hunting, sleeping, drinking, or dice. In short, they had both the virtues and the vices of a free and high-spirited but uncivilised race.

Of the Saxons, in particular, Tacitus says nothing, and only mentions the Angles to say that they have no special characteristics. It may therefore be taken for granted that these tribes are fairly delineated by his description of the Germans in general. The Saxons. It is remarkable that Tacitus had only heard of one tribe of seafaring Germans, the Suiones, and that he should place the Angles far from the coast; but after his day the shifting of the tribes must have brought the Angles down to the shore, when the seductions of piracy must have incited the landsmen to follow their old trade of robbery upon a new element. At any rate, long before the Romans left Britain they were well acquainted with the audacity of the Saxon seamen, who, as was said of the Suiones, 'inhabited the ocean,' and chose the stormiest weather to put to sea as most favourable to their nefarious designs. Some years ago one of their war canoes was dug up in a bog in Sleswick, and was

found to be sixty-one feet long, nine feet broad, propelled by twenty-four oars, and capable of carrying one hundred and twenty men.

The documentary evidence which relates to the early years of the English conquest is to be found in four books, namely : Gildas *On the Destruction of Britain* ; the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede; the *History of the Britons*, which goes under the name of Nennius; and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Gildas was born in the year 516 and wrote about 560 ; Bede was born in 672 and died in 735 ; the *History of the Britons* was composed in the latter half of the ninth century; and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* a little later. The only contemporary writer, therefore, is Gildas, and even he was not born till the Romans had left Britain more than a century. His book, too, is much more of a sermon on the wickedness of the Britons than a narrative, and is very rhetorical and involved; but, on the other hand, Gildas's statements being merely bases for his reflections, and being made to persons who knew at any rate the traditional truth, are not liable to the charge of invention.

Taking Gildas, then, as our guide, we find that the most serious foes of the Britons were the Picts and the Scots, and that no trouble was at first experienced from the Saxons. This is perfectly natural, because so long as the forts of the Saxon shore were repaired and garrisoned it would be perfectly useless for the Saxons, wholly unaccustomed, as they must have been, to the art of besieging such places, to try and pass them. At the end of thirty years, however, there were two rival authorities, whose names, Gurthrigernus and Aurelius, suggest a Celtic and Roman division; and one of these, Gurthrigernus or Vortigern, called in the Saxons, and the usual quarrel between mercenaries and their employers followed. The Saxons, having thus by the folly of the Britons been permitted to pass the fortresses of the Saxon shore, were able to land at pleasure, and soon made their raids so formidable that the whole of the inhabitants of the lowlands were slaughtered, fled over sea, surrendered as slaves, or led a miserable life in the hills and woods. After a time the Saxons came into conflict with Aurelius and his followers, and suffered a crushing defeat, and after a long alternation of success and failure were completely routed at Mount Badon in 516, after which their attacks upon the Celts ceased for a time. Nevertheless, so ruinous had been the long struggle, that the Celts could no longer occupy their former possessions, so that the land lay desolate. This last statement of Gildas supplies the key to much that has hitherto appeared obscure; for the settlements of the English were made not in lands from which the Britons had just been driven, but in districts which had for some time in waste, then the disappearance of the British race, with its language,

customs, and religion, and its complete replacement by the English race, becomes perfectly intelligible and in strict accord with the only contemporary narrative that has come down to us.

As regards, therefore, the conquest of the east coast, no details can be given, and little can be added to the words of Bede enumerating the tribes which, in his day, inhabited what had once been the most flourishing part of the old Roman province. 'Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations of Germany—the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent and of the Isle of Wight, and those of the province of the West-Saxons, who are to-day called Jutes, seated opposite the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, from the country now called old Saxony, came the East-Saxons, the South-Saxons, and the West-Saxons. From the Angles, that is, from the country now called Anglia, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, which is said to remain desert from that time to this day, are descended the East-Angles, the Midland-Angles, Mercians, and all the race of the Northumbrians, that is, of those nations that dwell on the north side of the river Humber and all the nations of the English.'

Of the internal condition of the British community at this period very little is known; but from Welsh chronicles it is inferred that they acknowledged the rule of one prince, the most notable of whom was Ounedda. He seems to have ruled from the mouth of the Clyde to the Severn. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is less cautious than the Northern historian, but its assertions cannot be reconciled with the facts of which Gildas is a contemporary witness; while Nennius makes the Britons victorious in every battle of a war in which they were undoubtedly driven from their country. In all probability, therefore, the manner of the coming of the West-Saxons was soon forgotten by their descendants, and was afterwards supplied by conjecture.

However, about the time when Gildas was writing, there came to the throne of the West-Saxons a king whose Long reign from 560 to 590 brings UB almost to the date of the arrival of Christian missionaries, and, with them, of competent and educated historians. This king was Ceawlin, and from his reign the authentic history of the English conquest of Britain may be said to begin. Ceawlin's first exploit was a war against Ethelbert of Kent; and after confining him to his own territory, Ceawlin turned his arms against the Britons, and so terminated the long peace which, according to Gildas, an eye-witness, followed the battle of Mount Badon

Bede's
Statements.

Condition of
the British.

Nennius
and Anglo-
Saxon
Chronicle
irreconcil-
able with
facts.

Beginning
of Authentic
History.

Ceawlin.

First he drove them out of the valley of the upper Thames, and then, in 577, he crossed the Fosseway and stormed the great camp at Dyrham,

Battle of Dyrham. where for the first time the English invaders looked down on the fair plain of Severn and the distant mountains of Wales.

The cities of Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester were the spoil of the victors, and they were sacked so effectively by the rude Barbarians that they lay desolate for centuries ; so undisturbed by the presence of man that a wild duck ventured to make her nest and lay her eggs in one of the most beautiful of the luxurious Roman baths. Seven years later, Ceawlin followed up his victory by a second invasion of the valley of the

Battle of Faddiley. Severn; and though he was turned back on the borders of modern Cheshire by a defeat at Faddiley, the fine city of

Uriconium was burnt to the ground, Roman civilisation was completely effaced, and the Saxons returned to their own land laden with spoil. From that day the lower Severn valley began to be occupied by a Teutonic population, whose speech attested their West-Saxon origin.

Meanwhile, the Anglian settlements of Bernicia and Deira, which occupied the coast from the Forth to the Tees, and from the Tees to the Ethelfrith. Humber, had been united under the great Ethelfrith ; and in 603 he won a decisive victory over the Scots dwelling in Dawstone. Britain, at Dawstone, near Carlisle. Four years later he

Battle of Chester. was again in the field, and won a still more decisive battle at Chester. After the fight the Roman city of Chester was

sacked, and for three centuries its site lay desolate and forlorn. A great change in the condition of Celtic Britain followed the battle of Chester.

Establishment of the English. The low-lying lands between the Dee and the Ribble soon fell into the hands of the Northumbrians, and likewise the outlying settlemeats of the Celts, who seem, till then, to

have held their own in the highlands of the Peak and in the woods and moors of Loidis and Elmete. Henceforward, three Welsh districts only are recognised as independent: Cornwall, or West Wales; Wales proper, or North Wales ; and Strathclyde. Of these, Cornwall included all those parts of the modern Somerset and Devon which had not yet fallen under the rule of the West-Saxon kings, but was cut off by an ever-increasing tract of English territory from its Welsh neighbours. North Wales, strong in its mountain fastnesses, was able for years to resist any further advance of the Saxons ; and Strathclyde, the name given to the rugged tract between Morecambe Bay and the Clyde, offered little inducement to repay the danger of invasion.

Edwin, the successor of Ethelfrith, appears to have had command of a fleet, with which he conquered the islands of Man and of Mona, henceforth called Anglesey the island of the Angles, The chief antagonist of

Edwin was a British prince named Cadwallon. Him Bede speaks of as *rex Brittonum* or *Bretonum dux*; and for a time Edwin seems, on the authority of the Welsh chroniclers, to have driven him into exile and ruled over his state. According to Bede, Edwin was the first of the English chiefs to rule over both English and Britons and adopt something of Roman state. His dignity was so great throughout his dominions that his banners were not only borne before him in battle out even in time of peace; when he rode about his cities and towns or provinces with his officers, the standard-bearer was wont to go before him. Also when he walked along the streets that sort of banner which the Romans called *Tufa* and the English *Tuuf* was in like manner borne before him.¹

The regular advance of the English, culminating in the crushing defeat of the Britons at Dyrham, Dawstone, and Chester, made a great alteration in the geographical distribution of the Celts. During the fifth and sixth centuries, however, two great changes had taken place; first, the English invasions had the effect of fusing together the Goidelic and Brythonic elements of Celtic Britain, and henceforward the distinction was lost in the name of Kymri or *allies*, which was adopted as the common name of the race, while the Brythonic dialect seems to have replaced the Goidelic in Southern Britain; second, the Goidels of Ireland, in the fifth century, began a series of incursions on the Ivernian territory of the Western Highlands, and established themselves in Argyle, from whence they spread gradually north and east, absorbing or exterminating the ancient inhabitants, till the new settlements were bounded by the ancient Brythonic and Goidelic districts. The newcomers were known as Scots, and the name Scotland for years applied only to the territory occupied by them. With regard, however, to all questions of the distribution of population, either in the English or Celtic parts of the island, it is necessary to speak with extreme caution. Even in the purest districts, the population can have been by no means unmixed; and modern researches tend to strengthen the belief in the survival of the ancient races wherever fen, forest, or hill gave an advantage to the defenders, or where the barrenness of the soil placed a natural bound to the cupidity of the new-comers.

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
First English settlement,	e. 440
Battle of Mount Badon,	516
Accession of Ceawlin, .	660
Battle of Dyrham,	577
Battle of Dawstone, .	603
Battle Of Chester,	

CHAPTER IV

THE CONVERSION OF THE ENGLISH

Preaching of Augustine and of the Celtic Missionaries—Synod of Whitby—
Organisation of the Church of Theodoric—Influence of the Church—
Supremacy of the Northumbrians, then of the Mercians, then of the West
Saions under Egbert.

MEANWHILE, in the old and long settled kingdom of Kent a change had been taking place which, in a certain sense, was undoing the work of those who had broken down the civilisation of Rome and replaced it by Teutonic barbarism; for between the battles of Dyrham and Chester the introduction of Christianity by Roman missionaries began the process of restoring Britain to a place in the civilised world. Christianity had been introduced into Britain during the Roman occupation ; but it is not known how far it had been accepted by the mass of the people, and it is singular that no Christian emblems have been found in excavating among Roman remains. However, on the retirement of the Romans and the flight of the Britons, Christianity vanished from southern Britain, and the crumbling ruins of a few churches alone remained to show that it had ever existed. So complete was the severance between the Britons and the English that no attempt was made by the former to preach the Gospel to the invaders. Their missionary activity was confined to spreading the faith among the more backward sections of their own countrymen. David, said to have been a relation of the Welsh chief Cunedda, preached to the Goidels of South Wales ; Ninias, the founder of the monastery of Whithern, converted the rude tribes of Galloway ; and Patrick, a native of Dunbarton (Brythons-town) at the mouth of the Clyde, won the Goidels of Ireland to the Christian faith. Before the close of the sixth century all the Britons who lived either in Ireland or south of the Firth of Clyde were nominally converted to Christianity. The Scots of Argyll, however, and the other inhabitants of northern Scotland were still heathen. However, in 563, St. Calwnba,

an Irishman from Ulster, the greatest of the Celtic missionaries, attempted their conversion, and, having persuaded their king to give him the island of Iona, built upon it a monastery which for several centuries was a home of missionary effort. In his immediate neighbourhood Columba converted the Celts, and then passed on to address himself to the Picts of the north, to whom he could speak only through an interpreter. But though Columba went so far afield in search of converts, it does not appear that he made any advances to the English conquerors; and two other great Irishmen, St. Columban and St. Gall, passed England by for the field of Continental labour.

However, according to the well-known tale, the little slave boys, captives in a civil war between the Anglian kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, attracted the pity of Gregory, a Roman priest, the greatest ecclesiastic of the time; and in the very year of Columba's death, Gregory (now pope) despatched the monk Augustine and his followers to win back to Christendom the lost island of Britain. So ignorant were the Italians, and so credulous were the missionaries of Gallic stories of English barbarity, that for a time Augustine hung back, and only the positive orders of Gregory compelled him to proceed. The mission was directed to Ethelbert, king of Kent. That sovereign was by no means ignorant of Christianity, for he had married Bertha, a Christian lady, the daughter of Charibert the Frank, king of Paris, and she was allowed by her husband to practise her religion. In 597, Augustine and his forty followers, all monks like himself, landed in the island of Thanet. For fear of magic Ethelbert received them sitting in the open air; and, having heard Augustine's sermon, and seen the image of the Saviour painted upon a board, and listened to the harmonious chanting of the monks, he made, as reported by Bede, who learned the tradition of it from successors of Augustine, the following wise speech : * 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 what I have so long followed with the whole English nation. But because you are come from far unto my kingdom, and, as I conceive, are desirous to impart unto 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.' The monastic simplicity of the apostles of the new faith, and their manifest intention of practising in their own persons the virtues they prescribed to others won many converts. Before long Ethelbert

Columba.

Gregory the Great.

Mission of Augustine.

Conversion of the Kentishmen.

himself accepted the new religion, and Kent was reckoned to be the firstfruits of the conversion of the English.

On hearing of their success, Gregory wrote to the missionaries a series of very politic directions for their future conduct, and also sent a letter of advice to Ethelbert himself. He counselled the missionaries to utilise as far as possible not only the fabrics of the Pagan temples but also the habit of attending them at certain times for religious purposes. The buildings, he directed, were to be purified and a Christian turn given to the old ceremonial; for, wrote Gregory, 'it is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds; because he who endeavours to ascend to the highest place rises by degrees or steps, and not by leaps.' To the king, however, he enjoins the duty of putting down the worship of idols with a stern hand, coupling it, however, with that of setting to his subjects the example of a Christian life. Having apparently no clear notion of the political divisions of the English, Gregory was in expectation that the conversion of the whole race would follow immediately on that of the Kentishmen, and accordingly he devised a constitution for the English Church based on that supposition. There were to be two archbishoprics, York and London, of which the primacy was to be enjoyed by the senior of the two archbishops for the time being. Together they were to direct the affairs of the English Church, and each was to consecrate twelve suffragan bishops who were to act as his synod. This plan, however, was too comprehensive and far-seeing to square with the actual possibilities of the case; and Augustine found it better to make Canterbury, Ethelbert's capital, the metropolitan see, and during his own lifetime he was only able to place suffragans at Rochester and London.

Augustine was soon called upon to face the difficulty created by the existence in the island of a British church. This church had no connection with that of Gregory, from which it had been separated Celtic Christians, for nearly two centuries by a gulf of barbarian heathenism. In their isolation the British Christians had retained several practices which had been discarded at Rome. They did not keep Easter according to the newest calculation, and they shaved the heads of their clergy in an unusual pattern. According to Bede, St Augustine met the leaders of the British clergy at a place which was called Augustine's Oak, now Aust, and began by brotherly admonitions to persuade them that, preserving Catholic unity with him, they should undertake the common labour of preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles. However, his advances were not favourably received; and after a second failure the division between the two churches became even more marked—so much so that when, the monks of Bangor were slain by Ethelfrith at the battle of

Chester, the Roman missionaries regarded their fate as a judgment of God. A similar advance to the Irish church was equally unavailing, so the Welsh and Irish continued for many years to work on different lines from the Anglican churches.

In the year 616 Ethelbert died. As Bede quaintly puts it, 'He was the third of the English kings that had the rule of all the southern provinces that are divided from the northern by the river Humber ; but the first of the kings that ascended to the heavenly kingdom.' A pagan reaction followed his death, and spread to the neighbouring kingdom of Essex. Augustine was dead ; the bishops of London and Rochester fled to the Continent, and Lawrence of Canterbury was on the point of departure when he was stayed by the appearance of a vision. His decision was justified by the event, and the church, though not so prosperous as it had been in the days of Ethelbert, succeeded in holding its ground.

Meanwhile, political events were bringing about a new opportunity for missionary enterprise. From the earliest landing of the English the wars for supremacy among themselves had been as frequent as those with the Britons, and now one king and now another had gained authority over the neighbouring states. The king who for the time being exercised supreme authority, styled himself Bretwalda—a word of doubtful meaning, sometimes interpreted as ruler of Britain, sometimes as broad-ruler. Among those who exercised such a leadership south of the Humber, Bede names Ella, king of the South-Saxons, Ceawlin, king of the West-Saxons, Ethelbert of Kent, and Redwald of East-Anglia. A still more extensive sway was exercised by the great Edwin of Northumbria, who 'commanded all the nations as well of the English as of the Britons, except only the people of Kent. However, between Northumbria and Kent an alliance was made.

A marriage was arranged between Edwin and Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, but it was stipulated that she should follow her own faith; and in the year 625 she set out, taking with her as her chaplain a follower of Augustine, named Paulinus, who had been consecrated bishop. Edwin, who is represented as being a man of most honourable feeling, and of an original and independent turn of mind, reserved his opinion on the new faith; and though he listened to the eager arguments of Paulinus, 'being a man of extraordinary sagacity, he often sat alone by himself a long time, silent as to his tongue, but deliberating in heart how he should proceed, and to which religion he should adhere.' No efforts were spared to gain so valuable a convert. The pope himself addressed long and excellent

letters both to the king and to the queen, and sent to Edwin some clothes and a gold ornament, and to Ethelburga a silver looking-glass and a gilt ivory comb. An escape from assassination, the birth of a daughter, and a decisive victory over the West-Saxons also influenced the king ; and at length he took council with his wise men, who seem to

Coifi's
Speech.

have been as shrewd and serious as their master. One of them, Coin the high priest, declared he could see little value in the old faith, or he, the most diligent of its votaries, would be in greater prosperity than he was; and another of finer mould pronounced a parable which will never be forgotten for its beauty : •The present life of man seems to me, O king, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your captains and ministers of state, and a good fire in the midst, while the storms of wind and snow rage abroad : the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door, and immediately out at another, whilst he is within is safe from the wintry storm; but after a short space of fair weather, he immediately vanishes out of your sight into the dark winter from which he had escaped. So this life of man appears for a short space, but of what went before or what is to follow we are utterly ignorant. If, therefore, this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed¹ Paulinus was then called in to state his views, and

Conversion
of the North-
umbrians.

after hearing them Coin was the first man to desecrate the temples of the heathen deities. Edwin himself accepted the new creed, and his subjects by the thousand presented themselves for baptism. A friend of Bede had actually spoken to one of these converts, who described Paulinus 'as tall of stature, a little stooping, his hair black, his visage meagre, his nose slender and aquiline, his aspect both venerable and majestic.' One advantage of the introduction of Christianity was that from that period we can rely upon documentary evidence, which is both truthful and well-informed, and so leave behind us the period of conjecture and myth.

At the time when Edwin received Christianity, his authority was acknowledged as paramount by all the kingdoms of the English except that of Kent, and also by the Britons; but about seven years afterwards a coalition was made against him by

Revolt of
Penda.

Cadwailon. Penda, king of the Mercians, and the British king Cadwallon (Cadwalla). They fought against the Northumbrians at Hatfield, on the Roman road between Doncaster and Lincoln. Edwin was defeated and killed; and Cadwailon, who, according to Bede, was more cruel to the English Christians than if he had been a heathen, ravaged

Northumbria with fire and sword. Before the storm Paulinus retired by sea to Kent, taking with him Ethelburga and some of the king's children, and for a time Christianity perished. Edwin's place was taken by a younger brother and by a son of Ethelfrith, who divided the kingdom between them; but within a year both were slain by Cadwallon, one in fight, the other by treachery. Then Oswald, another son of the great Ethelfrith, who during the reign of Edwin had lived in exile at Iona, came to the throne. He was a mighty warrior, and with a small force he encountered and overthrew the boastful Cadwallon at a place called the Denissburn, the site of which, though it cannot now be identified, is said by Bede to be near Hexham, and not far from the Roman wall. After this victory Oswald reigned in peace for nine years.

This interval was employed by the king to restore Christianity. He sent for missionaries from the abbey of Iona, where he had himself learned the faith in exile, and the abbot selected St. Aidan for the work. He was a man of singular tact and discretion, of great purity of life and nobility of character, who gained the confidence of the English by *teaching no otherwise than as he and his followers lived.' Oswald himself was pleased to act as the interpreter of the bishop, and, supported by such authority and example, the popularity of Christianity was restored. Aidan, being a Scot, followed the practice of that church in making a monastery the centre of his operations. This he fixed on the island of Lindisfarne, within sight of Bamborough, the royal city, and Lindisfarne became to the Northumbrians what Iona had been to the Scots.

Meanwhile, the Roman missionaries had been by no means idle. Essex had been won back to the faith; Felix, a Burgundian, whose name is still preserved in Felixstow, had converted the East Anglians; Birinus, an Italian, had won over the West-Saxons. The Mercians, under King Penda, and the outlying kingdom of the savage South-Saxons, alone remained completely heathen.

Like Edwin, Oswald is described by Bede as having 'brought under his dominion all the nations and provinces of Britain'; but his power raised up resistance, and in 642 he was killed in battle by Penda at a place called Maserfield, which is generally thought to be identical with Oswestry in Shropshire, formerly spelt Oswald's-tree. Oswald appears to have been a man of fine character, brave, generous, and singularly humble-minded. Succeeding ages recognised him as a saint, and many churches were dedicated to his honour. On the death of Oswald his place was taken by his brother Oswy, the

last of the sons of Ethelfrith, who secured his power by the treacherous murder of Oswin, the son of King Edwin. For thirteen years

Oswy.

**Battle of
Winwed-
field.**

Oswy's kingdom was cruelly harried by Penda and the Mercians; but at last in 655 Oswy defeated him in a battle by the river Win wed, said by Bede to have been in the neighbourhood of Loidis or Leeds, and the old king—he was eighty years of age—perished in the fight. Penda was admitted by his enemies to have been a man of some nobility of character. He made no objection to the preaching of the missionaries in his dominions, nor to the acceptance of the new faith by his son ; but if the Christian converts were slack in the performance of their religious duties, he was unsparing in his contempt. Three years after the death

Wulfhere.

of Penda, the Mercians regained their independence, and set up as their king Wulfhere, a son of Penda. He was a Christian; and from that date, 658, Sussex alone remained heathen.

Meanwhile, a serious difficulty was arising through the divergence in practice which existed between the Scottish and Roman churches, to

**Difference
between
Roman and
Celtic
Churches.**

which the northern and southern churches of the English respectively belonged. Colman, the successor of Aidan maintained the superiority of the Scottish practice ; but James the Deacon, a follower of Paulinus, who had stayed in the north when his chief left Northumbria, had always adhered to the Roman calendar, and he was now supported by Wilfrid, abbot of Ripon, a young man of great ability, who had been instructed abroad. To con-

**Synod of
Whitby.**

sider the question, a synod was held at Whitby (664), of which the leading members were Colman, Agilbert the Frank, who had become bishop of the West-Saxons, Wilfrid, and James. The crisis was momentous, for a victory of the Scots would have had the effect not only of cutting off the English church from communion with the great mass of Western Christendom, but also of depriving the English nation of a share in the wealth of Roman culture and civilisation, of which the Roman church was the chief depository. Colman spoke first. 'The Easter I keep,' said he, 'I received from my elders, who sent me hither as a bishop, and all our forefathers kept it after the same manner.' For the other side, Wilfrid based his defence on the ground that the Roman plan was used in Italy; France, Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, and, indeed, by all the world 'except the Picts and Britons, who foolishly in these two out-of-the-way islands—and only in a part even of them—oppose the rest of the universe.' After some further debate, Oswy inquired of Colman, 'Whether it were true that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to Peter by our Lord ? and, Whether he could show any such

power given to Columba?' Colman answered, 'None.' Then said the king, 'If Peter is the doorkeeper, I will never contradict him; but so far as I know and am able, I will obey his decrees in all things, lest when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven there should be none to open them.' The king's decision commanded applause. Colman went home, and after a short time Wilfrid became the bishop of the Northumbrians. From this time forward the English church followed the Roman customs, and after a time the Irish and Scottish churches began to conform to its example.

*Withdrawal
of the Celtic
Clergy.*

Wilfrid was perhaps the most picturesque and interesting figure produced by the native English church before the days of Dunstan. Son of a Northumbrian thane, his ability early attracted the notice of Eanfled, the wife of Oswy, and he was sent by her to be educated in Aidan's monastery of Lindisfarne. Then, accompanied by his friend Benedict Biscop, he made the journey to Rome, and on his return, filled with enthusiasm for Rome and all she had to teach, he was intrusted with the task of educating the king's son. Afterwards he became abbot of Ripon, and took a distinguished part in the Synod of Whitby. On his promotion to the see of York, Wilfrid crossed over to Gaul to assure himself of a canonical consecration, and on his return found that his place had been occupied by Chad, a missionary monk of the type of St. Aidan.

*Bishop
Wilfrid.*

Chad.

Meanwhile, a vacancy having occurred in the see of Canterbury, Oswy sent an Englishman to be consecrated at Rome. There he died in 667. and in his place Pope Vitalian consecrated Theodore, a Greek and native of Tarsus in Cilicia. Theodore's mission was to carry out a complete reorganisation of the English church, and his first act was to place Wilfrid at the head of the see of York, though he conferred on Chad the scarcely less important bishopric of the Mercians. Theodore then held a synod of the whole English church, and explained the canons which he thought proper to be observed. Bishops were for the future to confine themselves to their own dioceses, and clergymen were to preach only in dioceses where they held a licence from the bishop. Theodore travelled throughout the length and breadth of the land, seeing with his own eyes that his orders were observed, deposing some bishops and translating others, and everywhere enforcing the order and regularity which were characteristic of the Roman world.

*Archbishop
Theodore.*

*The Re-
organisation
of the
Church.*

In his own diocese Wilfrid showed an example not only of apostolic energy, but also of the magnificence which had begun to be a

characteristic of the Roman clergy. In a country which had hitherto contented itself with buildings of wood he built minsters of the most elaborate workmanship then attainable at York, Ripon, and Hexham, while his friend Benedict Biscop revealed to his countrymen the glories of stained glass and choral music. However, a quarrel arose in which Wilfrid appears on one side and King Egfrith and Theodore on the other. Driven into exile, Wilfrid preached to the Frisians, and so became the first of a line of English missionaries, the most famous of whom is Boniface, the apostle of Germany. The pope then took up his cause, but Egfrith and Theodore paid little attention to his authority, and Wilfrid was cast into prison. Released at length, he fled to the heathens of Sussex, whose respect he won by teaching them the art of fishing, and so effected their long-deferred conversion. Presently a reaction occurred in his favour; the dying Theodore named Wilfrid as his successor, but, his enemy Egfrith being dead, Wilfrid chose to return to his own see of York. Again he quarrelled with the king; again he appealed to the pope; and this time, being supported by the archbishop of Canterbury, he triumphed, and in the year 709 Wilfrid closed his long and wearisome career in peace. His life was written by his friend Eddi, and is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the time.

Besides Wilfrid, the chief saints of the native English church are Caedmon, Cuthbert, and Bede. CaedmoD, the poet, was attached to the abbey of Whitby, and composed there a paraphrase of the Old Testament. Cuthbert was a monk of Melrose who became abbot of Lindisfarne, and afterwards bishop. He was a man of singular piety who delighted in nothing more than in preaching the Gospel to villages so remote and inaccessible that others had passed them by for more frequented paths. Bede was a monk of Jarrow who never held office in the church, but devoted a long life to the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge. He left no less than thirty-seven works, and his *Ecclesiastical History* is the only really complete account of the English at the date of their conversion. The change which had been introduced into England by Archbishop Theodore finally decided the form which should be taken by the constitution of the Church of England. In the days which followed the flight of Paulinus, Gregory's system had for all practical purposes been forgotten. In the church of St. Aidan a wholly different system of government prevailed. There the life of the church had its centre in the monastery. The bishop was the subordinate of the abbot, and looked to his monastery

**Wilfrid
in North-
umbria.**

Caedmon.

Cuthbert.

Bede.

**Celtic
Church
Govern-
ment.**

for orders and advice. Moreover, the tendency of the bishop was not to attach himself to a fixed sphere of work, but to wander about the country ; and so the multiplication of bishops became a fruitful source of disorder. The Roman plan was the very opposite of this. Founded probably in imitation of the political system of the Roman empire, the Roman church sought its ideal in the regular succession of powers—the parish, the diocese, the province, and the papacy. Every official of the church worked in a well-defined sphere ; no one was to intrude upon the province of another. The introduction of such a system into England was the very best thing that could have happened in the interest of national unity, and it was even fortunate that in Theodore's constitution there was only one archbishop for the whole land. Theodore's national synods, and the enforcement of one ecclesiastical system for the whole island without regard to minor political distinctions, were exactly what was wanted to counteract the element of discord supplied by the

Roman
Church
Govern-
ment.

Its influence
on National
Life.

unceasing struggles between rival kingdoms. The strongest proof of the beneficent result of the Roman system is supplied by the history of Ireland, where the church, having no centralised constitution of its own, fell completely into subservience to the politics of the local chiefs, and so missed the opportunity of conferring an inestimable blessing upon the country. From a similar disaster in England we were saved by the decision of King Oswy and by the organising ability of Archbishop Theodore. Here the church contrived to avoid the snare of being drawn into the strife which raged between the petty kingdoms, and had as a rule kept itself clear of the political squabbles which agitated each of the little states into which the land was divided. It maintained the principle that the church was the church of the whole English nation when the existence of such a nation was barely recognised by the lay world ; and the synods and councils, attended by bishops from the length and breadth of the island, were for long the only councils in which men from different kingdoms consulted together for purposes that affected the whole English people. In the courts of law there was as yet no distinction between the layman and the cleric. The crimes of each were dealt with in the same courts and by the same process of law ; and the presence of the bishops and of the parish priests was in itself a check upon the barbarity of those early times. Moreover, the whole influence of the church was thrown into the scale in favour of purity and innocence of life. The pure lives of the monks who came with Augustine and with Aidan were, as we saw, the best credentials of Christianity; and though, when monasteries grew

Good
example of
Clergy and
Monks.

common and their opulence increased, many unworthy men and women took the vows, still the existence in such barbarous times of monastic establishments whose inmates were men of peace, and maintained a standard of culture superior to that of their neighbours, distinctly made for civilisation.

But if the monks taught by example, the parish clergy brought a sterner code to bear upon the passions of the people. Hitherto the idea of sin had been little known. In the eye of the state, murder could be expiated by the payment of a fine ; and so slight was the value put upon human life, that crimes of violence were of everyday occurrence, while vice and gluttony passed unrebuked. Against this state of things Theodore opposed the penitential system of the Roman church, according

The Penitential System.

to which murder was not only a crime against the state, but a sin against God to be expiated by the penance of the murderer. Such crime carried with it the necessity of fasting and prayer, often carried on for years; and until the penance enjoined by the church was complete the guilty party was regarded as outside the pale of the church and debarred from the benefit of taking part in its rights. In this way the church surrounded crime and the criminal with a feeling of religious awe ; and though the temptation to commute penance for a money payment ultimately proved too strong for many of the clergy, and at the best too little stress was laid on the inward nature of repentance, still it is incontestable that among a rude people like the Saxons the effects of the first introduction of the penitential system were excellent.

The Venerable Bede died in 735, and after his death and the termination of his *Ecclesiastical History* it is very difficult to follow the intricacies of

Death of Bede.

English affairs. No other historian arose to take his place, and for a long time the entries in the *Chronicle* are provokingly meagre, and have to be eked out by scraps of information collected in the twelfth century by Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury from authorities which have not come down to us.

Absence of Contemporary Authorities.

Apart from the introduction of Christianity, the most important events which took place in the seventh and eighth centuries were those which were concerned with the struggle for supremacy which was going on between the several English kingdoms ; but as this did not properly come under ecclesiastical history, even Bede supplies very little information, and after his death we are even more ignorant of what went on, until the great Alfred placed the compilation of the *Chronicle* upon a systematic footing.

It appears, however, that about the time of the coming of Augustine the scattered English settlements had been consolidated as follows ;—In the north, the Anglian kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira had been formed into Northumbria; the north folk and the south folk made up the kingdom of the East-Angles ; Essex, Kent, and Sussex remained much as they had been at the conquest; Wessex had come to include not only the lands south of the Thames, but also the Isle of Wight and those districts of the Severn valley which had been overrun by Ceawlin. The rest of Middle England was occupied by a number of small tribes, who ultimately coalesced into a kingdom known by the vague title of Mercia, or the borderland.'

**Arrange-
ment of
English
Kingdoms.**

Between these kingdoms there was for two centuries almost constant war ; and if one of them acquired a temporary superiority, it was only at the price of having to meet a succession of rebellions from its subject neighbours. For a time the West-Saxons, under Ceawlin, seemed likely to take the lead ; but after the battle of Chester the Northumbrians came to the front, and in the reigns of Ethelfrith, Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy enjoyed a distinct supremacy, though from time to time the continuity of its sway was broken by successful revolts. Of these the most persistent was that organised by Penda, who for a short time after the battle of Maserfield was decidedly the most powerful king in the island. Under Oswy, however, Northumbria recovered her position, and on the whole kept it till the year 685, when her king Egfrith and almost his entire army were destroyed by the Picts in the disastrous battle of Nectansmere, ' by the shores of the North Sea.'

**Struggle for
Supremacy.**

**Northum-
brian
Supremacy.**

**Battle of
Nectans
mere.**

After this a long period of disorder followed, in which the strength of Northumbria was dissipated, and then Mercia came to the front. Under Penda she had already been a formidable rival, and under his son Wulfhere and his grandnephew Ethelbald her power greatly increased. Wulfhere's principal achievement was the conquest from the West-Saxons of their possessions in the Severn valley ; Ethelred, another son of Penda, overran Kent ; Ethelbald conquered Somerton from the West-Saxons, and led the whole force of the Southumbrians against the Welsh. In 752, however, he was routed by the West-Saxons at the battle of Burford ; but his place was taken by Offa, who of all the Mercian sovereigns was the most renowned.

**Mercian
Supremacy.
Wulfhere.**

**Ethelbald.
Offa.**

Offa was a descendant of Penda, and came to the throne in the year 767. He defeated the Kentish men at Otford ; the West-Saxons at

Bensiugton; and, having enticed the king of the East-Angles to his court, he had him treacherously beheaded. Thus he gained supremacy over the south of the island ; but though Northumbria was unable to dispute his power, his authority does not appear to have been recognised beyond the Humber. Against the Welsh, Offa was more successful than any English king since the days of Ethelfrith and Edwin, for he captured the great border stronghold of Shrewsbury, settled Englishmen on the low-lying lands to the west of the Severn and the Dee, and secured them from molestation by erecting from the mouth of the Dee **Offa's Dyke.** to that of the Wye the rampart of earth the remains of which are still known as Offa's Dyke. Offa persuaded Pope Hadrian to make Lichfield an archbishopric, and to place under it the sees of Worcester, Sidnacester, Leicester, Hereford, Elmham, and Dunwich ; so that London, Selsey, Rochester, and Winchester were left under Canterbury, and Ripon, Hexham, Lindisfarne, and Whithern under York. However, after Offa's death, Lichfield lost its archbishop, and the suffragan sees reverted to Canterbury. It was in Offa's days

Charles the Great. that Charles the Great began the career which ended in the restoration of the Roman empire of the West—the most important event in Europe since the invasion of the Teutonic hordes ; and it is a strong proof of the esteem in which the great Englishman was held that Charles condescended to correspond with him on terms of equality. Englishmen, indeed, were well known to Charles, for Alcuin, one of his most learned men, came from Northumbria, and from Alcuin's letters we learn that English merchants were in the habit of resorting to his dominions. One untoward event marked Offa's reign, namely, the first appearance upon the coast of the Scandinavian pirates, who were to attempt in the ninth century to repeat the settlement which the English had carried out in the fifth and sixth. Offa died in 796 ; and though his successor Kenwulf retained Offa's power, from his death the power of the Mercian monarchy, mainly owing to struggles for the crown, rapidly declined.

Meanwhile, the West-Saxons, who since the death of Ceawlin had held a distinctly secondary place, were rapidly coming to the front. This was West-Saxon due to the ability of their king, Egbert, who, having during Supremacy. the life of Offa been compelled to take refuge at the court of

Reign of Egbert. Charles the Great, had learned from the Franks a culture of mind and a refinement of manner to which the English were strangers. He acquired, also, the political and military skill for which the Franks were celebrated ; and the fame of his accomplishments having reached Wessex, his countrymen invited him to return home and **assume the crown,** which **he** did in the year 802.

During his reign of thirty-seven years, Egbert devoted himself to the task of bringing the neighbouring kingdoms under his sway, precisely as his predecessors Edwin and Offa had done in England, and as Charles the Great, king of the Franks, had 'recently done on the Continent. His first exploit was the complete subjugation of Cornwall or West-Wales, and in 825 he broke the power of Mercia by defeating an invading host of Mercians under their king Beornwulf in the great battle of Ellandun. This success he instantly followed up by overrunning the Mercian under-kingdoms, and compelled the men of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Essex to acknowledge his overlordship, while he received the East-Anglians, the hereditary enemies of the Mercians, into alliance. Two years later he invaded Mercia and subdued it, so bringing under his authority all England south of the Humber; and a threat of invasion was sufficient to force the Northumbrians also to offer obedience and allegiance. In 828, Egbert again turned his attention to the Welsh, and conquered North Wales, so that only the Welsh of Strathclyde and the Picts and Scots remained wholly independent. The last years of Egbert were occupied in defending Wessex itself against the invasions of the Northmen—a subject which belongs to a subsequent chapter. At his death, which happened in 839, his dominions showed the same symptoms of disintegration which had been exhibited by those of his predecessors and by the Continental dominion of Charles the Great; for while his eldest son, Ethelwulf, received Wessex, apparently with the overlordship, Kent, Essex, and Sussex were made into an appanage for his younger son, Athelstan. Great indeed as were the achievements of Egbert, there is nothing to show that they would have been more lasting than those of Edwin and Offa had it not been for external causes which ultimately resulted in permanently placing the supremacy of all England in the hands of the West-Saxon dynasty.

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Arrival of Augustine, .	597
Aldan's mission, . . .	634
Synod of Whitby,	664
Arrival of Theodore of Tarsus,	668
Supremacy of Northumbria,	617-685
Supremacy of Mercia, .	726-825
Egbert becomes King of the English,	827

CHAPTER V

INSTITUTIONS OF THE ENGLISH

Physical Features of the Country -Local Government of the Township, the Hundred, and the Shire—Central Government in the hands of the King and Witenagemot—English Society in the Ninth Century.

IT is now time to deal with the political constitution of the English kingdoms and with the social customs of the English.

From the close of the sixth century to the time of Egbert seven kingdoms stand out as always distinct from one another, though sometimes united in more or less political union. These are those of the Northumbrians, the Mercians, the East-Anglians, the West-Saxons, the East-Saxons, the South-Saxons, and the Kentishmen; and it is important to note that it was usual to speak not of Wessex but of the West-Saxons, the men of the race and not the territory in which they dwelt constituting the political state. Sometimes other groups are spoken of as having a separate existence, such as the men of Surrey or the Lindiswaras ; but in general the states named are the most prominent.

Of these the South and East Saxons were single tribes ; the Kentishmen seem to have been formed by the union of two tribes, whose respective capitals were Rochester and Canterbury; the Mercians and Northumbrians were agglomerations of smaller settlements, whose names and boundaries were preserved down to the time of the settlement of the Northmen; the East-Anglians comprised the North and South folk; and the West-Saxons had absorbed the Meonwaras, Jutish settlers who dwelt in and near the Isle of Wight. Each of these kingdoms was complete in itself; and the position of Egbert was that of a king of the West-Saxons whose overlordship was, for the time being, acknowledged by the other English states.

The boundaries of these kingdoms were prescribed to them by the lie of the country; for in those days the country was covered with rugged mountain, soaking bog, and impenetrable forest to an

extent which it is now difficult to realise, and the rivers themselves must have flowed in volumes of which the dwindled currents of the present day give a very inadequate conception. **Geographical features of the country.** Little indeed was the acreage of arable land which remained when the waste was subtracted from the area of the country.

Besides the dreary moorlands which stretched in almost unbroken solitude from the Firths of Forth and Clyde to the Peak, and the wild uplands of Cleveland, Northumbria consisted of little more than a narrow strip of coast-line from the Forth to the Tees and the plain of the Yorkshire Ouse. Between it and Mercia lay the Humber **The Humber.** and the waste of marshes into which was gathered the whole of the western drainage of the moors of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire. Further inland, the forest of Elmete, which occupied the country between the Wharfe and the Aire, connected the barrier of the marsh with the highlands of the Pennine chain.

Between Mercia and East Anglia stretched along the course of the Ouse as far as Cambridge a dreary waste of fen broken only by veritable islands ; and at Cambridge the forest began, and connected the marshes of the Ouse with those of the estuaries **The Fen.** of the Stour and Orwell, so completing the isolation of East Anglia. From Cambridge another line of woodlands followed the slopes of the Chiltern Hills and divided the East and West Saxons from the men of Mercia, as they were divided from those of Surrey and Kent by the channel of the Thames. Closely **The Chiltern Hills.** followed by the Icknield Street, this line of wood seems to cross the Thames near Wallingford, and under the name of the Bearroc Wood divides the men of Surrey from the West-Saxons ; and then, expanding into the tangled labyrinth of the Weald, which in Alfred's **The Weald.** time was one hundred and twenty miles long and thirty

broad, it formed the boundary of the South-Saxons both against **the** Jutes of Kent and the West-Saxons of the valley of the Itchen. Further west the advance of the Saxons was long delayed by the forest of Selwood, which occupied the water-shed between the Bristol Channel, the Thames, and the Hampshire Avon; while the Mercians were debarred from the direct road into the valley of the Severn by the mass of forest land, afterwards known as the Forest of Arden, which lay between the Severn, the Warwickshire Avon, and the upper waters of the Trent

Within the kingdom the territorial divisions recognised by the English were the township, the borough, the hundred, and the shire; **and some of the original kingdoms were so small that the last division was superfluous.** **Territorial Divisions.** The township and hundred seem to owe

their origin to the circumstances of the invasion itself, which took the form of the settlement in a conquered and possibly in a deserted country of a host of warriors who had arrived with their wives, children, and slaves, bringing with them their flocks and herds—in short, as an emigrating community. In the time of Tacitus the Germans appear to have divided their fighting force into companies of hundreds, without, however, adhering strictly to the exact numerical standard ; and this organisation seems also to have been that of the English invaders of Britain.

The township, therefore, appears to have been either the estate of a single warrior with his family and dependents—in fact, a plantation—or the smallest emigrating community of independent settlers.

The Township. Its constitution accordingly varied: in some places it retained traces of its origin as a free and equal community cultivating the ground in common; in others it had become the property of a single lord, even if it had not been so constituted from the first, in that case being little different from the manor of a later date. From the point of view of the state, the township, as a community, was bound to fulfil certain obligations. These were called the *trinoda necessitas*, and consisted of keeping in repair the bridges, fortifications, and roads which fell within its limits, and of sending a contingent to the national host in case of an outbreak of war. The head of the township was the *tun-gerefa* or town-reeve, sometimes an elective officer, sometimes named by the lord. Ecclesiastically, the township was, as a rule, the charge of a single priest, and the name was often sunk in that of parish; but in thinly populated districts, especially in the north, the parish often contained several townships. The affairs of the township were managed by its inhabitants, who met for this purpose in the town-moot. There they elected the reeve, unless he was named by the lord ; appointed the *bydd*, or beadle, and other village officers; formally received new householders into the community; saw that the obligations of the village were duly discharged in regard to roads and fortifications; and enforced the by-laws of the place. Each old English township, therefore, had a complete system of local self-government, which never wholly passed away, for some of the functions of the town-moot were discharged by the meeting, others by the courts of the lord of the manor, of which a fuller account will presently be given. Since 1894, however, the recognition in small parishes of the parish meeting, and the creation in larger of the parish council, have practically restored the working of one of the oldest English institutions.

If the settlement was defended by a mound and a ditch instead of the tun, or quickset hedge, which gave its name to the township, it was called

a *burh*, a name which takes the forms *borough*, *bury*, and *burgh* in different parts of the country. The head of a *burh* was called a *burh-gerefa*, or borough-reeve. Sometimes the chief officer was known as the port-reeve. When the settlement had been formed for security in an Old Roman camp, the name *castra* usually clung to it in the form *tester*, *Chester*, or *caster*. No difference in kind existed between the smaller boroughs and the townships; but some of the larger boroughs comprised several townships, and the government of such boroughs resembled that of a 'hundred.'

A group of townships formed the *hundred*. The area of the hundred varied greatly—partly, no doubt, due to the fact that the number of warriors in a nominal hundred was itself variable, but also to the nature of the soil, which would make the district required for a settlement greater in some places than in others. The name for this division also varied in different parts of England. In the south, 'hundred' was the term usually employed; in the east midlands and in Yorkshire, 'wapentake'; and in the very north, 'ward.' In some places even the division was called a 'shire.' Who was the head of the hundred is a matter of some uncertainty. It is, however, generally thought that the elected head was called the *hundred-ealdorman,' or alderman of the hundred, and that the authority of the king was represented by a *gerefa*, the same officer who after the Norman Conquest was generally known as the 'bailiff.' Like the township, the hundred had a meeting for the management of its own affairs. This assembled monthly, and was attended by the lords of land within the hundred or by their stewards, and by the parish priest, the reeve, and the four best men from each township. The business of this court was to try criminals, to settle disputes, and to witness transfers of land. Judicial matters were for convenience submitted to the decision of twelve men, who came to be known as 'the twelve legal men' of the hundred. Even in very early times some of the great landowners exercised a jurisdiction on their own estates which made them independent of the hundred court, and these estates constituted, as it were, private 'hundreds.' At a later date these came to be known as liberties' or 'franchises.' The whole question of the 'hundred' is very obscure, and probably there was much variety in practice.

Above the hundred stood the *shire*. The origin of English shires as we have them at the present day is exceedingly various, and few if any of their present boundaries date back to the time of Egbert; but similar divisions certainly existed, and for the sake of convenience it will be better to deal with them all at once. At the

present day we have at least seven kinds of shires. 'Sussex, Essex, Kent, and Surrey are ancient kingdoms which preserve more or less their old boundaries. Northumberland is likewise an ancient kingdom, but much reduced in size. Cornwall is the kingdom of the West Welsh. Cumberland represents the English share of the old British kingdom of Strathclyde. Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire represent the old tribal divisions of Wessex. Counties like Worcestershire, Leicestershire, and Bedfordshire, and other midland shires, which take their names from their county town, date back to the time when, the old tribal divisions having been obliterated by the settlement of the Northmen, a new and artificial division became necessary. Durham corresponds to the old district ruled over by the Bishop of Durham. Cheshire is a county palatine created at the Conquest; and Lancashire, Westmorland, and Rutland have even been organised as counties since the compilation of Domesday Book. However, in the time of Egbert the tribal settlements still formed the basis of the 'shire,' and the organisation of the 'shire' as it existed in his time was simply transferred in later times to the new territorial divisions.

At the head of the shire stood the ealdorman. In the case of well-established shires, such as Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, he was appointed by Government the king and the witenagemot; but in that of shires which of the Shire. were just ceasing to be kingdoms, such as Kent and Sussex, the office frequently remained in the hands of the ancient dynasty, on the extinction of which an ealdorman was appointed in the ordinary way. The chief business of the ealdorman was to lead the forces of the shire, and to be present at the meetings of the shire-moot. This body met twice a year on the summons of the shire-reeve or sheriff, who represented the authority of the king. There were present at it the ealdorman and the bishop, who declared respectively the laws of state and church on all points that arose; the sheriff, who saw the decisions of the court carried into effect; and all the suitors at the hundred-court, including the reeve and four men from each township. The shire-moot tried all cases that had not been disposed of in the hundred-court. In cases between man and man there was certainly, a little later than Egbert's time, an appeal to the king and the witenagemot, but in criminal cases the decision of the shire-moot was final. The military force of the shire was represented by the *fyrð*, or expedition. This was made up of all the freemen of the shire between the ages of sixteen and sixty. The men of each family marched together, and formed with others from the same township the unit of the fighting force, which was led by the town-reeve; the reeves

and their men from each hundred were led by their hundredman, and the force of the whole shire by the ealdorman ; the contingents of the liberties and the men from the lands of the church also placed themselves under him.

The kingdom was ruled jointly by the king and the witenagemot, or meeting of the wise men, often expressed by the word *witan*, **The King-** or the wise. The witenagemot was a close body, consisting **dom.** of the king, sometimes accompanied by his wife and grown-up sons, the ealdormen and bishops, the chief abbots, the great officers of **The Witen-** the court, and an ever-increasing body of the king's thegns. **gemot.** The witenagemot, besides meeting at more or less regular intervals for the purpose of being consulted by the king, had a number of special functions. It was its business to elect the king; but it rarely chose a man except out of the royal family. Usually the man chosen was the best qualified man who was near in blood to the late king ; and in practice, though by no means invariably, the choice fell upon his eldest son. In theory, however, the choice was perfectly open, so that the old English kingship must be reckoned as an elective monarchy. In a few cases the witenagemot of the older kingdoms exercised the right of deposing an incompetent sovereign in favour of one more efficient; but there is no instance of this being done after the time of Egbert. The king and the witan jointly named the ealdormen ; but the tendency was for these posts to become hereditary, and in other cases for the real choice to lie with the king. Bishops were sometimes elected by their clergy, sometimes named by the king and the witan ; but in either of these cases their formal reception into the witenagemot may be taken as a confirmation of the appointment. From time immemorial all legislation required the assent of the witenagemot, as was the practice in all Teutonic nationalities; but among the English new laws were rarely made, and it was thought sufficient to restate and confirm the old ones. Another duty of the witan was that of registering and confirming all grants made from the public territory or folkland to private persons. The witan, too, constituted a court of appeal in cases between man and man which had not been satisfactorily settled in the shire-moots, and tried in the first instance cases where the criminal or parties concerned happened to be too powerful to have justice done in the local court. In ordinary times no taxes were required for the king's ordinary revenue ; the contribution of ships, the *fyrð*, and the *trinoda necessitas* made a money revenue unnecessary. The chief functions, therefore, of this assembly were to elect the sovereign ; to confirm, at least, the appointments of ealdormen and bishops ; to act as the high court of justice of the realm ; to state.

codify, or amend the law; to vote additional taxation, and to advise with the king in all cases of national emergency.

The edifice of the state is crowned by the king. The title means 'father of a family,' and it recalls the recollection of a time when the state and the family were one. When Tacitus wrote, few

The King. German tribes were ruled by kings, but kingship was universal among the English who had settled in Britain; and perhaps the success of the invasion was the cause which conferred the higher distinction on the ealdorman, or *princeps*, or chief who had led the bands of emigrants. The English looked on their kings as descendants of a mythical hero Woden, and as such regarded them and their families with awe. The king represented the unity, dignity, and historical career of the race. He was the leader of the host in war, and in

His Prerogatives. peace he was regarded as embodying the ideas of law and order, so that the officers of state who were responsible for their maintenance were spoken of as his officers, and all crimes of violence were held to be violations of 'the king's peace.' The sheriffs in a special manner were his stewards; even the witenagemot, which had elected him and might depose him, was called his witenagemot. On the other hand, dignified as the king's position was, his prerogatives were carefully circumscribed. He was not the supreme landowner, and could make no grant of land in the public land, even to himself, without the consent of the witan. Without its advice and consent he could not levy a tax or alter the law. At the same time, it must be remembered that by increasing the number of the king's thegns he could always command a majority in the witenagemot, and that if he were a man of strong will and high character he was able to shape the whole policy of the state.

The revenue of the king was provided for in a variety of ways. As a private individual he was at liberty to hold property and bequeath it by will, and as sovereign he had control over the estates of the crown, which might even include cities and boroughs founded upon it; and he had also a right to certain contributions from the holders of folkland. His money revenue was derived from the fines levied in the law-courts, the produce of wrecks and of treasure-trove, of mines and salt-works, tolls and other dues levied in markets and ports, and of the heriots which were paid by his special dependants. The regalia of the monarch consisted of throne, crown, sceptre, and standard; and at his enthronement he was both crowned and also anointed with oil as a sign that he was an independent and not a subordinate king. At his coronation the king was bound by a solemn promise to keep the peace, to put down robbery and rapine, and to secure justice for all his people.

As the estates of the crown and the folklands were scattered all over the kingdom, the king and his train of followers were forced to go from one district to another in order to eat up the provisions which had been prepared for their maintenance, and hence the sovereign was brought into frequent contact with all parts of his dominions. Access to him was therefore easy for all his subjects, and the frequent presence of the king's eye was the best security against the oppressions of the local nobility. It is remarkable how soon the royal houses succeeded in raising themselves to a fairly high pitch of civilisation ; and the tone of mind adopted towards Christianity by such kings as Ethelbert of Kent and Edwin of Northumbria reflects credit on the race to which they belonged and the institutions under which they lived.

His Estates.

English society was divided into two great classes, freemen and slaves, the relative numbers of which before the Norman Conquest are unknown. Freemen, again, were divided into setheling, eorls, ceorls, and thegns ; and slaves into theows, or slaves pure and simple, esnes, who worked for hire, wite-theows, who had lapsed into slavery through inability to pay their debts, house-slaves, and farm-slaves. For the death of a freeman the law exacted from his slayer compensation according to his rank, but took no cognisance of the death of a slave until Christianity enforced the duty of humanity by the penalty of penance.

English Society.

Slaves.

Of the freemen, some were landed and some landless : and this was a vital distinction ; for whereas the law recognised in the landed man a citizen of full responsibility, it compelled the landless man, however high his birth, to put himself under the protection of some landed man whom the state might hold responsible for his acts. At the time of the arrival of the English two ranks only appear to have been recognised—gentle and simple, or noble and non-noble, which were distinguished as aetheling or eorl and ceorl. By degrees these names came to change their signification, and eorl or earl (a form derived from the Norse *jarl*) was reserved for the title of an ealdorman, and aetheling for the son or brother of a king.

Landed Freemen.

This was the more easy as the old distinctions of rank had been superseded by the rise of a new order—that of the thegns, and especially of the king's thegns. Tacitus had noticed that among the Germans it was a distinction to be attached to the service of a great man, and the greater the man the greater the distinction. Indeed, in the higher ranks little or no difference was made between the term *gesith* or companion and that of thegn or servant. Accordingly, a new gradation of rank made its appearance. The thegn of a king took precedence of the thegn of an

ealdorman, and the thegns of an ealdorman those of a simple eorl. The king soon found it to his advantage to increase in every way the importance of his thegns. With the consent of the witenagemot he bestowed on them shares of the public land, and called upon them to take their seats in the witenagemot itself. He also added to his military strength by requiring the personal services of them and their followers, so providing himself with a force more devoted to himself and more amenable to discipline than the ancient fyrd. By-and-by it came to be considered that any man of a certain wealth ought to rank as a thegn, and then it was enacted that any one 'who throve till he possessed five hides of land should be of thegn-right worthy.'

Landless men of whatever rank were obliged to attach themselves to a lord ; and as for the sake of peace many landed men were also in the habit of putting themselves under the protection of their more powerful neighbours, there was the beginning of a system in which all ranks of society would be bound together by a chain of mutual dependence and protection.

The land system of the old English was very complicated. The broadest distinction was between alod and folkland, that is, between land which had been assigned to some particular proprietor or proprietors and land which, being still unallotted, was regarded as belonging to the state. On the other hand, the allotted land might be held by an individual or by a small community. In the latter case the homesteads were private property, while the plough-lands were cultivated in common, and the flocks and herds were pastured on the common waste, subject, however, to the by-laws of the little community. The next estate might be that of a private individual who cultivated the soil with his own hands, or, if large, by the labour of hired servants or slaves of various kinds. The proof of ownership of such allotted estates lay in the common voice of the community; but in the case of grants made out of the folkland, which could only be made with the consent of the king and witan, greater formality was observed, and the title-deed was always written out. This document was called a *boc*, or book, and land so held was distinguished as bocland. As such grants were being constantly made, and were also usually large, the proportion of bocland to alod was constantly increasing.

Justice as it was administered among the Angles and Saxons was in a transition state, just emerging from a time when justice was regarded merely as a sort of regulated revenge, to one in which the heinousness of crime is regarded as lying mainly in the wrong done to the state. In the case of murder, for example, the

**Administra-
tion of
Justice.**

aggrieved parties were the relatives of the murdered man, and their grievance extended to the family of the murderer, just as in a blood-feud. Here the state stepped in and insisted that the case should be formally investigated. The kinsmen of the accused were responsible for producing him in the court; and if he did not appear, sentence of outlawry was pronounced against him, and then the law gave him no further protection. If he admitted his guilt, and the case could not be shown to be justifiable by custom, the court determined the compensation which was to be paid (1) to the family of the murdered man, and (2) to the king for an infraction of his peace. If he swore his innocence he was required to support his assertion by the oaths of his friends, who were called his compurgators; and if he failed in this he was put to the ordeal. This consisted in walking over red-hot ploughshares, carrying three paces a bar of red-hot iron, or plunging his bare arm into boiling water. In either case, if his wounds were not healed within three days he was regarded as guilty and dealt with accordingly.

If we try to picture to ourselves English life as it existed in the ninth century, we must set before ourselves an agricultural population divided into a number of small communities, each complete in itself.

Some were free cultivating communities; in others, and English Life in the Ninth Century. the increasing number, the real head was the lord who owned the soil, and to whom the mass of the inhabitants were bound in a variety of ways. Of the land, more than half would probably be wood or waste; and of the remainder the greater part would be pasture, a little meadow, and the rest under the plough. Of the inhabitants, the most important rented portions from the lord; but the mass held their land from him on condition of doing for him a fixed quantity of work of different kinds. Others again, inferior to these, had to work practically whenever they were ordered, but yet had a tenement of their own, from which they could not be disturbed so long as their services were performed. These service*-doing landholders afterwards came to be called villeins. Below these were the class of actual slaves or theows, who were the property of their lords, and could be bought and sold at will. This class, however, tended to diminish, as the church did all it could to encourage manumission. The lord intrusted the supervision of the serfs' labour to a steward, who was responsible to him; careful accounts were kept of the duties of each tenant, and the lord received the produce of the estate, moving about with his retinue from one place to another so as to consume the produce of each. Besides members of the free village communities, the lords of land and their villein cultivators, there were few inhabitants. The towns were few and

small, mining was rare, and there was only domestic manufacture. Salt, however, was made either from brine or the water of the sea ; and by the rivers there were fisheries, the weirs for which had to be kept in order by the villein tenants. What commerce there was was carried on by chapmen; and as the lords, under such a system, were very wealthy, the chapmen were often men who possessed a considerable stock of goods and travelled about the country with a large retinue of armed followers—a precaution rendered necessary by the number of robbers and outlaws who swarmed in the extensive forests. Provision for the amusement of the lords and their households was made by the bands of gleemen, jugglers, and tumblers who wandered from house to house, and who, if their entertainments were not very refined, did something to keep alive the ballad literature of the country.

CHAPTER VI

THE INVASIONS OF THE NORTHMEN

ENGLISH KINGS

Egbert, .	A.D. 802-839	Ethelbert,	A.D. 860-866
Ethelwulf,	839-858	Ethelred,.	866-871
Ethelbald,	858-860	Alfred, .	871-899

The Ethnology of the Northmen—Their early Invasions—The Youth of Alfred the Great—Accession of Alfred—His Struggles against the Danes—Peace of Wedniore—The Danelaw—Political Effects of the Danish Settlement—Reorganisation of his Kingdom by Alfred—Later Wars with the Danes—Death of Alfred.

IT is a question whether the union of the English under Egbert would have proved more permanent than previous attempts at consolidation, had not a completely new turn been given to English affairs by the invasions of the Northmen. The name of Northmen was given by the English to all the inhabitants of Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula, and it is perfectly exact as 'far as it goes, for up to this time these people had not been consolidated, as they afterwards became, into Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes ; but, as the Britons called all the English Saxons, so the English frequently spoke of the Northmen as Danes, and, since this name is short and convenient, we may do the same, provided it be remembered that many of the invaders came from other parts of the north of Europe besides Denmark. The Northmen belonged to the German branch of the Aryan family ; but while the English spoke a dialect of the Low German tongue which was common to all the tribes who dwelt on the low plain from the Scheldt to the Elbe or thereabouts, the dialect of the Northmen is distinguished as Scandinavian, and differs from Low German in some essential particulars. In the ninth century the Northmen were still heathen, and they retained all the fighting qualities of their savage origin unimpaired by contact with civilisation. In fact, they were in the time of Egbert what the English had been at the time of the first settlements, and so far as they differed from the English in character

Ethnology
of the
Northmen,
or 'Danes.'

seem to have done so in the direction of greater dash and brilliancy. They were also far abler seamen than the English, and had greater skill both in constructing and defending earthworks.

The first invasion of the Northmen took place in the reign of Offa, **and from that** time till the reign of William the Conqueror the fighting between the English and the Northmen was almost incessant. **Nor** did England suffer alone, for during that period Northmen established themselves in large territories both of Northern France and Southern Italy; twice attacked Constantinople, founded a dynasty in Russia, and plundered almost every seaport town from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

**First
Invasion of
the North-
men.**

In their invasions of England it is possible to distinguish three distinct epochs : first, that of *plunder* ; then that of English *settlement*; and, third, that of *political conquest* . The Danes first appeared on the coast in the year 787, and before the close of the century four plundering expeditions had landed on our shores and the great abbeys of Lindisfarne and Wearmouth, the homes of Aidan and Bede and the centres of Northumbrian culture and piety, had been pillaged and destroyed. Then there was a respite till 828, when the Danes landed in Wessex, and defeated Egbert in a pitched battle. However, in 837 Egbert contrived to get the mastery over a combined force of Cornishmen and Danes in the battle of Hengist's Down. From 837 to 840, every summer saw the heathen men at their deadly work. Three pitched battles at least were fought;

**Battle of
Hengist's
Down.**

in each the English were beaten, and London, Rochester, and Canterbury were taken by storm. In 851 the Danes, for the first time, wintered in the Isle of Thanet; and the same year no less than three hundred and fifty-one of the pirate vessels made their appearance in the Thames. London and Canterbury were again pillaged, and the Mercians were defeated ; but when

**Northmen
winter in
the Isle of
Thanet.**

the Danes passed into Surrey they were routed with enormous slaughter at the battle of Ocle. In 855 some Danes passed the winter in Sheppey; but in 860 a body of Danes **who** had sacked Winchester were defeated by Osric, ealdorman of Hampshire, and Ethelwulf, ealdorman of Berkshire. On the whole, **therefore,** **the Saxons** were making a fair defence, when in 866 a new army, far more formidable than its predecessors, made its appearance in East-Anglia. **After** passing the winter there, the 'great heathen army' crossed **the Humber into** Northumbria, and, as it found the Northumbrians engaged in a civil war, seized York without difficulty. Next year the army, leaving Guthrum in charge of York, advanced into Mercia and seized

**Battle of
Ocle.**

Nottingham ; but a great force of Mercians and West-Saxons compelled them to withdraw to York. However, in 870 they invaded East-Anglia, defeated and slew Edmund its king, and sacked Peterborough and Crowland ; and in 871 they attacked Wessex.

The reigning king of the West-Saxons was Ethelred, the grandson of Egbert. Egbert died in 839, and was succeeded by his son Ethelwulf. Ethelwulf appears to have devoted more attention to the in-
junctions of the church than to the affairs of his kingdom, Reign of Ethelwulf.
judging by the fact that he chose the year when the Northmen wintered in Sheppey to pay a visit to the pope. On his return he visited the court of the Emperor Charles the Bald, and took as his second wife his daughter Judith. Ethelwulf died in 858, and left four sons, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred, each of whom in turn
became king. Ethelbald reigned first, making Ethelbert Reign of Ethelbald.
under-king of the south-eastern kingdoms. His reign, however, only lasted two years, and then Ethelbert came to the throne. In his reign the victory was gained which followed the sack of Win-
chester, and during the remainder of Ethelbert's life the Reign of Ethelbert.
invaders confined their attention to the under-kingdoms of East-Anglia and Northumbria. However, in 866 he too died, and was succeeded by Ethelred, as it had been arranged, by the
will of Ethelwulf and with the consent of the witan, Reign of Ethelred.
that each of his sons should succeed in turn, to the exclusion of his grandchildren.

The object of this arrangement may have been to secure the succession of Alfred, who appears from his earliest youth to have given promise of his future excellence. Alfred was born at Wan-
tage, in Berkshire, in 849 ; and, though it is hard to believe Early Life of Alfred.
all the stories of his precocity, he soon attracted attention by his abilities. In 853 Ethelwulf sent his little son to Rome, and while there he was in some sort consecrated a king by Leo iv., who*4!td heard rumours of Ethelwulfs death. When Ethelwulf visited Rome Alfred returned home with him, and till the age of twenty led an active life, dividing his time between study, hunting, and the exercises of religion. Even as a young man he was noted for the seriousness of his character, and a copy of the Psalms prepared for his own use was his constant companion. In 868 he married Elswitha, the daughter of the ealdorman of the Gainas, a tribe whose name is still preserved in Gainsborough. Alfred, therefore, was twenty-two years of age and a married man when the great invasion took place.

In 871 ' the great army, ' supported by its fleet, made its way up the valley

of the Thames, and, following the practice of pitching their camp in the angle between two rivers, entrenched itself in the angle of ground between the Kennet and the Thames, close to the town of Heading.

Great
Invasion
of Wessex.

They then began their usual practice of plundering the country and collecting the spoil into their camp. One of their bands, however, was defeated by Ethelwulf, the veteran ealdorman

Battle of
Reading.

of Berkshire; and three days later Ethelred and Alfred, with youthful impetuosity, attempted to storm the camp itself.

In this, however, they overrated their strength. Behind earthworks the Danes were invincible; the assault was beaten off; and the brave Ethelwulf was killed. Encouraged by this, the Danes sallied forth in

Battle of
Ashdown.

force, but were met on the Berkshire downs at Ashdown by the whole force of the West Saxons. There the invaders

were completely routed, apparently owing to the adoption by Alfred of the method of forming his men in a close column of attack instead of fighting in loose order. The losses in these three engagements fell

Battle of
Basing.

Battle of
Marden.

Reign of
Alfred.

Battle of
Wilton.

heavily on the English; and a fortnight later, in trying to prevent an invasion of Hampshire, they were beaten at Basing; and two months later, probably at Marden in Wiltshire, they were again routed after a most stubborn encounter. Here Ethelred appears to have been mortally wounded, and Alfred at once stepped into his place. To make matters worse, the Danes received reinforcements, and Alfred was beaten at Wilton. 'Nine general battles/ says

the *Chronicle*, 'were fought this year south of the Thames, besides which Alfred, the king's brother, and single ealdormen and king's thegns oftentimes made incursions on them, which are not counted.'

However, the general result of the fighting seems to have discouraged the Danes, for the next year the camp at Reading was broken up and the

Northmen
retire from
Wessex.

army, though it did not quit the country, fell back on London. Next year it passed into Lincolnshire, and in 874 it drove Burhed, king of Mercia and brother-in-law of

Alfred, from his kingdom and gave it to Ceolwulf, 'an unwise king's thegn,' to hold as tenant-at-will. Then one-half of 'the army,' under Halfdene, seized Northumbria and divided it among themselves and raided on the Picts and Strathclyde Britons; while the other, under Guthrum, occupied Cambridge and prepared for another invasion of Wessex.

This occurred in 877. The heathen men sailed through the Straits of Dover, landed at Wareham, and formed their fortified camp by drawing a trench between the rivers Frome and Piddle. This time Alfred was

too wary to risk a repetition of the Reading disaster, so he contented himself with preventing plunder, and did it so effectively that at last the Danes came to terms. Some of them, however, broke their word and made their way by land to Exeter, where they were next year joined by the main body, which, however, was weakened by the loss of one hundred and twenty ships in a storm. Again Alfred kept to his blockading tactics, and with such success that the Danish army gave up the game and, terms having been made, it retired by land into Mercia and spent the autumn and early winter at Gloucester.

**Fresh
Invasion of
Wessex by
Guthrum.**

At Christmas, however, the Danes were joined by a countryman, Hubba, who had been plundering in South Wales, and he persuaded Guthrum to renew the war. Accordingly, in the depth of winter, Guthrum broke up his camp and plunged into the heart of Wessex, while Hubba and his ships made for Devonshire. So swift were Guthrum's marches, that he was master of Chippenham before Alfred could oppose him ; and the king, seeing that it was useless to attempt to collect forces in the east of his kingdom while the Danes held the key of the position, retired into the great forest of Selwood, and waited till the return of spring should enable him to take the field with advantage ; and, meanwhile, Hubba's force was cut to pieces by the men of Devonshire. Alfred made his headquarters at the isle of Athelney, a stronghold among the marshes of the river Parret; and while he kept up the spirits of his men by successful skirmishes, he fixed Brixton in Wiltshire as the place, and May 12th as the day, for the assembling of his great expedition.

**Alfred
retires to
Athelney.**

Sheltered by the Downs, or concealed from observation by the thickets of Selwood, Alfred's warriors made their way to the appointed spot, and, falling on the Danes at Edington, 878, put them to complete rout. From the field the Danes fled to their camp; but, being separated from their fleet, they were soon starved into surrender, and Guthrum was compelled to enter into a permanent peace, and to be baptized as a Christian, which accordingly was done at Wedmore, a royal palace in Somerset.

**Battle of
Edington.**

By the peace concluded at Wedmore the Watling Street was made the boundary of the English and Danish districts; but in 886 Alfred took advantage of a parth of the East peace of Anglia to secure a better m cast. Wedmore-
The new boundary ran alo uth of
the Lea, along the Lea to d, and
then along the Ouse till i to the

Welsh border. This gave Alfred a very strong frontier as against the East-Anglian Danes, and secured him possession of London and with it the command of the Thames. Between this boundary and the Tees the land was held by Half dene and Guthrum, and by them was apportioned among their followers. The land between the Tees and the Forth, however, which formed the old kingdom of Bernicia, still remained English, and was in the hands of a descendant of the ancient Northumbrian kings, who ruled as an ealdorman at Bamborough.

What the settlement of the Northmen was like, it is exceedingly difficult to realise, because we have no means of knowing the proportion which existed between the English and Norse population ; but, compared with the English conquest of Britain, and the Norman conquest of England, it was much more like the latter than the former. Between the conquerors and conquered there was no radical difference of blood or of speech, and the difference of religion was soon removed by the conversion of the newcomers to Christianity. However, the permanent results of the conquest showed themselves in several ways. In the first place, though the mode of local government in use among the Danes was much the same as among the English, so that the old courts went on as before, the use of Danish 'valuations for wergilds (sums paid in compensation for murder), and possibly the more frequent resort to trial by battle, gave to the laws of the Danish districts such a distinctive character that the district was long known as the Danelaw.

The speech of the north, not only in place-names but also in the parlance of everyday life, is full of words and expressions which bear the stamp of their Danish origin ; and wherever we find the termination ' by, ' ' thorp, ' or ' thwaite, ' there we know that there was either a new settlement of men who used the Northern speech or that an old settlement became the property of a Norse settler ; while the dialect of the north, and especially the vocabulary of the farmyard, is as full of Norse terms as it well can be. Moreover, it is difficult to ascribe to anything else than the infusion of Norse blood the difference of character which certainly exists between the bulk of the population of the north and similar classes in the south ; though here, and also in the language, the fact that, roughly speaking, the north is Anglian and the south is Saxon must not be left out of account.

On Wessex the political effect of the settlement of the Northmen was twofold. First, it cut off from it the under-kingdoms that lay beyond the Watling Street ; and, secondly, it gave to the West-Saxon sovereigns in full sovereignty that part of Mercia and Essex which lay between their new frontier-and the

Character
of the
Danish
Settlement.

Political
Effects of the
Settlement.

Thames. This included the towns of London, St. Albans, Oxford, Worcester, and Gloucester; so that, if the peace of Wedmore reduced the area of Alfred's nominal dominions, it added considerably both to the area and importance of his own possessions. The new Mercia was intrusted by Alfred to the ealdorman Ethelred, who became the husband of his daughter Ethelfleda. Socially, the long struggle with the barbarians had been absolutely disastrous. In times such as those, when almost every year some part or other of the country was subjected to the full horrors of heathen war, the material prosperity of a nation, to say nothing of the amenities of civilisation, suffered heavily; and, as it happened, the Danish invasions had fallen most severely on those of the national elements which were doing most for civilisation, on Northumbria, on the monasteries, which had been sacked again and again, and upon the towns. Alfred himself is our authority for the melancholy condition in which he found his kingdom; and his actions show the obligation he was under of building up society almost from its foundations, when the cessation of hostilities gave him the opportunity of playing the statesman. To the work of reconstruction Alfred at once devoted his energies; and during the remainder of his reign, whatever were the distractions which came upon him, one aspect or other of this great undertaking was never absent from his mind.

With this view he made his own court a model of the life which he wished to see adopted by his subjects; and as it moved about the kingdom from one royal estate to the next, men might see in it an example of economy both of wealth and time, of strenuous and well-regulated endeavour, of healthy amusement and sober recreation, of womanhood respected and the young well cared-for, of learning honoured and frivolity discouraged, of wholesome patriotism free from insular prejudice against foreigners, of real piety carried into everyday life—in short, of the highest ideal of life. Of the Englishmen by whom it was adorned, the greatest were Ethelred of Mercia, the bishops Plegmund, Werfrith, and Denewulf; and of foreigners, John the Old Saxon, Grimbald the Frank, Othere the Norseman; and last, but not least, his biographer, Asser the Welshman. With these men his constant talk was of progress, of education, of social and ecclesiastical reconstruction; for Alfred believed that no side of national life was unworthy of the attention of a king.

Alfred re-organises his Kingdom.

His Court.

His first care was to remodel the defences of the country. So early as 875 he had employed a fleet, and his ships had proved useful during the last campaign. He now put the navy upon a permanent footing, arranged that each part of the kingdom

His Fleet.

should do its fair share towards providing ships, and had the new vessels built on lines suggested by himself. To man the vessels and to instruct his countrymen, he took into his service Frisians, Britons, and Danes, the most notable of whom was Othere the Norseman, who made a celebrated voyage of discovery round the North Cape and into the White Sea. So far the brunt of the fighting had fallen on the fyrd, led by such captains as the brave Ethelwulf of Berkshire, and on the king's thegns; but Alfred, having experienced the difficulties which arose from the unwillingness of the men to remain long from home, organised the force on the basis of one-third of the able-bodied soldiers serving during the summer season for one month, and staying at home two—

His Army. a plan which not only removed the old trouble, but also added to the efficiency of the troops by giving them regular training. He also reconstructed on improved principles the His Fort- resses. fortresses of the country, which had recently proved to be so inefficient; and, lastly, he rebuilt and refortified London so as to bar the passage up the Thames.

Alfred was a rigid enforcer of justice. With the aid of his wise men, he not only drew up a new and improved code of law, but also insisted upon his ealdormen and reeves making themselves com- the Admin- petent to administer their judicial functions, and restored stration of Justice. the efficiency of the local courts. He also put into working

order the principle of mutual responsibility, throwing upon the kindred, the lord, or the guild brethren of a malefactor responsibility for his crime. For education Alfred did much by the foundation and encouragement of schools; and, being well aware of the part played by books in moulding the character of readers, he took pains to provide his subjects with a library, which he had prepared in their own tongue, for he was not one of those who despised translations, but thought that

Revival of great ideas might as well be conveyed in one language as in Learning. another. For this purpose, with the aid of Grimbold and Asser, he paraphrased or translated Orosius's work on *Geography and History*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Boethius's *Consolations of Philosophy*, Gregory's *Pastoral*, and some selections from the works of St. Augustine of Hippo.

One other literary legacy of priceless value Alfred bequeathed to his countrymen. This was the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the oldest history in its own tongue possessed by any European nation. Realising the value of history in the formation of national spirit, Alfred gave orders that the events of each year since the settlement of the English should be collected from the best sources and

arranged in the form of a chronicle, and that henceforward the narrative of contemporary events should be kept up year by year, so that henceforward the people of England should have access to an authentic narrative of the chief transactions in the history of their own race. In after years this was carried out, though not so fully as Alfred intended; but, still, down to the Norman Conquest the *Chronicle* is the chief authority for the history of affairs.

The condition of the church filled Alfred with anxiety. Even before the invasions it seems to have deteriorated much from what it had been in the days of Theodore and Bede. South of the Humber there were in Alfred's young days few clergy who could 'turn a Latin letter into English, and north of it not many.' Then, however, the churches had been full of treasure, and the monastic libraries full of books; but now that the churches and abbeys were all *waste and burnt up,' things were worse than ever. Accordingly, the king placed over the church the best bishops, English and foreign, whom he could find, and insisted on their doing their duty; he built a model abbey for monks at Athelney, and another for nuns at Shaftesbury, setting John the Old Saxon over the one and his own daughter over the other; and he also set apart a large share of his income for the restoration and equipment of other religious houses and churches.

Church Reform.

With the exception of the rising in 885, which was stimulated by a fresh arrival of Danes, peace continued till 892; but in that year a great army of adventurers from all parts of Northern Europe, which had for years been the terror of the Empire, led by Hastings, 'who,' in the opinion of a French chronicler, was 'the worst man that ever was born, and who has done most harm in this age,' came to England. One part of it entered the Thames, and the other made a camp at Appledore in Sussex. In face of this danger Alfred called out half his forces, instead of the usual third, and, placing himself half-way between the two camps, adopted his old tactics of checking plunder, and so starving the marauders out. This plan forced the Danes to evacuate their first positions and to concentrate near the mouth of the Lea, where their camp was stormed by the Londoners. Then another force of Danes appeared at Exeter, and, while Alfred was engaged with them, the main body, reinforced by adventurers from all parts of the Danelaw, contrived to pass London, and, plundering as they went, passed up the whole course of the Thames, and, crossing to the Severn, ascended it as far as Buttington in Montgomeryshire. There they were attacked by an overwhelming force of English and Welsh, led by Ethelred, the oajdoraan of London, which

Later Wars with Danes.

Battle of Buttington.

routed them so effectively that they fled with all speed to Essex. However, the next year they were again at Chester, and after plundering the North Welsh returned to Essex, and in 896 they sailed up the Lea. Alfred was in command, and by making two fortresses, which commanded a narrow part of the river, completely blocked the return of the ships. Seeing this, the Danes made another effort to get into Wales, where they seem to have hoped to settle, and marched as far as Bridgenorth ; but again Alfred's tactics wore out their patience, and at last, in 897, after having kept all England in terror for nearly five years, the great army broke up, 'some for East-Anglia, some for Northumbria; and they who were moneyless procured themselves ships there, and went southward over sea to the Seine.' One more attempt to land near the Isle of Wight brought the efforts of the army to a close, and after its dispersal Hastings and his followers disappear from English history. Three years after this great deliverance Alfred died, in 900, and left behind him almost a unique reputation as a warrior, a statesman, and a man.

**Final Defeat
of the North-
men.**

While Guthrum and his Northmen had been effecting their settlement of Northern England, another body of Northmen, under Ralf or Rollo, had formed a similar settlement in the north of Gaul, and compelled the king of the Franks to recognise their right to a territory which stretched on both sides of the river Seine.

**Settlement
of the North-
men in
Normandy.**

The Normans, as these settlers in Gaul came to be called, soon gave up their own language for the debased Latin which was just passing into French, and otherwise showed themselves wonderful adepts at adopting the civilisation of their new country.

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
First invasion of the Northmen, .	787
Great invasion of Wessex, . . .	871
Battle of Ashdown, ...	871
Battle of Edington, .	878
Treaty of Chippenham or Wedmore, .	878
Northmen settle in Normandy, ,	876

CHAPTER VII

RECONQUEST OF THE DANELAW

ENGLISH KINGS

Edward the Elder,	A.D. 901-924	Edred,	A.D. 946-955
Athelstan,	. . . 924-940	Edwy,	955-959
Edmund,	. . . 940-946	Edgar,	959-975
Edward the Martyr	• • 975-978		

Edward the Elder begins an offensive War against the Danes, and secures his Conquests by Fortifications—Edward is acknowledged Overlord by the whole Island—Battle of Brunanburh—Conquest of Strathclyde—The Policy of Edgar and Dunstan.

ON the death of Alfred, his eldest son Edward, commonly called Edward the Elder, became king of the West-Saxons. His accession was opposed by his cousin Ethelwald, the son of Alfred's elder brother Ethelred ; but this prince found little or no support among the English, and had to take refuge among the Northumbrian Danes. By them he was accepted as king, and, crossing into East-Anglia, planned an invasion of Wessex. The Danes crossed the Thames at Oicklade and harried Wiltshire, but were forced to retreat by the strategy of Edward, who met their invasion of Wessex by an attack upon their own settlements across the Watling Street. Returning in hot haste, Ethelwald and his friends threw themselves on the Kentish division of Edward's army, and in the fight Ethelwald was slain ; so that, though the Danes were victorious, the movement in his favour came to an end. Peace was then made, and appears to have been fairly kept till 910.

Edward the Elder was not so distinguished as his father in the arts of peace, but he was one of the greatest warriors that ever sat on the English throne. Discarding the title of king of the West-Saxons, he styled himself, king of the English or Anglo-Saxons, and set before himself the task of bringing the whole island under his sway. In this he was aided by his sister Ethelfleda and her husband Ethelred,

the ealdorman of the Mercians, who had taken a most distinguished part in the fighting of the last reign.

The strength of the Danes south of the Humber lay in two districts : the valley of the Trent, where they held the strong towns of Leicester,

The Five
Boroughs.

Nottingham, and Derby, which with Stamford and Lincoln were known as the Five Danish Boroughs ; and the valley

of the upper Ouse, where they held Northampton, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Bedford. In 907 the first forward step was taken by repairing

the Roman fortifications at Chester, which had lain desolate since the victory of Ethelfrith. Chester, on the Watling Street, commanded the

crossing of the Dee and the shortest road from Northumbria to Wales ; it was also the best port by which the Northmen of Ireland could com-

municate with their friends in England, and was therefore a place of great strategical importance. In 912 Ethelred died, and Edward took

into his own hands the lower part of the Thames valley with the towns of Oxford and London, while his sister, who was now called the Lady of

the Mercians, ruled the rest of her husband's territory. The business of fortification now went on apace ; sometimes it

took the form of casting up a great mound in some defensible position, sometimes of repairing Roman work, and in a few cases towns

were surrounded with new stone walls. In these, new settlers were placed with orders to defend the adjoining territory, and in this way the

work of reconquest, if slow, was sure. Ethelfleda secured her end of the Watling Street against the Danes by the fortresses of Stafford, Tam-

worth, Eddisbury, and Runcorn, and against the Welsh by that of Bridgenorth ; in like manner Edward built Hertford, Witham, and

Buckingham. Warwick was built by Ethelfleda to guard the Fosseway, and, the line of communication being secure, an advance

was made against the Danish strongholds. Edward took Bedford and Huntingdon, and compelled the men of

Northampton and Cambridge to keep the peace ; Ethelfleda captured Derby and Leicester. In 918 Ethelfleda died, and then Edward

took the whole of Mercia into his hands. The fall of Nottingham and Stamford followed, and at these places and at Bedford Edward built a

new English quarter to keep the old inhabitants in check His next step was to push forward from Chester and seize Manchester on the road

to York, and to fortify Bakewell in the Peak country, which secured the passes into Northumbria and connected Manchester with Derby and

Nottingham. That done, he seems to have been preparing for a fresh invasion of the north, when he was met at Dore, on the road from Bake-

well to Sheffield, by offers of submission. These came not only from

Edward's
Fortifica-
tions.

Conquest of
Danes south
of the
Humber.

the Danes of York, but also from the English kingdom of Bernicia, which had never been overrun by the Danes, from the Welsh of Strathclyde, and even from the king of the Scots. All these swore to take him as 'father and lord.' As in 922 he had been taken as overlord by the three princes of North Wales, Edward had now succeeded in establishing some sort of authority over the whole island, except, perhaps, over the Northmen, who occupied settlements in the extreme north, and who had long been the terror of the Scots ; north of the Forth, however, he can hardly be regarded as having had much authority, though at a later date very great stress was laid on this submission of the Scots.

Edward's
Overlordship
acknow-
ledged by
the whole
Island.

Character of
Edward's
Overlord-
ship.

Within his own dominions Edward carried out the work of organisation which his father had begun. The old tribal divisions of the Midland English, which had been obliterated by the Danes, were replaced by a new division into shires, of which Edward's forts and the chief Danish towns became as a rule the centres, and give such names as Warwickshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire. This rearrangement is a matter of inference ; but of the chief events of Edward's reign we have the fullest information from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which in his time is singularly graphic.

Construc-
tion of new
Shires.

Edward died in 924, and was succeeded by his son Athelstan. This king was a man of great courage and ability, and under him the work of consolidating the kingdom went on without interruption. Athelstan's first act was to give his sister in marriage to Sihtric, the Danish king of Northumbria ; and on his death, two years later, Athelstan took his kingdom and drove into exile his two sons. In the south Athelstan extended his frontier by destroying the independence of the Welsh inhabitants of Exeter, and making the Tamar the boundary between England and Cornwall. He also exacted a money tribute from the princes of Wales. Trouble, however, soon arose in the north. Constantine, king of Scots, aided the sons of Sihtric, and in 933 Athelstan invaded that country and apparently reduced Constantine to submission ; but in 937 'the hoary warrior, the old deceiver,' was again in arms and at the head of a conspiracy in which the Danes, the Scots, and the Welsh of Strathclyde banded themselves together with the aid of the Northmen of Ireland to throw off the English yoke. Athelstan and his brother Edmund, then a lad of fifteen, met them at the battle of Brunanburh, and completely routed the confederates in a fight so bloody that it was known for years as 'the great battle,' and was celebrated by the chronicler in one of the

Reign of
Athelstan.

Battle of
Brunan-
burh.

finest outbursts of Old English song. Of the details of the fight, and even of its geographical position, we are, however, ignorant; some fixing the neighbourhood of the Humber, others that of the Mersey, as its site. Great, however, as was his victory, it is doubtful whether Athelstan's power over the Danelaw was as great after it as it had been before. The importance of Athelstan's position and the high estimation in which Greatness of he was held by his neighbours is shown by the marriages Athelstan. contracted by his sisters. One was the wife of Charles the Simple ; another of Otto, son of Henry the Fowler ; and a third of Hugh the Great, Count of Paris. Like his grand father, Athelstan was a law-giver, and portions of his code, which have come down to us, shed much light on the social conditions of the time.

Athelstan died in 940, and was succeeded by his brother Edmund, aged eighteen. His accession was the signal for a general rising of the Danes, and both those of Northumbria and those of the Five Boroughs threw off their allegiance and sent for Anlaf of Ireland, who had fought at Brunanburh, to be their king. However, after some fighting Edmund regained his authority in both districts, Conquest of The chief exploit of Edmund was the conquest of Strath-Strathclyde. clyde. This he effected in 945, when the Welsh king Dunmail was routed in a pass between Grasmere and Thirlmere, where the memorial pile of stones raised on the field may be seen at the present day. Edmund granted Strathclyde to Malcolm, king of Scots, to be held by him ' as his fellow-worker as well by sea as by land.' The district so dealt with comprised all the land that lay between the river Derwent in Cumberland and the Firth of Clyde, and was bounded, inland, by the Pennine range of hills and the forest of Ettrick. How far Strathclyde was then really British is unknown ; now, at any rate, the place-names, though many of them are Celtic, point to a large immigration of English and Northmen, and the only relic of the Celtic speech is preserved in the numerals used by some of the shepherds for counting sheep. It is thought that the anglicising of the district was also facilitated by a large emigration of the Celtic inhabitants to Wales. Edmund had only reigned six years when he was slain by a robber; but his title of Magnificent—that is, the doer of great deeds—marks the estimation in which he was held by his countrymen.

Edmund was succeeded by his brother Edred. The reign of this king, though short, is in every way remarkable, for it brought to a close the long struggle with the Danelaw, and once more established the authority of the West-Saxon kings upon a firm footing.

The method of his accession serves to mark the progress that had already been made towards national unity ; for Edred was chosen by a witenagemot in which sat Englishmen, Welshmen, and Danes, and he was consecrated by the two archbishops of Canterbury and York. The north submitted quietly to his rule, and the Scots renewed their oath of allegiance. Aided, however, by their kinsmen in Denmark, the Northumbrians, with Archbishop Wulfstan at their head, ventured to throw off their allegiance ; but Edred's vengeance was so severe that submission soon followed, and the archbishop was removed to a less dangerous see in the south of England. Then Edred became full king in Northumbria, and the semi-independence of the north came to an end. In the last year of his short reign Edred took the title not only of king of the Anglo-Saxons but of ~~Ca~~esar of Britain—an assumption which marks the attainment of the highest dignity possessed by the Old English kings. Instead of dividing his new dominions into shires, as had been done with the southern parts of the Danelaw, the region north of the Humber was divided into two earldoms, one of ^{New} ~~Earldoms~~. which, now or a little later, was intrusted to the king of Scots; the other, from the Tweed to the Humber, was given to Osulf, an Englishman. Edred was never a strong man, and after a reign of nine years he died in 955.

During the reign of Edred his chief adviser and friend was Dunstan, the most remarkable English subject who lived before the Norman Conquest. This wonderful man was born in Somerset and educated at the monastery of Glastonbury, where he had the advantage of the teaching of the learned Irishmen who were in the habit of visiting that shrine. Being by birth well connected, Dunstan soon made his appearance at court; but the jealousy of his talents which was shown by the other courtiers made his life so unpleasant that he was forced to withdraw for a time, and became a monk. Edmund, however, recalled him to court and made him abbot of Glastonbury, and under his successor Dunstan acted as the leading adviser of the king, accompanied him on his campaigns, and became guardian of the royal treasure. The rest of his time was given to education, and he and his friend Ethelwold, abbot of Abingdon, set on foot a revival of learning in the south of England which may be compared with the similar movement in Northuuibria of which Caedmon and Bede were the chief ornaments.

At Edred's death the crown reverted to Edwy, the elder son of King Edmund. The new sovereign was a boy of fifteen, whose character was quite unformed, and he appears to have been a mere tool in the hands of

his immediate relations, who were hostile to the influence of Dunstan and his friends. The foolish conduct of Edwy, who escaped from the solemnity of the coronation feast, and was by the orders of the witan dragged back by Dunstan, completed the breach. Dunstan was exiled, while Edwy offended the clergy by marrying a lady within the prohibited degrees of relationship. At the same time he weakened his power by reviving the office of ealdorman of Mercia, which had been abolished by Edward the Elder, so parting with direct authority over all England north of the Thames. Meanwhile, Odo the archbishop of Canterbury had denounced the king's marriage as incestuous, and a general revolt followed. All the earldoms declared for Edgar, the king's younger brother, and Edwy only retained possession of that part of England which lay south of the Thames. The revolution showed how weak the English kingship really was; but the division was soon healed by the death of Edwy, and the severed portions were reunited under Edgar. Under Edgar Dunstan again became powerful, and it is difficult to say how much of the policy of Edgar's reign is due to the king and how much to the minister.

Edgar was fortunate both at home and abroad. The wars waged against the Danes by the Emperor Otto gave employment to the freebooters of the north. At home his wise administration removed the causes of disaffection and conciliated his various subjects, while his vigorous enforcement of justice, and the untiring energy which he displayed in seeing with his own eyes the carrying out of his injunctions secured for his reign a long reputation as a time of peace and prosperity. Edgar's policy seems to have been to allow each of the great earls to manage the affairs of his own earldom, while he himself confined his attention to the security of the realm and the administration of his own district of Wessex. In pursuance of this plan, every summer was Edgar inspecting his fleet and arranging for a complete circumnavigation of the coast with a view to the suppression of piracy; each winter found him travelling from place to place seeing with his own eyes what was going on, and finding remedies for all abuses. Well, however, as this arrangement worked in the hands of a powerful king like Edgar, it obviously was calculated to lead to very different results in the hands of a weaker man; for earls so free as these would naturally strive after independence, and such independence would naturally lead to anarchy. Indeed, this was exactly what happened all over the world wherever this tempting plan was adopted; and, consequently, its adoption in England makes a turning-point in the history of the Old English monarchy.

Another change of Edgar's reign which led to important consequences was the revival of monasticism. Before the invasions of the Northmen both the north and south of England had been thickly studded with monasteries, and the monks had played a great part in the advancement of civilisation. But the barbarities of the Danes had proved their ruin, and even in Wessex very few had survived. Moreover, the temper of the English had been setting against a monastic life, and when Alfred founded his monastery at Athelney he was obliged to bring his monks from abroad ; though he found English ladies who were willing to become nuns at Shaftesbury and Hyde. Similar causes had produced a decadence of the same kind in Europe, when, in the tenth century, a revival was brought about by the piety of the monks of the abbey of Clugny, in Burgundy; and their example fired other monasteries.

The influence of the movement began to make itself felt in England under Edgar. Ethelwold, abbot of Abingdon, was full of it ; Oswald, bishop of Worcester, had himself lived in a Clugniac house; and Dunstan during his exile had been an inmate of a strict abbey in Ghent. Accordingly Ethelwold and Oswald, with the assistance of Edgar and the approval of Dunstan, set on foot a monastic revival in England which took the form both of rebuilding ancient, but ruined, monasteries such as Ely, Peterborough, and Orowland, and also of restoring the use of the monastic rule in cathedrals where it had formerly been in use. The number of new monasteries founded, however, does not appear to have been large, and the north was hardly affected by the movement.

There seems, however, to have been much difference of opinion as to the merit of the new movement, and in some places the changes met with a vigorous resistance. On the whole it was thought that the new monasticism was a good thing. It was certainly favourable to learning ; and from this time forward the duty of keeping up the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was regularly undertaken by the monasteries, so that the entries, which had become meagre in the extreme, again expand into valuable contemporary narratives, the most useful of which were those kept at Abingdon, Worcester, and Peterborough.

In 975 Edgar died. His son Edward, who was not more than thirteen, became king, but three years later he was murdered by a party which had always been in favour of the accession of his half-brother Ethelred ; and Dunstan, though he remained archbishop of Canterbury, was deprived of all political influence. This event brings to a close a well-defined period of English history, for with the accession of Ethelred the invasions of the Danes were renewed, and

Ethelwold.

Oswald.

Chronicle.

Reign of
Edward.

ultimately developed into an attempt to effect the conquest of the country.

OHltiF DATES.

	A.D.
Reconquest of the Danelaw,	910-924
Edward the Elder becomes overlord of the whole island, ...	924
Battle of Brunanburh, ...	937
Strathclyde conquered, ...	945
Dunstan becomes Archbishop of Canterbury,	960

CHAPTER VIII

THE DANISH CONQUEST

ENGLISH KINGS

Ethelred the Un- ready, . . . A.D. 978-1015	Canute, A.D. 1017-1086
Edmund Ironsides, 1016-1017	Harold i., . . . 1035-1040
	Hardicanute, 1040-1042

Renewal of the Danish Invasions—Feeble Resistance of the English—Canute's Reign—Rise of Godwin—Reigns of Harold and Hardicanute.

THE accession of Ethelred was followed by the virtual exclusion of Dunstan from power, and the direction of affairs fell into the hands of his opponents. When Ethelred grew up he showed himself to be the worst sovereign of his race—vicious, idle, cruel, ill-advised, and unlucky in everything he undertook. It is, however, unfair to throw upon Ethelred responsibility for all the disasters of his reign ; something must be allowed for general causes, and it is doubtful whether the skill of even Alfred or Edgar could have stemmed the tide of misfortunes which Ethelred had to meet.

The Northmen, instead of being a mere group of scattered tribes, had now settled down into the three powerful kingdoms of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden; and while the Swedes directed their attacks upon Russia and the southern shores of the Baltic Sea, the Norwegians and Danes, sometimes separately and sometimes in unison, brought all their forces to bear upon the British Isles. Moreover, the Northmen of the Danelaw sympathised with the new comers, and gave them active assistance ; the hardly smouldering jealousy of the ealdorman broke out into open flame ; local jealousy was rife ; and for some unexplained reason Edgar's fleet seems to have disappeared, so that the Northmen came and went at will.

The invasions began in 980 by the plundering of Cheshire, Thanet, and Southampton, where 'most part of the townsmen were slain or made captive,' For seventeen years no competent leader seems to have

arisen, and the country became perfectly demoralised by the atrocities of the ubiquitous Northmen. Single shires and ealdormen fought well;

Weakness
of the
English.

but, in the words of the *Chronicle*, 'no shire would help other,' and no one seemed able to organise a national resistance. Dunstan died in 988, and his successor Sigiric enjoys the sinister distinction of being the first to propose that the Danes should be bought off by a money payment. Then a treacherous attempt was made to *betrap' the enemy after the conclusion of a truce; but the plan was betrayed by Elfric, the most trusted of the king's ealdormen. In 993 Bamborough was stormed, and the country north and south of the Humber was pillaged; but when an army was collected, it was 'the leaders first of all who began the flight.' At last Ethelred contrived to divide his assailants by making a separate treaty with Olaf, king of the Norwegians, who ever after kept the peace; and in 1002 he secured the neutrality of the Normans by a marriage with Emma, the sister of their duke Richard. However, a massacre of all the Danes who had recently settled in England, which was carried out on St Brice's day, served only to exasperate Sweyn of Denmark, whose sister had been put to death. His attacks went on as before, and constant gifts of money and provisions only served to whet the appetite of the invaders. Throughout this miserable time the only bright spots are supplied by the valour of the Londoners, who held their town during a succession of sieges, and throughout the whole reign blocked the road up the Thames, and by the conduct of individual ealdormen like Briht-

Brihtnoth.

noth of Essex and the brave Ulfcytel of East Anglia, who gave the Danes 'worse hand-play than they ever had before among the English.' The actions of these heroes, however, only serve to place in stronger light the ignominy of Ethelred, who never seems to have adventured his person in battle, and whom the *Chronicle* describes in 1005 as beginning to consider 'what could be done after fifteen years of disaster.

However, in 1007 an able man, Eadric, became ealdorman of Mercia. His low birth made him distasteful to the nobles, his avarice is shown

Eadric.

by his nickname of Streona or the Grasper, and he was undoubtedly treacherous; but he does seem to have made some effort to turn the tide. The want of a fleet was supplied by the contributions of the whole country; but when it assembled, the quarrels of the leaders and an unlucky storm dashed the hopes of the nation, and 'it seemed as if it had been all hopeless.' The country became

Ravages of
the Danes.

more demoralised than ever; and the Danes marched hither and thither, burning, ravaging, and slaying, just as they pleased.

At length, in 1013, Sweyn came over in person and attempted a

formal conquest. Sailing up the Trent to Gainsborough, he received there the submission of the Northumbrians and of the men of the five Danish boroughs, and took hostages from every shire. Then he advanced, plundering as he went, across the Watling Street, and received the submission of the Western thegns; and, finally, when even the Londoners had given up the task of resistance as hopeless, 'the whole country held him as full king.' Abandoned by his subjects, Ethelred took refuge in Normandy; but within a year Sweyn died, and then the English sent again for Ethelred, assuring him 'that no lord was dearer than their own lord, if he would rule them better than he had done.' Accordingly he returned; but his health was failing, and for the short remainder of his life the real power was divided between his son Edmund, who from his strength and courage was called Ironside, and Eadric the Grasper. The two, however, were jealous of each other, and there was little more unity than before. Meanwhile the leadership of the Danes fell to Sweyn's son Canute, an able and enterprising man. He soon renewed the war, was joined by the traitor Eadric, and Northumbria 'submitted to him for need.'

Sweyn taken as King.

Restoration of Ethelred.

In 1016 Ethelred died, and all England except London chose Canute as king. Edmund, however, was supported by the brave Londoners, and he soon showed what could be done by a really national leader. Withdrawing himself to the forest of Selwood, he appealed to the descendants of the men who beforetime had rallied round the great Alfred. With a small force he put Canute to flight in a battle at Pen Selwood, and, success bringing followers to his ranks, he again routed the Danes in a hard-fought battle at Shirestone. The importance of this victory is shown by the fact that the traitor Eadric, who had fought for the Danes, thought it advisable to change sides, and, wonderful to relate, was received into favour, 'than which,' says the *Chronicle*, 'nothing could be more ill-advised.' Men from the most distant shires now came to Edmund's aid, and with a really national force he defeated the Danes at Brentford, raised the siege of London, and by a fourth victory at Otford drove a large body of them into the Isle of Sheppey. Then, crossing the Thames, he attacked Canute's main force at Assandun in Essex. The English were fighting with every hope of success when the traitor Eadric, who was said to have sold himself to Canute, led his followers from the field and ruined the chance of victory. Edmund continued the fight till nightfall, and even by moonlight, and was only forced to retreat by the death of his

Reign of Edmund II.

Battle of Shirestone.

Battles of Brentford and Otford.

Battle of Assandun.

bravest warriors. He then withdrew into Gloucestershire, and another battle was imminent, when the Witan, acting apparently under the advice of Eadric, proposed to secure peace by dividing the kingdom. Edmund unwillingly gave his consent, and it was arranged that he should keep Wessex and East Anglia as over-king; and that Canute as under-king should receive Mercia and Northumbria. However, within a few weeks Edmund died, murdered, according to one story, by Eadric, and then Canute became king of all England. Whether, had he lived, Edmund would have rivalled Alfred

**Division of
the King-
dom.**

as a ruler it is impossible to say; but he certainly rivalled his exploits as a warrior, and nothing but the miserable treachery of Eadric deprived him of complete victory. The story of his brief triumph is the best commentary on the imbecility of Ethelred, and shows that it was not so much the degeneracy of Englishmen as the incompetence of the central government that had been responsible for the disasters of his reign.

**Death of
Edmund.**

Canute began to reign in 1017; and though his early life had been stained by many acts of treachery and violence, his character as he grew older underwent a change, and ultimately he became an excellent sovereign. Like Julius Caesar, he possessed the faculty of attaching to himself nations whom he had conquered in battle, and he soon made Englishmen respect and trust him just as though he had been one of themselves. This feeling was reciprocal, and Canute frequently promoted Englishmen to bishoprics in his hereditary dominions and employed them in his Continental wars.

**Reign of
Canute.**

As elected king of the English, Canute regarded himself as inheriting the imperial rights of his predecessors. He enforced the supremacy over the Welsh, and he compelled Malcolm, king of the Scots, to do homage, with his under-kings. His views of dominion, however, extended beyond the shores of Britain, and he designed to create a northern empire which was to include Norway, Denmark, and England, just as the Roman Empire of the West had been revived by Charles the Great. He was already king of England and Denmark, and in 1028 he conquered Norway. His dominions, however, fell asunder at his death, but the idea of [an empire of the north has not been without its influence on the affairs of Europe. Canute's first care was to get rid of the surviving members of the royal family. Edmund's baby children were sent to the king of Sweden, who passed them on to Stephen, king of Hungary, where, contrary to Canute's intentions, they were carefully brought up, Edwy, Edmund's brother, was outlawed and soon afterwards slain; and Canute conciliated the Normans and guarded himself

His Policy.

against the two sons of Ethelred and Emma by a strange marriage with their mother, who came to England and left her children behind her in Normandy. Determined to show that he trusted the English, Canute dismissed his Danish fleet after paying *the* sailors by levying a land-tax called the Danegeld ; and the only force he retained was his famous bodyguard of house-carls, into which he enlisted Englishmen and Danes indifferently. This force, which was in fact a small ^{The Hua-} standing army organised under strict military discipline, ^{carls.} was perhaps imitated from the guard maintained by the Greek emperors at Constantinople, in which many Norsemen served.

Canute retained the great earldoms. Over the East-Anglians he placed Thurkill, a Dane, who had been his right-hand man at the battle of Assandun; over the Northumbrians he set his own ^{The Earl-} brother-in-law, Eric ; Eadric Streona kept Mercia ; and the ^{doms.} king himself acted as earl of Wessex. This arrangement, however, did not last long. At Christmas, 1017, Eadric Streona, of whose power and character Canute must have been well aware, was put to death, as one chronicle says, 'very rightfully'; and his earldom was given to Leofwine, an Englishman. In 1021 Thurkill was banished from England, but made viceroy of Denmark. The earldom of the Northumbrians was restored to the ancient line ; and another Englishman, Godwin, was made earl of the West-Saxons.

Godwin, who for the next forty years was the most prominent figure in English affairs, seems to have raised himself to favour by his own exertions and ability. He is described to us as a man sagacious ^{Godwin.} in counsel, strenuous in war, diligent in the transaction of business, weighty in speech, of winning manners, and of admirable temper. His early history is unknown, but at the very beginning of Canute's reign he was in high favour, and selected to be the king's companion on his first journey to Denmark. There he won further distinction, and on his return married Gytha, a connection of Canute himself. After this he was raised to the earldom of Wessex, which remained in his family till his son Harold became king of the English. For the remainder of Canute's reign Godwin was the king's most trusted servant, his adviser when in England, his representative when business required the king's absence abroad.

With Canute's exploits on the Continent English history has little to do. His reign at home was a time of profound peace. Ad- ^{Good effects} mirable order was preserved, and the land was distressed ^{of Canute's} neither by invasions from without nor by rebellions within. ^{Policy.} The observance of law was enforced on English and Danes alike, and

Canute took for his model the rule of Edgar, ' whose law,' according to the famous formula, ' he promised to observe.'

The most picturesque event in the later life of Canute is his pilgrimage to Rome. As king of England he had always shown signs of religious devotion, had founded a church upon the hill of Assandun, and been liberal in his gifts to churches and monasteries; and in 1027 he made

His Pilgrimage to Rome. a pilgrimage to Rome, where he was received with great honour both by the pope and by the emperor. Thence he wrote to his subjects an admirable letter, written in the tone of a father addressing his children, and giving a full account not only of his travels but of his designs for the future.

The long and peaceful reign of Canute is believed to have been a turning-point in the history of English towns. Hitherto, except as Growth of the Towns. fortresses, the towns had played a very small part in English life ; but under Canute the union of England, Denmark, and Norway was favourable to commerce, and the Danish population which had settled in England appears to have been more commercial in its instincts than the pure English race. London and York were the chief marts for foreign trade; Oxford, Chester, and Bristol were rising in Importance; while Winchester, the ancient capital of the West-Saxons, was falling into the second rank.

At his death, in 1035, Canute left three sons, Sweyn, Harold, and Hardicanute (Harthacnut). The last was the son of his Norman queen Emma; the others of an Englishwoman, Ælfgifu, who, strictly speaking, was hardly his wife at all. Probably Canute intended that Emma's son should succeed him in England, and accordingly Hardicanute was supported by Godwin and the West-Saxons ; but the northerners, actuated perhaps by resentment against the favour shown by Canute to Godwin and the southerners, preferred Harold. Ultimately . it was arranged at Oxford, by discussion and compromise, that Harold Reign of Harold. should reign north of the Thames as over-king, and that Hardicanute should have the south. Hardicanute also obtained Denmark, while Sweyn had Norway. However, Magnus, the son of Olaf of Norway, soon dispossessed Sweyn; and as he also threatened Denmark, Hardicanute was detained to look after his interests there, and was unable to visit the West-Saxons, who were riled by Emma and Godwin.

This state of affairs encouraged Alfred and Edward, the sons of Ethelred and Emma, who had grown up in Normandy, to attempt the recovery of their father's throne; and Alfred at any rate, and possibly Edward, came over for that purpose. Alfred fell into the

hands of Harold's men, who put him to a cruel death at Ely. Whether Godwin took any part in his arrest it is impossible to say. If Godwin arrested Alfred, he was simply doing his duty ; and it was Harold and his men, and not Godwin, who were responsible for the cruelties that followed. However, the result of the suspicion against him was to create ill-will between the house of Godwin and that of the dukes of Normandy.

Alfred's Ex.
Sedition and
Death.

For two years the West-Saxons waited for Hardicanute ; but, as he did not come, they then joined the rest of their countrymen in acknowledging Harold, and Emma took refuge with Baldwin of Flanders. There she was joined by her son, and preparations were being made for an invasion of England, when Harold, who had for some time been ailing, died at the age of twenty-three. The whole nation then chose Hardicanute as king. The new sovereign's reign was brief. The only events of importance were the employment of his house-carls to collect an oppressive tax and the invitation to England of his half-brother Edward. This was accepted, and when Hardicanute died suddenly at a marriage feast in 1042 all the English agreed in choosing Edward king, and so returned to the ancient line.

Hardi-
canute's
Reign.

CHIEF DATES.

	A. D.
Invasions of the Northmen renewed, . . .	987
Death of Dunstan, ...	988
Massacre of the Danes, ...	1002
Battle of Assandun, ...	1015
Accession of Canute.	1017

CHAPTER IX

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

ENGLISH KINGS

Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1042-1066 | Harold II., . . . A.D. 1066

The Character of Edward the Confessor—Influx of Normans—Godwin and his Family unsuccessfully oppose the Normans—Visit of William of Normandy to England—Return of Godwin and Banishment of the Normans—Character of Harold, Godwin's Son—Accession of Harold—Battles of Stamford Bridge and Hastings.

THE character of Edward the Confessor is difficult to understand. The personal piety which gained him his surname suggests a comparison with Henry vi.; his addiction to foreign favourites anticipates Henry in.; his fitful energy, combined with incapacity for continuous effort, recalls his father Ethelred. Though a man of mature years and of much experience, he was always controlled by the influence of others ; and his manliness was chiefly shown in an inordinate addiction to the chase.

During the first part of his reign, Godwin, Leofric of Mercia, and Siward of Northumbria continued to be the leading personages. Godwin had become an elderly man ; but his sons were growing up to manhood. Sweyn (Swegen) and Harold were already earls, and his daughter Edith became the king's wife.

Edward had been brought up in Normandy, and he was naturally fond of Norman life and manners. These as a rule were more refined than the English, for the Normans, though the last of the Teutonic settlers in the Roman Empire, had shown a wonderful power of assimilating its civilisation. They had entirely given up their own language for French, and delighted to welcome among them any foreigners who were distinguished for learning or accomplishments. Edward, therefore, was wishful to bring over to England what he could of Norman civilisation. He spoke French himself, and soon filled his court with French-speaking Normans, some

of whom he raised to high office in church and state. One, Robert of Jumieges, became bishop of London in 1044 and archbishop of Canterbury in 1051. The king's nephew, Ralph, became an earl and ruled in Herefordshire ; Richard, another Norman who received lands in the same county, built the first private castle in England, and the village of Richard's Castle in Herefordshire still perpetuates his evil memory. Among the rest arrived Ranulf Flambard, afterwards so notorious under William Rufus. At the same time, general causes were bringing England into closer touch with the Continent. Foreign merchants flocked to London, and it seemed as though a similar change to that which had turned the Normans into Frenchmen was beginning to take place in England.

Naturally there was much discontent at this, and Godwin and his sons set themselves at the head of the English party. Matters came to a head in 1051. In that year Eustace of Boulogne, brother-in-law of Edward, came over on a visit, and on his return marched into Dover as though it were a conquered town, and attempted to quarter his men on the inhabitants.

**Discontent,
of the
English.
Eustace of
Boulogne.**

The men of Dover resisted, and a fight followed in which twenty Englishmen and nineteen foreigners were slain. Edward then called on Godwin as earl of Wessex to punish the townspeople. Godwin very properly demanded that the men of Dover should be heard in their own defence, and, calling on his sons Swegen and Harold, the three earls assembled their forces at Beverstone near Gloucester, at which town Edward was keeping his court.

**Godwin
heads the
English.**

To balance their force Edward summoned Leofric, earl of the Mercians, and Siward, earl of the Northumbrians. On Leofric's suggestion both armies were dismissed and a witenagemot was summoned at London ; but for some unexplained reason Godwin, who seemed all-powerful at Gloucester, found himself so weak in London that he was outlawed with his sons and fled the country. Godwin himself, with his sons Swegen and Tostig, took refuge with Baldwin of Flanders at Bruges, and Harold sailed for Ireland. Edith, the king's wife, was shut up in a monastery at Wherwell, and for a time the foreigners reigned supreme.

**Godwin
exiled.**

While the English party was thus scattered, Edward received a visit from William, Duke of Normandy, whose great-aunt Emma was Edward's mother, but he had himself no blood relationship with the English royal family. The Duke was now about twenty-four years of age. He was the son of Duke Robert and Herleva or Arietta, the daughter of a tanner at Falaise.

**William,
Duke of
Normandy.**

His father

dying when he was about eight years old, William had had a hard struggle to maintain his doubtful title ; but his courage and resource had enabled him while yet a boy in years to triumph over all opponents on the field of Val es dunes, and he was now undisputed ruler of his duchy, and already recognised as one of the ablest men of his time.

In England there was everything to rouse his ambition. He knew that Englishmen had chosen Canute king and loyally served him. He found Normans round the king, he saw Normans filling great places in church and state, he heard French spoken on every side ; and it is no wonder that he conceived the idea of being himself king of England. For a Norman there was nothing uncommon in this. At that very time Robert Guiscard, another Norman, was establishing himself as ruler of Southern Italy. William had seen men like Harold Hardrada and Swegen Estrithson win the crowns of Norway and Denmark ; and if Godwin and his sons were out of the way, and the state full of his well-wishers, there was no likelihood that the Norman duke would meet with any serious resistance. It is pretty certain that Edward made some sort of promise to secure the succession to William. This he had no right to do, and such disposition of the crown could in no way curtail the free choice of the Witenagemot; but it certainly was taken as giving William a claim to consideration, if to nothing more, and he returned home well satisfied.

Next year, however, the scene was completely changed. A reaction occurred in favour of Godwin, who was encouraged to request leave to return; and on Edward's refusal he gathered an armed force, and, being joined by Hajold from Ireland, sailed up the Thames. Edward also gathered his forces, principally from the north ; and a battle seemed imminent, when fighting was averted by the mediation of Stigand, bishop of London, and it was agreed to submit the whole case to a witenagemot to be held the next day. During the night the Frenchmen made their escape. Headed by Robert of Jumieges, the primary cause of the trouble, and by tElf, the bishop of Dorchester, who is said to have done ' nought bishoplike,' they fought their way to the coast and took ship for home. Next morning the great gemot met in the open air. Robert and Ulf were expelled from their sees and outlawed, Godwin and his sons were restored to their dignities, Edith was summoned back from Wherwell, and 'good law was decreed for all folk/ The archbishopric of Canterbury was then given to Stigand, and the triumph of the English party was complete.

For the last fifteen years of Edward's reign he was as much under the

control of the house of Godwin as he had formerly been under that of the Frenchmen. Godwin died in 1053, and, as his eldest son Sweyn had died on pilgrimage, his honours passed to his second son Harold, who was then about thirty-two years of age. Besides his position and influence, Harold also inherited the abilities of his father both in war and peace, and he added to them a certain nobility of mind which made him a finer character than Earl Godwin. In 1055 Siward died, and, as his son Waltheof was yet a child, his earldom was given to Godwin's third son, Tostig, who was a great favourite with the king. In 1057 Leofric, the last of the three great earls, also died, and, after being held for a short time by his son iElfgar, his earldom passed to his grandson Edwin. Gyrth, Godwin's fourth son, became Ælfgar's successor as earl of the East-Angles ; and his fifth son, Leofwine, ruled over the group of shires which border the estuary of the Thames. Thus the whole land, with the exception of some of the midland shires, was under the supervision of Harold and his brothers.

Ascendancy
of the house
of Godwin.

Godwin's
Sons Harold
and Tostig.

The Earl-
dom of
Mercia.

As Edward had no children, it was determined to send for Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, who had grown up an exile in Hungary ; and he accordingly returned to England with his wife and three children, Edgar, Margaret, and Christina ; but almost immediately on his arrival he sickened and died, so that the male line of Alfred was only represented by the boy Edgar. The importance of the return of Edward is that it shows how little regard was paid to the alleged promise of Edward to William of Normandy.

Edgar
Atheling.

During the fifteen years of the authority of the house of Godwin much progress was made in the conquest of Wales. Since the days of Cadwallon, the ally of Penda, no Welsh sovereign had really been dangerous ; but in 1039 Griffith, son of Llewelyn (Gruffydd-ap-Llewelyn), ascended the throne of Gŵyr or North Wales, and soon afterwards, having annexed South Wales dominions, allied himself with Ælfgar of Exeter, and made his name feared in the valleys of the Usk, the Severn and the Wye, and even burned the cathedral city of Hereford. The whole regular force of the kingdom, headed by Harold and Tostig, was needed for his over ; but at length, in 1063, his people were so discouraged that they slew their too adventurous sovereign and brought his head to Harold. His dominions, shorn of some of the fertile lowlands, were then granted to two of his relations to be held as vassal kingdoms. The power of the Welsh was thus broken for many years.

Wales.

The fall of Gruffydd reduced the number of Harold's opponents, but in 1065 the power of Harold was seriously weakened by the expulsion of

Fall of
Tostig.

his brother Tostig from the earldom of the Northumbrians. Tostig began by being a man of good intentions, but was utterly wanting in tact; and he allowed the severity necessary to curb the rude Northumbrians to pass into tyranny, and even to be sullied with treachery and murder. Accordingly, taking advantage of Tostig's absence at Edward's court, the leading Northumbrians held a meeting at York, declared Tostig deposed and outlawed, and chose in his stead Morcar (Morkere), the younger son of Ælfgar. With Morcar at their head they marched into Middle England, where they were joined by his brother Edwin, and even by a body of Welshmen. In face of such unanimity, Edward and Harold yielded. Tostig's expulsion and Morcar's election were both confirmed, but the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton were taken from the earldom of the Northumbrians and given to

Waltheof. Waltheof, the son of Siward. Tostig withdrew to Flanders.

From that moment his character utterly deteriorated, and he became the evil genius of his greater brother. To Harold this revolution in Northumbrian affairs was a most serious blow; for, besides withdrawing Northumbria from his control, it practically added it to the dominions of Edwin, so that the lands of the house of Leofric were both larger in area and more compactly situated than those of the house of Godwin. Moreover, Edwin was a born intriguer, determined to carry out a separata policy for the north and to maintain the independence of that part of the country as far as he possibly could.

The death of Edward soon followed the fall of Tostig. He died on January 5, 1066, just after the consecration of his noble abbey church at

Death of
Edward.

Westminster; and then the difficult question of the succession came up for settlement. Of the direct English line there was living the Atheling Edgar; but he was quite a boy, and even when he grew up his character was very weak. With Tostig burning for revenge and William bent on prosecuting his claims, it was no time for repeating the minority of Ethelred the Unready; and as Edward in the

Reign of
Harold II.

solemnest manner had on his death-bed named Harold as his successor, the Witenagemot lost no time in confirming his wishes. The post of honour and of danger was accepted by the great earl, and a day later Harold was crowned at Westminster by Eaidred, archbishop of York. His whole reign was made up of a struggle for his kingdom,

The first act of the new king was to make sure of his acceptance among the Northumbrians by a visit to York; his next to conciliate Edwin and

Morcar by marrying their beautiful sister Ealdgyth, the widow of the murdered Griffith. From the first he must have felt the danger in which he was placed by the hostility of the house of Leofric, the policy of which was to maintain at 'any cost the virtual independence of the north, whether the king of the West-Saxons were Harold, or Edgar the Atheling, or William of Normandy.

If Edward the Confessor had been succeeded by Edward of Hungary, or his son the Atheling Edgar, William could have said little or nothing ; but it happened he could make out a more plausible tale against Harold than against any other candidate. According to the most probable story, Harold had been wrecked during a pleasure expedition on the coast of Ponthieu, and had been handed over by the count of Ponthieu to the duke of Normandy. Some time was spent by him at the Norman court, and he even accompanied William in an expedition against the Bretons ; and it is during this visit that he is said to have promised to become William's ' man,' to marry his daughter, and even to support his claim to the English crown. Moreover, the oath which he took to fulfil his promise was made additionally solemn by William's craftily inveigling Harold into unknowingly swearing on the most sacred relics. These details cannot be proved; but it is noteworthy that, while French writers place great stress upon the oath, English writers attempt no categorical denial. Again, Harold and his brothers had incurred the hostility of the Normans by their former resistance to foreigners. Something, too, might be made of the murder of Alfred the Atheling. More important still, it was possible to secure the benediction of the pope for an expedition one of whose objects was represented to be the punishment of the English for the uncanonical expulsion of Robert of Jumieges ; and Stigand, his successor, had made matters worse by receiving his pallium from an anti-pope, Benedict x. Moreover, the adviser of the pope was Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII., and he may well have seen that a conquest of England by William, under the benediction of the pope, would be certain to lead to an increase of papal authority over the English church.

Meanwhile, since his visit to England, William had been steadily growing in power. In 1053 he had strengthened his European position by a marriage with Matilda, the daughter of Baldwin of Flanders; five years later he had decisively beaten the king of France and his ally, Geoffrey of Anjou; in 1063 he had annexed the county of Maine; and he had recently concluded a successful war with Brittany. Each of these triumphs added something to his territory, and strengthened his claim to the title

His Policy.

William's case against Harold.

History of William since 105a.

of Conqueror or acquirer. However, on the death of Edward he turned aside from his French policy and devoted himself entirely to the prosecution of his alleged claim to the English crown: his first act being to put in a formal application for the crown; his next to publish a statement of his claims; and his third to prepare for an armed invasion of the country.

Armed with this plausible tale of personal and ecclesiastical wrongs, William placed his case before the Norman barons, foremost among whom were William Fitz-Osbern, Odo of Bayeux, Robert of Montgomery, Hugh of Avranches, Hugh of Montfort, and William of Warenne, names long celebrated in English annals. Led by William Fitz-Osbern, the barons gave a somewhat hesitating assent, and promised to furnish contingents of ships and men; Eustace of Boulogne and Alan of Brittany also agreed to join the host, and a multitude of adventurers from all parts of Europe flocked to take part in a holy war which promised such substantial rewards of honour and spoil.

On his side Harold was not idle. For the defence of his kingdom he trusted first to his fleet; secondly, to his land forces, consisting of the house-carls or standing army, the thegns and their followers; of Harold. and lastly, the general levy of the freemen of the realm. In the early summer Harold assembled his fleet and army on the southern coast, and distributed his men in garrison at the most important points. He was, however, before the time, as William had to build his fleet before he could sail; and it was not till August that the Norman ships were all ready. By that time, however, the patience of Harold's soldiers was quite exhausted; the harvest required their presence at home, and, doubtless much against his will, Harold permitted the thegns and the freemen to depart, so that the house-carls alone remained under arms. The fleet also retired to London.

Unfortunately, Normandy was not the only place from which invasion was threatened. Tostig was burning to recover his earldom, and was so far

lost to a sense of right that he was travelling from court to court in search of foreign assistance. From William he received

little attention, for it was no part of the duke's plan to replace one son of Godwin by another; but he contrived to get together a few ships and to plunder some of the English ports. However, on the arrival of Harold's fleet he made his way to Scotland, where he was well received; and there,

either by accident or appointment, he met with Harold, surnamed Hardrada, or the stern of counsel, king of Norway, who on his own account was ering for an invasion of England

Harold, who was the younger brother of Olaf the Saint, was a type of his energetic and far-wandering race. As a young man he had served in the guard of Norsemen who surrounded the Eastern emperors at Constantinople, he had visited Jerusalem and Egypt, and had gained a great reputation by slaying a crocodile. He had subsequently fought his way to the crown of Norway, and had the reputation of being not only a mighty warrior but also the strongest and tallest man of the north. If William's host included representatives of all the Romance-speaking nations of Europe, Harold Hardrada had under his banner adventurers from every Scandinavian land. .

With this mighty host Tostig and Harold sailed to the English coast, ravaged Cleveland and burnt Scarborough, and then entered the Humber. The Northumbrian fleet had retired up the Wharfe to Tadcaster ; so the Northmen left their vessels at Ricall, where they guarded the junction of the Wharfe and the Ouse, and marched by land to York. Harold had reckoned that Edwin and Morcar would fight hard for their own earldoms, and he was not disappointed; for the earls made a furious attack on the invaders at Fulford, on Wednesday, September 20, but were completely routed and driven with great slaughter into York. On hearing of this invasion, Harold and his house-carls hurried north, and, collecting forces on the road, reached York on Monday, 25th, only to find that it had surrendered to the Northmen the day before. Luckily, however, the invaders had retired some eight miles to Stamford Bridge, on the Derwent; and thither, without a moment's delay, Harold pursued them. He found their army encamped at both sides of the river Derwent, and, surprising the division on the right bank, he fought his way across the narrow bridge and routed the main body with terrible slaughter on the 'battle-flats' above. Tostig and Harold Hardrada both lay dead, and for years afterwards the fields around were whitened by the skeletons of the slain.

Invasion
by Tostig
and Harold
Hardrada.

Battle of
Fulford.

Battle of
Stamford
Bridge.

But while Harold was winning this glorious fight, the south wind, for which William had long been waiting, had wafted the Norman transports across the Channel, and his army had effected an unresisted landing on the shingly beach at Pevensey, where the grass-grown walls of the Roman Anderida told the tale of a yet earlier conquest. Spurring horsemen carried the news to York 'Had I been there/ Harold is said to have exclaimed, 'they had never made good their landing.¹ No time, however, was lost. Edwin and Morcar were enjoined to march south without delay ;

William's
Landing.

Harold
marches
south.

Harold himself, with his brothers Gyrth and Leofwine and his house-carls, at once took the road to London, where the whole force of England was ordered to assemble. From all the southern shires, and from the earldoms that owned the sway of Gyrth, of Leofwine, and of Waltheof the son of Siward, there was no hanging back. From Cornwall to Norfolk, from Worcester to Kent, freemen and thegns came to the meeting-place ; but Edwin and Morcar, true to their separatist policy, and forgetful that but for their defeat at Fulford William's landing might never have been made, held their troops back, and Harold, impatient at the stories of Norman plundering, was obliged to march without them.

Treachery
of Edwin
and Morcar.

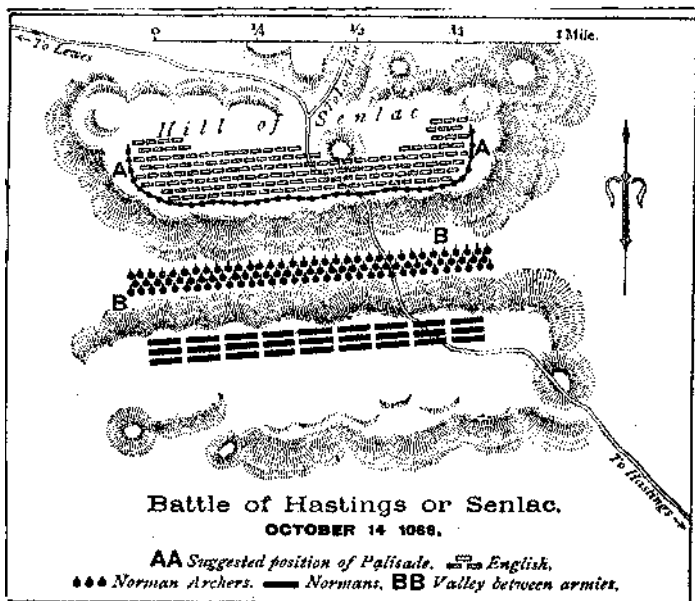
By this time William had advanced to Hastings. Between the southern coast and London are two ridges of downs, one near the coast, the other much nearer the Thames ; and between them lay, in those days, the forest tract of the Weald. Probably it would have been the best generalship to have compelled William to advance through this, and fought on the northern ridge ; but Harold refused to allow so much of his kingdom to be ravaged, and he also declined an offer of Gyrth to go forward with an advanced guard, while Harold arrayed the whole strength of the kingdom for a decisive battle. The plan which he chose was to make the first battle a real trial of strength, and to fight it on the hill of Senlac, seven miles from Hastings, on October the 14th, 1066, the day of Saint Calixtus.

Military
Geography
of the South
Coast.

The place of battle was admirably chosen for the sort of battle Harold had in view—one in which foot-soldiers armed with battle-axes and javelins were to be attacked by archers and cavalry. In many respects the site reminds one of the field of Waterloo. It was a ridge which commanded the road from Hastings to London, and was so near to the former that William was compelled either to take it or starve ; so that Harold gained the great military advantage of forcing his enemy to fight on ground of his own choosing, and in the way that suited him best. The ridge of Senlac, now partially covered by the town of Battle, is about a mile long ; and the English had time to strengthen its front by a ditch, and possibly by a palisade. For the last fifty years the regular weapon of the English professional soldiers had been the double-handed axe ; and they used long shields for defence against the arrows. The house-carls—each of whom was thought equal to two ordinary men—took their stand in the centre. On the wings were the freemen and thegns, armed, some with axes, others with javelins and the ancient two-handed

Disposition
and weapons
of the
English.

swords. Besides their shields, the professional soldiers and thegns had coats of mail coming down to the knee, with sleeves reaching to the elbow. From their king downward the whole army was on foot. The force appears to have been neither too large nor too small for its work ; but if some of the freemen could have been replaced by the stout house-carls whose corpses lay at Stamford Bridge it would have been more efficient, for the freemen, though brave and enthusiastic, were the weak point in the array.



Meanwhile, William made the best dispositions in his power. The strength of his army lay in the armoured knights, who trusted chiefly to the light javelins which they hurled from a distance or used at close quarters to stab and thrust, and in the archers, whom William had brought to great efficiency; but, as the attack had to be made uphill, both men-at-arms and archers were at a great disadvantage. William's plan was to send his foot-soldiers to the front supported by archers, and to reserve his men-at-arms till they could be used with advantage. He ranged his motley force according to nationalities: Bretons on the left, Normans in the centre, adventurers on the right. His best chance of success lay in the

**Disposition
and arms
of the
Normans.**

fact that his men were, for the most part, professional soldiers who had, doubtless, learned to act in concert, and also that the English, having no archers, could do little harm to their assailants except in hand-to-hand fighting.

At nine o'clock in the morning the battle began, and at three in the afternoon, though foot and archers and cavalry had done their best, the English line was still unbroken. William himself had given his men an example of reckless daring, and had slain Gyrth with his own hand ; Harold himself, constant at his post, where waved the Dragon of Wessex and his own standard the Fighting Man, had been equally an example of patient endurance. The Normans were beginning to despair, some even were counselling retreat, when accident revealed to William the weak point of his opponents. Weary of their long waiting, the freemen on the left broke their ranks to pursue some flying foes, and the gap thus left remained unfilled. With the decision of genius William ordered a feigned flight, and his skilled followers carried out his orders to the letter, and then, turning upon their pursuers, established themselves within the stockade, and took the English centre in flank. Such a disaster would have been as fatal to Wellington's plans at Waterloo as it was to Harold's at Hastings. For a time, however, the shield-wall of the house-carls was still unbroken, and night would soon have covered the English retreat, when William, as a last resource, ordered his archers to shoot into the air so that their arrows might fall on the heads of the English. This second device proved as successful as its predecessor : Harold himself fell, his brothers Gyrth and Leofwine were already slain, no unwounded leader was left; and, when night closed in, the Normans had possession of the place of carnage, and the English, defeated but not cowed, and turning upon their pursuers at every point of vantage, were making a sullen retreat. Four hundred years passed before such another stubborn fight was fought on English soil ; never again till Towton did such a multitude of slain bestrew an English field. As at Towton, science, and science only, carried the day ; and the descendants of both conquerors and conquered may be proud of the fight of Senlac, and take the attack and defence as typical of what a British army can do now that Normans and Englishmen have united to form one nation.

The real seriousness of the defeat of Hastings lay in the slaughter of the English leaders. No one was ready to step into the place of Harold and his brothers. Edgar Atheling was a mere boy, and Edwin and **Worcar were worse than** useless. Otherwise the fight might well have been

**Battle of
Hastings.**

**Death of
Harold and
Defeat of
the English.**

renewed, for the survivors of Hastings might have been rallied, and Northumbria and Mercia were as yet untouched. As it was, there was no one to lead, and William was free to take his own way.

His first care was to secure his retreat, and for this purpose he seized Dover, Romney, and Winchester. He then marched by way of Canterbury to South war k. This he burnt, but, making no attempt to cross London Bridge, he marched up the Thames to Wallingford, ravaging as he went, and, crossing there, placed his camp at Berkhamstead. The place was admirably chosen, as it commanded the junction of the Watling Street, Ermine Street, and Icknield Street, and so completely isolated London.

William's
march on
London.

Meanwhile, a witenagemot at London had elected Edgar Atheling king; but without help from the north his position was hopeless, and Edwin and Morcar declined to jeopardy their power in his defence, even had William not been barring the way. That such was the case became more evident day by day; and at length, perhaps in hopes that William might turn out a second Cnut, an embassy of the chief men of the south, including Edgar himself, made William a formal offer of the crown. It was accepted, and with that a new epoch in English history began. On the whole, we cannot regret the result of Hastings. In the creation and development of the British nation it was a necessary if painful factor. Just as great advantages had come to England from her union with the Church of Rome, so it was of prime importance to the country to become an important member of the family of European nations. The Normans brought with them the greatest political ability and their clergy the highest culture then known in Europe; and, though it is a hard thing for any nation to be conquered, still the descendants of the heroes who fought at Hastings have derived greater advantages from the defeat of Harold than they could possibly have done from his victory.

William
accepted
as King.

CHIEF DATES.

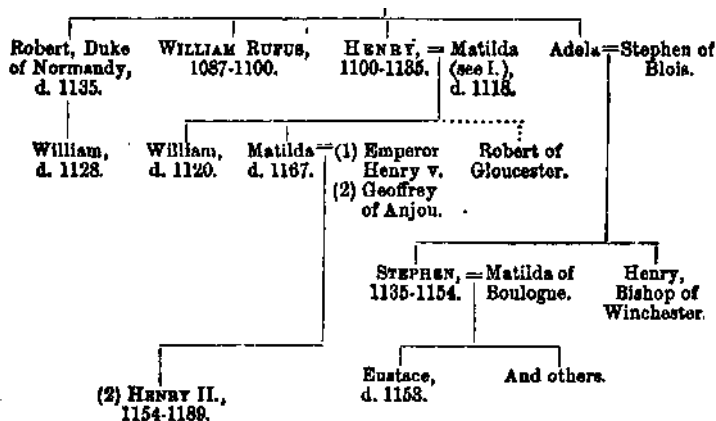
	A.D.
William of Normandy visits England, . . .	1001
Tostlg expelled by the Northumbrians,	1065
Battle of Stamford Bridge, September 25, . . .	1066
Battle of Hastings, October 14, . . . ,	1066



Book II
THE NORMAN KINGS OF ENGLAND
1066-1154

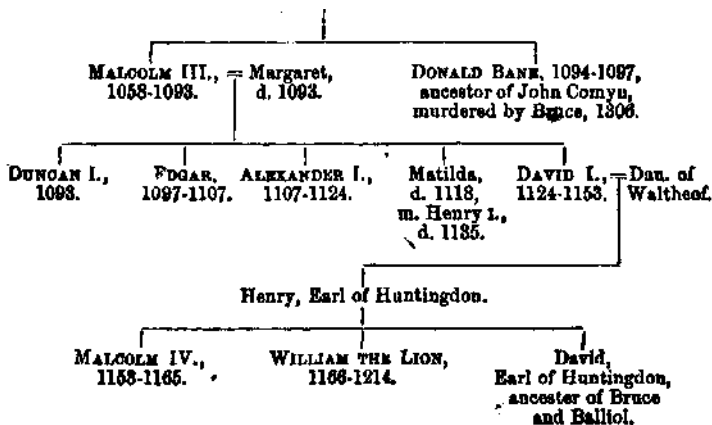
III.—THE NORMAN KINGS OF ENGLAND, 1066-1154.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, - Matilda of Flanders.
1066-1087.



IV.—THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND, 1066-1214.

DUNCAN I., 1034-1040.



..... signifies illegitimate.

CHAPTER I

WILLIAM I. : 1066-1087

Born 1027 ; married, 1053, Matilda of Flanders.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Emperor.</i>
Malcolm in., 1056-1093.	Philip I., 1060-1108.	Henry IV., d. 1106.
<i>Popes.</i>		
Alexander 11., d. 1073; Gregory VII., 1073-1085.		

Completion of the Conquest—Apportionment of the Soil and Offices Discontent
of the Normans—Doomsday Book—Quarrels in the Royal House.

WILLIAM the Conqueror was crowned at Westminster on Christmas Day, 1066. Nominally his right to be king was derived from his election by the Witenagemot, in reality he reigned as the victor of Hastings; but in all his legal documents Harold's rule was ignored, and William was spoken of as the successor of Edward the Confessor. This twofold right of election and conquest ^{William's Position.} received a sinister illustration on the coronation day. Within the abbey the ceremony was performed as heretofore, and the consent of the congregation was demanded as usual; but without it stood a guard of Norman soldiers, who, taking the acclamations of the congregation as the roar of an outbreak, set fire to the neighbouring buildings, and the day ended in destruction and massacre. The advantages of the election and coronation were immense. Henceforward William was a full king, and any movement against him would, in the eyes of the law, be not legitimate warfare but treasonable rebellion.

The conquest of the country was, however, far from complete. At Hastings William had overthrown the standing army of Harold and the forces of the southern and south-eastern shires ;* but he had yet to fight against the Mercians, the Northumbrians, ^{Partial nature of the Conquest.} and the men of the south-west. What Edwin and Morcar might do was uncertain ; but within a few weeks they presented themselves before William and accepted him as king, so that William's position.

at the beginning of 1067 was not unlike that of Edward the Elder before the conquest of the Danelaw. William accepted this, and, leaving the earls undisturbed, contented himself with apportioning among his followers the lands of the house of Godwin and of those who had fought against him at Hastings. In March 1067 he paid a visit to

**William
visits Nor-
mandy.**

Normandy. In his absence the general management of English affairs was entrusted to his half-brother Odo of Bayeux, who in Norman eyes was a man 'worthy as well of love as of respect,' and to the king's great friend William Fitz-Osbern, who as long as he lived was always called on for service when anything specially difficult required to be done. However, in the Conqueror's absence the insolence of the Norman adventurers seems to have goaded the English to revolt; and in Herefordshire they rose under Eadric the Wild, and in Kent with the help of Eustace of Boulogne. The risings were unconnected; and as William had taken with him Edgar Atheling, Edwin, Morcar, Waltheof, Stigand, and the abbot of Glastonbury, there was no one to weld them into a national movement, and consequently they were easily put down.

However, on William's return he resumed the work of systematically conquering the island. His first attention was given to Exeter, where Gytha, the widow of Godwin, and her grandchildren, the sons of Harold, had taken refuge. Exeter seems to have had some idea of becoming a free city; but William would hear of no half-allegiance, and after a siege of eighteen days Harold's family made their escape and Exeter capitulated. The same year Edwin and Morcar and Edgar Atheling escaped from the court, and a revolt was organised under the nominal leadership of Edgar. As the rebels expected aid of Swegen

**Danish In-
terference.**

Estrithson, king of Denmark, the danger was formidable, and William marched north in person. His advance was slow but sure, for, repeating the tactics of Edward the Elder, he seized town after town in the midlands, and secured each by the erection of a

**Castle.
building.**

Norman keep, strong, well-provisioned, and holding such a powerful garrison that no insurgents would dare to leave their lands at its mercy. Among others, Warwick and Nottingham were so treated. At the news of his approach, Edwin and Morcar lost heart and submitted, and Edgar fled to Scotland; so William contented himself with erecting a castle at York, of which William Malet was made governor, and then, marching southwards, he erected castles at Lincoln, Stamford, and Cambridge. As he had already erected fortresses at Hastings, Dover, Winchester, London, Norwich, Exeter, and Bristol, the permanency of the conquest in the south was now fully

provided for, and two attempts of the sons of Harold to raise the west came to nothing.

The north, however, was still unsubdued; and in 1069 the men of Durham murdered Robert of Comines, who had rashly accepted William's offer of the earldom of Northumbria (meaning the district between the Tees and the Tweed), and encouraged by this the men of York rose. Again William marched to York, and erected another castle on the opposite side of the Ouse. In the autumn, however, a great Danish fleet entered the Humber; and the English under Waitheof having joined them, the wooden castles of York were both burnt to the ground, and the garrisons captured or slain—an action in which Waitheof gained great renown by his personal courage and strength. A third time William made his way north; and now, impatient of the obstinacy of the men of Yorkshire, he harried the arable country between the Humber and the Tees, so as to interpose a wilderness between him and his northern antagonists. Convinced of the hopelessness of the struggle, Waitheof then made his submission, while the inaction of the Danish fleet was secured by a payment of money. The north being now 'pacified,' William crossed the hills into Cheshire and subdued Chester, the last English town to maintain its independence. Meanwhile, Edgar Atheling had taken refuge with Malcolm, king of Scots, but did little for his cause besides repeatedly crossing the Tweed and plundering the northern counties, so that what little had been left by the mercy or weakness of William fell a prey to the rapacity of Malcolm. So great was the ruin of the north, that it is doubtful if that district, always less fertile than the south, ever recovered either its material prosperity or its relative civilisation till after the great revival of manufacturing industry during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The fall of Chester in 1069 marks the completion of the actual conquest; but in the same year the men of the Fens rose under Hereward the Wake, who found a stronghold in the Isle of Ely. In 1071 Edwin and Morcar again took heart to revolt; but Edwin was killed, probably by his own men, during an attempt to make his way to Scotland, and Morcar joined Hereward. Their insurrection, however, was short-lived. William made his headquarters at Cambridge, and attacked Ely both by land and water. Hereward seems to have escaped; Morcar was captured and imprisoned for life. Hereward, however, soon made his peace, and like Waitheof was admitted to favour. The insurrection at Ely was the last attempt of Englishmen, as Englishmen, to maintain their independence.

Revolt of
the North.

Revolt of
Hereward
and of
Edwin and
Morcar.

After these insurrections were over, William directed his attention to the three great objects of his general policy: (1) To secure his hold over the country, (2) to reward his Norman followers, (3) to keep the Norman nobles from becoming too powerful. The first he had already in a great measure accomplished by castle-building in the south and ravaging in the north ; but he also secured his position by grants of land held from himself, which made every Norman landlord a representative of the Norman ruling class in his own district, while in ail but a comparatively few cases in each county the English landowners sank into the under-tenants of the Norman lords. Also, all English freeholders were forced to receive back their lands by the king's special grant, so that there was not a rood of English land from the Land's End to the Tweed the title to which was not based upon the king's grant. These grants were made on condition that the holder served the king with a certain number of knights (*debitum servitium*), apparently calculated at five or some multiple of five, who could be called on to serve with the king's person for forty days in each year, in which the coming and going were not counted.

It was, however, a most difficult matter to prevent the great nobles themselves becoming a source of danger to the royal power—capable on the one hand of defying the authority of the king, on the other of destroying every vestige of liberty in the people. This was what happened in Germany and in France, and it is due to the genius of William the Conqueror that it did not happen in England. He had himself been duke of Normandy, and he was determined that no one in England should have similar power under him. Accordingly, in rewarding his followers with titles and lands he followed a well thought-out plan. To very few was given the title of earl, and if a man were earl of two shires they were never adjoining. Of land he had plenty to dispose, for he not only forfeited the property of all who had fought at Hastings, but each subsequent outbreak was followed by wholesale confiscation, while what remained of the old folkland was henceforth regarded as the estate of the king. The greater part of these vast territories were distributed to his followers; but care was taken that if a man had many manors they should lie in different parts of the country. For instance, William's half-brother, Robert, count of Mortain and earl of Cornwall, had seven hundred and ninety-three manors; but they were situated in twenty counties. Moreover, the power of the sheriff, the king's representative in each county, was carefully preserved, so that it was no easy matter for such

a noble to concentrate his military forces and prevent his followers being crushed in detail by the royal officers.

Strictly speaking, only three exceptions were made : the bishopric of Durham, the earldom of Kent, and the 'earldom of Chester. In these the whole land of the county was held by the earl. There were no tenants-in-chief of the king, but all landholders, except the clergy, held mediately from the earl. The bishopric of Durham was designed to guard against invasion from Scotland ; and as the bishop was unable to found a legal family, at every vacancy the king could secure an occupant for the see well disposed towards himself. Similarly, the earldom of Kent was given to Odo of Bayeux, who was likewise an ecclesiastic ; and after his death no successor was appointed. The earldom of Chester, granted to Hugh of Avranches, was the only palatine earldom in lay hands ; but the positions of Robert of Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, and of William Fitz-Osbern, earl of Hereford, were not very dissimilar, so that the three great earls of the Welsh border were the most powerful subjects of the king. Fortunately, their energies were usually absorbed in fighting with their turbulent neighbours, the Welsh.

Again, in regard to the building of castles, William, with very few exceptions, kept all castles in his own hands; he named the governor or constable and paid the garrison, so that, unlike the continental castles, which were the strongholds of disaffection and robbery, under William the Conqueror each castle was a guarantee for the quiet both of the English and Normans of its neighbourhood.

Just as William placed Normans at the head of the landholders, he set Normans, or at any rate men of foreign birth, at the head of the church. As abbeys and bishoprics were vacated by death or deposition, foreigners took the place of Englishmen. In 1070, Stigand, whose position as archbishop had always been dubious, was set aside; William gave the office to his friend and adviser Lanfranc, abbot of St. Stephen's abbey at Caen, and about the same time Thomas of Bayeux, one of the most learned men of his time, became archbishop of York. Lanfranc was a real statesman, and the changes which he made in the English church were on the whole beneficial. He raised its spiritual condition by frequent councils, encouraged learning, revived the discipline of the monks, and also followed the most advanced thought of his time by forbidding for the future the marriage of the clergy. These changes all tended to make the clergy a distinct body ; and as William the Conqueror deprived the bishop of his right to sit with the earl as president of the shire-moot, and

gave him a Court of his own in which clerical offences and ecclesiastical cases were to be tried, the general effect of his policy was to make more distinct than before the separation of church and state.

These changes resulted in a substitution of foreigners for Englishmen in all positions of importance ; but the old English laws were not done away with, and the English courts, from the Witenagemot downwards, were still preserved, though their importance was materially diminished. French was, of course, the language of the great; but there was no attempt to prevent the use of English, and the king himself is believed to have taken lessons in the language of his subjects. He certainly tried to ascertain what the English laws were, for in 1070 he caused twelve men from each county to be chosen for the purpose of stating on oath the customs of the country.

While William was carrying out his domestic policy he steadily maintained the rights of the old English kings. He invaded Scotland, penetrated as far as Abernethy, near the banks of the Tay, and compelled Malcolm to 'become his man' in 1072. William's Foreign Policy. Probably by the same treaty, he secured the expulsion of Edgar Atheling, who is next heard of as a sojourner with the count of Flanders. A year earlier Malcolm had married Edgar's sister, Margaret. This marriage was a turning-point in Scottish history. Hitherto the kings of the Scots had preserved their Celtic character; but Malcolm's stay with Siward acquainted him with English manners, and his predilection for them was confirmed by his marriage. Henceforward his English earldom of Lothian was recognised as the most important part of his dominions. English habits were adopted by the king and his courtiers, and for many years the king of Scots held the position of first lay baron at the court of the king of England. The overlordship of the king over the princes of Wales was likewise strictly enforced. Wales and Ireland. At the same time something was done towards acquiring influence in Ireland. Two successive Danish archbishops of Dublin came to Lanfranc for consecration, and it is said that William's sudden death alone prevented him from attempting to effect the conquest of the sister island.

With Pope Gregory VII., the famous Hildebrand, William had also many dealings; but he refused to acknowledge that he held England in any respect as a fief of the papal see, saying that such had never been the practice of his predecessors. William's Relations with the Papacy. Moreover, he carefully defined the conditions on which the authority of the pope over the English church was to be exercised. To provide against the case of a disputed election.

'no pope was to be recognised in England unless by the king's authority'; and to secure that no orders of the pope should interfere with the royal power, 'no papal bull was to be received unless it had first been inspected by 'the king.' Moreover, no council of the clergy was to be held without the king's approval, and no laws or canons were to be enacted but with his consent. Nothing had been a more fruitful source of trouble abroad than the enforcement against the royal officials of the ban of excommunication, so William gave out that in the ecclesiastical courts none of his liegemen or officials should be excommunicated or proceeded against for vice without the king's express sanction.

His Ecclesiastical Rules.

William's determination to secure the royal power and to put a check upon that of his barons was a sore disappointment to those who had joined in his expedition in the hope of themselves becoming dukes or earls when their duke himself became a king. For one hundred years they and their successors struggled against the bonds imposed on them by the Conqueror's system, and attempted to secure the freedom from restraint which they saw enjoyed by their fellows on the Continent. Against their efforts the king was usually able to rely on the clergy, the English, and especially on the townspeople.

Discontent of the Barons.

Before the Conquest we saw that the towns were beginning to be of considerable importance; and the new order of things was extremely favourable to their growth. The new tastes introduced by the foreigners, the security of property so sternly enforced by King William, the constant traffic between the English and Norman ports, all tended to foster commerce, and soon the English boroughs assumed an importance wholly unknown in earlier times.

Growth of the Towns.

The disaffection of the barons first showed itself in 1074. The leaders of the movement were Ralph of Wader or Guader, earl of Norfolk, son of an old Breton officer of Edward the Confessor, and Roger of Breteuil, second son of William Fitz-Osbern, who on the death of his father had been made earl of Hereford. Ralph, against William's injunction, married Emma, the sister of Roger; and Waltheof, son of Si ward, who since his adhesion to the court had been made earl of Northumberland, and had married the Conqueror's niece Judith, was a guest at the wedding. At the marriage Roger and Ralph decided on an insurrection, which was to be undertaken while the king was in Normandy, and Waltheof was asked to join. **If they**

First Rebellion of the Barons.

¹ 'There was that brideale to many men's bale.'

succeeded, one of the three was to be a king, the other two dukes. In an evil moment Waltheof gave his consent; but soon repenting, he acquainted Lanfranc with what was on foot. According to the plan, the joint-rising took place in 1075 ; but against such a movement Williapj could rely on the church and the English; and while Wulfstan, the English bishop of Worcester, with the sheriff of Worcestershire, dealt with Roger, Odo of Bayeux and others advanced against Ralph. Roger was captured. Ralph fled to Denmark, but his newly married wife held out in Norwich Castle for three months. Roger and Waltheof were then tried before the Witenagemot. The guilt of Roger was notorious, that of Waltheof doubtful; but nevertheless Roger was sentenced to imprisonment, and Waltheof to death. Even if guilty, he was the less guilty of the two ; but the sentence was carried out at Winchester, and many regarded the earl as a martyr. His daughter married David, afterwards king of Scots, and through her the earldom of Huntingdon was long held by the Scottish kings.

William's next trouble arose in his own family. He had three sons who grew to manhood—Robert, born about 1056, William, born about 1060, and Henry, born in 1068. It was part of his policy to give no English lands to his children, and this is said to have caused the anger of Robert, who, though distrusted by his father as unstable and frivolous, was the favourite of his mother Matilda.

In 1078 Robert left his father's court, and, with the help of some other young men, among whom was Robert of Bellême, son of the earl of Shrewsbury, led a wandering life for some years. In 1079 the king of France established him in the border castle of Gerberoi. There Robert was besieged by the Conqueror, and, father and son having met in single combat, William was unhorsed, and only saved from death by the bravery of an Englishman, who paid for his loyalty with his life. Some time afterwards Robert was reconciled to his father, but William's distrust of his character remained to the last. He was, however, employed in a raid on the Scots, and signalled his stay in the north by building the fortress of Newcastle-on-Tyne at one end of the Roman Wall.

In 1082 the wrath of the king was excited by the unbridled arrogance of his half-brother, Odo, bishop and earl. After the death of Waltheof, William's attention had been occupied mainly with Continental affairs, and during that time Odo had been left in charge in England. His rule had been by no means to his brother's liking. He had oppressed the poor, he had irritated the whole people by unjust exactions, he had punished the murder of the bishop of

Durham with wholesale and indiscriminating cruelty, he had stolen from Durham a pastoral staff, and finally, dreaming of the papacy, he had enlisted soldiers for a campaign beyond the Alps. The last action SOS¹ed William to interfere. Crossing the Channel, he arrested Odo, not, as he said, 'as bishop of Bayeux, but as earl of Kent,' sent him to Normandy, and confined him in the castle of Rouen. A year later Matilda died ; and 1084 was memorable for an expected invasion from Denmark, only prevented by the assassination of the Danish king, Canute, by his own subjects.

This event concentrated William's attention for a time on England, and in 1085, after 'mickle thought and very deep speech with his Witan,' he decided on a great survey of the country to find 'how it was set, and by what men,' and, moreover, how much land each man had and what payments were due to the king. A year was occupied in the inquiry. Commissioners were sent to the shire-moots, where they learned the great divisions of the shire ; and finally they had before them the reeve, the parish priest, and six villeins from each manor, from whom they asked the following particulars: Doomsday Book.
What the manor was called; who held it in the time of

King Edward ; who held it now; how many hides¹; how many ploughlands² were in the lord's demesne ; what was the population; how many were respectively villeins, cotters, slaves, freemen, and socmen³; how much wood, meadow, and pasture; what mills and fishponds (or fisheries); how much had been added or deducted; how much it was worth as a whole, and how the amount was made up ; how much each freeman and each socman possessed. The answers were to refer to three dates—that of the time of King Edward, that of the grant of the manor to its present owner, and that of the date of the survey ; and they were to add whether it could be held at a higher rate than at present. Similar questions were put to the townspeople, and the whole was carefully enrolled in what was afterwards spoken of as the Doomsday Book. The information was not extracted without difficulty. All men resented such minute inquiries into their conditions ; and the writer of the Peterborough chronicle said that 'it was a shame to speak what he thought it no shame to do.' But William was strong enough to effect his purpose. Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland, and Durham were unsurveyed, the two former being in the hands of the Scots, the two latter being utterly wasted. The result, however, to us is the

¹ A varying amount, fixed by Henry 11. at 100 acres.

² The amount a man with one plough could till in a season—a variable quantity

³ Free landowners not noble.

possession of the most complete and accurate record of the condition of our country eight hundred years ago that it is the privilege of any nation to possess

To William himself the immediate results of the Domesday survey were of the highest value. On its completion he at once summoned every freeholder to Salisbury, and there, on the plain below the ancient hill of Sarum, William exacted from each man the oath of allegiance to himself. The importance of this can hardly be overestimated. On the Continent no freeman took an oath of allegiance to any one but his immediate lord : the men of Normandy, for example, owed no duties except to their duke ; to the king of France they were under no obligation. If their duke rebelled against the king, it was their business to follow him to battle. To do so was no act of treason ; but in England all was different. Vassals as well as lords fought against the king with a halter round their neck, and few things did more to curb the power of the great nobles than this principle of double responsibility. By it, moreover, William was placed at once in a position more powerful than any of his predecessors. He stood to his subjects in a position far stronger than that occupied by Alfred, by Edgar, or by Canute, and by doing so he had placed the unity of England and the nationality of the English nation on a far firmer basis than before.

Though this oath was not only not feudal, but struck at the very foundation of feudalism, it is not inconvenient to take the meeting of Salisbury as the date of the establishment in England of what is vaguely called feudalism. The central ideas of the organisation of feudal society are : (1) that all land is ultimately held by grant from the king ; (2) that the grant is made on condition of performing some service to the sovereign, of which the most honourable was military service, and paying him certain dues ; and (3) that those who hold directly from the king are bound together by so doing in a certain legal and social relation. Moreover, it was the privilege of each of the ' tenants-in-chief,' as those are called who hold direct from the king, to sublet his land on the same terms to others, who held from him as ' mesne tenants,' who might in turn also sublet on similar terms ; though the lowest grade of landholders, even if required to fight for their lord, usually held their lands on what was called servile tenure—that is, by doing certain customary services, as ploughing, sowing, and the like.

Moreover, both the king and his tenants were in the habit of holding law-courts, in which the tenant of the king or the subtenants of the tenant-in-chief were bound to attend and have their cases tried according to the

rules of the country. Besides, the king or tenant-in-chief had the right to levy taxes called tallages or tailles on their vassals.

This was the ideal of feudalism, but in England it never existed in perfection. There had been traces of it before the Conquest, and after the Conquest all land was certainly held by the king's grant; but in other respects the practice varied. Besides the Salisbury oath, the importance of which has been pointed out, the preservation in England of the witenagemot, and of the courts of the shire and the hundred, prevented the feudal courts from engrossing jurisdiction; and the Norman kings and their successors were quick to perceive that their true interest lay in preserving every institution which could be used to check the power of the great vassals.

**William's
Modifica-
tions of
Feudalism.**

Still, for one hundred years the struggle between the king and the barons took the form of a contest as to how far the barons should introduce into this country the forms of Continental feudalism. The first blow was struck at their plan by the division of estates, the second by the oath of Salisbury.

During the whole of his reign William was engaged in more or less open hostility with Philip, king of France, who naturally looked askance at the successes of his powerful vassal. In 1073 an English army attacked Maine, a French province lying between Normandy and Anjou, and effected its capture; in 1079 we saw Philip giving his countenance and aid to William's rebellious son. In 1087

**Wars with
France.**

William, stung by a coarse joke of the French monarch, invaded the Vexin, the district between Normandy and Paris, of which the chief town is Mantes on the Seine. This William burned, and while riding through the streets his horse plunged on some hot cinders and threw his rider violently against the high iron pommel

**William's
Death.**

of the saddle, causing a fatal internal injury. For six weeks William lingered at Rouen, attended by his sons William and Henry; and then, after releasing his prisoners and making a disposition of his property, he died.

William was a harsh ruler and it is impossible, on moral grounds, to justify his invasion of England and the atrocities to which it gave rise; but, nevertheless, he bestowed on the country a great boon, for he made England a united kingdom, in a sense which she had never been before.

**William's
Character.**

He arrived at a critical moment of history when the great earls were developing a system of local independence which in all probability would have run the same course as a like movement did in France and in Germany, and produced the same weakness in the crown, the same oppression for the people. From this fate William

saved England ; and by making the crown powerful, and relying on the English and the clergy against the barons, and enforcing one law and one allegiance, he took a great step towards making her a strong and united kingdom. It cannot, however, be doubted that his character was sullied by terrible crimes. The judicial murder of Waltheof cannot be defended on the evidence known to us ; and his barbarous action of laying waste a vast area of cultivated Hampshire to create the New Forest was a sin against civilisation. Churches and villages alike were levelled to make room for the 'tall deer,' whom the king was said to love 'as though he were their father.'⁵ Still, on the whole, William must be reckoned as one who, according to his lights, strove to do what was right, and whose best deeds have left a mark more enduring than his crimes.

Among the changes of this reign,- the waste lands not enclosed in any manor or township began to be called the Forest, and were reserved for the king's sport. The bishoprics, which the English had usually placed in villages, were transferred to towns, as Dorchester to Lincoln and Crediton to Exeter. The name township, though retained, was usually superseded by the *manor*.

CHIEF DATES.

Conquest of England completed, .	1071
Conspiracy of the Norman Earls,	1074
Doomsday Book produced, .	1086
Great Court at Salisbury, ,	1086

CHAPTER II

WILLIAM I. : 1087-1100

Born c. 1060.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Emperor.</i>
Malcolm III., d. 1093.	Philip I., d. 1108.	Henry IV., d. 1056.
	<i>Pope.</i>	
	Urban II., 1087-1098.	

Contest with the Barons continued—The enforcement of the Feudal Dues—
The first Crusade.

IN disposing of his property, William the Conqueror followed the ideas of the time, which happened to agree with his own. To his eldest son Robert he bequeathed his hereditary duchy of Normandy, with the adjoining county of Maine. The second, William, he despatched to England with his dying recommendation to the primate Lanfranc to secure his election to the crown. The third, Henry, a lad of nineteen, had to content himself for the present with a legacy of £5000.

Lanfranc had been tutor to the younger William, and had knighted him. He knew well both the abilities and the vices of his pupil; and while, in accordance with the request of the late king, he summoned such an assembly of magnates as might constitute a witenagemot, and recommended William for election, he was careful to exact a solemn oath that the new sovereign would 'preserve justice, fairness, and mercy in every transaction,' would defend 'the peace, liberty, and security of the church,' and would in all cases be guided 'by the advice and counsels' of Lanfranc himself.

William II., who was called Rufus from his ruddy countenance, is generally admitted to have been a man of bad life, though it must be remembered that his character was drawn by monks, to whom he was no friend; but his abilities, especially for war, were decidedly great, and during the thirteen years of his short reign he not only retained the hold which his father had won over his

newly acquired dominions, but in many directions made himself more powerful and more secure than his father had ever been. The instinct of self-preservation made him the natural foe of the great barons, whose tendency to make themselves omnipotent in their own districts was the greatest danger to civilisation ; and his steady check on castle-building and rigid enforcement of the king's peace were of the greatest service to the townspeople, on whose prosperity the advancement of the country ultimately depended. Moreover, his struggle with the barons compelled him to secure as far as possible the goodwill of the English; and so circumstances obliged him, whether designedly or not, to follow such measures as would in the end advance the unity and prosperity of the land.

During the first six years of the reign, the chief attention of William had to be given to the movements of his brother Robert and of the barons with whom he was in alliance. As these had lands both in Normandy and in England, their policy consisted in preventing either a war or a separation between the kingdom and the duchy ; but as most were of opinion that the yoke of the easygoing and affable Robert would be lighter than that of his brother, Robert had no difficulty in finding adherents who would help him against William.

Of these the most formidable were Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, whom the Conqueror's death had released from prison, Roger of Montgomery and his turbulent son Robert of Belleme, and Robert Mowbray. Odo took the lead, and, bargaining with Robert for the aid of a Norman army, organised in England a vast conspiracy which was to include risings in no less than seven districts. He himself led the Kentish insurgents, and, intrusting Rochester to Eustace of Boulogne, awaited in Arundel Castle the landing of Robert.

William's first care was to secure the person of Odo, and after a siege of seven weeks Arundel Castle was taken ; Odo was then despatched to order the surrender of Rochester, but he treacherously threw himself into the castle and made a most formidable resistance. In these circumstances William saw that his best chance was to appeal to the English, who naturally regarded the tyranny of a host of petty chieftains as worse than that of a single king. Accordingly, he summoned the 'brave and honourable English,' and called on them to lead their countrymen to his aid, declaring at the same time that any who held back would be branded with the name of ' nothing,' or * good-for-nothing fellow,' which the English regarded as disgraceful, and accordingly, flocked to his standard in crowds.

By their aid the castle was taken; but even William dared not proceed to extremities against his uncle, and, much to the disappointment of the

English, who wished to hang him, contented himself with driving Odo into an ignominious exile. Meanwhile, Robert had dallied in Normandy, partly through indolence, partly from want of money; and **many** of his followers who had ventured over by themselves had fallen into the hands of privateers whom William had permitted to be fitted **out** by the English ports. The conspiracy, therefore, completely failed, for all the local risings had been put down by the king's men. Roger Montgomery made his submission; and though Robert Mowbray in the north was still unsubdued, southern England was completely in William's grasp, - A,

Seeing that he was the stronger, some of the barons were now ready "to aid him to dispossess Robert of Normandy ; and in 1091 William himself appeared with an army in the duchy. The French king Philip, however, offered his mediation, and the barons negotiated a treaty between the brothers by which Robert renounced all claim to Eng- **Treaty with Robert.** land, and agreed in consideration of the grant of some English estates to allow William to retain several strong castles in Normandy. A provision was also inserted that whichever brother survived should succeed to both Normandy and England. As William repeatedly delayed to hand over Robert's indemnity, war again broke out, and William was carrying all before him when the French **king** again interfered. In the emergency William ordered an English force of foot-soldiers to be assembled at Hastings ; but when they arrived his justiciar Ranulf commuted their services for a payment of ten shillings per man, and sent the money to the king. With it William bought off the French king, and was again driving Robert to extremity when **the** serious state of affairs on the Welsh border forced him to return to England in 1094. ^s

His presence was sorely needed, for the Welsh had seized Montgomery Castle, and, the barrier being thus broken, had poured out of their fastnesses over Geshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire. William met the danger by an organised invasion of the mountains. **Wars with the Welsh.** It was, however, a failure, for he had not yet learned by experience that his heavy cavalry were no match for the agile Welshmen, who, refusing all offers of a pitched battle, contented themselves with cutting off stragglers in their mountains and ravines ; and a **second** invasion in 1095 met with no better success. Thus baffled, William' left the war to be carried on by less regular though more effective methods, and, having arranged that all lands taken from the Welsh should be held by its conqueror as a free grant, he departed. This plan afforded occupation to **the** unruly barons of the border, and **was** so successful **that in a short time almost all the lowlands of Wales and the southern coast**

were in the hands of Norman adventurers, whose castles crowned the hill-tops of the marches or border-land.

With Scotland William had better luck. Malcolm, king of Scots, took advantage of William's first absence in Normandy to invade the northern shires. On his return William invaded Scotland, and Malcolm agreed to become his man and obey him as he had obeyed his father. On his homeward march William was

Invasion of
Scotland.

Carlisle.

struck with the excellent military position of Carlisle, commanding the passage of the lower Eden. Accordingly, he ordered it to be fortified, and peopled it with a colony of south countrymen, said to have come from the New Forest. Situated near the western extremity of the Roman wall, Carlisle matched Newcastle at its eastern end, and these two towns long remained the great fortresses of the northern border. As Strathclyde had been since the grant of King Edmund in the hands of the Scottish king, the fortification of Carlisle, which carried with it the loss of Cumberland, was naturally resented; and, finding no redress, Malcolm again took up arms, but perished, with his eldest son Edward, in an ambush near Alnwick in 1093. After his death a series of contests for the Scottish throne kept the north of England in peace. William's difficulties with the Scots and Welsh being thus dealt with, his arms were turned against Kobert Mowbray, who was again conspiring to dethrone him. Bamborough Castle, however, which was too strong to be stormed, and too accessible by sea to be starved into surrender, defied his attacks, so William contented himself with building over against it another stronghold, *Malvoisin*, or the ill neighbour. The plan was successful. Decoyed from his fastness, Mowbray was captured by the garrison, and a threat to put out his eyes

Capture
of Bam-
borough.

before his wife's face compelled her to surrender Bamborough in 1095. The next year Robert found reason to pledge Normandy to William for ten thousand marks (13s. 4d. each), which concluded the long contest between William and his brother.

Lanfranc died in 1089. He was in many ways a great man, if not a great bishop; and so long as he lived he was thought to have exercised a

Death of
Lanfranc.

restraining influence over the young king. No archbishop of Canterbury was appointed for four years, but in temporal matters William gave his confidence to Ranulf, surnamed Flambard, or the Torch, a clever, witty, but unscrupulous ecclesiastic, who had been in England in the time of the Confessor, and had been one of the commissioners of the Domesday survey. It was he

Ranulf
Flambard.

*who took money instead of service from the foot-soldiers at Hastings.

The customary payments made by the feudal landholders for their

land were called feudal dues, and down to the reign of Charles n. these" constituted the bulk of the royal revenue. It must always be borne in mind that the first idea of feudalism was to provide the king with an efficient cavalry force, and that the tenants-in-chief, as commanders of their sub-tenantry, were in a position somewhat analogous to colonels of regiments at the present day. When one of these died, his heir had to pay a sum of money called a 'relief,' so named from the Latin *relevium*, which meant 'the taking up again' of land which had lapsed to the king by the death of the former tenant. If the heir was a minor, and consequently incapable of discharging the duties of his position, the king appointed a guardian who managed the estates for the benefit of the king and superintended the bringing up of the young heir. This was called 'wardship,' and was a source of much profit; and when the minority ended, a relief had to be paid as usual. If the heir was a woman, the king, on the ground that she must not ally herself with one of his enemies, claimed the right to bestow her in marriage, and in this way the king rewarded his friends. If the person suggested was distasteful to the lady, he would sometimes excuse her on the payment of a sum of money. Those three rights, 'relief,' 'wardship,' and 'marriage,' were strictly enforced by William Rufus and his successors. Besides these payments incidental to the life of the tenant, three other dues came into use subsequently, incidental to the life of the sovereign. These were the payment of an aid to ransom the lord from captivity, as in the case of Ricliard i.; another for the marriage portion of his eldest daughter on her first marriage; and a third payable on the knighting of his eldest son. These were first enforced in the reign of Henry I. The tenants-in-chief of the king exacted the same dues from their subtenants; but in the case of the lesser tenants the relief was commonly called a *heriot*, which recalled the giving-up of the *vmr-gear* to the chief on the death of his follower. The right to collect these feudal dues in reasonable amounts, and with proper regard to the interest of the tenant, was **not** disputed; but bitter complaints were made of the atrocious exactions of William and Flambard, who set custom at defiance ioutheir greediness of money.

The clergy held the greater part of their lands just like laymen, by feudal tenure, but with this difference. There were no ecclesiastical minorities and no heiresses, so the king and Flambard made -un for this loss to the revenue by keeping bishoprics and abbeys

Feudal Dues.

Relief.

Wardship

Marriage.

Ransom.

**Marriage
Portion of
King's eldest
daughter.**

**Knighting
of King's
eldest son.**

Heriot.

vacant while they seized the revenue, and instead of a *relief* they exacted a large payment of money from the incoming bishop or abbot.

Thus after Lanfranc's death no successor was appointed for four years, and William was only induced to name Anselm as archbishop when he believed himself to be at the point of death. Anselm was an Italian by birth, who had made his way to the monastery of Bee, where he succeeded Lanfranc as prior. He was a man who had the confidence of Lanfranc, and at the moment of his appointment he was on a visit to the earl of Chester. He was a man both of ability and courage, of pure and saintly life, and his book *Cur Deus Homo* proves him to have been one of the greatest theologians of his time. Altogether the choice was an excellent one ; but on his recovery William found that in his new archbishop he had to deal with a man whose stern rectitude brooked no tampering with vice of any kind. With such a man William had nothing in common. Anselm would neither stand by and see the church plundered nor wink at the sinfulness of William's court. A series of quarrels followed, and in 1097 Anselm, unable to bear the wickedness of William, retired to Rome in order to lay his case before Pope Urban 11.

In 1096 all Europe was stirred by the preparations for the First Crusade. In 635 Jerusalem had been conquered by the Arab followers of Mahomet; but under the influence of Mohammedanism the Arabs had become a comparatively civilised people, of the stamp depicted in the Arabian Nights. After the first conquest was over they had begun to treat the Christians well, and allowed them either to live in the city or to come and go as pilgrims and merchants. Under their rule the great Easter fair at Jerusalem became one of the chief events of the commercial world, where Italian traders from Amalfi, Pisa, and Genoa, and latterly from Venice, met the merchants of the East and exchanged the manufactures of Europe for the silks and spices which were brought across the desert in caravans from Arabia and India, and even from distant China. All this was changed, however, when, in 1076, Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Seljukian Turks, a wild tribe of Mohammedan mountaineers, who emerged from the highland fastnesses of Central Asia and invaded the civilised lowlands, much as the Goths and Vandals had done in Europe. They hated Christianity with all the old Mohammedan frenzy, and cared nothing for commerce ; so they persecuted the pilgrims and robbed the merchants. Moreover, their steady advance into Asia Minor threatened to rob the Eastern Emperor of some of his most valuable dominions, and even menaced Constantinople itself. The cries, therefore, of the

persecuted pilgrims, the murmurs of bankrupt merchants, and the demands for assistance from the Eastern Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, created great excitement in Europe. The Normans, too, who during the last fifty years, under Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger, had reconquered Southern Italy and Sicily from the Saracens, were most anxious to carry their arms into Asia ; and all joined to make the most of a wave of enthusiasm excited by Peter the Hermit, who had himself suffered from persecution, and who travelled through Europe to preach a holy war for the recovery of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. Pope Urban II., seeing that such a course would redound to the honour of the papacy and make for the unity of Christendom, placed himself at its head. At the council of Clermont, the cry of 'Dieu le volt !' was adopted as the watchword of the Christian army. Thousands of soldiers, some from pure motives, some from interest, others from mere love of adventure, were eager to join in the expedition. The kings of France and England approved of it, for it took away some of their most warlike subjects; and William Rufus was glad to advance £6666, or 10,000 marks, in pledge for Normandy, to enable his troublesome brother Robert to betake himself to the East. The main body of the

Crusaders, led by Bohemund of Taranto, Godfrey of Bouillon, Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, and other chieftains, made their way to Constantinople. There they crossed the Straits, and, after winning a battle near Nicsea over the Turkish cavalry, besieged and took Antioch. Jerusalem was taken 1099, and a Christian kingdom on a feudal model was established there under

Its Leaders.

Capture of Jerusalem.

Godfrey of Bouillon. Except a few of the leaders, such as Bohemund of Taranto, who became prince of Antioch, few of the Crusaders gained much except glory from their efforts ; but the real importance of the Crusades was much more considerable than is represented by the transient fame of the knights or the short-lived splendour of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The tide of Mohammedan conquest was undoubtedly turned back many years, and a fresh lease of

Results.

existence was gained for the Empire of the East. Co-operation in the Crusades spread a European feeling among the hitherto disconnected countries of Europe, and opened up the knowledge of a higher civilisation to those which were less advanced. A taste for the luxuries of the East raised the whole standard of Western civilisation. Even learning and literature profited. Peace and order were better secured by the consolidation of the great monarchies, and the merchants of the Italian Republics re-established their trade with the East.

The cession of Normandy to William made him the most powerful

monarch of Western Europe. He had successfully put down the power of his rebellious vassals, and had filled his coffers at their expense. The Greatness of Scots and the Welsh had ceased to be dangerous. An expedition against Ireland, which would have completed the plan of the Conqueror and consolidated the British Isles, presented no very serious difficulties. In 1100 the duke of Guienne and count of Poitou had actually offered to pledge his dominions to the rich English king. William was barely forty, and it seemed as if his career might have only begun, when a sudden death brought it to a close.

Though many and picturesque accounts have been given of his death, the actual manner of it is unknown. After a jovial meal, he and his

His Death. companions set out to hunt in the New Forest, and in the evening the corpse of the king, with an arrow through the heart, was found by a poor woodman. Who shot the arrow none could tell, and whether it struck the king by accident or by intention was never known. One story pointed to Sir Walter Tyrrel as the accidental slayer of the king ; but he denied it on his oath, and no witnesses of the deed were forthcoming. The corpse was taken in a cart to Winchester, and there buried ; and in the excitement of a new reign few cared to inquire how the Red King met his end,

CHIEF DATES,

Lanfranc dies,	1089
Cumberland taken from the King of Scots,	1092
Anselm becomes Archbishop of Canterbury,	1094
Jerusalem taken by the Crusaders, . ,	1099

CHAPTER I I I

HENRY I . : 1100-1135

Born 1068; married 1100. Matilda of Scotland.
1121, Adela of Louvam.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Emperors,</i>
David I., 1124-1153.	Philip I., d. 1108.	Henry IV., d. 1106.
	Louis vi., d. 1137.	Henry v., d. 1125.

Conciliatory measures—Suppression of the Barons—The Investiture question—
Reorganisation of the central Government—Social progress.

THE sudden death of William and the absence of Robert in the East left the throne vacant for the Atheling Henry, the only one of the Conqueror's sons born after he became king. Left landless by his father, Henry's cool and calculating nature had shown him how to make his own fortune out of the quarrels and weaknesses of his brothers. He invested three thousand pounds of his father's legacy in buying from the spendthrift Robert the investiture of Mont-Saint-Michel and the surrounding district; and he soon showed William that it was better to have him as a friend -than a foe in his wars with his elder brother. Accordingly, after 1095, Henry had lived for the most part in England, and was now ready when the opportunity came. His first act was to gallop to Winchester and seize the treasury, his next to get together a hurried meeting of the witenagemot and secure the form of election. From the first he was well aware that he would have to fight for his crown against Robert, and for the dignity of the throne against the barons ; so his next steps were all directed to secure a party for himself. His main hope was from the English, and, to secure their goodwill, he married Matilda of Scotland, niece of Edgar Atheling and the heiress of the claims of the old English line, in order

Henry's
early
career.

Elected
King.

Marriage.

at his children, as descendants of William the Conqueror and of
ed, might have an equal claim to the goodwill and allegiance of both

He also hoped to conciliate the barons by imprisoning Ranulf

Flambard, and by the issue of a Charter of Liberties for the churchmen by recalling the saintly Anselm.

Henry's Charter is a very important document; for it was the chief grievances of which the nobles and clergy com-

plaint the way in which they might be remedied. At the time of his Charter.

Henry stated that he had been crowned by the common council of the barons of the whole realm,' Henry declared that the church should be free, and that on the death of archbishops, bishops, or abbots he would exact nothing from their lands, or from their men, until a successor had entered upon possession. In regard to feudal dues, the heirs of tenants were not, 'as in the time of his brother,' to pay an extortionate sum, but a just and legal *relief*; and the tenants-in-chief were to observe the same rule with regard to their subtenants. Barons were to notify to the king the intended marriage of their female relations (as in the case of Roger of Breteuil), but the king would neither exact a fee nor forbid the match, unless the proposed husband was an enemy. Heiresses were to be given in marriage according to the advice of the barons; and childless widows should not be married except at their own pleasure. Similar treatment was to be given by the tenants-in-chief to their subtenants. The king's sole right to coin money was to be maintained. Money and personal property might be disposed of by will. Forfeitures were not necessarily to forfeit a man's whole estate, as they had done under the two Williams, but should be moderate in amount. Lastly, the law of King Edward, with the improvements of the Conqueror, was to be restored. These arrangements were a distinct improvement, and show the king in his best light as the medium of securing even justice between one class and another. In one particular, however, a most dangerous privilege was introduced. Lands held on military tenure, so long as the nobles kept themselves well furnished with horses and weapon for the king's wars, were to be free from any other tax or service. The danger of this enactment lay in its creating a non-taxpaying class, who, if the feudal service fell into disuse, as it subsequently did, would be relieved from contributing to the expenses of the country, as actually happened in the case of the French nobles.

The imprisonment of Ranulf Flambard was pleasing to churchmen, nobles, and people alike. It was said that he had not only fleeced but flayed the flock. His ill-gotten wealth, however, helped him to get a rope conveyed in to the Tower in a jar of wine, and with it he managed to escape and fled to Normandy, where he soon occupied himself with intrigues against Henry.

Imprisonment of Flambard.

The need of all these concessions was shown when, at the close of 1100, Robert returned to Normandy. For he was at once invited to attack his brother, both by Ranulf Flambard and by a majority of the barons of England, who begged him to come and be their king, and to rid them of the goodman Godric and his wife Godiva, as they called Henry and Matilda, after some English story. But, though the barons were faithless, Anselm and the English, who rejoiced in Henry's marriage and made much of his English birth, were loyal, and declared that if Henry put himself at their head they had no fear of meeting the Normans. Accordingly, when Robert landed at Portsmouth, Henry met him at Alton with a powerful army, and the issue was so doubtful that terms were made. Robert gave up his claim in exchange for a yearly pension of £2000 ; Henry handed over to Robert almost all his Norman possessions; and it was arranged that the survivor should inherit the dominions of the other if the deceased left no lawful heirs. Robert then went home.

Robert
claims the
Crown.

Compromise
arranged.

The invasion, however, had* shown Henry which of his barons were faithless, and he methodically set himself to deprive them of their dangerous power. The strongest and most turbulent of all was Robert of Belleme, now earl of Shrewsbury, whose castles in Sussex and on the Welsh border, and especially that of Bridgenorth, made him a most formidable subject. Forty-five charges of treason were brought against him, and, as he failed to appear when called on, Henry at once marched on Bridgenorth, and in three weeks it surrendered. The fall of Shrewsbury and Arundel quickly followed, and Robert was forced into exile in 1102. All England rejoiced at the oppressor's departure, and cried with one voice : ' Rejoice, King Henry, and praise the Lord God because you have begun to reign in freedom, now that you have conquered Robert of Belleme, and driven him out of the country.' Similar justice overtook others. Ivo, of Grantmesnil, who boasted that he was the first man in England who had ' declared war on a neighbour,' was heavily fined, to hinder others from doing the like; William of Mortain, the unworthy son of the great Robert, was also banished; so that, of William the Conqueror's great earldoms, the bishopric of Durham and the earldom of Chester alone were left.

Robert of
Belleme.

The troubles with Normandy, however, were not yet concluded- The clever Robert of Belleme contrived to win Duke Robert to his side, and in 1104 war again broke out between the brothers. For some time no decisive battle was fought; but in 1106. Henry, fighting on foot, English fashion, at the head of an army composed

Invasion of
Normandy.

of Anglo-Norman barons and English footmen, defeated Robert and his Norman chivalry. This battle was fought on September 29th, the fortieth anniversary of the landing of Duke William; and the English Battle of Tenchebrai. are said to have regarded Tenchebrai as a proper revenge for Hastings. Indeed, these wars between the English kings and the Norman dukes must be regarded as chiefly important because they fostered an English, as against a Norman, feeling, so that the sons and grandsons of the victors of Hastings began to regard themselves as Englishmen when matched against the barons of Normandy. In the battle Eobert was taken prisoner, and lodged in Cardiff Castle, where he remained till his death in 1135. Henry was now undisputed king of England and duke of Normandy. With Scotland he was on friendly terms, as brother-in-law of its king. The Welsh princes, bridled in their mountains by a ring of castles, were giving no trouble; and the Teutonic element west of the Severn was further strengthened in 1105 when Henry liberally gave homes in Pembrokeshire to a colony of Flemings whom a sudden inroad of the sea had deprived of their native district. For more than ten years, the whole of Henry's lands enjoyed peace.

The year 1107 witnessed a most important alteration in the method of appointing bishops and abbots. The question how this should be done Investiture Question. had for some years been the subject of a struggle between the popes and the emperors, generally known as the 'contest about investitures'; and Anselm, during his residence abroad, had imbibed the papal views on the subject. At that date a bishop or abbot filled two different positions. As a churchman, his functions were those of an ecclesiastical authority, and of a sacred character; as a landholder, he was a feudal vassal of the king and a leader of soldiers. The two were obviously incompatible; but, as such was the case, it was of the utmost importance to the king that bishop or abbot should not be one of his enemies—to the church, that he should not be a mere partisan soldier of the king. The difficulty, in fact, was not unlike that raised by the marriage of heiresses, in which a voice in the choice of a husband was claimed both by the king and by the lady. Before the Conquest such elections had been made in the witenagemot, practically in deference to the wishes of the king; and a similar practice had been in use under the Conqueror. Anselm now wished that the bishop or abbot should be elected by the clergy, and that he should receive the ring and crozier, the insignia of his office, not from the king, but from the archbishop. For some time neither Henry nor Anselm would give way, and Anselm again left England. But as Henry and Anselm were both reasonable and far-sighted men, who knew well how much each had to lose by 8

quarrel with the other, a compromise was arrived at in 1107. The election of bishops was to be in the hands of the cathedral chapters, or in the case of Canterbury of the monks of Christ Church, but was ^{Settled by} to be held at the king's court. On election, the new bishop ^{Compromise.} was to do homage to the king for his lands, and, that done, he was to be consecrated by the archbishop and bishops and receive the ring and crozier. In this way the spiritual rights of the church were secured, and due stress laid on the ecclesiastical character of its prelates, while the royal influence was paramount at the election, and his rights as feudal superior were fully guarded. This arrangement was afterwards adopted as the basis of the settlement of the same question on the Continent between Pope Calixtus II. and Henry's son-in-law, Henry V. The contest about investitures was only one phase of the great question of the proper relation between church and state. During the middle ages it was the constant aim of the clergy to raise the church into a self-governing corporation, as far as possible independent of the state. To complete their scheme, they required to elect their own officers, to make their own laws, to try their own criminals, and to pay taxes ^{Aims of the} only to ecclesiastical authorities; and at one time or ^{Church.} another every one of these became the subject of a struggle with the English kings. It was a part of the same scheme to separate the clergy, as far as possible, from all external interests and connections; and for that purpose the more advanced thinkers among them were for rigidly enforcing the celibacy of the clergy. In 1102 Anselm attempted to enforce this rule in England; but it was long before it was very strictly observed by the beneficed clergy. In England the gift of parishes was usually in the hands of the lord of the manor, and consequently the laity always retained a strong hold over the secular clergy, both in the upper and lower ranks.

The first bishopric to which an election was made, according to the new method, was that of Salisbury; and the choice showed the working of the new system, for it fell upon Henry's chaplain and treasurer, Roger, whom he had originally engaged on the ground of the ^{Roger of} extreme rapidity with which he could perform the Mass, ^{Salisbury.} which it was then usual to hear daily. Roger, however, soon showed himself to be an excellent man of business, equal to everything placed in his hands, and after Henry's accession he became the king's right-hand man in everything which concerned the business of the kingdom, **Henry** delighted in order, and the years of peace that followed the battle of Tenchebrai gave him the opportunity he desired of putting both **the** local and central government of the country on an orderly footing.

Accordingly, between 1108 and 1112 an order was issued for the holding of the courts of the 'hundred' and the 'shire' 'according to the fashion in which they had been held in the time of King Edward, and not otherwise.' The importance of this was twofold. First, it secured that justice should be administered at every man's door; and second, it checked the tendency for the administration of justice to fall, as it did on the Continent, into the hands of the barons, and kept it in those of the king. The courts were presided over by the king's officer, the sheriff. The decisions in cases between man and man were made by the whole body of persons who attended the court by right; in criminal cases the ancient practice of compurgation and the ordeal were still used, though the Normans preferred the method of trial by judicial combat between the accuser and the accused, or their representatives.

After the Conquest the place of the Witenagemot was taken by the Magnum Concilium, or Great Council. The difference, however, was mainly one of name, as the Normans spoke of, as a great council, what the English described as a witenagemot. The archbishops, bishops, abbots, and earls still held their places; but the king's thegns were now called barons, for the English thegns, *if they retained their lands*, became tenants-in-chief, and all new grants of land after the Conquest were made on feudal terms. As the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and earls held their lands on the same tenure, the council was in practice a meeting of the king's tenants-in-chief, and in this its character as a witenagemot became gradually lost. The full Magnum Concilium, however, was only summoned on very great occasions, such as the meeting at Salisbury in 1086; and the ordinary business of state was done by the King's Council, or Curia Regis. This body, whose exact position it is impossible to define, consisted, generally speaking, of the king in council with the chief officers of state, such as the justiciar, the chancellor, the treasurer, the chamberlain, the constable, the marshal, and any other persons whose attendance the king chose to require. The justiciar, under the Norman and early Angevin kings, was the chief officer of the realm. When the king was in Normandy the justiciar acted as regent, and in his absence presided over the Curia Regis. His memory is still preserved in the title of the Lord Chief-Justice, the head of our system of common law. The chancellor was the king's chief secretary, and keeper of his seal. The chamberlain had charge of the king's household. The constable and marshal were chiefly concerned with military matters touching the feudal army.

The duties of this body were most varied. When it was sitting to give advice to the king on matters of state, it was called the king's 'ordinary council,' as opposed to the Magnum Concilium, which sat on special occasions. Sometimes it acted as a law-court, and tried cases between great barons, such as would formerly have come before the witenagemot, or cases brought up on appeal from the shire-moot. It was then called simply the Curia Regis. A great part of its business concerned the collection of the revenue, and when sitting for this purpose it was called the Court of Exchequer. Fortunately, its accounts were most carefully kept; and as the Pipe Roll, or revenue account of 1130 has been preserved, a good idea may be formed of the working of the court. Everything turned upon money, for Roger was just as strict as Ranulf Mambard had been in exacting every penny due to the king; and in it is seen what a profitable source of income were reliefs, wardships, and marriage, to say nothing of payments to expedite or delay justice, to secure the king's influence, or permission to be relieved from duties or absolved from promises, to take up an office or be allowed to vacate one—for in Henry's days everything had its price, and every function of life was made somehow or other to contribute its quota to the royal exchequer.

Through the various functions of this court-of-all-work the king was able to keep a tight hand over the government of the country; and it was mainly through its working that a superstructure of Norman centralisation was placed over the strong groundwork of English local government, which is the great constitutional achievement of the family of the Conqueror. To complete the system, however, it was needful to create a close connection between the central Curia Regis and the local courts; and the way to do this was indicated in 1124, when a special deputation from it was sent to hold a session in the country, and 'hanged so many thieves as never was before, being in that little while altogether forty-four men.' This vigorous administration of justice by the royal authority gained Henry the title of the 'Lion of Justice'; and the stern grasp which was knitting together the inhabitants of England of all races into the English people was an immense boon to the country.

Queen Matilda died in 1118, leaving Henry two children—Matilda, a girl of sixteen, and William, fifteen. Matilda had at eight years of age been married to Henry v., the emperor, and her marriage portion was levied as a feudal aid, at the rate of three shillings per hide. At the moment of his wife's death

Its Duties.

The Exchequer.

Norman Centralisation.

Death of Queen Matilda.

Henry

was again at war, for Louis vi., king of France, had formed a league against him, which included Fulk of Anjou and Baldwin of Flanders, William and was designed to aid the interests of William Clito, the only son of the imprisoned Duke Robert of Normandy. Baldwin, however, died the same year; Fulk was detached from the league by a promise that Henry's son should marry his daughter; and in 1119 Henry defeated Louis and William Clito in a skirmish at Brenville. The league was thus broken up, and soon after, by the mediation of the pope, peace was restored.

Henry's next object was to secure the succession of his son to the English throne. He had already had allegiance sworn to him by the Norman barons, and was returning in triumph to England, when the prince was drowned in the 'White Ship,' which was run upon a rock by the drunken carelessness of the crew. After the death of his son, Henry married again, but had no children, so his hopes of keeping the succession in his own line rested on his being able to persuade the barons to accept as queen his daughter Matilda, who was left a childless widow in 1125, and returned to England. Accordingly, in 1126 he induced the Great Council to swear to receive Matilda as the future sovereign. A formidable rival, however, existed in the person of William Clito, who was a young man of excellent character and considerable ability, who had by no means relinquished his hopes of succeeding his uncle. In 1123 he had risen in Normandy with the aid of Count Waleran. Foiled there, he again allied with the king of France, who named him count of Flanders, as the representative of his grandmother Matilda, on the death of Charles the Good. Henry's resentment, however, pursued him here, and aided the disaffected to revolt.

This time William was victorious; but, unluckily for him, a slight wound from a lance was allowed to mortify, and he died just when good fortune seemed to be returning, in 1128.

A few months before the death of William Clito, Henry married his daughter Matilda to Geoffrey, eldest son of Fulk, count of Anjou, a lad of fifteen. The counts of Anjou had long played an important part in the history of Northern France. Their territory of Anjou, with the neighbouring districts of Maine and Touraine, over which they claimed and often exercised a suzerainty, adjoined the lands of the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, and Aquitaine, and the royal domains of the kings of France. As a family they had shown a remarkable aptitude for affairs, both military and

civil; nad, as a rule, been distinguished by thoroughness ; and had considerable inclination for intellectual studies. Fulk himself had been a very successful ruler, and the marriage of his heir to the heiress of Henry of England was a great triumph for his house. Geoffrey himself, though now quite a boy, was quick-witted, handsome, and attractive, though his sharp temper and the disparity of the ages of bridegroom and bride prevented the marriage from being a really happy one. No child was born to Geoffrey and Matilda till 1133.

From the point of view of both English and Normans this marriage was most unpopular: with the English, because it was a marriage out of the country, which was understood to be contrary to the king's promise ; and with the Normans, because they hated the Angevins, and regarded the acceptance of an Angevin ruler as a sort of degradation. Henry, however, repeatedly insisted on a renewal of the oaths made to Matilda; and when her son Henry, afterwards Henry 11., was born, the name of the child was joined in the oath with that of his mother. On the birth of his little grandson, Henry finally left England, and died somewhat suddenly in Normandy, in 1135.

Henry I. was a great king. Policy made him identify himself with what was best for his people, who wanted nothing so much as to be safe from the tyranny of the great landowners. For two-and-thirty years—almost a generation—he secured absolute peace in England; and the great strides made by the country in material and intellectual progress attested the value of the work of the peace-loving king. During this time commerce increased by leaps and bounds. The connection of England with the Continent brought it within the influence of the wave of commercial prosperity which was stimulated by the Crusades. The union of Normandy and England under the same crown made the Channel for many years almost an English lake ; and our merchants traded regularly not only within Henry's dominions but with Ireland, Brittany, Flanders, and Denmark, and even further afield. Moreover, the good order kept in England, and particularly its freedom from the Continental curse of private war, induced numbers of artificers and craftsmen from other lands to settle under Henry's protection, and their industry gave a further impetus to the growth of the middle classes.

In these circumstances the townsmen were anxious to get from the king such constitutional rights as would secure them something at any rate of the local self-government enjoyed by the free cities of the Continent At first the beginnings

Henry's
Death.

Henry's
Character
and Policy

Growth of
the Towns.

were small. The great desires of the townspeople were—(1) to pay the *burgi firma* or principal tax of the town direct to the king, instead of having it collected by the sheriff and counted with the contribution of the shire; (2) to elect their own officers, and to have their cases tried in their own courts; (3) for the chief traders to form themselves into a guild recognised by the feudal law. In most cases English towns were on the demesne of the king; in others, as in that of Beverley, on that of the archbishop of York; in others, as Leicester, on that of the earl. Charters granted to London and Beverley in the reign of Henry 1. are still preserved, and may be taken as examples of what other towns were aiming to acquire.

The progress made by the monastic bodies during the peace was almost as important as that of the rise of the middle classes in the towns. The Norman Conquest of England nearly coincided with a considerable revival of religious life in Europe, phases of

Monasteries.

which were the reformation of the papacy under Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), the struggle about investitures, the great outburst of crusading zeal, and finally the reformation of old and the foundation of new monastic orders. This movement took its rise from

Clugniacs.

the abbey of Clugny; and the priories founded as offshoots of that great monastery, of which Pontefract, Reading, and Lewes are examples, carried its ideas into this country. The Clugniac monks made much of the services and decorations of their chapels, and may be regarded as the ritualists of monasticism. They were also most important as being the first monastic body which regarded its different monasteries as being all part of a congregation which managed its affairs as a whole. Their example stimulated others, and soon two other orders came into existence, both

Austin
Canons.

designed to improve on their ideal. The first of these was the Austin Canons, designed to be a link between the secular parish clergy and the monks, of which the first priory founded was that of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, in London. The second and more

important was that of the Cistercians, so called from

Cistercians.

Cîteaux, in Burgundy. The true founder of the order was Stephen Harding, an Englishman; and its most distinguished member the famous St. Bernard. The Cistercians were the puritans of monasticism. Unlike the Benedictines, whose great abbeys had become centres of industrial life and the nucleus of flourishing towns, the Cistercians sought the wild and more unfrequented valleys for the sites of their houses; unlike, the Clugniacs, they disdained all ornaments in their

chapels. They had no coloured glass and no bell-tower, and by their white dress they endeavoured to indicate they were not as the black-robed Benedictines.

This effervescence of new monastic life seems to have had a stimulating effect upon other orders ; and William of Malmesbury, himself a Benedictine, tells us that the Cistercians were *a mirror to the diligent, a goad to the negligent, a model to all.' Situated as abbeys were in flourishing towns, or by the side of a Norman castle, and acting as hotels where great and small, king and palmer, found accommodation for the night, an observant monk found himself in touch with every movement of his time ; and one of the most remarkable proofs of the reality of the better life springing up under Henry, and a strong proof of how rapidly Saxon and Norman were mingling into one nationality, is the revival of an entirely new interest in the history of England. The only survivor of Alfred's scheme of a regularly kept chronicle was that preserved in the abbey of Worcester. About the year 1120 a copy of this was made for the use of the monks of Peterborough ; and while the original has been lost, the copy remains, and was continued by the Peterborough monks in English till the year 1154. Besides this, Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, began about the same year to collect materials for a complete history of England ; and William of Malmesbury, the greatest historian since Bede, was writing his *Acts of the Bishops* and his *Acts of the English Kings*, and brought his history down to the events of his own time. Henry himself was a scholar. He spoke English, French, and Latin. His children were well educated; and his illegitimate son, Robert of Gloucester, was a personal friend of William of Malmesbury. The Latin classics were by no means unknown. One copy, at least, of Euclid found its way to England.

Revival of
History.

William of
Malmes-
bury.

It is from the reign of Henry i. that we can trace the first beginnings of the university of Oxford. Henry built a palace at Beaumont, on the north side of the town, and it is possible that his presence attracted learned men. At any rate, it is certain that between 1117 and 1121 Thibaut d'Estampes, a learned Norman, was teaching letters to some sixty to one hundred scholars. In 1133 Robert Pullein, afterwards a cardinal, gave lectures on the Holy Scriptures. The name of another teacher is also known—Robert of Cricklade; and in the following reign Vacarius further enlarged the course of studies by lecturing on the civil law. From this time forward Oxford appears to have had an uninterrupted succession of scholars and teachers,

Beginning's
of Oxford.

Altogether the England of Henry i. exhibited in almost every direction a hopeful promise both of constitutional order, national feeling, and material and intellectual prosperity, which is the best record of the success of its scholarly sovereign.

CHIEF DATA.

	A.D.
Expulsion of Robert of Bellême,	1102
Battle of Tenchebrai,	1106
Investiture Question settled,	1107
Battle of Brenville,	1118
Matilda marries Geoffrey of Anjou,	1128
Birth of Henry of Aajou, .	1133

CHAPTER IV

STEPHEN : 1135-1154

Born c. 1094 ; married, 1124, Matilda of Boulogne.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

<i>Scotland,</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Emperor.</i>
David i., d. 1153.	Louis vi., d. 1137.	Frederic Barbarossa,
Malcolm iv., d. 1165.	Louis vu., d. 1180.	1152-1190.

Stephen's success—Contest for the Crown—Battles of Northallerton and Lincoln
—Siege of Oxford—Effects of the War—Henry of Anjou

WHEN her father died in Normandy, Matilda was in Anjou ; and she and her husband, instead of hurrying to England and securing it at all hazards, made the fatal mistake of making the first attempt upon Normandy. If they thought that in consequence of the late king's arrangement the succession of Matilda was a matter of course, they were completely mistaken ; for a rival was already in the field, and acting with such promptitude that the crown of England had slipped from Matilda's reach almost, before her movement in Normandy had begun,

This rival was Stephen of Blois, third son of the Conqueror's clever daughter Adela and her husband the count of Blois, count of Mortain by gift of Henry, and of Boulogne by right of his wife, the heiress of the younger Eustace. Stephen was a man of whom it might be said that he would have been thought to have had every qualification for kingship if he had never reigned. He was now about forty years of age, handsome and vigorous in body, and a master of all chivairic exercises. His courage was unimpeachable, and his personal character excellent. His wife was the daughter of Christina, younger sister of the good Queen Matilda ; so his children, like those of Henry, represented the old English line. Unlike Matilda, who was barely known to the English people, he had been bred in Henry's court, lived all his life in England, and had been formally acknowledged to be, after the king of Scots, the first baron of the realm. He seemed just the man to be an ideal English king in every way superior to his rival

Matilda, by birth a woman—and no distaff had yet reigned over the chivalry of Western Europe—by education a German, by marriage an Angevin, who represented, moreover, in the eyes of the baronage the stern system of repression and' exaction as practised by Ranulf Flambard and Roger of Salisbury.

It was not, however, by the nobles that Stephen was first chosen as king. Sailing at once from Boulogne, he was accepted with enthusiasm

His prompt
action.

by the men of London ; and, their aid being secured, he made his way to Winchester, where he was gladly received by his brother Henry, the bishop, and put in possession of the king's treasure. Already the confusion incident on the cessation of the king's peace, at the death of the king, showed the necessity for an immediate decision ; and, actuated probably by this, Roger of Salisbury, the justiciar and official representative of law and order, threw in his lot with Stephen, bringing with him his nephew Nigel, bishop of Ely, the treasurer, and his illegitimate son Roger-le-poer, the chancellor. William, archbishop

Crowned
King.

of Canterbury, performed the coronation ; so that, with the townspeople, the officials, and the church on his side, Stephen's position seemed well assured. Some of the barons hesitated longer, especially Robert of Gloucester, eldest son of the late king ; but eventually Stephen won them by lavish promises, and the Norman barons, thankful to escape from an Angevin ruler, followed suit. For a time it seemed as if Matilda was not to have a single open adherent, either in England or in Normandy.

Before long, however, the real unfitness of Stephen for his post began to show itself. He was too lavish both of promises and gifts. Besides

Unfitness of
Stephen.

promising generally to observe the good laws and customs of Henry and Edward the Confessor, which he did in two charters issued at his coronation, and at the holding of his first council, he also recklessly diminished his wealth by lavish grants of lands, and all without winning the real affection of the recipients or binding them to him by obligation. A favourite maxim of the Empress Matilda, 'Never glut a hawk if you wish him to serve you,' may well have been derived from observation of Stephen's error.

The first person to declare in Matilda's favour was David, king of Scots ; but Stephen bought him off for a time by the grant of the earldom of Carlisle, with the county of Cumberland for his

David, King:
of Scots,
declares for
Matilda.

son Henry. But in 1138 he again took up arms, and, after cruelly ravaging Northumberland and Durham, made his way into Yorkshire. By this time, however, he was not gitepheard's only opponent: Robert of Gloucester and Miles of Hereford

were in rebellion, and Stephen was amply occupied in a series of sieges entailed by the need of bringing them and their friends to reason. Fortunately, the north was in good hands. Archbishop Thurstan of York and Walter Lespec, the founder of Rievaulx abbey, assembled the northerners at York ; and, the aged Thurstan being left behind, Walter led them out to Cowmoor, two miles beyond Northallerton, and there, at the spot where the Hambleton Hills come near to the lower spurs of the Pennine range on the west, they awaited the onset of the Scots. The whole army fought on foot round a car on which, as a standard, were placed on masts the sacred banners of St. Peter, St. Wilfrid, and St. John of Beverley. The charge of the Scots was fierce and well sustained, but they could make no impression on the solid array of spearmen, while the archers, already beginning to take their place in English warfare, sent their shafts with fatal effect among the unarmoured Scots. In the end the Scots withdrew, leaving more than a thousand dead, and all their spoil and baggage ; and for nearly two hundred years the memory of the Battle of the Standard saved Yorkshire from invasion.

Battle of
Northallerton.

Meanwhile, Stephen's military skill had served him well in the south, Bristol was unassailable, but Hereford and Shrewsbury fell into his hands. His queen captured Dover ; Robert and Miles fled the country ; and the hanging of some of the garrisons taught a severe lesson to the rest. Altogether, the year 1138 was Stephen's fortunate year. Its successor, 1139, was as unfortunate. Hitherto, Stephen had wisely kept on good terms with Roger of Salisbury, in whose hands rested the administration of the country, and had even granted his most exorbitant requests; but in a fatal moment he quarrelled with Roger and his family, seized their castles of Salisbury, Ely, and Devizes, and flung them, bishops as they were, into prison. Nothing more foolish could well have been done. The fall of Roger threw the whole administrative machine out of gear; while the imprisonment of a bishop, which might have been tolerated from the Conqueror, was not to be endured from his grandson, and had the effect of throwing Henry of Winchester and the whole influence of the church on the side of the empress. On August 29th Henry summoned his brother to appear before a church council to answer for his conduct; and, though Stephen tried to save himself by a humiliating submission, Matilda and her brother Robert landed at Arundel on the last day of September, where they were received by Adela, the late king's widow. Robert soon passed on to Bristol; but Matilda was for some weeks besieged at Arundel by Stephen,

Stephen
quarrels
with
Roger of
Salisbury.

Matilda
arrives in
England.

Eventually, however, feeling probably that Robert was his more dangerous opponent, Stephen allowed Matilda to join her brother. The personal contest between Stephen and Matilda was almost confined to the years 1139-1143. After Matilda joined her brother, Stephen made no attempt to penetrate into the west-midland shires, where the influence of Robert of Gloucester and Miles of Hereford was supreme, but contented himself with holding the shires that lay east of a line drawn from the Peak to Wareham, with securing the waterway of the Thames, and endeavouring to prevent other barons from going over to the side of the empress.

In the winter of 1140 the earl of Chester, the one English earl whose position approached that of Continental feudalism, and whom Stephen had done all in his power to win, seized Lincoln castle. The citizens and Bishop Alexander appealed to Stephen to aid them against the tyrant. On arriving at Lincoln, Stephen found that Randolph, or Ralf, of Chester had left the castle to be defended by his wife, and had himself gone to Chester to raise forces. The castle of Lincoln, which with the cathedral is situated on a high rock on the north side of a gap in the wolds, through which the Witham, rising near Grantham, makes its way round to the sea at Boston, is an extremely strong place; and before Stephen could take it, the earl, who had been joined on the Fosseway by Robert of Gloucester, arrived to relieve it. Swimming their horses across the ford of the Witham, they attacked Stephen's forces in the early morning on the low ground between the river and the castle height. The followers of the two earls vied with each other in the energy of their attack. Stephen's Flemings, under William of Ypres, were put to the rout; and he himself, after a terrible conflict on foot, in which he broke a battle-axe over the helmet of the earl of Chester, was taken prisoner. The city was then sacked to punish the citizens for their appeal to the king. This happened in February 1141, and for a short time Matilda carried all before her. Robert d'Oilly, the constable of Oxford castle, put that important fortress into her hands. Henry of Winchester, disgusted at his brother's failure and alarmed for the interests of the church, used his authority as papal legate to bring the clergy over to her side; the submission of London followed, and Matilda was formally recognised as Lady of the English. No sooner, however, was Matilda in power than, like Stephen, she began to show how unfit she was to govern. If he listened only too readily to foolish counsellors, she would give heed to no counsel at all—not even to that of the old king of Scots or of Henry of

Stephen
captured at
Lincoln.

Matilda
recognised
as Lady
of the
English.

Her Un-
popularity.

Winchester. She confiscated wholesale the lands of her opponents, disposed as she pleased of church property, refused to give to the citizens of London the laws of Edward the Confessor, and browbeat the most influential citizens in order to exact money.

Meanwhile, Stephen's queen, Matilda of Boulogne, had been showing herself a worthy great-granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. With the aid of William of Ypres she had landed in Kent, and her approach to London determined the citizens to revolt. As one man they rose against the empress, and an ignominious flight to Oxford brought her brief success to a close. Again Henry of Winchester changed sides; and Matilda, furious at his want of faith, at once besieged him in a new castle which he had just built at Winchester. To aid the bishop, Matilda of Boulogne and William of Ypres marched with the Londoners and Flemings. Matilda was again compelled to fly, and in trying to cover her retreat her brother, Robert of Gloucester, was captured. In November he was exchanged for Stephen.

London
declares for
Stephen.

In 1142 Robert of Gloucester went to the Continent to persuade Geoffrey to come to his wife's assistance; and in his absence Stephen besieged the empress in Oxford castle. The importance of Oxford lay in its commanding the navigation of the upper Thames; its strength in its situation on a spit of land between the Thames and the Cherwell, surrounded on all sides but one by marshes. With great difficulty Stephen forded the river and formed the siege; but before long a frost set in, the marshes and rivers were frozen hard, and the castle could be strictly blockaded. Before Robert could relieve her, the case of the garrison was desperate; but with four chosen knights all dressed in white the empress escaped across ice and snow to Wallingford, where she was welcomed by Brian Fitz-Count, one of her stoutest supporters. Oxford immediately surrendered, and shortly afterwards the forward movement of the empress's party came to an end. The empress herself remained in England till the death of Earl Robert in 1147, soon after which she returned to Normandy.

Matilda
besieged la
Oxford.

Returns to
Normandy.

Meanwhile, her husband Geoffrey had been far more successful. When his wife set off for England he had begun a campaign against Normandy*. Here his engineering skill stood him in good stead. Castle after castle fell before his machines, and by 1144 the whole of the duchy was in his hands. Till 1147 Geoffrey kept it under his own control; but, his son Henry being then fifteen years of age, Normandy was given over to him.

Geoffrey's
success in
Normandy.

Young Henry had received an excellent education, partly conducted under the eye of his scholarly father, partly under the no less competent Robert of Gloucester ; and he was now expected to take his part in active life. In 1149 he visited England, and was knighted by his great-uncle David of Scotland; but he soon returned, and till 1152 was busied in the affairs of his duchy, which he had to defend against the attacks of Louis VII.

Early life of
Henry of
Anjou.

In 1151 the differences between the house of Anjou and the king of France were arranged by the mediation of St. Bernard. In the same year Geoffrey died, leaving his son count of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, besides being duke of Normandy; and in the spring of the next year Henry made himself the mightiest uncrowned head in the west by accepting an offer of marriage made to him by Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine and countess of Poitou, Saintonge, and Limousin, the divorced wife of Louis VII. Another war with the French king followed, in which Henry had decidedly the better; and in the spring of 1153 he found himself strong enough to leave the Continent and renew the contest with Stephen.

He marries
Eleanor of
Aquitaine.

Since the siege of Oxford, the war in England had ceased to be carried on in any regular way ; but that brought no diminution of its horrors to the wretched inhabitants of the country. All the lawless spirits of the time took advantage of it to work their own will. Castles sprang up in all directions, and the garrisons lived on the plunder of their neighbours. For the only time in English history men built castles when and where they listed ; and no less than twelve hundred of those dens of iniquity, giving an average of thirty a county, sprang up during Stephen's reign. Barbarism was rapidly returning. ' If three men came riding into a town,' wrote the chronicler, ' all the inhabitants fled.' You could ride a day's journey without seeing a man cultivating the ground. Trade and agriculture were alike ruined ; and it was said that ' God and his saints were asleep.' Some barons made horrible things called ' rachentages,' or neckties, so devised that when one was put on a man he could neither ' sleep, nor stand, nor lie, but had to bear all the iron'; others threw their prisoners into noisome dungeons with rats and toads ; others hung them up and caused smoke to blow over them, so that they were all but choked. Such things were the everyday life of France and Germany, but in England, happily, they were new; and the experience of Stephen's reign taught Englishmen, once for all, that without a strong central administration the barons could not be kept in check.

Horrors
of the
Civil War.

Since the death of Robert of Gloucester, however, Stephen had been

gradually gaining ground ; and in the winter of 1152 he besieged Brian Fitz-Oount in his castle of Wallingford. To save him an appeal was made to Henry of Anjou, and he came over in person. The two armies met at Malmesbury, but the retreat of Stephen prevented a battle. The barons of neither side were anxious for a complete victory, but wished to prolong the war for their own interests. At this critical moment, however, Stephen lost his eldest son Eustace, for whose interests as well as his own he was now fighting. Archbishop Theobald took advantage of the occasion to propose a compromise ; and in November 1153 it was agreed at Wallingford that Stephen should hold the crown for the remainder of his life, and that Henry should be his adopted son and successor.

Henry
arrives in
England.

Treaty of
Wallingford.

The treaty of Wallingford brought the long contest to a close. As recognised successor, and, according to one account, with the actual office of justiciar, Henry took into his own hands the restoration of order; and so well did he do his work that it was said that, during the two last years of his reign, Stephen had more of the reality of sovereignty than he had ever possessed before. So much progress, indeed, was made that Henry was able to revisit his Continental dominions, and was there in 1154 when Stephen's death made him the recognised king of England.

Stephen's
Death.

In spite of all the horrors of Stephen's reign, perhaps aided by them, the monastic revival had made much progress. The military knights of St. John and of the Temple had established many of their depdts in the country. The Premonstratensian order of canons had also been founded; and a peculiarly English order of convents for monks and nuns had been founded by Gilbert of Sempringham. The church, too, had gained strength. The only element of consistency to be found in the policy of Henry of Winchester is his attachment to the interest of the church ; and his aims were more rationally pursued by Archbishop Theobald, whom the pope was persuaded to recognise as the ' born legate' of the pope in England. Theobald collected round him a number of the ablest young men of the time, among whom was Thomas of London, afterwards the famous archbishop of Canterbury.

Ecclesias-
tical Pro-
gress.

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Battle of Northallerton, ...	1138
Arrest of the Bishop of Salisbury, . .	1139
Matilda in England, ...	1139-1142
Henry of Anjou marries Eleanor of Guenne,	1152
Treaty of Wallingford, ...	1163

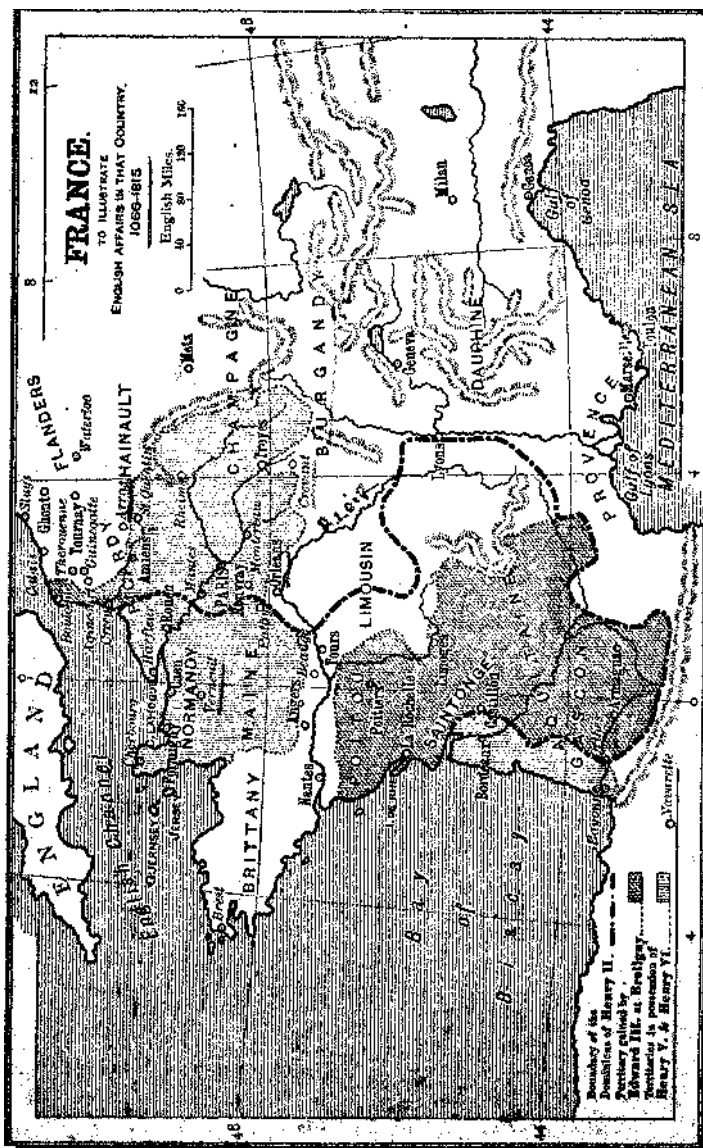
Book III

**THE EARLIER ANGEVIN KINGS
SOMETIMES CALLED PLANTAGENETS**

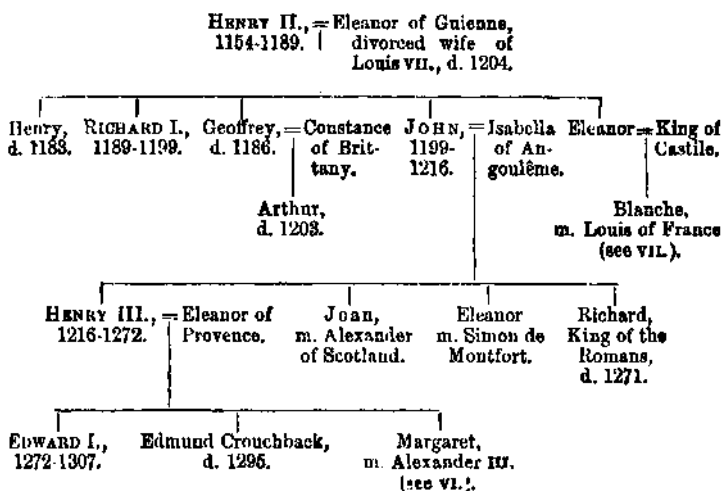
FRANCE.

TO ILLUSTRATE
ENGLISH AFFAIRS IN THAT COUNTRY.
1066-1815

English Miles. 180 160

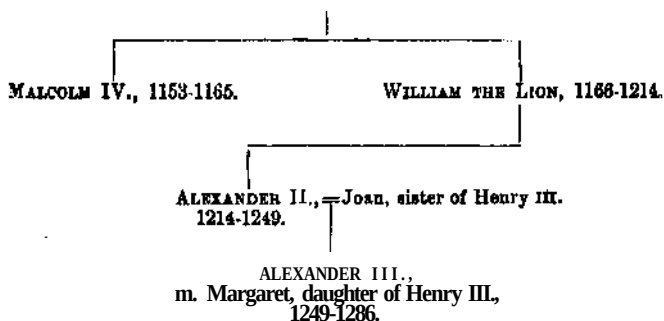


V.—THE EARLIER ANGEVIN KINGS, 1154-1272.



VI.—THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND FROM 1153-1286.

Henry, Earl of Huntingdon (see IV.).



VII. -THE KINGS OF FRANCE, 987-1286.

HUGH CAPKT, 987-996.

ROBERT I. , 996-1031.

HENRY I. , 1031-1060.

PHILIP I. , 1060-1108,

Louis VI. , 1108-1157.

Louis VII. , == (1) Eleanor of Provenoo,
1137-1180 divorced 1152.

(3) Constance of Castile.
Alice of Champagne.

PHILIP AUGUSTUS (3), 1180-1223.

Louis VIII. = Blanche of Castile
(invader of England 1216), (see v.).
1223-1226.

┌
|
Louis IX. (Saint), 1226-1270.

PHILIP III. . 1270-1285.

Robert (see v.),
ancestor of the Bourbon tonga

CHAPTER I

HENRY II. : 1154-1189

Born 1133; married, 1152, Eleanor of Gnienne.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Emperor.</i>
Malcolm iv., d. 1165.	Louis VII., d. 1180.	Frederic L., d. 1190.
William the Lora, d. 1214.	Philip Augustus, d. 1223.	

Popes.

Hadrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspear), 1154-1159; Alexander III., 1169-1181.

Reorganisation of the Kingdom—The great Scutage—The Becket Quarrel—
Judicial Reforms—Conquest of Ireland—Abortive Revolt of the Barons—
Quarrels in the Royal Family.

THE acquisition of the English crown made Henry II. the monarch of greatest consequence in Europe. He was king of England, with feudal rights over the sub-king of Scotland and the prince of North Wales; he was duke of Normandy, count of Anjou and Maine; and in right of his wife he was duke of Aquitaine, which gave him not only the actual rule of Poitou, Perigord, Querci, Limousin, and Gascony, but also a suzerainty more or less real over all the countries which lay west of the Rhone, chief among which was the county of Toulouse. To these extensive dominions he virtually added the duchy of Brittany, through the marriage of his son Geoffrey to its heiress Constance in 1160. After this event he had in his hands the mouths of the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne, and with them command over the greater part of the coasting trade of France. These possessions would have made any prince powerful; but Henry owed their acquisition mainly to his own character, and the energy and skill with which he had made the most of the advantages he derived from his birth.

Henry's gifts, both of mind and body, were clearly to be traced to his ancestry. The bent of his mind was Angevin, and showed the same eagerness and thoroughness, combined with versatility, that had long been characteristic of the counts of Anjou. His body, strong, thick-set, and sinewy, might have been derived from either

side of bin descent. Like all his ancestors, he was thoroughly versed in war, and had the Angevin talent for diplomacy, while his love of law and order connected his mind with that of Henry 1. His energy was wonderful. Not for a moment was he idle. His days were spent in war or the chase, in the conduct of business, or in vigorous discussion. He rarely sat down ; and so difficult was it for him to sit still and do nothing, that he usually occupied himself with drawing pictures while hearing the Mass. Such a man gave little rest to his attendants. He kept his courtiers working till they were tired. He rarely slept two nights in the same place ; and so rapid were his journeys, that hardly an officer in all his dominions could be certain that the king might not visit him in the course of the day. In days when, as had been amply demonstrated in the time of Stephen, the whole working of the administrative machine depended on the personal influence of the king, these qualities were invaluable. He had also the royal gift of remembering faces he had once seen ; but his good qualities were to some extent marred by the inheritance of the terrible Angevin temper, which often led him into actions which afterwards cost him dear.

One of Henry's first actions indicated the lines of his future policy. He sought out Roger of Salisbury's nephew Nigel, bishop of Ely, and made him his treasurer, with orders to restore the exchequer to the condition under which he remembered it in the old days of Henry i. This Nigel did, and from 1156 we have handed down to us the first extant pipe roll since that of 1130. The accounts clearly show the disastrous effects of the late reign. The revenue had diminished by two-thirds, and the large sums needed for repairs prove the ruinous condition of the royal property. From that time forward there was a steady improvement, and Nigel was able to hand his office on to his son Richard, bishop of London, from whose pen in the *Dicdogut de Scaccario* we have a most interesting and even amusing account of the working of the exchequer in his day. Henry appointed two justiciars—Richard de Lucy, honourably known as the loyal constable of the Tower of London and of Windsor Castle, and Robert, earl of Leicester. The chancery he gave to an even more interesting character, Thomas of London.

Thomas was born at London in 1117, and was the son of Gilbert Becket, a native of Rouen, and Rohesia of Caen, his wife. His father was a burgess of London, and at one time port-reeve. The boy was sent to be educated by the Austin canons at Merton in Surrey, and then for a short time to Paris. He then entered business, but friends found him a more congenial place in the household of arch-

Re-establishment of the Exchequer.

Thomas of London.

bishop Theobald. His talents were fully appreciated by the archbishop, who made him his confidential adviser. With Theobald he went to Rome in 1143, and to the Council of Rheims in 1148 ; and some time between these dates he gave a further year to study at Auxerre and Bologna. In 1155 Thomas took deacon's orders on his appointment to the important position of archdeacon of Canterbury ; and when Henry became king, Theobald strongly recommended him for the office of chancellor. The new chancellor was now thirty-four years of age, of an extremely handsome appearance, charming manner, and also a thorough man of business ; and before long he made himself as necessary to Henry as he had been to archbishop Theobald.

At his coronation, and again at his first council, Henry promised reformation, and in general a return to the *days of his grandfather'; and the first years of his reign were devoted to this work. ^{Abuses} The foolish grants of crown-lands made by both Stephen ^{abolished.} and Matilda were resumed ; the eleven hundred and fifteen *adulterine castles' built in Stephen's reign were ordered to be levelled to the ground; the bad money issued from irregular mints was replaced by a good coinage, issued in 1158. The bands of Flemish and other mercenaries who had fought for either side and plundered for themselves were expelled from the country ; and in 1155 and 1156 the judges from the king's court went on circuit through thirteen shires as they had done in the time of Henry i. The most troublesome matter was to get back the royal castles from the hands of the barons, and Henry found it necessary to march in person against some of the more recalcitrant. Thus earl William of Aumale, lord of Holderness, was made to give up Scarborough ; and upon this William Peverel of the Peak and Roger of Hereford submitted. Hugh Mortimer, strong in his castles of Cleobury, Wigmore, and Bridgenorth, tried resistance, but utterly failed; and, the most powerful being thus subdued, the rest submitted.

At the same time Henry insisted upon his sovereign rights ; forced his cousin Malcolm, king of Scots, to give up Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland, with the strong castles of Newcastle, ^{Scotland} Bamburgh, and Carlisle, which had been held by the Scots ^{and Wales.} during the last reign; and Malcolm acknowledged himself to be Henry's man, 'in the same manner as his grandfather had been the man of Henry the Elder.¹ Henry had more trouble with Owen, prince of North Wales, with whom he fought an indecisive battle at Consult, near Flint, in 1157; but eventually Owen, alarmed by the landing of an expedition Bent to Anglesea, agreed to do homage, and his submission carried with it that of his vassal princes of South Wales,

England being now at peace, Henry was able to go to France in 1158 and stay there six years, and occupied himself with enforcing his rights over his Continental dominions. He had already paid a flying visit there in 1156, in consequence of the pretensions of his brother Geoffrey, who, under his fathers will, claimed Anjou, Touraine, and Maine as soon as Henry became king of England. Henry, however, declined to recognise his right, and not only compelled him to give up his claim, but took from him his castles. The chief object of his present visit was to secure the town of Nantes, and he then went on to assert his claims to the suzerainty over the county of Toulouse. The right of the dukes of Aquitaine to this was somewhat uncertain, but it had been asserted by Louis vii. so long as Eleanor was his wife ; now, however, he denied it, and prepared to help the count in resistance to Henry's demands. Henry therefore organised a great expedition to Toulouse; but on arriving there he found that the king of France had thrown himself into the town, and, declining to set his own vassals the bad example of a vassal besieging his liege lord, Henry retreated, taking care, however, to retain possession of all the castles which he had taken in his advance. Eventually, in 1172, Raymond did homage to Henry for his county of Toulouse.

The expedition to Toulouse of 1159 had indirectly an effect of much import to the future of the English nation by being the occasion of the imposition of the Great Scutage. According to feudal law, a tenant-in-chief was bound to serve his lord' either in person or by deputy for iorty days each year, in which the coming and going did not count This plan worked fairly well for an expedition to Wales or a short campaign against an unruly baron ; but it was obviously unsuitable for continued warfare, and, when the scene of strife was distant, inflicted great hardship upon the tenant. Accordingly, in 1156, when Henry made his expedition to Normandy against his brother Geoffrey, he excused the clerical holders of fiefs from attendance on payment of so much per knight's fee of shield money ; and in 1159 he extended the same privilege to all the barons of Normandy and England, and used the £180,000 so obtained in hiring soldiers, while he exacted personal service from the men of his father's dominions and of Aquitaine. Scutage, therefore, in its institution appeared as an indulgence advantageous alike to both king and barons; in reality, however, it struck a hard blow at feudalism. For, in the first place, by enabling the king to hire trained soldiers, it made him independent of baronial assistance ; and, secondly, it broke down the unwise concession of Henry's charter, that lands held by knight service should be liable to no other

impost Scutage, which, once begun, rapidly became a regular institution, also helped to make the feudal tenants less warlike, and aided the tendency which was rapidly making progress in England by which feudalism, instead of being, as on the Continent, the basis of society, was becoming merely one among the four usual methods of land tenure. These were knight service, free socage, frank Modes of
Land
Tenure. almoign (the tenure on which some church lands were held), and customary service or villein tenure.

The institution of scutage, even if not suggested by Becket, was probably carried into effect by him. Thomas had made an admirable chancellor, throwing himself into all Henry's plans with characteristic energy, perhaps even sinking too much the Thomas
elected
Archbishop. deacon and friend of archbishop Theobald in the lay official. Clergymen, at any rate, thought he had been hard on his own order in the matter of the scutage ; and when, on the expedition to Toulouse, he appeared in full armour, and actually overthrew a French knight in single combat, he seemed no whit behind the military ecclesiastics of an earlier age. Henry therefore was perfectly satisfied; and when Theobald died in 1161, he was determined that Becket should add to his office of chancellor that of archbishop, that the threads of both civil and ecclesiastical administration might be in the hands of his most trusted servant. Theobald, too, had desired Becket for his successor; so in 1162 he was elected archbishop by the monks of St. Augustine's, Canterbury^in presence of a great council—Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford, alone of the council objecting on the ground of the scutage—and was consecrated by the aged Henry of Winchester. The king, however, had made a mistake. As those who knew him best had always expected, Becket showed himself to be at heart the ecclesiastical disciple of Theobald. From the moment of his consecration he set himself to magnify his office, and, in proof of his new attitude, roused Henry's disgust by resigning his post of chancellor, as inconsistent with the demands of his new position. The resignation, indeed, meant more than Henry at first imputed to it. For it marked the moment when the ecclesiastical revival, which under various forms had been promoted by Anselm, Henry of Winchester, and Theobald of Canterbury, had made the old relations between the church and the state impossible. Many causes had led to this, and it was a question rather on what battle-ground the next quarrel between church and state should be fought, than whether there should be a contest at all

The first question on which the king and the archbishop differed was one of taxation. In July 1163, Henry, in a council held at Woodstock,

proposed that a tax of 2s. per hide, the greater part of which had of late been used to pay the expenses of the sheriffs, should go direct into the king's exchequer. For some reason Becket objected to this, and declared that he would take care that no more

First Quarrel
with the
Archbishop.

was paid from church lands. The matter is obscure, but ultimately the king gave way, and the tax under the old form was apparently abolished. The incident, however, is the first example since

the Conquest of successful resistance to taxation. In the end, however, the quarrel turned, not as might have been expected on scutage, or upon the taxation of church lands, but on the right way of dealing with clergy accused of crime. Before the Conquest, when the bishop sat with the ealdorman in the shire-moot, and the archdeacon brought his cases before the hundred court, little distinction had been made between laymen and ecclesiastics. William the Conqueror, however, probably with the sole view of weakening the influence of the English bishops, had removed the bishop from the shire-moot and given him a court of his own, and ordered that the archdeacon should no longer bring suits in the hundred court. Henceforth all clerical cases were tried in ecclesi-

Trial of Ec-
clesiastics.

astical courts according to the church, or canon, law ; and the lay authorities were directed to aid the clergy in carrying out the sentences of their courts. The change, however, was wider than William had ever anticipated. The practice of using the papal tribunal as a court of appeal from the English ecclesiastical courts was the logical consequence of the new system ; while the use of the canon law, made even more a distinct branch of law by the attention given to the revived study of the Roman law, did more than anything else to make the clergy a separate caste.

Moreover, the ecclesiastical courts could inflict no punishment which involved the loss of life or limb. Its sentences were restricted to a fine, or to imprisonment in a monastery, or to depriving the criminal of his orders.

The Clerical
Orders.

This state of affairs was most serious. The word 'clergy,' as then interpreted, included bishops, priests, and deacons, who

were described as clerks in holy orders ; subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, and ostiarii ; and also persons who had received the 'first tonsure' but were for all practical purposes laymen, so that in practice all the professional classes, except regular soldiers, were included in it. Moreover, the king's justices complained that since his accession no less than one hundred murderers and innumerable thieves and robbers had made their escape from due punishment on the plea that they were clerics. The facts, indeed, were notorious ; but the clergy, who feared that, if the jurisdiction of the lay courts over 'criminal clerks' were

once admitted, a serious diminution of clerical independence would follow, believed that the right remedy was to be found in a stricter examination into the character of candidates for the tonsure ; and Becket, on becoming archbishop, at once set himself to do this. Henry's Proposition. Henry, however, was not prepared to wait the action of so slow a remedy, and proposed that for the future a criminal, who, on being brought before the ordinary courts, claimed to be a clerk, should be handed over to the bishop to be tried before the ecclesiastical court in the presence of a royal officer. If convicted, he was then to be unfrocked, and handed back to the lay authorities for the infliction of the usual punishment. To this Becket demurred, asserting that it would be sufficient punishment for a cleric to be degraded from his orders. If he offended a second time he would do so as a layman, and could be treated as such. In 1163 the case of Philip de Broi, a clerk accused of crime, drew special attention to the matter, and the question was raised at a council held at Westminster in October 1163. The Council of Clarendon. discussion was renewed at Clarendon in January 1164, and there Becket, under some pressure, agreed to 'obey the customs' of the realm. The question arose what these customs were. Accordingly, B onry appointed a commission to inquire, headed by Richard de Lucy. In nine days it presented its report in the form known as the ' Constitutions of Clarendon.'

These constitutions, however, sixteen in number, dealt with many other things than the trial of 'criminous clerks,' and attempted to settle most questions then in dispute between the church and state. Thus, questions about advowsons and presentations to livings were to be tried in the king's court. Clerics Constitutions of Clarendon. were not to quit the realm without the consent of the king. Appeals from ecclesiastical courts were to go to the king ; and unless he consented that they go no further, the litigants were to be content with the decision of the archbishop. The old rule of William the Conqueror that no tenant-in-chief or minister of the king should be excommunicated without his consent, and the rule that clergy were to hold their lands as tenants-in-chief, and to perform all duties and attend the king 's court with the other tenants-in-chief^ were reaffirmed. Elections of archbishops, bishops, and abbots were to take place by order of the king, in the king's chapel; and the bishop or abbot elect was to do homage for his lands before he was consecrated or installed. These were merely restatements of ordinary practice and of the settlement of Henry and Anselm. A clause, however, that the sons of villeins should not be consecrated thout the consent of their lords was new. It was probably

designed partly to safeguard the rights of the lords of the manor, who lost the services of the villein who took orders, and partly to put a check on the ordination of the lower classes. In practice, the leave of the lord could always be obtained on payment of a small sum.

These constitutions, therefore, amounted to a code, and justified Becket's fears that in agreeing to 'obey the customs' he was committing himself to more than he intended. For six days they were debated, clause by clause, and finally he refused to give his consent. During the spring and summer Thomas twice attempted in vain an escape from England and appeal to the pope; and meanwhile his enemies at court were doing all they could to foment the quarrel between him and the king. Their success was seen when the council met at Northampton in November. A series of charges were brought against Becket, culminating in a demand for the immediate production of the whole of the moneys that had passed through his hands as chancellor. Becket, on his side, seems to have lost his temper under persecution, and behaved with such rashness that Gilbert Foliot, now bishop of London, called him 'a fool.' His brother bishops were unable to persuade him to bate a jot of his pretensions by way of meeting the king. Henry, on the other side, was full of fury at the arrogance of the archbishop; and at length, escaping from the town at dead of night, Becket made his way to the coast and took ship for the Continent. His departure was a serious matter for Henry, as Becket's presence on the Continent introduced a new complication into his difficulties with the king of France, and also because the open quarrel between the king and the archbishop dissolved the alliance between the church and the crown which, on the whole, had been preserved since the Conquest, and so far strengthened the hands of the feudal barons.

Becket found the pope unwilling to take his side, for at that moment Alexander III. was contending against the pretensions of an anti-pope, who was supported by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa; and too much enthusiasm for Becket might have thrown Henry on the same side. For six years, therefore, the struggle went on. Henry's first move was to confiscate the whole of the property of the see of Canterbury and drive from the country all the kindred of Becket. In 1166 the archbishop retorted by excommunicating seven of Henry's strongest adherents, at the head of whom was the justiciar, Richard de Lucy; and in 1167, after an unsatisfactory interview with Henry, Becket excommunicated Gilbert Foliot and nine others. In time, however, both Becket and Henry, grew, weary

Becket's
Opposition
and Flight.

Becket
appeals to
the Pope.

of the struggle. The archbishop was anxious to return: Henry had recognised how much harm was being done to him by Becket's alliance with the French king ; so in 1170 a reconciliation between them was patched up, without any settlement of the question of the Constitutions, and after some delay Becket returned to England on December 1st.

Reconciliation between Henry and Becket.

It is difficult to see how such a reconciliation could have been more than a truce; but, unfortunately, a new cause of offence had been given to Becket. Some years before Henry had formed a scheme for getting his eldest son, Henry, crowned king of England during his own lifetime ; and in the summer of 1170, before his reconciliation with Becket, he determined to carry it out. By ancient right the function of crowning the king of England was a privilege of the archbishop of Canterbury ; but in Becket's absence Henry decided to have the ceremony performed by the archbishop of York, Roger PontT6veque, an old rival of Becket. The exiled archbishop was furious, and obtained a papal bull forbidding Roger to perform the ceremony ; but, in spite of this, Roger persevered, and, supported by Foliot, bishop of London, and Jocelyn, bishop of Salisbury, performed the coronation in Westminster Abbey, in the presence of Henry himself. In spite of this, the reconciliation took place ; but, on returning to England, Becket brought with him letters from the pope suspending all the bishops who had taken part in the coronation ceremony.

New Quarrel.

Becket was warmly received by the populace, but was treated coldly by both the laity and clergy of the upper classes, and was forbidden to visit the young king. His spirit, however, was in no way depressed. He refused to absolve the bishops, and on Christmas day he issued another excommunication against Half de Broc, who had been steward of the lands of Canterbury during his exile. Meanwhile, the bishops of York, London, and Salisbury had hurried over to Normandy to lay their case before the king; and exaggerated tales described Becket as traversing the country surrounded by a guard of supporters. Furious at the bishops' story and the other reports, Henry let fall the words : ' Are there none of the cowards eating my bread who will rid me of this turbulent priest ? ' It was not the first time Henry had used words to much the same effect; and probably he meant nothing except that he was very angry, for a council was called to deliberate on the matter, and arrangements were made for arresting Becket on a charge of treason. However, before this could be done, a * terrible crime had been committed. Four knights, Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, Reginald Fitz Urse, and Richard le Breton, **took**

Murder of Becket.

Henry's rash words in a literal sense ; and, slipping unnoticed from the court, they made their way separately to England, and met one another at the house of Ralf de Broc. Thence, on December 29th, they proceeded to Canterbury, and, making their way into the archbishop's palace, demanded in rude terms that he should withdraw the excommunication of the bishops. Becket refused with equal rudeness, and then made his way into the cathedral, pursued by the knights. There, after further altercation, in which equally exasperating language was used on either side, the knights drew their swords, and, being deserted by all his companions save his cross-bearer, Edward Grim, who himself tells the story, the archbishop was butchered on the altar-steps of his own cathedral

Nothing worse could have happened both for Henry and for England. Public opinion, which had looked coldly on Becket during his life, veered round after his death. In spite of all Henry could do to stop the reports, it was believed that miracles had been wrought at Becket's tomb, and his fame as a saint and a martyr was fully established. That Henry was guiltless of any intentional part in his death was generally admitted ; and, having sworn his innocence, he received full absolution from the papal legates. To enforce the Constitutions, however, was utterly impossible ; and, consequently, for over three hundred years criminous clerks continued to be tried by the ecclesiastical courts; appeals continued to be sent to Rome; and, the royal power over church affairs having received a decided check, opportunity was given for an increase of the influence of the pope, of which full advantage was taken. For years the pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury was the most popular event in English life ; and it was only by very slow degrees that the state recovered the hold over the clergy and the church which was lost by the fatal impatience of the murderers of Thomas Becket.

During the time the struggle with Becket was going on, Henry had not ceased to carry forward his schemes for the reform of the administration of justice. As early as 1155 he had revived his grandfather's plan of sending judges, from the *curia regis* to sit in the county courts. The visitations of the judges may be regarded as a substitute for the regular journeys of the English kings, serving to connect the local courts with the central administration, to keep in check the power of the provincial magnates, and to bring to every one's door the power of appeal to the highest authority in the land. These judges were called *justices-in-eyre*,

² corruption of the latin form *in itinere*. The administration of justice,

however, was not their only business. To look after the collection of the king's revenue was quite as important a function : and they had also to see that the proper precautions were taken for keeping the *king's peace*; that the oath of allegiance was taken by those from whom it was due ; and that care was taken that every one should be enrolled in a *frank pledge* or association of ten men for mutual security, which was an ancient device for securing the apprehension of criminals, and making each person's good conduct a matter of concern to a number of others. In 1173 the circuits of the justices-in-eyre were fixed at six—the home, midland, eastern, western, north-eastern, and northern circuits—and remained substantially the same till recent times.

Besides arranging the regular circuits of the judges, Henry also introduced changes into the method of administering justice, both in civil and criminal cases. In old English times, civil cases or disputes between individuals were decided by the whole body of suitors at the shire-moot, in accordance with the oaths of persons who knew the facts, such as where the boundary of the estate ran, or who owned a certain wood. The Normans, however, had introduced the method of trial by battle, or of a judicial combat between the litigants or their representatives. Such a decision was obviously unfair, and was extremely unpopular, especially among townspeople ; so Henry introduced an improved method. Ever since the Conquest, and possibly earlier, use had been made of the method of 'sworn inquest,' by which a body of sworn men were employed to record certain facts. William the Conqueror employed it to discover the laws of the old English in 1070, and again in the Domesday survey. This plan Henry II. now applied to civil cases, offering it, however, as an optional alternative. The new regulation was promulgated in the grand assize, the date of which, however, is unknown, but must be earlier than 1164, for in that year a clause in the constitutions of Clarendon enjoined the use of the same plan in the case of disputes about ecclesiastical property.

In 1166 the process of criminal judicature was dealt with by the assize of Clarendon. Hitherto the old English method of compurgation and the ordeal, or the Norman plan of trial by battle, had been in use ; but Henry now ordered that, when judges came into a county, twelve legal men of each hundred, and four legal men from each township, should present to them on oath any one in the township or hundred who was notoriously a robber, murderer, or receiver of such; and in case the judge was not in the county but the sheriff had to make a similar inquiry and report to the judges.

Trial by Jury.

Civil Cases.

Criminal Cases.

The

accused were then put to the ordeal of water. If they failed, they were punished by hanging or otherwise as the judges directed ; but if they by any chance passed the ordeal, it was assumed that men who stood so badly in the opinion of their neighbours must be good-for-nothing fellows, and they were ordered to leave the country within forty days.

Jury of Presentment. The body of sixteen men who formed the 'jury of presentment' may be regarded as a sort of grand jury who decided that the prisoners ought to be tried, or, in modern parlance, 'returned a true bill against the accused'; but the question of guilt or innocence was determined by the ordeal. This scheme was reissued and the severity of the punishment increased by the assize of Northampton, enacted in 1176.

However, in 1216 a Lateran Council, held in Rome by the famous Innocent iii., forbade the use of the ordeal as an institution too barbarous for Christian men. A substitute for it was found in the institution of the petty jury or little jury. This consisted of twelve sworn men, who were taken from the neighbourhood where

the crime was committed, and were supposed to know the facts of the case. If they did not agree, others were added till twelve gave a verdict one way or another. This plan, however, was awkward, and by degrees the additional jurymen came to be merely witnesses, who gave their evidence before the court; and the verdict was pronounced by the original twelve, who were required to be unanimous. As the petty jury was a substitute for the ordeal, which was regarded as the judgment of God, there was no appeal from its decision. Moreover, the accused was not allowed to call witnesses on his own behalf or to be represented by an advocate. It was, however, assumed that unless the jury were quite satisfied of a prisoner's guilt he should have the benefit of the doubt—an assumption, however, not always observed in practice.

Meanwhile, during the course of the Becket struggle a step had been taken towards the conquest of Ireland. The condition of Ireland.

Ireland had long been an invitation to interference. Both in regard to the constitution of its society and its system of land tenure that country was still in the state of tribal organisation from which every other Aryan nation in Europe had long ago emerged. The only

Suite of the Country. social tie recognised was real or imaginary relationship to some chieftain, which constituted membership of his sept or clan.

To this the land of the district belonged in common ownership ; and individual ownership of land, which experience has shown to be necessary for any serious advance in agriculture or civilisation, was practically unknown. Among the crowd of petty chieftains, however, four had a pre-eminence, styling themselves respectively kings of

Ulster, Connaught, Leinster, and Munster ; but their authority was of a most fluctuating character, the power of the Ardriagh or head king was absolutely nominal, and the country was kept in continual turmoil by their dissensions and rivalries. On the coast were the settlements of the Northmen, in Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick; but the Ostmen never succeeded in conquering the inland districts.

At one time it seemed possible that a new invasion of the Northmen might lead to the establishment of a strong government, either Norse or native. This, however, did not happen. On the one hand, the Northmen were defeated by the natives in the great battle of Clontarf in 1017 ; on the other, Brian Boru, or Boroimhe, the strongest of the native kings, fell at the moment of victory ; and though the invaders had been driven off, the country relapsed into its old tribal condition. In England the unity of the church had been a most powerful factor in promoting the unity of the state ; but in Ireland the church was almost powerless for this purpose. Ever since the synod of Whitby it had been cut off from intercourse with the churches of the West; it had never been organised by a Theodore, and consequently had maintained its old defective monastic organisation without properly defined dioceses ; and when its immense monastic institutions, which had been the home of its famous learning, such as Bangor or Clonmacnoise, had been sacked by the invading Northmen, it sank into profound disorder. Since the Norman conquest of England, however, something had been done to improve its condition. Lanfranc and Anselm had both tried to make obedience to Canterbury the basis of a reorganisation of the Irish bishoprics ; and owing to the exertions of St Malachi, who became archbishop of Armagh in 1134, a papal legate was sent, dioceses were properly divided and placed under the direction of four archbishops, those of Armagh, Tuam, Cashel, and Dublin.

**Invasions of
the North-
men.**

Irish Church.

Meanwhile, the conquest of Ireland, as the natural completion of that of England, had often been mooted at the English court; and in 1155 Henry II. took advantage of the papacy of Nicholas Breakspear, the only born Englishman who ascended the papal throne, to obtain from him a bull authorising him to conquer Ireland 'for the enlargement of the church's borders, for the restraint of vice, the correction of morals, and the planting of virtue.'¹ Nothing, however, was done at the time, for the Empress Matilda strongly advised Henry to defer any action ; and eventually the squabbles of the Irish princes, and not English ambition, proved the cause of the loss of Ireland's independence.

As early as 1152, Dermot Macmorrough, king of Leinster, had carried off by force Devorgil, the wife of O'Ruarc, the chief of the men of Breffny, in the adjoining kingdom of Connaught. For eighteen years the

Dermot of Leinster. injured husband never forgave the thief; and he found his opportunity of revenge when his friend Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, defeated Murtoth O'Lochlainn, the representative of the ancient house of the O'Neals of Ulster, and had become the most powerful king in Ireland. O'Ruarc persuaded him to order the banishment of Dermot. Accordingly, Dermot was compelled to fly; but he betook himself to Bristol, and, thence making his way to Henry's court, offered him homage and fealty, and implored him to aid him against his enemies. At the moment, 1166, Henry was far too busy to undertake an expedition himself; but he accepted the homage and the fealty, promised a speedy aid, and gave him a letter authorising any of his subjects to join the Irish prince. Armed with this letter, Dermot sought aid among the Norman settlers in South Wales, who represented the forward movement of the conquering Normans in this country, and

Richard de Clare. won over to his side Richard de Clare, earl of Striguil, better known as Strongbow, to whom he offered the hand of his daughter Eva and the prospect of succeeding to the crown of Leinster. By the promise of the crown of Wexford he also enlisted the services of two half-brothers, Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen. Accompanied by a small band, Dermot then returned to Ireland in 1167, but was promptly defeated by Roderic O'Connor, and compelled to await in hiding the arrival of his Welsh allies. However, in 1168 Robert Fitz-Stephen landed at Bannow, joined Dermot, and captured Wexford. Some time was then spent in a series of expeditions against Dermot's special enemies; but in 1169 Maurice Fitzgerald made his appearance, and the allied forces then captured Dublin. Not till 1170 did Strongbow cross the Channel. Waterford was immediately taken. The marriage of the earl of Striguil and Eva followed. In 1171 the death of Dermot transferred his rights to the husband of Eva; but the invaders had much ado to hold their own in Dublin against an army of Northmen from Man and the Western Isles, who had been summoned to the aid of their kinsfolk; and, the Northmen being expelled, they had to repel another attack of Roderic O'Connor. It was now clear to Henry that the Norman adventurers were in all probability about to set up a semi-independent power across St. George's Channel,

Henry in Ireland. which might be a cause of the utmost annoyance to himself. He therefore determined to interfere, and in 1171 he came over to Ireland with a large force, and received the submission

of the English adventurers. The adhesion of the Irish chieftains soon followed. The first to do homage was Dermot Macarthy, king of South Munster. His example was followed by Doneli O'Brien, king of North Munster, and others ; and in 1172 Roderic O'Connor of Connaught, who claimed to be king of all Ireland, also yielded. Henry then placed garrisons in Waterford and Wexford, and made a grant of Dublin to the Bristol merchants ; but his projects for a complete conquest of the island were frustrated by the necessity of himself returning to England, and he never found another opportunity of revisiting the country. In 1177, however, he formed a plan for making his youngest son, John, lord of Ireland ; but no real progress was made in the work of reorganising the country, and the English with difficulty maintained their hold on Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford, and the districts immediately round them, which came to be known as the English pale.

One reason for Henry's visit to Ireland had been *tya* (Jesire to be out of the way till the storm of indignation caused by the murder of Becket had in some degree subsided ; but during his absence the threads of a formidable conspiracy were woven, which broke out in 1173 and 1174, and taxed to their utmost the resources of the court. This conspiracy had its origin in two causes—(1) The vexation of the barons at the succession of blows which Henry had struck at the power of feudalism ; (2) the dissatisfaction of Henry's sons with his proposed disposition of his dominions. Conspiracy
of the
Barons. Since Henry's accession, the barons felt that their rights and privileges had been invaded on every side. The resumption of the royal castles had reduced their military power. They were no longer allowed the privilege of coining money. Scutage had not only diminished their military efficiency, but had destroyed their cherished hope of immunity from general taxation. The aids for the knighting of the king's eldest son and for the dowry of his eldest daughter had been rigorously collected. Above all, the assize of Clarendon had shown that the king meant to be in all cases and over all causes supreme, and that no baronial privileges or immunities were to stand in the way of the equal administration of the law of the land. To such men as the great earl of Chester, Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, Robert, earl of Leicester, the unworthy son of the old justiciar, and Robert Mowbray, who regarded themselves as the representatives of the great barons of the Conquest, his whole policy seemed one long insult to their class, and they were only waiting their opportunity to set on foot a formidable rising.

In the second place, Henry had signally failed to preserve harmony in his own house. His coronation of his son Henry had proved to be a mistake, for the young man could not understand that his father designed his coronation to be little more than a means of securing his undisputed succession to the throne, while his marriage to a daughter of the king of France exposed him to the influence of his intriguing father-in law, Louis VII. It was a rumour of young Henry's discontent which recalled his father from Ireland ; and after a visit paid to the court of France in 1172, the young king asked his father to give him England, Normandy, and Anjou as a separate sovereignty. Henry, however, had never designed to play the part of King Lear, and refused to do anything of the kind. For his younger children, Richard and Geoffrey, Henry thought he had made ample provision ; Richard was to succeed his mother and be duke of Aquitaine. Geoffrey was to be duke of Brittany as the husband of Constance, daughter of Duke Conan. In 1167 his plans, however, were somewhat upset by the birth of his youngest son John, whom he forthwith named Lackland ; and it was the necessity of providing for this child that was at the bottom of much of his subsequent trouble. In 1173 Henry proposed to give the castles of Chinon and Mirebeau, formerly held by his younger brother Geoffrey, as a provision for John ; but to this scheme the young Henry, as count of Anjou, refused consent, and, escaping by night from the court, fled to the king of France. There he was joined by his younger brothers, Richard and Geoffrey ; and their mother Eleanor, disguised in men's clothes, was also on her way, when she was arrested and imprisoned. The French court then became a centre of intrigue, and the young princes spared no bribes to gain allies against their father. They found few, however, among Henry's Continental vassals ; but the English barons jumped at the opportunity, and soon a most formidable conspiracy was on foot, led by Hugh of Chester, Hugh Bigod, Robert of Ferrers, and Robert Mowbray. William the Lion, king of Scots, was won over by an offer of the earldom of Northumberland ; Hugh de Puiset, prince-bishop of Durham, alone among ecclesiastics also took the same side ; while a promise of the earldom of Kent and the county of Mortain won the assistance of Philip of Flanders and Matthew of Boulogne.

Against this formidable conspiracy Henry relied, for the defence of his Continental dominions, on the service of twenty thousand Brabanters, whom his wealth enabled him to hire as mercenaries ; for that of England, he depended on the efforts of Richard de Lucy, the justiciar, William Mandeville, earl of Essex, Ralf Glanville, sheriff of Lancashire, and a number of lesser barons and officials. He

had also on his side all the bishops except Hugh of Durham ; all his own towns ; and, of more importance still, the goodwill of the masses of the people, who were ready to serve in the militia and give a loyal support to his officers rather than risk a renewal of the evil days of King Stephen. Taking advantage of the absence in Normandy of the earls of Chester and Leicester, the king's friends struck the first blow by besieging and taking the town of Leicester in July 1173 ; in the same month a chance shot killed Matthew of Boulogne ; and in August, Hugh of Chester was taken in the castle of DoL Louis would gladly have made peace ; but as Henry still refused to give up his hold over the government of his dominions, his sons were determined to carry on the war. Accordingly, Robert of Leicester made his way to England and joined Hugh Bigod in his stronghold of Framlingham in Suffolk ; but the two earls were utterly routed by the constable Humphrey de Bohun at the battle of Fornham, and their Flemish mercenaries were killed off almost to a man by the peasantry. The Earl of Leicester himself was taken, and joined Half of Chester and Queen Eleanor in the dungeons of Falaise. Meanwhile, the king of Scots had been checked from joining his friends by the necessity of breaking through the line of strong border castles from Carlisle to Newcastle which barred his southern march ; but they were one by one falling into his hands when Henry, in 1174, found himself strong enough to leave Normandy, and, taking his prisoners and Margaret, wife of the younger Henry, with him, crossed the Channel to Southampton. Henry had long before acquitted himself in the eyes of the law and the church from complicity in the murder of Becket; but he felt it needful to do something which would strike the popular imagination, so he at once proceeded to Canterbury, made his way barefoot to the cathedral, submitted to be scourged before the mar- Henry's
Penance. tyr's tomb, and spent a whole night in prayer before his shrine. Thence he went to London, where the joyful news reached him that, at the very moment that he was on his knees at Canterbury, the king of Scots, made venturesome by success, had been surprised and taken at Alnwick by Robert de Stuteville, sheriff of Yorkshire. The Capture of
the King of
Scots. material and moral effect of the capture and coincidence was invaluable to Henry; and he lost no time in following up his success by marching on Framlingham and compelling Hugh Bigod to surrender. The leaders being thus disposed of, the surrender of their castles soon followed. Hugh of Durham gave up Durham, Norham, and Northallerton; Robert Mowbray surrendered Thirsk. In the three weeks from his landing Henry had received the submission of all the rebels, and the country was once more at peace.

Such a signal collapse of the English rebellion, proving as it did how completely the policy of Henry was supported by the English people, and how little even the quarrel with Becket had disturbed the loyalty of the church, completely discouraged Henry's continental foes. Louis was soon compelled to sue for peace. Young Henry's submission, and that of his brothers followed ; and, a general amnesty being agreed on, they accepted the terms offered by their father the year before. Thus closed the last attempt of the English barons to compel the king to permit them to make feudalism as it was on the Continent—as it happened, just a hundred years after the first attempt for the same purpose.

Conclusion
of the
Barons'
Rebellion.

Of the capture of William the Lion Henry took instant advantage to place on a definite footing the relations between England and Scotland. Ever since the days when Constantine, king of Scots, with the consent of his people, took Edward the Elder for father and lord, the Scottish kings had at intervals done homage to the kings of England; but as, in addition to Scotland proper, they also held Galloway by a special grant of King Edmund, and Lothian as an English earldom, it was not very clear what the homage meant, and naturally the Scots interpreted it in the most limited, the English in the widest sense. Henry now determined to set the matter at rest once for all. By the treaty of Falaise, William agreed for himself and his heirs to be the liegemen of the English king for Scotland and all his other lands, and, as security for his good behaviour, placed in Henry's hands the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Berwick.

Treaty of
Falaise.

The rebellion being thus put down, Henry was able to give his attention to reforms. By a series of measures all the castles in the kingdom were either destroyed or taken into his hands. In 1176 the assize of Northampton renewed that of Clarendon, and also contained a number of other regulations for the better preservation of the king's peace. In 1178 he made a change in the constitution of the *curia regis*, which was a great step in developing a judicial system. As business increased, there was a natural tendency that the *curia regis*, which in the days of Henry i. had dealt with all the business of the crown, should split up into small committees. The earliest of these was the Court of Exchequer, for financial matters. In 1178 Henry made a selection of five judges from those of the *curia regis*, and intrusted to their hearing a great part of the judicial business which had formerly come before the court as a whole. Before long this court developed into two courts of King's Bench and

Assize
of North-
ampton.

Law Courts.

Common Pleas. In theory, the Court of Exchequer tried cases connected with finance ; that of King's Bench, pleas in which the king was concerned, including some criminal business ; and that of Common Pleas, cases between one subject and another. In practice, however, their functions were not so distinct. From each of these courts there was, in civil cases, an appeal to the king in the Ordinary Council.

His last measure of Vaform in England was the assize of arms, issued in 1181. In old English times the defence of the country had been intrusted to the fyrd, or militia (see page 44), in which every man between the age of sixteen and sixty was bound to serve if required. To this the Danish kings had added the huscarls, a body of professional soldiers (see page 73); and, though these perished at Hastings, no king since the Conquest had been without a body of paid soldiers, whom he employed in garrisoning his castles, and in warfare both in England and on the Continent; and since the institution of scutage, Henry 11. had relied mainly on hired troops. Moreover, since the Conquest, the feudal array, of which some germs were to be traced at an earlier date, had become a regular part of the military machinery of the country. However, since the institution of scutage Henry had used the feudal obligation as a means rather of raising money than soldiers. He was naturally jealous of anything which might increase the military efficiency of the barons, while circumstances had fully shown how excellent a force the fyrd might be made, and how loyal the freemen who composed it were. It had done excellent service against the Scots at Northallerton and Alnwick ; and against the rebellious barons of 1173, 1174, it had formed almost the sole reliance of the justiciar. Such a trustworthy force deserved encouragement, and in 1181 Henry issued the assize of arms, in which it was carefully stated what weapons of offence and defence every freeman was to possess, in accordance with the value of his estate, and arranged for the inspection of these at regular intervals. No serf was allowed to serve in the militia. In this way the king had two armies : one a small one of paid troops, whom he hired to garrison his castles and fight his battles on the Continent; the other the militia, on which he relied for the defence of England against foreign foes, or for putting down insurrections at home. From this time forward, feudalism became more than ever a mere method of land tenure.

In those days armies were rarely large. Fighting consisted almost entirely in the defence and besieging of castles. Very few pitched battles were fought, and it was in sieges and **not in open warfare** that Henry and his son Richard won their **grest**

Assize of Arms.

Method of Warfare.

reputations as soldiers. The art of castle-building had been carried to a very high pitch, and as a consequence the machines used for attacking them were also most elaborate. Enormous catapults and mangonels capable of hurling huge rocks were employed; and the arts of mining and countermining had been developed to a high pitch. Indeed, gunpowder had comparatively little to add either to the violence of the projectiles used or to the murderous nature of the assault.

After the rebellion of 1174 Henry had no more trouble with the English barons ; but for the remainder of his reign his troubles with his sons never wholly ceased. This was partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of governing the unruly barons of Aquitaine. This task Henry intrusted

Henry's
Sons.

to his second son Richard, whom he designed to succeed his mother as duke. At seventeen Richard undertook the task, and, throwing himself into it with all the energy of his nature, soon established apparent peace. The barons of the south, however, to whom private war was as much a part of life as the songs of their troubadours, bitterly resented any interference with their habits ; and one of the ablest of them, Bertrand of Born, who added the qualities of a born lampooner to those of a political intriguer, set himself to stir up strife, not only among his fellow-barons, but also between Richard and his brothers. The jealousy between them soon grew to such bounds that Henry with difficulty kept the peace. Young Henry was in constant alliance with his father-in-law Louis, and, after his death in 1180, with his brother-in-law Philip Augustus; while Geoffrey of Anjou was so unpopular that his difficulties with his own barons of Brittany were a constant source of anxiety. However, in the middle of these disputes, young Henry died in 1183 ; but his death rather accentuated the difficulties with Richard, who hated Henry's plan of removing him from Aquitaine in order to give it to John, and consequently was willing to make common cause with Philip of France, to whom he offered to do homage for his duchy of Aquitaine and all the hereditary dominions of the house of Anjou. In 1186 Geoffrey too died; but as he left a daughter, Constance, and a posthumous son, Arthur, his death made little difference to the situation.

The next year matters were still further complicated by a proposition for a third Crusade. The small Turkish states, which had been singly no

Third
Crusade.

match for the Christians, had lately been united into a powerful kingdom, stretching from the Euphrates to the

Nile, by the genius of EToureddui and his son Saladin; and before its

strength the Christians of Jerusalem were defeated at the battle of Tiberias, in July 1187, and Jerusalem was taken. This news stirred Europe to its depths. Pope Gregory VIII. at once proclaimed a third Crusade ; and in 1189 the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa started for the East. To Henry II. the disaster came home with especial force. On the marriage of Geoffrey Plantagenet to the Empress Matilda, his father Fulk had retired to Palestine, married Milcent, the daughter of Baldwin I., and the heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem. An Angevin dynasty therefore reigned both in Palestine and in England ; but in 1186 the male line of the Jerusalem Angevins died out, leaving a girl, Sibyl, who bestowed herself and her crown on the valiant Guy of Lusignan, who had made the last stand against Saladin's advancing host. To Henry, therefore, the fall of Jerusalem was almost a family disaster. His first impulse was to join the Crusade at once; and to provide money he ordered the tenth part of the goods of every man in England to be collected under the name of the Saladin tithe, an impost of some constitutional importance because it was levied on personal property, and not, like all previous taxes, on land. As early as 1185 Henry had proposed to go to the aid of the struggling Angevins; but a great council had implored him not to abandon his people, and the project had been given up. Now, however, he felt that he ought to go ; but the difficulties in his way were enormous.

Philip and Richard were again making common cause, and endeavouring to compel Henry to permit the marriage of Richard to Philip's sister Adela, to whom he had been long betrothed, and who had been brought up and educated under Henry. Before this alliance Henry was able to make little resistance. The final blow fell upon him in 1189, when he found his Angevin dominions suddenly invaded by a powerful army from France proper led by Philip, and another from Poitou under the command of Richard. Henry was ill ; he had no English troops with him, his mercenaries had deserted for want of pay, and few of his old followers remained to aid him but his illegitimate son Geoffrey and William Marshall, who, having been the faithful friend of the younger Henry, had now attached himself to the falling fortunes of his father. In spite of all Henry's efforts, both Tours and Le Mans were lost; and, all hope being abandoned, the sick and worn-out man was compelled to come almost as a suppliant to a meeting-place appointed for him, and to accept a humiliating treaty by which all the demands of Philip and Richard were granted without reservation. Among them Henry had agreed that the allegiance of all Richard's associates should be transferred to him; and when at the head of this list he

read the name of his favourite son John, he abandoned himself to despair, allowed the fever to take its course, and the third day he died.

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Thomas Becket becomes Archbishop of Canterbury, ...	1162
Constitutions of Clarendon, ...	1164
Assize of Clarendon, ...	1166
Murder of Becket, ...	1170
Norman expedition to Ireland, ...	1169 1170
Great rising of the barons defeated, ...	1174
Treaty of Falaise, ...	1174
Assize of Arms, ...	1181

CHAPTER II

RICHARD I. : 1189-1199

Born 1157 ; married, 1191, Berengaria of Navarre.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Emperors.</i>
William the Lion, d. 1214.	Philip Augustus, d. 1223.	Frederic I. , d. 1190. Henry VI., d. 1197.
	<i>Pope.</i> Innocent III., 1198-1216.	

Exploits and Imprisonment of Richard—In his absence the Kingdom is governed by his Ministers—Constitutional and Social Progress of the time—Richard's Death.

ON the death of his father, Richard was immediately accepted as *king*, even by such immediate followers of Henry as William Marshall, who had fought Richard hand to hand a few days before. He at once despatched his mother Eleanor to England, while he stayed to make terms with Philip Augustus, whom Henry's death had changed from a friendly colleague into a jealous rival. He then crossed the Channel, and was crowned with unusual ceremony at Westminster.

Richard's character was cast in a different mould from that of any of his predecessors. His huge frame, long legs and arms, and herculean strength might remind men of his ancestor the Conqueror, whose genius for war and whose uncompromising will he also inherited. His fresh complexion and golden hair also showed his Norse descent, and when he was in the East his natural aptitude for naval affairs showed him no less the descendant of the Vikings. The firmness with which he had enforced law and order in Poitou proved him to be no Stephen; but, on the other hand, he had little aptitude for business or for the subtler forms of diplomacy in which the Angevins excelled ; and, except as a leader of the host and enforcer of order, and a magnificent personality, he had few of the qualities needed for an English

king. Fortunately, however, Richard was aware of his own deficiencies, and throughout his reign he had the good sense to intrust the government of England to subordinates; and usually he chose as his officials men who had been well trained in the methods of his more businesslike father.

Richard had taken the Cross in 1137, and wished to start on the Crusad* as soon as possible ; so his first measures were directed to raising money and to making the necessary dispositions for the good government of the country during his absence. It had long been a custom that officers of state should pay for leave to undertake their duties and for leave to lay them down. Richard took advantage of this to make a wholesale change in his officials, to fill up as many vacant offices as possible both in church and state, and to grant rights and immunities to any one who was willing to pay for them. Among other appointments, Richard Fitz-Nigel, author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, the treasurer, was made bishop of London, William Longchamp bishop of Ely, and Hubert Walter bishop of Salisbury. Ralf Glanville, who was going on the Crusade, had to pay for resigning the office of justiciar, and Hugh de Puiset or Pudsey, bishop of Durham, and William Mandeville for sharing it between them. Most of the sheriffdoms also changed hands ; charters were granted to towns ; and, above all, the treaty of Falaise with the Scots was cancelled. For a payment of 10,000 marks the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick were restored to the king of Scots, and he and his heirs were released for ever from the homage promised for Scotland itself.

Having raised money in this way, he had next to consider the peace of the country. His first difficulty was with his brother John, of whose treacherous character he was perfectly aware. The best course would probably have been to have taken him with him to Palestine ; but it was decided to leave him in Europe, but bound on oath not to revisit England for three years, and to appeal to his gratitude by such a liberal provision as should leave him nothing to ask for. Accordingly, besides giving him the county of Mortain, he received grants in England amounting to nearly one-third of the kingdom, and comprising the castles of Marlborough, Luggershall, and Lancaster ; the honours without the castles of Wallingford, Tickhill, and Nottingham; and the shires of Derby, Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, with all their revenues. In the general management of the country Richard trusted to the good sense and tact of his mother Eleanor. The actual administration, after several changes occasioned by the sudden death of William of Mandeville, he virtually placed in the hands of William Longchamp, the chancellor; and on December 11th, 1190, he quitted England.

Appoint-
ment of
Ministers.

As was usual when people were filled with crusading zeal, the Jews suffered from persecution. In England the Jews were regarded technically as the king's special dependants, and, being taxed by him at will, were a great source of wealth to him. Most of their riches were acquired by money-lending; and as, owing to the canonical prohibition of usury and to the uncertainty of the times, a high rate of interest was charged, and also in an agricultural community the value of being able to borrow capital was not understood so well as by a commercial people, they were extremely unpopular. Special quarters were assigned to them in most towns, which were walled in and the gates locked at night; they were compelled to wear a particular dress, and any favourable opportunity to attack them was seized, by their debtors. A disturbance of this kind broke out in Westminster on Richard's coronation day, and during the autumn and winter riots against the Jews attended with bloodshed occurred at York, Norwich, Stamford, St. Edmunds, and other towns. At York the unhappy Jews were allowed to take refuge in the castle, where they were regularly besieged; and, despairing of life, the men killed the women and children and, having set fire to the castle, flung themselves into the flames. Altogether not less than five hundred perished at York alone, and one of the first duties of the chancellor was to punish the rioters.

William Longchamp, who had acted as Richard's own chancellor for many years, and who was thoroughly devoted to his master, was a lame man, of insignificant appearance and lowly birth. He was, however, a thorough man of business, industrious, energetic, and inventive; but he knew nothing of England and the English, his manners were far from conciliatory, and before he had been long in office he contrived to make himself thoroughly unpopular. This gave John an admirable opening for mischief. Against Eleanor's advice, Richard had foolishly excused him from his oath of absence, and when, in 1191, Eleanor was obliged to leave England, John returned home, acted as king in his own counties, appointed a regular staff of officials, and apparently took it for granted that he had seen the last of his brother. His attitude encouraged Hugh of Durham and others to revolt; and as William of Longchamp had no personal friends and many enemies, the whole kingdom was soon in a condition of smouldering insurrection. Hearing, on his journey, of Longchamp's difficulties, Richard sent to England Walter of Coutances, the bland and inoffensive archbishop of Rouen and old official of Henry II., with orders to do the best he could. Walter reached England in April 1191. and found things for the moment quiet. A new trouble, however

soon arose through the conduct of William Longchamp to Geoffrey, the illegitimate son of Henry II., whose election as archbishop of York had been secured by Richard. Like John, Geoffrey had been put under a vow of absence, but had also been released, and arrived in England in August 1191. Longchamp refused to believe in his release, and had him seized in a church at Dover ; and the archbishop was dragged through the streets to the castle by his hands and feet, clinging to his pastoral cross and excommunicating his tormentors as he went. Such a scene recalled all the difficulties that had arisen from the quarrel with Becket. John, of course, made common cause with Geoffrey ; and then Walter of Ooutances, thinking it time to produce his commission, took the reins of government into his hands, William of Longchamp left the country, and the new arrangements, made by Richard's authority, were cheerfully acquiesced in.

Meanwhile, Richard had made himself a European reputation by his exploits in the East. He had joined the French king at Vezelai in the summer of 1190,* and then, leaving Philip to go by land, had Richard's Journey. made his way to Marseilles, where he took ship. He reached Sicily in September, and became the guest of Tancred, the *de facto* king of Sicily, who was himself a Norman. In Sicily he stayed till the following March, when he was joined for four days by his mother Eleanor, who brought with her Berengaria of Navarre, to whom he was at once betrothed ; and then, setting sail, he was driven to Cyprus, which he took from its ruler, Isaac Commenus, as a punishment for the massacre of some English sailors who had been wrecked on that island. There he married Berengaria; and in June 1191 he reached Acre.

The strong fortress of Acre is situated on a promontory, which forms the northern side of the bay of Acre, of which Mount Carmel forms the southern. It was in the hands of the Turks, and had been Siege of Acre. besieged by a Christian army, under Guy of Lusignan, since August 1189. The siege, however, had made little progress. Frederick Barbarossa had set out in 1190, but met an inglorious ending by being drowned in a little river in Asia Minor in July the same year. In consequence of this, only a small fragment of the German contingent ever reached Syria. Philip Augustus reached Acre in April 1191. The leaders, Richard, Philip, and Guy, however, showed little harmony or vigour. The camp was ill-arranged and undrained, and, as a matter of course, disease broke out, of which Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury and Ranulf Glanville had both died before Richard's arrival. Meanwhile, Saladin had gathered a large force for the relief of Acre, and had

hemmed in the Christians on the land side, so that it was difficult to say who were the besieged and who the besiegers.

Things were in this hopeless state when King Richard arrived; and his acknowledged military skill put new heart into the besiegers. The military engines were plied with fresh vigour and more intelligence. Richard, with his crossbow, fought in the front ranks, and within a month, in spite of a serious illness which for some days incapacitated him, a breach was made and the town stormed with terrible slaughter. The sacrifice of life, however, had been appalling. In one cemetery, it is said that no less than 124,000 corpses were buried within the year, and it was reckoned that by disease and the sword the capture cost the lives of 300,000 men. Acre being taken, an attack on Jerusalem was the next project of the crusaders, but the difficulties of keeping together such a motley host as the crusading army was quite beyond Richard's diplomacy, while his very success at Acre, awakened the jealousy of other princes. The great bone of contention was the crown of Jerusalem, Sibyl had died childless, and Richard favoured the claims of her husband, Guy of Lusignan. Philip preferred those of Conrad of Montferrat, marquess of Tyre. However, in August 1191, Philip pleaded illness and went home, so that the chief command remained in Richard's hands. Under his guidance the army turned south and beat off a great Saracen host at the battle of Arsuf, where the steadiness of the footmen, and especially of the crossbowmen, showed to the cavaliers of Europe the value of infantry. All Richard's efforts, however, were in vain. Twice he led his troops within twelve miles of Jerusalem, but each time, recognising the folly of besieging such a fortress with Saladin's unbroken army in the field, he felt compelled to retreat. At length Richard saw that the task on which he was engaged was hopeless with his materials. The news of John's proceedings in England warned him that he ought to be absent no longer, and in September 1192 he concluded a treaty with Saladin, by which Joppa and its district were secured for the Christians, with the right of free access to the Holy Sepulchre, and with full liberty to carry on commerce over the whole land. In leaving Jerusalem, Richard presented to Guy of Lusignan the island of Cyprus.

This done, Richard left the task of bringing back the English Crusaders to Hubert Walter, and himself set sail for Marseilles in October 1192. Unfortunately, his squadron was dispersed by a storm; and when Richard himself was within three days' sail of Marseilles, he learned that Raymond of Toulouse meant to seize him on landing. Contrary winds not only made it impossible to

pass through the Straits of Gibraltar, but even drove the king to Corfu. Thence he again set out in a small pirate craft, but was wrecked near Ragusa, and his only chance was to make his way through the empire in disguise. By some mismanagement he arrived at Vienna, where resided his personal enemy, Leopold, duke of Austria. By this time his presence was well known; and, being recognised by emissaries of the duke, he was arrested and thrown into prison. Overjoyed at his imprisonment, Richard was arrested and thrown into prison. Overjoyed at his imprisonment, Richard wrote in triumph to Philip Augustus, and the French king passed the good tidings on to John.

John instantly spread a report that Richard was dead, demanded that all the castles of England should be handed over to himself, and did homage to Philip Augustus for Richard's Continental dominions. Eleanor, however, refused to be taken in by the rumour, and made common cause with Geoffrey of York and Hugh of Durham. Presently Richard's true fate was ascertained, and communication was opened with him.

Early in 1193 Leopold transferred his captive to the hands of the Emperor Henry vi. at Speyer. On his way to Speyer, Richard met two abbots who had been sent out from England to meet him, and negotiations were at once begun for his release.

The terms demanded by the emperor were hard. £100,000 of English money were to be paid as a ransom; Isaac of Cyprus was to be liberated; and Eleanor of Brittany was to be betrothed to a son of Leopold of Austria. The money, however, was cheerfully paid, both by the laity and the clergy; but it took much ingenuity to raise so large a sum, and eventually four distinct taxes were imposed by a great council: (1) An aid for the king's ransom, at the rate of twenty shillings per knight's fee; (2) an income and property tax of one-fourth of the income and movable property of every man in the kingdom, lay or cleric; (3) a one-fourth part of the wool of the Cistercians and of the Gilbertines (see page 129); and (4) a carucate of two shillings on the hide, a carucate which was taken for the purpose as equivalent to one hundred acres. In January 1194 Richard was released, and at once returned to England.

Before leaving Henry, he agreed to do him homage for the titular kingdom of Burgundy; and to remove any doubt as to his rank, he was careful to wear his crown in England, with some of the solemnities of a new coronation. Richard landed in England on March 13th, just in time to take part in capturing Nottingham, the last stronghold of his brother John. He remained in England till May 12th, when, his presence being urgently needed in France, he again sailed for the Continent, and never was able to return.

During his second absence the government of the country was intrusted to the justiciar, Hubert Walter, now archbishop of Canterbury, till 1198, and then to Geoffrey Fitzpeter; and these two old servants of Henry took care to manage everything according to the ^{Hubert Walter.} practice of their former master. Fortunately, they had no more trouble with John. Warned by past experience, Richard was careful to return to his brother none of the property that had been forfeited by the justices. Henceforth he had to content himself with money only, and John himself was wise enough to recognise that his true interest lay in keeping on good terms with his masterful elder brother.

Besides the ordinary routine of business, the chief care of the justices had to be devoted to raising money. During the last years of his life, Richard was engaged in a constant struggle with Philip ^{Difficulties with France.} Augustus, who represented the natural tendency of the French kings to encroach on the territories of their vassals. To check this, Richard trusted first to creating a great alliance of the neighbouring states against Philip, for which purpose, in 1197, he used his influence as king of Burgundy to secure the election of his nephew Otto, son of his Bister Matilda and Henry the Lion of Saxony, as successor to the Emperor Henry vi.; and, in the last resort, to a magnificent castle, the Chateau Gaillard, which he built near Les Andelys, on the ^{Chateau Gaillard.} Seine, as a defence for the Norman frontier. This great masterpiece of engineering skill of the time was designed by Richard himself. It completely commanded the river, and he believed it capable of checking any advance into Normandy till a relieving force could be collected from England.

The administration of Hubert Walter is marked by several incidents of constitutional importance, most of which were merely developments of the methods of Henry II. In 1194, in issuing a commis- ^{Constitutional Progress.} sion to the itinerant justices, besides intrusting to them an immense list of multifarious business, all connected, more or less, with the exchequer, he directed that all their inquiries were to be conducted by taking the evidence of sworn recognitors, appointed as follows :—Four knights were to be chosen out of the whole shire. These were to choose two from every hundred, and these two named ten others to act with them as ' legal men.'¹ This practice is important, not only in connection with the jury, but also with the practice of election. In 1194, and also by the method of recognition, a survey of the whole land was carried out with a view to the new method of taxation by carucate, which had the effect of superseding the ancient Domesday survey ; and again, ' the lawful men of the shire ' acted, along with

commissioners, in assessing the amount due from each estate, a further step in connecting taxation and representation.

Other expedients for taxation had important social effects. Tournaments had hitherto been discouraged in England: they were now licensed by Richard's orders, but every knight who took part in one had to pay for an individual licence to do so according to his rank. Tournaments. The ready grant of charters, moreover, had an immense effect on the development of the towns, in the history of which almost an epoch is caused by the charters of Richard. The intimate connection between England and the Continent, and the good order kept at home by Henry n., had both been favourable to the development of town life, and the English trading classes had rapidly restored the losses of Stephen's reign. Charters to Towns. In consequence, the process of bargaining for privileges, which was noticed under Henry i., was renewed. The citizens of London paid 100 marks to have sheriffs of their own choosing. The burghers of Cambridge paid 300 marks of silver and one mark of gold to have their town at a *ferm* or fixed rent, and to be free from the meddling of the sheriff of the shire. Shrewsbury did the like. The weavers of Oxford paid two marks to have a guild of their own. Thomas of York gave a coursing dog to be alderman of the guild of merchants. Besides these payments, which are recorded in the pipe roll, and which are typical of hundreds of the kind, numbers of charters were granted. These, for the most part, followed the lines of those granted to some neighbouring town. The burghers of Bedford copied their charter from Oxford; those of Preston, that of Newcastle. Most striking of all, the citizens of London took advantage of the squabble between William Longchamp and John to bargain for the right to have a *communa*, apparently a corporation after the Continental fashion; and henceforward their chief officer was styled the lord mayor, and the town governed by him and twelve aldermen, one from each of the city wards.

In assessing taxes, however, the new officers of London, who belonged to the merchant class, were thought to be unfair to the poorer citizens. The grievances of the latter were taken up by William Fitz-Osbert. William Fitz-Osbert, a member of the burgher class, who had been a Crusader, and who was marked as an eccentric character by his habit of wearing a beard. As William was a born agitator, and apparently a capital speaker, the disturbance grew so serious that Hubert Walter was forced to interfere. His proceedings were characterised by some rashness and much brutality. When William took refuge in a church, the archbishop ordered it to be set on fire, and when

William rushed out he was seized, and, wounded as he was, stripped, dragged through the city at a horse's tail, and hanged with eight of his comrades. The affair of William Fitz-Osbert is typical of what went on in most corporate towns, where the jealousy between the governing class and the general body of the citizens, represented respectively by the merchant guild and by the inferior craft guilds, in which the weavers, arrow-smiths, and other artificers banded themselves, was always an important feature of mediaeval town politics. Hubert's action, though successful for the moment, met with so much disapproval that he was obliged to resign, but took office again at Richard's special request. In 1198, however, a new trouble arose, and both Richard and his justiciar met a serious rebuff. Richard, finding that he wanted not only money but men to withstand Philip's constant attacks, sent a demand for three hundred knights, to be paid by his English vassals. However, when Hubert proposed at a great council that he and the other crown vassals, should agree to the king's request, Hugh of Avalon, the most saintly and respected bishop of the English church, demurred, and, stating his opinion that English military tenants were only bound to do service in England, refused his consent. The bishop of Salisbury followed Hugh's lead ; and though their objection struck at the principle of scutage for foreign wars, as well as at personal service, the scheme had to be given up. This successful resistance to a scheme of taxation marks a further advance in constitutional progress.

After this failure, Hubert Walter became still further discredited, and had to hand over his office to Geoffrey Fitzpeter, another official trained in the school of Henry II. The administration of Geoffrey, however, was suddenly cut short by the wholly unexpected death of Richard himself. In the spring of 1199 he seemed to be coming to the end of his difficulties with Philip. His league against the French king had at length been formed; and his Chateau Gaillard, or Saucy Castle, was bidding defiance to any French attack along the line of the Seine, when Richard was informed that a treasure had been found on an estate in Limousin. Rumour exaggerated the value of the prize, and, as money was of great consequence to Richard, he advanced his claim to the whole of it as legal right of the duke of Aquitaine. His demand was rejected by the viscount of Limousin and by Achard, the actual owner of the estate of Chalus, where the treasure had been found. The castle was not particularly strong, and was defended by only seven knights and eight serving-men; but one of them, who had stood a whole day defending himself with a frying-pan against the enemy's bolts on the chance of a shot at King Richard, at length got his

opportunity, and lodged an arrow in the neck of the king. Bad
 Death of surgery and Richard's impatience brought on mortification,
 Richard. and in a few days the king was dead.

The personality of Richard the Lion Heart has secured permanent fame. His personal share in the administration of English affairs was slight and unimportant; but the advantage gained by Importance of his Reign. the country from ten years' continuance of the system of Henry II. was most valuable, and its effects were seen in the combinations of parties during the next reign. Richard himself had the power of attracting the personal love of his intimate friends, though his character was not one to secure general respect. In private life he was witty and humorous. When the pope claimed as 'his son' a bishop Richard's men had captured in battle, he sent in reply the bishop's coat of mail, with the request that he would see 'whether it were his son's coat or no.' He was also a man of generous impulses and faithful to his friends, but was wanting in nobility of character and in the higher virtues of statesmanship. His bravery was unquestioned; but even in war his cruelty, selfishness, and vanity deprive him of much of his apparent claim to respect.

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Siege of Acre, .	1191
Richard imprisoned, .	1192-1194
Chateau Gaillara built,	1197

CHAPTER III

JOHN: 1199-1216

1189, Heir to a King of France (divorced)

Born 1167; married [1200](#), Isabella of Angouleme.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

<i>Scotland,</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Emperor.</i>
William the Lion, d. 1214.	Philip Augustus, d. 1223.	Otto iv., 1208-1218.
Alexander II., d. 1249.		

Pope.

Innocent III., 1198-1216.

John's ill Character leads to the Loss of France, a Quarrel with the Church, and finally his iniquitous Life and Government cause a union of all Classes to extort the Great Charter—A French Prince invited to take the Throne.

IN the early days of his reign, Richard had regarded Arthur, the son of Geoffrey, as his heir; but after Arthur had been handed over by the Bretons to Philip, and was being educated at the French court with Philip's son, he seems to have changed his mind, and during his last years he certainly regarded John as his successor, and on his death-bed he made his followers swear to receive his brother as next king. Philip, however, was still in Arthur's favour, and at Richard's death made an effort to secure his succession.

Question of the Succession.

When his brother died, John was abroad. His first step was to secure Normandy; but while he was doing so, young Arthur, aided by his mother Constance and the Bretons, secured Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; and for these counties Arthur immediately did homage to the French king. Eleanor, however, who wished John to succeed, as being more likely than Arthur to keep together all the vast dominions of herself and her husband, showed that even threescore years and ten had not damped her energy. Summoning to her aid Mercadier, the commander of Richard's paid Brabantines, she attacked Anjou, and then cleverly secured Aquitaine for John by compelling Philip to receive her homage for it as duchess in her own right

Action of John.

Aquitaine and Normandy being thus secure, John was able to leave his other Continental dominions for the present and secure his position in England.

Already he sent over Archbishop Hubert and William Marshall to aid Geoffrey Fitzpeter in his difficult task of keeping the peace. In England there never seems to have been any question of taking Arthur as king. A meeting of the most important barons was held at Northampton, and there, Hubert and William Marshall promising all good things in John elected. his name, John was elected king, the uncle of full age being preferred, according to the old English practice, to the nephew, who was a minor. In May, John came over, and after a solemn admonition was crowned at Westminster by Archbishop Hubert, who carefully stated in his address that John succeeded not by any inherent right, but by the unanimous choice of the realm.

Geoffrey Fitzpeter remained justiciar, William Marshall kept his office, and Archbishop Hubert showed how completely the ecclesiastical His Officers. ideas of Archbishop Theobald had passed away by accepting the post of chancellor. Geoffrey Fitzpeter was then made earl of Essex, in succession to William de Mandeville; and William Marshall, to whom Richard had given Strongbow's heiress, Eva, was made earl of Striguil, though he is better known as earl of Pembroke.

In June, John was back on the Continent, where he found the tide completely turned in his favour. Philip had disgusted Arthur and the Arthur Bretons by treating his conquests in Normandy and Maine discredited. as his own. The count of Flanders and Otto the emperor were preparing to aid John. The troubles of an interdict, which Philip had brought on himself by putting away his wife Ingeborga of Denmark, and taking instead Agnes of Meran, were impending. Philip, therefore, found peace necessary, and offered favourable terms. John was recognised as lawful ruler of all his brother's dominions; and as a pledge of amity, Louis, Philip's eldest son, married John's niece, Blanche, the daughter of Blanche of England and Alphonzo of Navarre. To fetch the bride, the indefatigable Eleanor at once set out to Spain, and on account of the interdict the marriage was celebrated at Kouen.

The character of John is one not easy to draw. He was handsome, well made, and of most insinuating manners; clever enough when he John's chose to exert himself, and neither a bad general nor a bad Character. diplomatist. He also had been well educated, and was well road. All these good qualities, however, only made his complete failure the more signal. His ruin was due to his utter indifference to principle of any kind. Neither truth, nor pity, nor duty stood in the way of his

will. His passions required to be gratified at all costs; being a bad man himself) he judged others by his own standard, and was Incapable of appealing to anything higher. Even these bad traits, however, might not have sufficed to ruin him had it not been that on the Continent he had to deal with Philip Augustus, an abler man than had sat on the throne of France for years ; and in England he had to meet for the first time since the Conquest a people who, having realised what good government meant, were determined not to allow the wickedness or weakness of the sovereign to be a cause of the reappearance of disorder. John's first act of infatuation was to divorce his wife Hadwisa or Avice of Gloucester, to whom he had been married since 1189.

Divorce of
Avice.

She was the granddaughter of Robert of Gloucester, and therefore John's third cousin; but the marriage had been celebrated under a papal dispensation. It had, however, from the first been protested against by Archbishop Baldwin, and John, probably by a lie, now persuaded three Aquitanian bishops to annul it. On this her lands should, of course, have been restored to her, as had been done in the case of John's mother Eleanor; but John gave the county of Gloucester only to the husband of Avice's elder sister, and kept the rest himself. Avice had a crowd of relations who were equally offended by the insult to herself, and exasperated by the loss of her lands ; so the whole Gloucester connection was now turned against John. As though this were not enough, John then proceeded to marry Isabella of Angoulême, the affianced bride of Hugh the Brown, son of the count of La Marche, and nephew of Guy of Lusignan. The marriage was made by the consent of the bride's father, and apparently of the bride herself; but the whole family of Lusignan were furious. As they were the most powerful and turbulent of the barons of Poitou, their wrath was no slight matter; and John immediately made things worse by seizing the castle of another member of the family.

Marriage
with Isa-
bella of
Angoulême.

In 1202 the barons of Poitou, with the Lusignans at their head, appealed to Philip; and the French king, having now arranged his matrimonial difficulties by taking back his former wife, at once took up their cause. John was summoned to answer for his conduct before the French court, and, as he did not appear, was condemned in default to forfeit all lands held under the crown of France. The legality of this sentence was extremely doubtful; but Philip at once summoned the aid of Arthur and invaded Normandy, while Arthur laid siege to his grandmother Eleanor, whom the Poitevin troubles had drawn from her retirement at Fontevraud, in the castle of Mirebeau. Eleanor's danger roused John to momentary

Quarrel with
the Barons
of Poitou.

exertion, and he surprised Arthur just when on the point of success, and carried him off prisoner. This success gave John the better of the game; but, having imprisoned his nephew first at Falaise and then at Rouen, it is certain that he was wicked and foolish enough to compass

Death of his death, though how or when is not certainly known.
Arthur. As soon as Arthur's death, was known, Philip invaded

Normandy, and the Norman towns fell fast before him. So long, however, as Chateau Gaillard held out Rouen was safe, and its siege was the

Invasion of crisis of the war. The defence was intrusted to Roger de
Normandy. Lacy, and the stand he made gave ample time to John, if

he had used it well, to bring an overwhelming army to its relief. But forborne reason or another John's abilities failed him at the crisis. A night attack on the besiegers planned by him, but carried out by the earl of Pembroke, failed, owing to the boats of the expedition being behind time. Then the king sank into aimless despondency, wandered hither and thither without object or result, and finally left Normandy

to its fate. After holding out from August 1203 to March
Chateau Gaillard 1204, Roger de Lacy was compelled to capitulate; but the
captured. length of time gained and the difficulties of the besiegers

amply demonstrated both the judgment and the skill of its founder and architect. A month later Eleanor died, and with her departed John's last hold on the loyalty of his Continental

Death of subjects. After Chateau Gaillard had fallen, Normandy,
Eleanor of Guienne. Anjou, Touraine, and Maine soon fell into Philip's hands; and before the

summer of 1204 was out, nothing but the Channel Islands remained to the English king of the hereditary territories of William the Conqueror and Geoffrey of Anjou.

The loss of Normandy marks a very important epoch in the history of the English baronage. Up to this date, many of the greatest of them,

Influence of such as the earls of Chester, held lands on both sides of the
this loss. Channel. Now they were forced to choose between the two.

Generally speaking, one son took the French lands and another the English; but, whatever arrangement was made, divided interest became a thing of the past. Henceforward, the English barons, though they still

SPOKE FRENCH, REGARDED THEMSELVES AS ENGLISHMEN, AND LOOKED ON ENGLISH AND LOOKED ON ENGLISH interests as their own; and thus the Anglicising of the Normans, which had been begun by the wars between Duke Robert and his brothers, was carried a step further by the loss of Normandy. Any physical distinction between the English and Normans had long been lost. William the Conqueror had established a special fine to be levied on a hundred when any Norman was murdered within its bounds;

but the author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* tells us that under Henry 11. this fine was paid in all cases; 'for, in consequence of marrying and giving in marriage, the nations were so mingled that at that day it was impossible, speaking generally, to say who was a Norman and who was an Englishman.' At the same time, it is a remarkable fact that in spite of this movement the use of the French language was spreading. Between 1154 and 1205 no book written in English survives; and apparently French was the habitual language of conversation, not only at court, but among the upper classes generally.

The last years of the twelfth century, though unfruitful of English literature, were fruitful of Latin writing, and especially of history, which was written not so much by monks, as in the preceding period of literary activity, as by men of the world. As a contemporary record of events the *Acts of Henry II. and Richard I.*, written by Richard Fitz-Nigel, treasurer, bishop of London, and continued by Roger of Howden, another officer of the court, is invaluable, as the work of men who took an actual part in the events which they chronicled; while far removed from these, but connected in spirit with William of Malmesbury, stands William of Newburgh, an Augustinian canon of Newburgh, near Cox wold in Yorkshire, who attempted to make his history of England from William the Conqueror to John a really philosophic work. Besides these we must place Gerald the Welshman, the most amusing writer of his day, the chief authority on the conquest of Ireland and the contemporary topography of Wales; and Walter Map, the known author of the *Triflings of Courtiers*, and reputed writer of the satirical *Apocalypse and Confession of Bishop Goliath*, a bitterly satirical exposure of the frailties of the clergy.

By the time of Gerald the Welshman, Oxford had become the resort of the 'most learned and renowned clerks in England/ had regular faculties, teachers of various grades, and a numerous body of scholars. There grammar, dialectics, and rhetoric—the trivium—were studied by the juniors; and geometry, arithmetic, music, astronomy—the quadrivium—by the seniors; while more advanced learners still specialised on theology and law. All the students were, in the eyes of the law, regarded as clerks, though many were not even in minor orders; and before long the relations between the church and the universities became a matter of great importance. England, therefore, had reaped and was reaping a great harvest from the peace and good government of Henry 2. and of Richard's ministers, Hubert Walter and Geoffrey Fitzpeter, when the loss of his Continental possessions forced John to take up his residence in his island kingdom,

**Historical
Writings.**

**Development
of the
Universities.**

John's troubles soon began. Since the death of Becket, the struggle between church and state had been almost suspended. At his death nine sees were vacant, which enabled Henry 11. to pack the episcopate with his nominees, with the result that, during the remainder of his reign and those of his sons, the ecclesiastical bishops of the type of Theobald or Gilbert Foliot disappeared, and were replaced by a set of official bishops of the type of William Longchamp and Hubert Walter, among whom St. Hugh of Avalon, appointed bishop of Lincoln in 1186, was quite an exception. In 1205 Hubert Walter died, and John naturally expected to replace him by one of his own friends. It happened, however, that the right of electing the archbishop of Canterbury had been for some time in dispute. It was claimed as their exclusive privilege by the monks of the abbey of Christ Church; but a concurrent voice at least was also demanded by the suffragan bishops of the province of Canterbury. For some time, however, the difficulty had been got over by a compromise. In the case of Becket the actual election seems to have been made by the monks, and the bishops gave their consent, thus affording Gilbert Foliot an opportunity for his remonstrance. In no other see did the bishops claim to interfere. Usually the election was made by the chapter, and the king gave or refused his consent to their choice, as when Henry 11. refused to admit Gerald the Welshman as bishop of St. Davids when his name was presented by the chapter.

However, on Hubert's death the junior monks of the cathedral priory of Christ Church, thinking to elude the interference both of the king and of the bishops, secretly held a meeting, and without even the king's licence to elect chose Reginald their sub-prior, a man of no mark whatever. In pursuance of their plot they hurried off Reginald to Rome to ask the pallium from the pope, after making him promise not to assume his dignity till he had made sure of the pope's goodwill. The vanity, however, of Reginald got the better of his discretion, and directly he landed on the Continent he assumed the state and with it the slowness of an archbishop-elect. News of his proceedings, therefore, reached England, and the bishops had time to reach Rome and anticipate Reginald's request by a protest against his election. John, too, was not idle. He summoned a formal meeting of the monks and insisted on their electing John de Grey, one of his officials, and a man of much military and administrative ability. That done, he despatched twelve of the monks to Rome, and made them swear to elect no one but John de Grey. After carefully hearing the case, Innocent set aside the

Death of
Hubert
Walter.

Election of
an Arch-
bishop.

Reginald the
Sub-Prior.

Election of
John de
Grey.

claims of the suffragan bishops, but declared both elections to be invalid : that of Reginald as secret and without the king's licence ; that of de Grey as premature, having been held before Reginald's was annulled. He then persuaded the monks to elect Stephen Langton, an Englishman of distinguished learning and irreproachable character, well known to John. He had been rector of the university of Paris, had been raised by Innocent to the cardinalate and employed by him in the most important business of the papacy.

Election of
Stephen
Langton.

In spite, however, of the great superiority of his candidate, Innocent's action was most high-handed, and John refused to receive Langton, Innocent proceeded to consecrate Langton in 1207; and, on John's further persisting, in 1208 he put the country under an interdict. The ecclesiastical weapon had first been employed on a large scale in the eleventh century. It consisted in forbidding all religious services except baptism and extreme unction. Marriages could not be celebrated, and the dead were placed without service in unconsecrated ground. An exception in favour of the chapels of the Templars was the only one allowed. It had been found extremely effective in moving public opinion against recalcitrant kings and lawless barons, and had recently been used with great effect against Philip Augustus. John, however, cared little about it, and retaliated by seizing the property of all the priests and orders that obeyed it; so, in 1209, Innocent went a step further, and excommunicated John himself. John's reply was to seize the property of the bishops. With the money thus taken from the church, John raised large forces, and took the opportunity to settle his outstanding difficulties with the Scots, the Irish, and the Welsh. He compelled the king of Scots to do him homage, to permit him as overlord to arrange the marriages of his son and daughters, and to pay him £10,000. In Ireland he reduced the barons to order, divided the Pale into counties, ordered English law to be observed, and left John de Grey in charge as governor ; and he compelled the submission of Llewelyn, prince of Wales.

The
Interdict.

Finding John still obdurate, the pope proceeded, in 1211, to issue a threat of deposition. This soon brought matters to a crisis. Hitherto the laity had looked on in silence, but the threat of deposition brought their smouldering discontent to a head; and, from this time forward, a distinct movement for his expulsion seems to have grown up, of which the most obvious mark was the circulation of a prophecy of Peter the Hermit of Wakefield, that within a year John would cease to be king. All 1212 Philip was collecting his forces, and, though John was doing the same, he became more and more aware that

Threat to
depose John.

his position was hopeless. It was true that he had a force of 60,000 men and a fleet strong enough, on paper, to beat off any invasion ; but his real difficulty arose from the disaffection of his people. The church he had set utterly against him ; the nobles he had disgusted not only by systematically calling for scutage and other imposts more frequently and of larger amounts than had ever been known before, but also by seizing their castles and demanding their children as hostages for their good behaviour and, above all, by the unblushing brutality with which he outraged their family life for the gratification of his lusts.

It was clear, therefore, to John that unless he could divide his enemies he would be lost; so, in 1213, he made up his mind, at all hazards, to secure the pope as his friend. The price the pope demanded was high, but John did not shrink ; and he actually agreed to hold England as a fief of the papacy, to swear fealty to the pope, and to pay a yearly sum of 1000 marks. No act of John's has been more severely condemned by posterity than this ; but it is fair to remember that the kings of Sicily and Aragon held their territories on similar terms without experiencing serious inconvenience, and that in the eyes of some of the nobility it may even have appeared an advantage to have the pope to appeal to as overlord. At any rate they took the advantage of their right, and no serious objection seems to have been raised to John's action at the time.

John makes terms with the Pope.

The immediate result of John's submission was an order from the pope to Philip to stop his proceedings. The French king, therefore, turned his attention to Flanders, and John took the opportunity to despatch an English fleet under his half-brother William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, which destroyed the French vessels in the harbour of Damme, and removed all fear of invasion. Elated by this success, John called on his barons to serve in an invasion of France; but his barons had no real trust either in his intentions or his capacity, and excused themselves on the ground that the sentence of excommunication had not yet been removed. To get rid of this difficulty, John then agreed to give full compensation to those who had been injured during the interdict, and received Langton. Having thus purchased his release, he again called on his vassals to cross the Channel, and himself reached Jersey. The barons, however, again refused to embark ; some on the special ground that their term of service had expired ; but the northern barons took up the general ground that John had no right to demand their services for foreign warfare. Furious at this plea, John returned home, but was met by a demand preferred by Langton that the offenders should be tried by their peers; and his expedition to the north

The barons refuse to invade France.

effected nothing. Meanwhile, the justiciar, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, had summoned at St. Albans a remarkable assembly, composed both of the magnates and of the reeve and four villeins from each manor on the royal domain. The special object of their coming was to assess the damage done to the clergy, but many other matters were discussed, and eventually the justiciar gave orders that the laws of Henry i. should be observed. Three weeks later, Langton carried matters a step further by reading to the barons assembled at St. Paul's the charter of Henry i. This gave just the definiteness to the demands of the barons which had hitherto been needed, and it was at once determined to compel John to give some such charter as a proof of his intention to rule better for the future.

Almost directly afterwards Geoffrey Fitz-Peter died. The death of this faithful servant, who had on the whole preserved the traditions of Henry II., was felt by John as a relief. 'When he gets to hell,' said he, 'let him go and salute Hubert Walter, for, by God's Feet, now am I for the first time king and lord of England.' Innocent III. had foiled John's attempt to place a creature of his own at Canterbury; over the justiciarship he had no such control, and John gave it to Peter des Roches, a Poitevin, whom he had made bishop of Winchester, and who since his struggle with the church had aided and abetted him in all his measures. His appointment removed all hope that the king's violence might be kept under control, and showed the barons that they must trust to themselves alone.

The next year, 1214, was spent by John mostly on the Continent; but for all that it was the critical year in the history of the struggle. A great league had been formed by him with Otto, the emperor, and Ferrand, count of Flanders, with a view to crushing Philip; and, this done, England's turn would come next. John himself went to Poitou; but an English force under Salisbury was sent to join Otto and Ferrand in an attack upon Philip in Flanders. The allied forces met at Bouvines, and Philip won a complete victory, capturing both the count of Flanders and the earl of Salisbury. Few battles have had more far-reaching effects, both on Continental and English politics. John was forced at once to make a truce with Philip for five years, and to return to England to face the storm of opposition.

He found the barons determined to enforce their rights, which had been formulated as the laws of King Edward with the other liberties granted by Henry I. To gain time, he put them off with a promise to answer their demands at Easter; and meanwhile he did what he could to sow dissension, and to strengthen himself for the struggle. He fortified

Death of
Geoffrey
Fitz-Peter.

Battle of
Bouvines.

Barons
demand
the Laws
of King
Edward.

his castles; brought over a crowd of foreign mercenaries from Poitou and Brabant; appealed for protection to the pope; made a desperate effort to win over Langton and the clergy by granting freedom of election to episcopal sees and religious houses; demanded an oath of allegiance from every freeman throughout England, and a renewal of fealty from every feudal tenant; and, finally, put himself under the special protection of the church by taking the cross as a crusader.

The barons, however, were too strong for him. With the full consent of the archbishop, they mustered their forces at Stamford. The host numbered two thousand knights, besides squires and foot-

The Cobles
prepare for

men, and was under the leadership of Eustace de Vesci and Nicholas de Stuteville, leaders of the northern barons; Robert

Fitz-Walter, who, as grandson of Richard de Lucy, may be taken to represent the official nobility of Henry 11.; Roger Bigod of Norfolk and Henry Bohun of Hereford, representing the old nobility; and William Marshall, Pembroke's son. Thence under the command of Fitz-Walter they marched south, and from Brackley sent commissioners to the king to set forth their demands. These were reported to John by the archbishop and William Marshall; but John's angry exclamation, 'They might as well have asked my crown,' showed that he would only yield to force. The barons, therefore, marched on. Before long, however, it was clear that they had the nation at their back. The publication of their demands was received with enthusiasm. The Londoners welcomed them with open arms. Even John's most faithful followers, such as the earl of Pembroke and Ralf of Chester, felt that his case was desperate, and, coming to London, threw their influence into the national scale. John found himself deserted by all but foreigners like Peter des Roches, and mere mercenaries like Folkes de Breaut6,

The Great
Charter
signed.

and, brought to bay at last, was obliged to agree to the demands of the nation and affix his signature to the Great Charter, which he did at Runnymede, near Windsor, on

June 15th, 1215. The demands of the barons, to which John now gave his consent, form the Great Charter. This document contains altogether sixty-three clauses, and deals with the church, the baronage, the collection of aids and scutages, the administration of justice, purveyance, trade, and a variety of other points, some of permanent and others of only temporary interest. The most important of John's concessions were these:—

The church of England was 'to be free and have all its rights,' especially the newly-granted right of 'freedom of election.' It should

be noted, however, that no attempt was made to define the rights of the church; and with regard to elections, such important matters could not be left wholly to the caprice of the cathedral clergy and the monks. What the king lost the pope gained; but in practice **The Church.** the pope was generally willing to nominate the prelate whom the king wished, and this continued to be the case down to the Reformation.

The feudal dues were fixed. In the charter of Henry i. it had been conceded that reliefs should be 'just and lawful.' This had not been found sufficiently definite, and the relief was now fixed for **Feudal Dues.** an earl or baron at £100 for each whole barony, and for knights at 100 shillings for each whole knight's fee of twenty pounds a year in value. The estates of minors were for the future to be well managed, and the buildings kept in repair. Not more than a fair profit was to be made, and when the heir came of age the estate was to be handed over to him without a relief. Heiresses and heirs were not to be contracted in marriage without notice being given to their relations, and widows were not to be married against their will.

No aids and scutages were to be collected, 'unless by the common consent of the realm,' except 'for redeeming the lord's body from captivity, for the making his eldest son a knight, and for **Aids and Scutages.** the first marriage of his eldest daughter.' Any other aids and scutages were to be voted by a council,' to which were to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons by sealed letters.' A general summons was also to be issued through all sheriffs and bailiffs to the other tenants-in-chief, and the letters were to state the cause why the meeting was to be held. The result of this concession was to secure the feudal landowners as a class from the illegal exaction of feudal dues. It cannot, however, be taken as forbidding arbitrary taxation in general, but only as an important step in that direction. The assembly also was a strictly feudal assembly, composed entirely of tenants-in-chief, present in their own persons, and was in no way representative. It forms, however, an important step in the growth of parliament. Another very important provision connected with the land was that no tenant by knight service, or by any free tenure, could be asked to perform any service to which he was not bound, a wide-reaching phrase, which probably points to the vexed question of foreign service.

As has been noted, the higher courts of the country were developed out of the Curia Regis. This court went with the king or with the justiciar (when the king was abroad) wherever he might happen to **The Law Courts.** go, which was a great source of hardship to suitors, for, as the king was incessantly travelling, they might have to journey from

one end of England to the other before their suit could be heard. To remedy this, it was arranged that the Court of Common Pleas should always stay at a fixed place. The place ultimately chosen was Westminster, where lay one of the king's chief palaces. In time the other chief courts, the King's Bench and Exchequer, settled at the same place; and Westminster Hall, built by William Rufus, continued for centuries to be the headquarters of English judicature till the erection of the New Law Courts in 1882.

It was also settled that the justices-in-Eyre were to make their circuits four times a year, so that suitors should not be kept waiting.

Justices-in-Eyre. At these assizes, the judges dealt with criminal prisoners, with all cases of recent dispossession of property (novel disseisin), with questions arising out of succession to landed property (*mort d'ancestor*) and with matters concerning presentation to livings (*darrein presentment*). Such cases were to be decided by a jury, and all fines were to be similarly assessed.

'No free man,' ran the xxxix. clause, *is to be taken or imprisoned, or deprived of his property, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any way molested,

Habeas Corpus. nor will we go upon or send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his equals, or by the law of the land.'

This celebrated clause must not be taken as conferring any new right; but simply as restating in the fullest terms what had been in theory and usually in practice the right of every Englishmen from the earliest recorded days. The difficulty, however, lay not in stating the law but in carrying it into effect, and many centuries had to elapse before this elementary right was secure for every class. By the law of the land was meant the judgment by the ordeal, then on the point of being abolished, or trial by battle. Scarcely less important was the xl.: 'To none will we sell, to none will we deny right or justice.'

An attempt was made to get rid of the abuses of purveyance, by which the kings could require the services of carriages and carts, and to be supplied with provisions at the market rate; but as the right of pre-emption was preserved, there was still plenty of room for abuse. London was to have the same rights with regard to aids and scutages as the barons, and other towns were to keep their charters.

Merchants were to come and go freely into the kingdom, and to be subject to no exactions. Those of states with which we were at war were to be treated by us as we found that our merchants were treated by them.

One of the best features of the Charter was the way in which every

right granted to a baron was carefully extended to include the case of the simple freeman. The stock of the merchant and tradesman, and the agricultural implements of the villein, are preserved from undue amercement just as much as the land of the lord. His property was to go to his heirs as much as that of the landowner; and, finally, by a most comprehensive enactment, the barons and clergy agreed that every liberty granted by the king to his tenants should be observed by them towards their men.

Mesne-
Tenants.

These provisions and many others, which concerned every class of the population, form the substance of the Great Charter, which has ever since been regarded by Englishmen as the foundation of their liberties. In later times it took the position in popular esteem which had hitherto been held by the 'laws of Henry i.' or the 'laws of King Edward,' and has been confirmed over and over again.

To ensure that its provisions should be carried out, a committee of twenty-five barons was appointed, including Robert Fitz-Walter, Eustace de Vesci, Roger Bigod, Henry Bohun, and the mayor of London; and a copy of it was sent to every county and to every important church and town in the kingdom, some of which copies are still extant.

Carrying
out and
Publication
of Charter.

No sooner, however, was the Charter agreed to than John set about freeing himself from his oath. Flying secretly to the Isle of Wight, he hurried off Pandulf, the papal legate, to represent to Innocent the injury done to the interests of the crown, and therefore indirectly to the papacy itself. Pandulf did his work well. The pope granted the necessary dispensation. He also threatened to excommunicate the barons for levying war on a crusader, and for exacting concessions detrimental to the honour of the Holy See; and, finally, suspended Langton, whose conduct had naturally been painted in the blackest colours, from the exercise of his episcopal functions. In September, Langton left England to lay the case before the pope.

The Pope
frees John
from his
Oath.

John on his side was not idle. The granting of the Charter had satisfied the wishes of his opponents, and such faithful friends as the earls of Pembroke, Chester, and Salisbury were willing to give him a further chance. He himself, however, could think of nothing but mere revenge. All summer he was collecting troops, and after harvest was over he sent a body of foreign mercenaries, under the command of Falkes de Breaute, to harry the estates of the barons with fire and sword, and himself, spreading devastation as he marched, crossed the border to ravage Scotland, in revenge

John
ravages the
Estates of
the Barons.

for the young King Alexander's adherence to the side of the popular party.

Dismayed at the ruin of their estates, and apparently unable by their own resources to make head against John's trained mercenaries, the barons, at the close of 1215, offered the crown to Louis, eldest son of Philip Augustus, and husband of Blanche of France. (see page 168). By him it was accepted in the alleged right of his wife. John's great fleet having been destroyed in a storm, seven thousand Frenchmen landed in November; and in February another band of Frenchmen sailed up the Thames and joined the barons in London. In May, Louis followed, and his arrival off Sandwich with six hundred and eighty knights was the signal for a precipitate retreat of John. Want of resolution in imminent danger was one of the most salient features of the king's character; but in this case he may have felt doubtful whether his French mercenaries would fight against the son of their king. Kavaging as he went, John retreated to Winchester; and meanwhile Louis made his way to London, where he was received with enthusiasm by the barons and citizens. The young prince made a very good impression, and won popularity by making Simon Langton, a brother of the archbishop, his chancellor. The French mercenaries, of whom John's army was largely composed, refused to fight against him. Alexander of Scotland travelled to Dover to do him homage. William of Salisbury and other earls declared for Louis; and for a time it seemed as though John would be completely deserted.

A reaction, however, set in. Though Louis was received by the open country, the castles were all held for John. An attempt to seize Dover, commanded by Hubert de Burgh, ended in failure, and John's Successes. wasted three months of valuable time. A siege of Windsor was equally fruitless; while a report, which was industriously circulated, that if Louis were successful his first act would be to rid himself of all those barons who had taken arms against their lawful sovereign, spread consternation among his followers. For some time John remained in the south; but at the end of September he marched north, ravaging as he went, and took the city of Lincoln. Thence he went by way of Peterborough to Lynn, where he had placed much of his treasure.

Disasters at the Wash. From Lynn he marched back into Lincolnshire, across the sands of the Wash; but in crossing the channel of the Welland his baggage was overwhelmed in a whirlpool, caused by the violent collision between the waters of that river and the incoming tide.

Prostrate with vexation, John made his way to the abbey of Swineshead, and there, according to the story, he endeavoured after his fashion to drown his grief in a hearty supper. The result was a fever. With difficulty he reached Newark, and there died on October 19th, 1216, leaving behind him the name of the worst king who ever reigned in England, and one of the worst men who have ever disgraced our race. Had he lived he would probably have lost his throne : his death at this crisis saved the kingdom for his descendants.

CHIEF DATES.

Loss of Normandy, ...	.1204
Hubert Walter dies, ...	.1205
John does homage to the Pope, ...	1218
Battle of Bouvines.	.1214
Great Charter, ...	.1215

CHAPTER IV

HENRY in.: 1216-1272.

Born 1207 ; married, 1236, Eleanor of Provence.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

<i>Scotland,</i>	<i>France,</i>	<i>Emperors,</i>
William the Lion, d. 1214.	Philip Augustus, d. 1223.	Otto rv., d. 1218.
Alexander ii., d. 1249.	Louis vui., d. 1226.	Frederick u., d. 126a
Alexander III., d. 1286.	Louis IX., d. 1270.	
	Philip III., d. 1285.	
	<i>ropes,</i>	
	Honorius III., d. 1227 ; Innocent iv., 1241, d. 1254; Alexander rv., d. 1261.	

The Regency of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke—His place taken by Hubert de Burgh—Henry takes the Rule into his own hands, governs badly, and allows himself to fall into the hands of Favourites—Rise of a Baronial Party under Simon de Montfort—The Barons' Wars.

THE reaction against Louis, of which some symptoms had appeared before John's death, made rapid progress after the removal of the Henry's tyrant. The wickedness of John and the enmities which advantages. his personal character had created were buried in his tomb, while the innocence of his eldest son Henry, now only in his tenth year, called for the protection of all good subjects. It took time, however, for a new royal party to be formed, and at first the supporters of the king were outnumbered by those of Louis. No time was lost by Pembroke in putting Henry's rights on a legal footing, and on October 28th he was crowned at Gloucester, and did homage to Gualo, the papal legate, as representative of the pope. That done, a council was held, in which the magnates, following the practice of the kingdom of Jerusalem, elected the earl as *rector regis et regni*, ruler of the king and kingdom, while the king's person was intrusted to Peter des Roches. To gain support and to break definitely with the evil traditions of the late reign, the royalists then took the judicious step of publishing so much of the Charter as met with general approval and presented no special difficulty in execution. They omitted.

however, the clauses about taxation—perhaps as too hampering to the government at such a crisis as a civil war-- and those dealing with the forests and some other matters, all of which were postponed for future consideration.

The conduct of the war next claimed their attention. With the exception of Dover Castle, which the bravery of Hubert de Burgh had maintained for the royalists, Louis was supreme in the south-western shires. Elsewhere also he had many supporters in the open country and in the towns ; but the castles of the midlands and the north were all in royalist hands—and in those days the possession of the castles was the real test of military superiority. The citizens of Lincoln, for example, were eagerly in his favour, but the castle was held for the royalists, and till it was taken the town could not be left unprotected. In December, Louis was obliged to pay a visit to France, and his departure was the signal for the desertion of the earl of Salisbury and William Marshall, Pembroke's son, who threw in their lot with the young king. In April he returned, and at once despatched the count of Perche to aid Robert Fitz-Walter in the siege of Lincoln, while he himself resumed the attack on Dover. Perche's march was a scene of terrible outrage, for Louis' foreigners showed themselves as unscrupulous plunderers as those of John. To relieve Lincoln, Pembroke collected a powerful force. Passing round the town, he stormed the northern gate, assisted by a sally from the castle, took the besiegers in the rear, threw them into confusion in the narrow, winding, and steep streets of the town, and completely routed them. Perche was killed and Fitz-Walter was taken prisoner. To punish the citizens for their disloyalty, the town was then sacked ; and so great was the booty that the battle was long remembered as ' Lincoln Fair.'

**Louis's
Position.**

**Battle of
Lincoln.**

The disaster at Lincoln destroyed Louis' military supremacy, and forced him to return to London; but he still had hopes of the arrival of a fleet of eighty vessels under Eustace the Monk, with the reinforcements collected by the energy of his wife Blanche. By this time, however, the indefatigable Hubert de Burgh had supplied the loss of John's fleet by collecting another at Dover. He had only forty ships, but with these he boldly sallied out, on August 24th, and, making up by skill for his want of numbers, took the ' weather-gauge' of the French by a clever manoeuvre, and, as his men grappled the French vessels, he ordered them to throw quicklime in the eyes of their defenders. This new method of attack took the Frenchmen by surprise. The rout of their fleet was complete ; their leader was killed, and Louis' last hope ruined.

**Battle of
Dover.**

The victory was a signal for a general advance of the royalists; and

Louis saw that nothing was to be gained from continuing the struggle. On September 11th, the treaty of Lambeth brought hostilities to a close ; and within a few weeks Louis had left the country. The treaty of Lambeth is almost as important as the Great Charter itself. It was based on the principle of a general amnesty for the past, and the restitution of all forfeited property. Ten thousand marks were paid to Louis, nominally for his expenses, in reality to secure his speedy departure; and shortly afterwards Pembroke and Gualo wisely issued a new edition of the Great Charter, and also a Charter of the forests, which included not only the articles relating to forest law embodied in the original form of the charter, but other regulations which probably made it almost as popular a document as the Great Charter itself. When for the future the confirmation of the charters was demanded, the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forests are the two meant.

These events occupied the year 1217. At the close of that year, Gualo, who seems to have worked in harmony with Pembroke, and to whom some praise is certainly due for his share in these pacificatory measures, left the kingdom, and his place was taken by Pandulf, an inferior man, who remained till 1221. However, in 1218, Langton returned to England, and, till his death in 1229, had the chief ecclesiastical power. In 1219 Pembroke died, leaving behind him a reputation not only for unflinching loyalty but also for priceless services to the country at large. No 'rector' was appointed in his place, but the chief power was exercised by Hubert de Burgh, who had been justiciar since 1215. Hubert was the last of the great statesmen trained under Henry 11., and his rule from 1219 to 1232 was a period of great importance. His chief task was to complete Pembroke's measures by getting all the castles back again into the king's hands, and also of ridding England of such lawless foreigners as Falkes de Breaute, whom Pembroke had been obliged to tolerate as the price of their military services.

In achieving his first object, the chief obstacle was the action of William of Aumale, who repeated the conduct of his grandfather in 1155, and refused to give up his castles. He was abetted by the earl of Chester, and also by Falkes, and probably had the secret support of Peter des Roches, who was jealous of Hubert's authority. The years 1220 and 1221 were mainly occupied in dealing with him, but at length he was reduced to complete submission. Falkes' turn came next. This rascal, a refugee from Normandy, had been John's right-hand man, and as such had been rewarded

with everything his master had to offer. He had married an heiress, had received numerous estates ; he was sheriff of six counties, and had the custody of several castles, notably that of Bedford. This he intrusted to his brother William, a man as lawless as himself, who actually ventured to imprison one of the king's judges because he had condemned him to pay a fine at Dunstable assizes. Hubert immediately marched to besiege the castle.

The siege of Bedford Castle was a most formidable undertaking, and typical of the warfare of the time. The defences consisted of an outwork or barbican, of an inner wall, and of the keep itself. It was amply provisioned and garrisoned, and Falkes expected it to hold out for twelve months. The attack began in midsummer. Hubert erected against it two wooden towers, from the tops of which the archers could shoot down on the defenders of the outer works, and with their aid the barbican was assaulted and taken. Then seven military engines were brought to bear upon the inner wall. That, too, was forced, and the cattle and horses of the garrison fell into the hands of the besiegers. Finally, under the protection of a machine called a cat, the sappers began operations and undermined the huge walls of the keep itself. One corner sank, and a vast rent appeared in the walls. The garrison then sued for mercy, but Hubert wished to give a lesson to such as they. Eighty of the leaders were hanged, the rest driven from the country, and the castle itself was razed to the ground. Falkes himself then gave up the game and was allowed to relieve the country of his presence by a permanent exile. The discomfiture of his friends discouraged des Roches; and after 1224 he had little influence for some years, and, being dismissed from the chancellorship in 1227, left the country to take part in the Crusades.

In 1227, Henry, who was then twenty, declared himself of age to govern. His minority, besides the stirring events already mentioned, was remarkable for several advances in the unwritten law. During its continuance there springs into evidence an inner circle of advisers, who revived in a somewhat different form the political as distinguished from the judicial powers of the old Curia Regis. The appointment of the regent by the common council appears to be the beginning of a claim for the nation, as represented by the council, to have a voice in the appointment of ministers ; and, lastly, the distinction naturally drawn between a boy king, who could in no way be responsible for the policy of the government, and the ministers themselves, seems to have been the origin of the maxim that ' the king can do no wrong.'

Siege of
Bedford.

Henry
comes of
age.

The character of the new sovereign presents a curious group of anomalies. Avoiding altogether the personal wickedness of his father, Henry derived from him the faithlessness and cunning which had been shown by many of the Angevin race. He had, too, his father's capacity for exciting personal enmity ; but lacked his ability and capacity for vigorous action. He had no military tendencies and no special political ideas except gratitude and attachment to the papacy, and dislike of the influence of strong men. In private life, however, his character was blameless. A fondness for extravagant display was his chief fault, and was to some extent redeemed by his fondness for architecture, literature, and culture. In personal appearance he was slight, and a droop of one eyelid gave an unhappy expression to his face.

Under his personal rule, Hubert continued to act as justiciar for five years longer; but in 1228 he lost a good supporter by the death of Archbishop Langton, whose death was at once followed by an attempt of the pope to raise a regular revenue from England.

Papal Taxes. Already he received 1000 marks a year as overlord, and .£199,8s. in Peter's Pence, paid in a certain fixed sum for each diocese. These sums, however, were inadequate to support the expenditure of the popes. This had been enormously increased by the necessities of their temporal possessions, the mass of business which the energy of Innocent H I . had accumulated in their hands, and by the constant wars in which his successors, Gregory ix. and Innocent iv., were involved with the Emperor Frederick n. The first taxes raised from the clergy had been collected, nominally at least, for the Crusades, on the principle that if the laity of Europe fought for the holy cause the clergy of Europe ought at least to provide the money ; but the practice once begun, call after call was made, and eventually even the pretence of a crusade was dropped. The right of the pope to demand such payment was based on the analogy of feudalism, and the taxes were supposed to correspond to the aids paid to the temporal lord. In England the pope, as overlord, proposed to exact money from both the laity and the clergy, and in 1229 Gregory ix. demanded

Refusal of the Laity. a tenth of all property for the war against the emperor. He was, however, met by such a firm refusal from the former, headed by Ranulf of Chester, that he had to give way ; but the clergy were compelled to yield, and eventually had to set aside for the pope the tenth of their yearly income and the first year's emoluments of all benefices. These sums were called annates and first-fruits.

Annates and First-fruits. In addition to these, special gifts were sometimes asked; and under Gregory ix. the demands were so exorbitant that

the laity began to remonstrate at the impoverishment of the country. In 1237, Cardinal Otho came over, and, in spite of the irritation of the clergy and people, collected vast sums for the papal treasury; and, in 1243, at the council of Lyons, the English complained that 60,000 marks a year went into the hands of the pope and the foreign clergy. Besides this direct taxation, the pope supplied his needs indirectly by paying his servants with English livings, just as the kings had paid their justiciars and chancellors by getting them made bishops.

This system was called *provisors*, and created great indignation on the part of the patrons whose rights were thus invaded. The laity were the first to remonstrate. A Yorkshire knight, Sir Robert Twenge, had the public spirit to go to Rome and lay his case before the pope; and his remonstrances were so far successful that the pope promised henceforth to confine his interference to livings in the gift of the clergy. Their case was then taken up by Robert Grossetete, bishop of Lincoln, and eventually the pope promised to atone the practice—a promise, however, which was ill kept.

Provisors

It was during the sordid controversies between the pope and the ancient and wealthy ecclesiastical orders of endowed clergy that a change little short of a religious revolution was being introduced into England by the arrival of the mendicant friars of the orders of

Rise of the
Friars.

St. Francis and St. Dominic, and their later rivals the Carmelites and the Augustinians. The founders of the two former, St. Francis (1182-1226), St. Dominic (1170-1221), had been struck by two phases of contemporary life with which the church as it then existed seemed powerless to deal. Dominic, as a Spaniard, orthodox, rigid, dogmatic, mourned the heresy which he saw spreading among the town populations of southern France, and believed the only remedy for it was to be found in an order of popular preachers: men who should be able to meet the heretical ministers on their own ground, and should show by their devotion, their poverty, and their learning that Christianity had something more to offer than was apparent in the lives of gorgeous ecclesiastics wholly immersed in secular business, or fat monks and abbots whose highest ideal was to withdraw themselves into the solitude and sanctity of their cloister and leave the world to get on as best it could.

St. Dominic

St Francis, on the other hand, an Italian, the son of a merchant of Assisi, was struck, not with the heresy of the upper classes, but with the irreligion and misery of the squalid population, whom the growth of commerce and the tyranny of the rural nobility were accumulating in the towns. He saw that the authorities of these were wholly incapable of dealing with the sanitary difficulties inherent to

St. Francis.

the rapid growth of population in a limited area, and that the clergy were quite inadequate either in numbers or zeal to grapple with a problem so rapidly increasing both in magnitude and difficulty. But though they approached the subject from different points of view, Francis and Dominic were practically in accord as to the methods to be adopted. Both placed their reliance on the creation of an order of preaching brothers, who were to live on the alms given them by the poor among whom they were sent; both abandoned the monkish idea of a religious life of country seclusion; and both sent their disciples to preach, at any rate in the first instance, to the mass of squalid, heterodox, irreligious humanity which weltered in the unutterable filth and the pestilential atmosphere of the purlieus of mediæval towns. But though, in general, their objects were the same, a gradually widening distinction existed

between the two. The Dominican always made preaching ^{The} Dominicans. against heresy his great object; the Franciscan took a broader view of his duty, and soon the old saying 'nothing that concerns humanity is outside my sphere of interest' might be taken as their motto. Dominic, as a profound student of theology, was naturally in

favour of that study; but St Francis, with somewhat of a ^{The} Franciscans. practical tradesman's contempt for literary culture, interdicted or at any rate discouraged study among his followers, and wished them to devote themselves entirely to a life of action. Facts, however, were too strong for St. Francis. Before long, his followers found that if they were really to aid the diseased, the lepers, and the maimed, they must study anatomy and the science of medicine—and in doing so they became the first physicians in the world; that if they would cope with the sharp wits of the townspeople they must not neglect their logic; and consequently, if the Dominicans have to boast the great names of Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great, the Franciscans may glory in those of Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham.

The Dominicans arrived in England before 1221; the Franciscans in 1224; but the success of the two orders was by no means equal. The

^{The Friars} English were not given to heresy, and the black friars found in England. more scope among the Albigenses of Toulouse than on the banks of the Thames; but for the Franciscans there was ample work, and in a short time these grey friars became by far the most popular of all the orders. Soon every town in England had its convent of grey friars, invariably built like a mission chapel of the present day in the lowest slums, and from it there issued forth, two and two, a band of devoted men eager to help their poor neighbours in every possible way, as preachers, doctors, comforters, or friends. The influence of such a

body was enormous, for the friars held, in the thirteenth century, the position held now by the press. Their sermons took the place of the leading article ; the arrival of a friar from Oxford or London was the event of the day ; his opinions represented the latest news ; and, as he was thoroughly democratic in habits and tone, the influence of the friars gave an enormous impetus to the spread of popular ideas and the formation of public opinion.

Hubert de Burgh, the great justiciar, fell in 1232. Earl Ranulf, whose spirited action in 1229 defeated the papal schemes, was by no means a good friend to Hubert de Burgh. Representing as he did the last of the great barons of the Norman Conquest, there was much in Hubert's policy which galled him ; and, in 1232, he made common cause with Peter des Roches, who had come home in 1231, to induce Henry to dismiss his minister. Hubert had many enemies. His great wealth excited the cupidity of some ; his marriage with a sister of the king of Scots aroused the envy of others ; his stern enforcement of law and order gained him the hatred of a third section ; and Henry, whose habitual dislike of any powerful adviser was beginning to show itself, was won over by their representations. In 1232, Hubert was suddenly dismissed, and a long series of charges, not unlike those made by Henry II. against Becket, were brought against the fallen minister. Before the trial Hubert took sanctuary in a church. Henry had a moat dug round it and starved him into surrender. He was then stripped of most of his wealth and placed in honourable confinement. From this he escaped, but made no attempt to regain his power, and died in 1234. Hubert de Burgh was the last of the line of great justiciars. After his fall the importance of the office declined, mainly because the king was of full age and, having hardly any continental dominions, was constantly in England. The name gradually drops out of sight, and the chancellor became the most important of the king's officers.

After Hubert's fall, Henry took the conduct of affairs into his own hands, and twenty-six years of bad government followed. This was partly due to Henry's own character, but was partly due to changes which were taking place in the country, and which required to be met by corresponding changes in the method of government, and these Henry had not the genius to supply. William the Conqueror and Henry II. had found a great source of power in their wealth, which arose partly from the large extent of the crown lands, and partly from being able to levy aids, and afterwards scutages, practically at will. But the extravagance of Richard and John had stripped the crown of a large part of its possessions, while, though the clauses about

aids and scutages had been omitted when the Great Charter had been re-published, the king had found it in practice impossible to levy these taxes without the consent of the tenants. The king, therefore, was continually pressed for money. One result of this was that he could not provide himself with a standing army of foreign mercenaries, which meant that he had to rely for defence against insurrection on the personal following of Englishmen whom he could get to support his measures. That is to say, he depended for support upon public opinion. Henceforward, a king, like a prime minister of our own day, had to keep together a party strong enough to support him ; and the future success of Henry and his successors for many years depended on the question, whether or not they were able to get the confidence of the nation and produce an irresistible king's party.

Besides the general causes of poverty, special reasons operated in Henry's case; for his weakness and good-nature, combined with an utterly false reputation for wealth, made him the continual prey of adventurers of every class, who regarded his kingdom as a happy hunting-ground for people whose claims were unrecognised in their own countries. Indeed, Henry was told to his face that England had become like a vineyard whose fence was broken, so that all that go by pluck off her grapes. For example, the very first use made by Peter des Roches of the fall of Hubert de Burgh was to dismiss the English servants of the court and to replace them by Poitevins. Bretons and Poitcivins, and to lavish upon his countrymen and relations all the patronage on which he could lay his hands. One of these, his nephew, Peter de Rivallis, was treasurer of the chamber in the king's household, dean of Bridgenorth, constable of all the royal castles in Shropshire, sheriff of that county and of Staffordshire for life, and, at one time or other, sheriff of York, Berkshire, Gloucester, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, Lancashire, Northumberland, Essex, Hampshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent.

Such lavish bestowal of favours on foreigners had the natural result of rousing English national feeling ; for the barons, though they might speak French, were now thoroughly English at heart. The natural leader of the opposition would have been Ranulf of Chester, had he not died, in 1232, during the proceedings against Hubert. William Marshall the younger was also dead, so the duty of leadership devolved upon his younger brother Richard Marshall, now earl of Pembroke, a man of excellent character, a good warrior, far-sighted in politics, and of unimpeachable patriotism. Under him the barons declared that, unless

Special
Causes of
Poverty.

Leaders of
the Opposi-
tion.

Richard,
Earl of Pem-
broke.

Henry would dismiss Peter des Roches and his alien counsellors, they would elect a new king. In return, Henry denounced Richard as a traitor; and when he demanded to be tried by his peers, Peter contemptuously asserted that 'there are no peers' in England. On this, the bishops also threw in their lot with the barons, and published a sentence of excommunication against the men who had turned away the king's heart from his natural subjects. Civil war followed, and in October 1233 the king in person was defeated by the earl Richard at Monmouth. The next year, however, the earl was cunningly enticed into Ireland and there slain by treachery. Still the bishops, under Archbishop Edmund Rich, whom the pope had just nominated, persisted in demanding a reform, and the archbishop declared his readiness to excommunicate Henry himself. Before the threats of the church Henry gave way; and, while the earl Richard was on his deathbed in Ireland, Peter des Roches and his friends were dismissed and Hubert de Burgh was restored to his estates. .

Henry had now an opportunity of making a fresh start, but, no sooner had he extricated himself from the evil influence and avarice of Peter des Roches and his Poitevins, than he fell into the hands of a fresh body of claimants for his bounty. In 1236, at the age of twenty-nine, he married Eleanor of Provence, one of the four beautiful daughters of Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, whose sisters married, respectively, Louis ix. of France, Charles of Anjou, afterwards king of Naples, and Henry's young brother Richard, afterwards king of the Romans. She was a high-spirited and passionate woman, devoted to her husband, and setting with him an example of domestic virtue and happiness, but, naturally, ignorant of English life, and incapable of giving her husband any real assistance in his political difficulties. She brought with her her uncles, William of Savoy, bishop-elect of Valence, Boniface of Savoy, and Peter of Savoy, and a train of needy Provencal dependents, attracted by Henry's undeserved reputation for wealth, whom Henry's good-nature soon endowed with as large a share of the public money as had previously been engrossed by the Poitevins. He sought to make William bishop of Winchester in succession to Peter des Roches; Peter became earl of Richmond; and Boniface, on the death of Archbishop Edmund Rich in 1246, was made archbishop of Canterbury.

Nor wore these all. Henry's mother, Isabella of Angouleme, had taken advantage of John's death to marry her old lover, Hugh de la Marche, and had by him a second family of sons and daughters. In 1242, Henry, who was desirous of making a figure on the Continent, was led, all against

the wishes and advice of his English council, to interfere in a quarrel between Hugh and Louis ix. The chief result of this was to give him an opportunity of displaying his military incompetence at the battles of Taillebourg and Saintes, where he was not only defeated, but barely saved from capture by the address of his brother Richard. On his return, however, he was followed by a fresh batch of hungry Poitevins, and some of his half-brothers and sisters, including another William of Valence. Of these, Guy, the eldest, received large sums of money ; William of Valence became earl of Pembroke; Ailmar, or Ethelmar, was elected bishop of Winchester in 1250. The solitary advantage from the expedition was that Henry definitely gave up his claim to Poitou, and was invested formally with the duchy of Guienne, which practically meant the district of Gascony.

Lastly, Henry was in debt to the pope. On the death of the Emperor Frederick 11., in 1250, Innocent iv., who was desirous of getting Naples and Sicily out of the hands of his descendants, made an offer to Henry of that crown for Richard, earl of Cornwall. Frederick, however, had married Richard's sister, and the proposal to rob his own nephew Henry of his inheritance was rejected as dishonourable. But on that prince's death in 1254, Henry accepted the offer for his second son Edmund. He was, however, in no condition to afford so distant an expedition, even had he had the ability to conduct it with success; but the success of the plan required instant action, and the pope, determined to lose no time, carried on the war himself, putting down all the expenses to Henry's account. To this imposition, Henry, with great weakness, submitted, and the consequence was that by the year 1257 Henry's debt to the pope amounted to £135,000.

Bankruptcy, therefore, was impending; and neither at home nor abroad had Henry any record of achievements to set against this enormous expenditure. In England, Henry had been acting as his own chief minister. Since 1244 he had had neither treasurer, chancellor, nor justiciar, but had himself carried on the duties of these officials through the hands of their clerks ; but his abilities were quite inadequate for such a system, and the whole machinery of government fell into hopeless confusion. Want of money was as usual at the bottom of his difficulties, and a number of his own servants were convicted of highway robbery, to which they had been driven by the arrears into which their salaries had fallen. The king was constantly wrangling with the chapters about the election of bishoprics; his foreign favourites

and the seneschals of his castle were continually adding to the ill-feeling by their rapacity and insolence ; and it really seemed as though the days of King Stephen were rapidly coming back.

Such a state of affairs naturally roused and spread discontent; but it was difficult for the barons to act without a leader, and since the death of Archbishop Edmund in 1240, no one of the first im-
portance had taken his place. All the sons of the great ^{Want of} a Leader.

William Marshall were dead Hubert de Burgh died in 1234; and the king's younger brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, whose English sympathies and real ability had pointed him out as a possible leader, had, since his marriage with Sancia, the queen's sister, allowed himself to drop out of sight, and even, to some extent, to sympathise with the foreigners. Robert Grossetete, too, died in 1263; while Archbishop Boniface usually resided abroad, and, being a foreigner himself, his sympathies were all the other way. Grumble, however, the barons did; and as the king's necessities compelled him constantly to call meetings of the great council—to which the name parliament, an Italian word, first used of a meeting held in Italy by Frederick Bar-
Parliament.
barossa in 1155, was now gradually being given—they had many opportunities for remonstrance. For instance, in 1244 the earls, barons, and bishops had demanded control over the appointment of ministers. In 1248 they implored him to reappoint the treasurer, chancellor, and justiciar; and the same request was repeated in 1255. Of course the demand was refused; but such a demand showed that the opposition had realised the right way to influence the king's policy, and were slowly feeling their way towards making ministers responsible to the nation. Besides demanding a voice in the appointment of ministers, the opposition made every grant of money an excuse for a fresh demand for the confirmation of the Charters. Henry, however, had an extraordinary elasticity of conscience in regard even to the most solemn oaths, and though in 1253 he was made to say ' So help me, God, all these will I faithfully keep inviolate as I am a man, a Christian, a knight, a crowned and anointed king,' yet in 1255 the old quarrel was raging as before, and the Charters, as usual, were re-confirmed and published.

At length the barons found a leader against the foreigners in the person of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. Oddly ^{Simon da}
enough, Simon was himself a foreigner. He was the ^{Montfort.}
youngest son of another Simon de Montfort, who had led the crusade against the Albigenses. Simon, the elder, was by his mother the nephew and co-heir of the earl of Leicester, who died in the preceding

reign. The strained relations between France and England did not encourage Simon to press his claim, and the lands of the earldom were placed in the custody of Ranulf, earl of Chester. Ranulf, however, was childless, and in view of his death an arrangement was made by which Amaury, the eldest son of Simon, resigned his claims to his younger brother, who was then recognised by Henry as earl of Leicester. The young earl was a man of strong body and active habits, accomplished as the times went, and had inherited the fervent piety that had distinguished his father ; and his worth is best proved by the fact that he was on terms of intimate friendship with all the best men of his time. In the earlier part of his career, however, he showed little promise of being the leader of a national movement. Himself a foreigner, and, comparatively speaking, an upstart, he had little claim on English sympathies, and it was many years before his good qualities won general recognition.

In 1238 Simon married Eleanor, the king's sister, and widow of the younger William Marshall; but this alliance did little to improve his position, and brought him into conflict with the king and with Richard, the king's brother, who looked on the marriage as a disparagement to his sister. From 1240 to 1242 Simon took part in a crusade. He then lived quietly at home till 1248, when he was made seneschal of Gascony. Simon was a stern man, who could ill brook the turbulence of the Gascon nobles, and his attempts at repressing them gained him the same unpopularity among them that had been the lot of Richard I. in his early days (see page 154). Their main reason for preferring the rule of Henry to that of Louis was that the former was farther off, and they bitterly resented the law and order of which the new seneschal made himself the representative. Accordingly they complained to Henry. The king weakly took their side, or, at any rate, ceased to support Simon; and in 1253 he vacated his post and for some time lived abroad.

In 1257, however, Simon was back in England quarrelling with William of Valence, and from that moment began to take a prominent part in the opposition to Henry's ill rule. The time was favourable for effective movement. A widespread feeling of dissatisfaction permeated all ranks. Henry's younger brother Richard, the wealthy earl of Cornwall, had just gone to Germany, where he had been elected king of the Romans. Henry was desperately in debt, the pope was pressing for immediate payment, and when the parliament known as the Mad Parliament met at London in April 1258 he was compelled to put himself into the hands of his barons. Accordingly it was arranged that a committee of twenty-four, chosen half from the royal council and half by the barons, was to enforce all needful reforms, and especially

Simon leads
the Opposi-
tion.

to name a justiciar, chancellor, and treasurer. The king's chief nominees were his nephew, Henry of Cornwall, son of the king of the Romans, and his three half-brothers, the Lusignans; those of the barons the earls of Gloucester, Leicester, Hereford, and Norfolk. Of these the earl of Gloucester, Richard of Clare, was by birth, property, and descent the natural head of the English barons. His grandfather had taken a leading part in extorting the Charter; his own rigorous character brought him to the front, and his influence among the baronage was decidedly higher than that of Simon. After sitting a month in London, parliament adjourned, and after a short recess resumed their sitting at Oxford. There the barons, who on the pretence of the Welsh war had assembled in military array, demanded that all royal castles should be placed in the hands of Englishmen, and that heiresses should be married to natives; and they also complained of the illegal exaction of feudal services, delays of justice, and of the abuse of purveyance.

The first order of the twenty-four, obviously carried over the heads of the foreign members, was that all royal castles should at once be replaced in the king's hands, and to this the foreigners, headed by Henry's half-brothers, refused to submit. Leaving the court, the aliens threw themselves into Winchester Castle and stood a siege. Their resistance, however, was vain, and before the end of July they had all fled the kingdom, carrying with them only 6000 marks. Their departure removed one great obstacle to reform, and afforded Henry a new chance of regaining his popularity.

With his consent, therefore, a new form of government was set up by the provisions of Oxford. The twenty-four agreed that the king should for the future be advised by a permanent council of fifteen, elected indirectly by the original twenty-four. These were to exercise a general supervision over the government, and three times a year they were to confer with another body of twelve chosen for the purpose by the barons. Stringent oaths were imposed on the new officers, and it was arranged that sheriffs and other state officials should hold office for a year only, and should give in their accounts at the close of the year. Sheriffs were for the future to be elected. The leading members of the fifteen were the earls of Gloucester, Leicester, and Norfolk, and of the twelve, the earl of Hereford, John Balliol (founder of Balliol College), and Hugh le Despenser. The provisional government worked much as arranged from 1258 to 1263, the permanent council of fifteen having their three conferences a year with the elected twelve, and between them arranging for the carrying out of the needful reforms.

The chief interruption was caused by the jealousy between the earls of Gloucester and Leicester. The subject is obscure ; but it is generally believed that the earl of Gloucester, looking at things from the merely baronial point of view, was satisfied with the expulsion of the foreigners, and that Earl Simon, taking a more comprehensive and liberal line, wished to carry out such reforms as would make tyranny impossible for the future, whether the tyrants were sovereigns, alien interlopers, or native nobility. In February 1259, a resolution was carried by which the fifteen and the twelve bound themselves and their heirs to observe towards their dependents the same rules which the king had promised to observe towards his vassals, and this is thought to be a victory of Earl Simon over the strictly baronial party. However, in 1262 Richard, earl of Gloucester, died, and his son Gilbert, the new earl, a lad of nineteen, threw himself into the arms of Leicester. Meanwhile the relations between the court and the government had been growing extremely strained. The provisions were naturally hateful to Henry, and two successive popes had given him bulls absolving him from his oath to observe them. Such a state of affairs was certain to end in an appeal to force, but as a last resort the whole question of validity of the provisions was submitted to Louis ix. Louis' uprightness was unquestionable, but he was hardly likely to be a competent judge in - such a case, and his decision, given in what was called the ¹Mise of Amiens,' was that Henry might appoint his own council and employ foreigners, but that he must not violate any * royal charter, privilege, statute, or praiseworthy custom.¹ This gave satisfaction to nobody.

Arbitration having failed, war followed. It is not easy to draw a geographical line between the two parties. Generally speaking, the north, with Devon and Cornwall and the marches of Wales, *i.e.* the poorer districts, were for Henry; the midlands were divided; the south, Cinque Ports, and London, *i.e.* the wealthy parts of the country, were warmly for Simon de Montfort. Almost everywhere it was noted that the middle classes were on his side. Above all, Simon had the hearty support of the friars.

In the war, the chief part was taken by ' the Lord Edward,' eldest son of Henry, now a young man of twenty-four years of age. Edward had plenty of natural ability, and had already enjoyed a considerable experience both of politics and fighting. Shortly after his marriage to Eleanor of Castile in 1254, Henry had put him in possession of the earldom of Chester, henceforward an appanage of the

Leicester
and
Gloucetter.

Quarrel
between the
King and the
Council.

Position of
Parties.

•The Lord
Edward.

crown, and also of Ireland, Gascony, the Channel Islands, and the king's lands in Wales—in short, of all the most troublesome parts of the royal territory. As earl of Chester, the lad had plenty of opportunities of winning his spurs in fighting with Llewelyn, prince of Wales, in his fastnesses of what are now the counties of Anglesea, Carnarvon, and Merionethshire; in keeping order among the lords marcher, who held the rest of modern Wales pretty much as independent chiefs; and in endeavouring to keep up some semblance of government among the Gascons. Here he had had plenty of work; but as it had kept him away from the court, he was in no way mixed up with his father's errors, and when the troubles of 1258 broke out he seems to have approached the questions raised without prejudice. His aid seems to have been expected by those who wished to enlarge the scope of the provisions, and for some time he threw his influence on the side of Simon and against the elder Gloucester, and by so doing offended the king. Several things tended, however, to change his views. In 1263 the young earl of Gloucester refused to do homage to him as heir. The same year the Londoners offered a gross insult to his mother, to whom Edward was devotedly attached. And finally, Simon agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Edward's old enemy Llewelyn. The outbreak of war, therefore, found him on the king's side, along with his uncle Richard, king of the Romans, and his brother-in-law the Earl Warrenne.

The decisive battle was fought at Lewes on May 14, 1264. Edward's men were drawn up in front of the castle on the north side of the town, Richard had the centre, and Henry was posted in front of the priory on the south, when they were attacked by Simon at the head of an army which consisted largely of Londoners. Simon's sons were opposed to the king, Gloucester to Richard, while the Londoners confronted Edward. Delighted at the opportunity of taking vengeance on those who had insulted his mother, Edward charged the citizens with fury and put them to the rout; but while he was engaged in a murderous pursuit, Simon's other troops had routed the royalists, captured the king, and compelled Richard to take refuge in a windmill. This defeat was decisive; and the next day Henry, by the 'Mise of Lewes,' agreed to reconfirm the provisions, to employ only English councillors, to grant an amnesty to Leicester and Gloucester, and to give up his son Edward and his nephew Henry as hostages for the good behaviour of the lords marcher. Other matters were to be submitted to further arbitration. For the moment, therefore, Simon was supreme, and he used his power to summon the famous parliament of 1265,

For many years the great council or parliament had been becoming more and more a representative institution. The change from the witenagemot to the great council, coupled with the expansion of the small body of king's thanes into the large class of tenants-in-chief, had in theory at any rate added enormously to its numbers, though in practice, except on very great occasions, the number of attending members remained small. The right, however, to come was never abandoned, and in Magna Carta the clauses which arranged for the calling of an assembly to vote scutages and extra aids had provided that while a special writ was to be sent to each of the archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater barons, a general writ addressed to the sheriff was to summon the attendance of the lesser barons and tenants-in-chief. Under Henry in. the great council, in consequence of the king's repeated demands for money, became more and more a taxing body, and the necessity of carrying with it the approval of the lesser tenants became very important, especially as there is evidence that the relative consequence of the general body of the landed proprietors as distinct from the great barons was on the increase. Through acting as jurors, and on various elective bodies connected with taxation, the knights too had acquired valuable political experience and an accurate knowledge of the needs and wealth of their fellow-countrymen, and had become accustomed to the idea of elective representation. So early as 1213 John had called together four discreet knights of each shire 'to confer with him about the affairs of the kingdom,' but the precedent was not followed till 1254, when Queen Eleanor and Earl Richard of Cornwall,

Knights of during the king's absence in Gascony, caused to be the Shire, summoned to Westminster two knights from each shire chosen by the county, 'for the purpose of saying what aid they were willing to pay.' In 1261 three knights were summoned, and in 1264 four. The towns, however, were still left without direct representation, for John's summons of the reeve and four men from each township or demesne mentioned in 1213 was not imitated afterwards.

The parliament summoned to meet in January 1265 was not in the true sense of the word a parliament at all. It was a representative assembly of the supporters of the baronial party. Of some fifty greater barons only five earls and eighteen barons were summoned. The clergy, however, were well represented, showing how completely Simon's policy was supported by the church. Each sheriff was also directed to Bend two discreet knights from his shire; and writs were afterwards sent to those cities and boroughs on which Simon could rely to send two members each. Irregular,

Earl Siraon's
'Parliament.'

however, as this assembly was, it marks a distinct epoch in the history of parliament, and the right of the towns and cities to separate representation once acknowledged was never wholly forgotten.

The assembly thus constituted met in January 1265, and concluded the arrangements made by the Mise of Lewes. Simon's rule, however, was already showing signs of exhaustion. Able as he was, the great earl was not a man with whom any colleague could work long. He never was able wholly to free himself

Divisions in the Baronial Party.

from a charge of self-seeking, and the violence and brutality of his sons did no good to his cause. Besides, he had now to contend far more against young Edward than against his father, and Edward had already begun to show his capacity, not only for forming a national party, but also for well-directed intrigue. The first unmistakable sign of the break-up of the baronial party was a quarrel between Simon and the young earl of Gloucester, in which Gloucester, after hinting that Simon was himself an alien, withdrew to the marches and made common cause with the Mortimers and others who had all along been at war with Simon's ally Llewelyn.

The next blow was the escape of Edward, by the connivance of Thomas of Clare, the brother of Gloucester, in whose custody he had been placed. Edward at once made terms with the earl of Gloucester, astutely separated his cause from that of Earl

Escape of Edward.

Simon, and, defending himself against a charge of supporting a mere reactionary policy, swore that, if victorious, he would keep good law, abolish evil customs, expel all aliens, and rule England through the English, a policy to which he steadily adhered. The news of Edward's alliance with Gloucester completed the break-up of the baronial party. A powerful army gathered round them, while Simon was deserted except by his own sons and his immediate followers. Thus reduced in numbers, Edward's good generalship prevented Simon from uniting his forces with those of his son, and the Montforts were thus defeated in detail. The younger Simon's army was ruined at Kenilworth; the earl himself was hemmed in, defeated, and killed at Evesham.

Battle of Evesham.

The battle, though one sided, reflected credit upon Edward's skill, and showed that he had profited by the mishap at Lewes.

Forgetting the lesson taught by the great William Marshall that an armistice is the best way of restoring tranquillity, Edward in the triumph of victory allowed himself to forget moderation, and in a parliament held at Westminster the victorious royalists confiscated all the lands of their opponents. The natural result was to prolong the struggle, and to make the 'disinherited' fight with the

The 'Disinherited.'

resolution of despair at* Kenilworth, the Isle of Axholme, and Ely. Eventually, however, wiser counsels prevailed, and by the Dictum of Kenilworth Edward agreed to allow the rebels to retain their lands on payment of a fine amounting to five years of their revenue. Equally liberal terms were granted to Llewelyn, and peace was fully restored.

Happily Edward was a very different man from his father, and had learned a great deal from the crisis through which he had just passed. It is due to him that what was of permanent value in Earl Simon's policy was preserved. From that time forward we hear no more of a swarm of foreign favourites. The barons' war, too, marks the end of the pope's interference as overlord; and, lastly, a parliament representing the whole nation to which the king's ministers should be responsible became more and more the ideal at which the statesmen of England aimed. The new policy was fully inaugurated at a parliament held at Marlborough in 1267, when the provisions of 1258 were passed as a statute, and thus became part of the law of the land.

Under this healing policy the country soon settled down, and indeed the last years of Henry III. seem to have been years of unusual prosperity. So quiet were the times that in 1268 Edward's Crusade. Edward took the Cross, and in 1270 ventured to leave the country for an expedition to the East. He first sailed to Tunis, where he arrived shortly after the death of Louis ix., and then by way of Sicily and Cyprus to Acre, which was still unconquered by the Moslems, and, being the centre of the trade between the East and the West, was a place of great commercial importance. There he stayed some months, but was unable to effect much of military importance, and the chief event of his visit was his narrow escape from death by a poisoned dagger with which he was stabbed by an assassin.¹ From Acre he returned to Sicily in 1272, and was there when the news of the death of the old king recalled him to England.

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Battle of Lincoln, ...	1217
of the shire first summoned,	1254
bent of Oxford, ...	1258
Battle of Lewes, ...	1264
Leicester*! convention Includes members for cities and boroughs,	1265
Battle of Evesham.	1266

Book IV

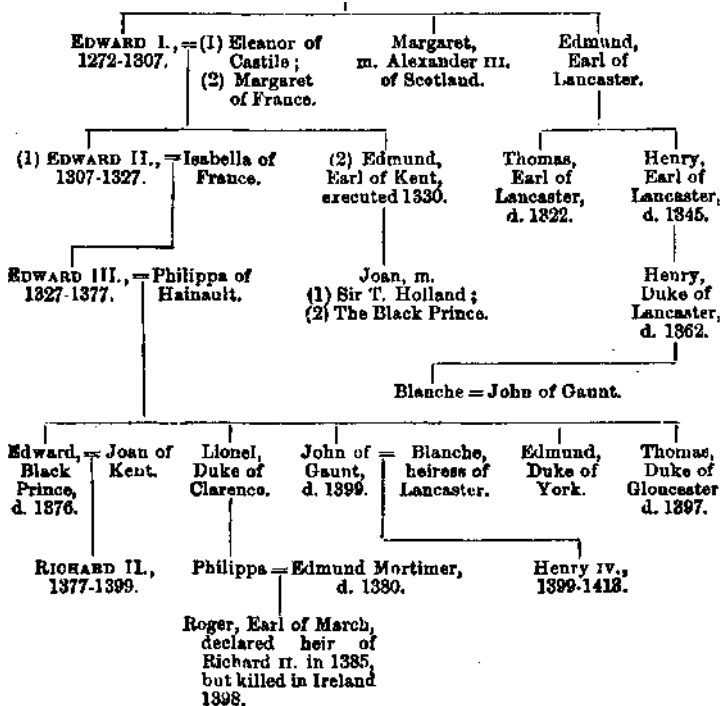
THE LATER ANGEVIN KINGS

SOMETIMES CALLED

PLANTAGENETS

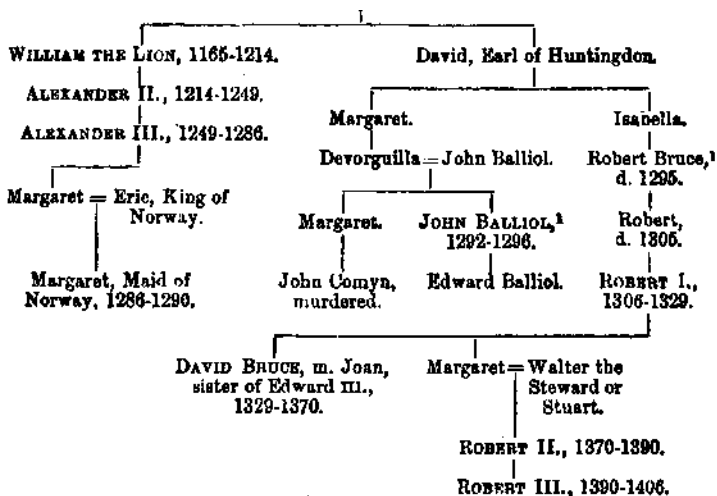
VIIIX—THE LATER ANGEVIN KINGS,
SOMETIMES CALLED PLANTAGENETS, 1272-1399.

Henry in., 1216-1272.



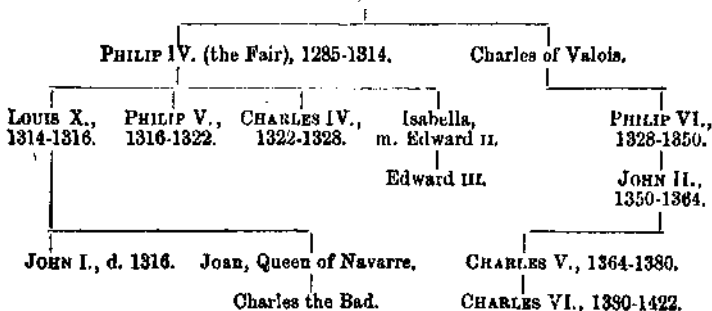
IX.-THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND BETWEEN 1166 AND 1406.

Henry, Earl of Huntingdon,
son of David I.

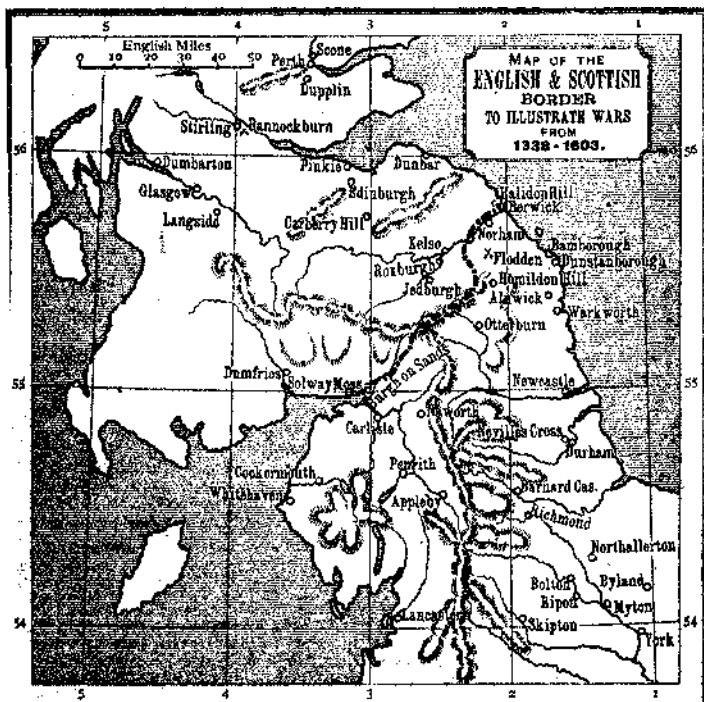


X.— THE KINGS OF FRANCE BETWEEN 1270 AND 1422, AND CLAIM OF EDWARD III. TO THE FRENCH CROWN.

PHILIP III., 1270-1285.



¹ Competitors for the crown in 1292.



CHAPTER I

EDWARD I.: 1272-1307

Born 1239; married 1254, Eleanor of Castile—died 1290.
Born 1239; married 1299, Margaret of France.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

Scotland.

France.

Pope.

Alexander III., d. 1286. Philip iv., d. 1285. Boniface VIII., d. 1303.

Age of Legislative Activity—Final Conquest of Wales—A Scottish Dynastic difficulty leads to its Annexation—Complete and Model Parliament—The Confirmation of the Charters—Scottish Revolt.

HENRY HI. died on November 16th, 1272, and on the 20th the oath of fealty to Edward was taken by the great men under the direction of the archbishop of York and of the chancellor, Walter de Merton, the founder of Merton College, Oxford. As Edward was abroad, his coronation did not take place till his return; but his reign was reckoned by the lawyers to date from the taking of the oath of fealty, and not, as in the case of former kings, from the coronation. This change helped to confirm the growing idea that the English kingship was hereditary and not elective, which is tersely embodied in the French saying, '*Le roi est mort, vive le roi.*' The change, however, was not fully accepted till the time of Edward iv., since which no interval has been recognised between the death of one king and the accession of his successor.

The character of the new king was well known in the country. Few kings had had such an excellent training for rule, and his case is one which tends to confirm the view that the best sovereigns are usually those who have had the longest experience as subjects. He was now thirty-three years of age; hail outlived the violence of his youth, and had acquired the remarkable power of self-restraint, which forms such a striking feature during his later years. Wherever he had been brought into contact with affairs, in Wales, in Gascony, during the barons¹ war, or in the East, he had added to his capacity for rule, and the greater part of his policy as a king was founded upon ideas, the germs of which may be traced to his experiences as a prince

No department of English political life seems to have been uninteresting to him ; and whether he is found dealing with the development of Parliamentary institutions, the organisation of the law courts, the affairs of Wales, Scotland, or Gascony, or the multifarious aspects in which 'our affairs in foreign countries' presented themselves in his time, he always exhibits the same thoroughness of mind, the same careful attention to details, and, we may add, the same whole-souled determination to secure his own rights and those of his country to the utmost extent sanctioned by the strict letter of the law.

A suspicion of able men had been one of the most fatal characteristics of Henry III. ; no such pettiness appears in the mind of his son, and in consequence Edward was always well served,—at any rate by the statesmen with whom he came into personal contact. For aid in general politics Edward trusted most to his brother Edmund of Lancaster, his cousin Edmund of Cornwall, son of his uncle Richard, and his sister's son John of Brittany. His best generals were Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, and the Earl Warrenne. His administrators and lawyers: Kobert Burnell, bishop of Bath and Wells, his chancellor, John Kirkby, bishop of Ely, his treasurer, Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham, and Walter Langton, bishop of Lichfield, the adviser of his later years.

By leisurely steps the new king retraced his steps to England, and spent some time in Italy, France, and Guienne, before he crossed the Channel. In Italy he paid a visit to his friend, pope Gregory x. whose acquaintance he had made in Palestine, and passed through Padua and Milan, where his reputation secured him a magnificent reception. He then crossed the Alps by the Mont Cenis Pass, and traversed the duchy of Burgundy on his way to the court of Philip in. At Chalon he and his followers received a challenge to joust with a number of French knights, headed by the count of Chalon; and Edward, nothing loath to engage in a martial adventure, accepted the offer. The tournament, however, turned out to be a serious affair. The French knights fought not to disarm or to unhorse but to kill, and only after a desperate struggle and the loss of many lives did Edward come off victorious in what was long remembered as 'the Little Battle of Chdlon.'

With Philip III., his cousin, Edward had much diplomatic work. The capture by Philip Augustus of John's chief French possessions had left the position of the remainder extremely ambiguous, and Henry III. and Louis ix. had vainly endeavoured to discover a permanent solution of the difficulties involved. By the treaty of Paris in 1259, Henry III. renounced all right over

Edward's
Ministers.

Edward in
Italy.

Battle of
Chalon.

Negotiations
about
Guienne.

Normandy, Anjou, and Poitou, in return for certain territories in the south of France. This treaty, however, had never been fully carried out, and accordingly, in doing homage as duke of Aquitaine, Edward distinctly said that he did so 'for all the lands that he ought to hold,' and left his lawyers to fight out the question what this really meant. The matter was not finally settled till 1279, when, on the occasion of Edward and his wife Eleanor taking over Eleanor's county of Ponthieu, Philip gave up most of the territory in dispute, and Edward renounced all further claims. So long as Philip continued under the influence of his mother Margaret, Edward's aunt, the two kings remained on friendly terms; but some friction arose later, when Philip's chief adviser was Edward's enemy, Charles of Anjou. However, in 1285 Charles died, and for some years afterwards peace was maintained. During these years, Edward added much to his European reputation by the considerable part which he played in the negotiations between the king of France, the kings of Aragon and Castile, and the emperor, matters, however, which had not much direct bearing on English history.

After leaving France, Edward visited Guienne, where he set on foot the policy he followed during the rest of his reign. He saw that to balance the turbulence of the great lords and the independence of old cities, that had bid defiance to Richard I. Visit to Guienne. and Simon de Montfort, his best course was to encourage the growth of the mercantile interest, the prosperity of whose trade in wine was bound up with the English connection. For this purpose he gave every encouragement to trade, and also, as a check on the barons and on the old towns, founded a number of new towns or 'bastides,' which attracted a middle-class population, and served as rallying points for the forces of law and order. So successful was his policy that, whereas Guienne had formerly been one of the most turbulent parts of his dominions, for the future its internal government presented less difficulty, while its commerce was one of the most profitable spheres of English activity.

Before crossing the Channel, Edward did another piece of good work for his subjects. Since the growth of the wool trade, which had followed the great development of pasturage by the Cistercian and Gilbertine orders, the relations between the king of England and the counts of Flanders had been of immense importance. Commercial Treaty with the Flemings. From the thirteenth century and onwards till the revolt of the Netherlands against the tyranny of Philip II., the Flemish towns were almost the only places where the cloth manufacture was carried on upon an extensive scale; and the prosperity of the English wool

merchants depended on having free intercourse with their customers, the manufacturers. For some years this trade had been interrupted by a difficulty that had arisen with the ruling countess ; but Edward entered into a friendly treaty with the young count, and the alliance so made continued to be one of the chief factors in English foreign politics till the close of the sixteenth century.

In August 1274 Edward landed in England, and the thirty-three years which followed will compare with the reign of any other English sovereign, both for activity and permanence of result. In many respects Edward's policy recalls that of Henry II. What Henry had begun Edward carried on, and brought up to the condition suited for the change of times. Both had the same personal energy and regard for order; but between the conditions under which each worked there was much interesting contrast. Whereas Henry was constantly diverted from English affairs by the necessity for long absences on the Continent, Edward was, on the whole, able to give full attention to home affairs ; and whereas Henry had had to force his reforms through almost single-handed against the resistance of the old nobility, Edward was able for the most part to carry his nobles with him. These things were in Edward's favour ; but, on the other hand, he was more troubled than Henry about money matters, for Edward found the debts of his father yet unpaid, and the crown lands diminished and impoverished; and as his own policy, in spite of his personal frugality, made retrenchment impossible, he was throughout his whole reign a prey to constant anxiety on this score. One result, however, of his financial difficulties was to impress on Edward the lesson he had early learned that the best way to open the pockets of his subjects was to take them into his confidence, and try to carry them with him in his policy, the working of which is seen in his frequent and representative parliaments and the whole relations between the court and the country. It is hardly too much to say that while his predecessors had looked on parliament as a nuisance, or at best as a way of raising money, Edward, so to speak, took it into his confidence, and so gained its cordial co-operation in the work of government. Edward's internal administration is marked by a series of great statutes, dealing with every conceivable subject of legislation; his external policy was actuated by a desire to see the whole of the British Isles united under one sceptre. The former occupy the whole reign; the latter only developed itself as opportunity arose.

The thirteenth century was great in law-making. The growth of the legal school of Bologna had created in every court of Europe a body of

Lawyers, whose minds, trained in the exact definitions of the Roman law, looked with dislike on the ill-defined customs of feudalism ; and in trying to reduce English law to more of a system, Edward was only taking his share in a movement which was carried forward, followed by Frederick the emperor and Louis ix., both his uncles by marriage, and by his brother-in-law Alfonso of Castile. Kings, however, are usually themselves the directors rather than the workers in legal reform ; and the chief credit of the work by our ' English Justinian,' as Edward is sometimes called, must probably be given to Robert Burnell. Among the long list of their legislative enactments, selection is absolutely necessary ; but the following are the most remarkable for permanent results :—statute of *mortmain*, or *de religiosis*, the statute of Winchester; the second and third statutes of Westminster, better known as those of *de dowis* and '*quia emptores* respectively, and the *articuli super cartas*.

Legislation.

First, the statute of *mortmain*. Mortmain means *dead hand*, and was a metaphorical phrase of Roman law. It implied that land so held was in a hand that, like that of a dead man, never relaxed its grasp ; and was applied to property in the hands of corporations, religious or otherwise, which never died. These were often incapable of performing efficiently the duties of feudal ownership, and also were never subject to reliefs, or to the profits arising from wardship or marriage. Obviously, when land passed into mortmain, the rights of the immediate lord, and ultimately of the king, suffered. The chief offender was, of course, the church, to which bequests were constantly made as the price of masses for the dead. The enormous growth of the Cistercians and of the military orders had attracted attention to a grievance of which complaints had been made ever since the time of Bede ; and of late years landowners had adopted an ingenious method of defrauding the revenue and the rights of the lord by handing over their estates to some religious order, and receiving them back again to hold on easy terms. Consequently, both the king and the tenants-in-chief were interested in putting a stop to the practice; and when in 1279 a church council under Archbishop Peckham ventured to excommunicate all persons who did not obey Magna Carta, and all persons who interfered with the ecclesiastical courts, Edward and his nobles made common cause and passed the statute *de viris religiosis*, commonly known as the statute of *mortmain*, which enacted that ' no religious or other person whatsoever shall buy, on pain of forfeiture, sell, or under cover of gift, or any other title, or by any device or ingenuity, dare to acquire lands or tenements for himself, by which they may in

Statute of Mortmain.

any way come to be in *mortmain*.' In case this were done, the forfeiture was to be in the first instance to the next lord, but if he failed to exercise his right, it passed on to his superior, and, finally, to the king. Even this machinery failed to fulfil its purpose completely, and subsequent legislation was eventually necessary.

Not very dissimilar to the statute of mortmain was the statute of Westminster, better known as *quia emptores*. It dealt with the question of alienation of land in general, as that of *mortmain* had done with the alienation to religious persons. Its need arose thus : If B, a holder of land from a superior lord, A, wanted to part with a portion of his land, and sold it to a third person, O, the old practice had been that the new holder, C, became the subtenant of B. Consequently, the owner of a holding might strip himself of so much of his property as to be unable to properly perform his services to his superior lord and pay his feudal dues; and consequently in this case, too, it was the interest not only of the king, but also of all tenants-in-chief, to put a limit to the practice. Accordingly, the parliament of 1290 enacted that, 'Whereas, by this practice, tenants-in-chief frequently lost escheats, marriages, and custody of land and tenements created out of their own fiefs,' in the case of such alienation the holding so carved out must be held direct from the superior lord. The law, therefore, put a stop to the practice of sub-infeudation, and so was popular with the overlords as a class. Its real advantages, however, rested with the king, for, on the one hand, feudalism was deprived of the vitality that comes from the constant creation of fresh holdings, and on the other, by enormously increasing the number of tenants-in-chief the social distinction conveyed in the term became lost, and a further step was taken towards destroying the significance of feudalism as anything more than a method of land tenure.

Another statute affecting land was the second statute of Westminster, one clause of which is specially famous, that generally quoted as *de donis conditionalibus*. This statute enabled holders of land to grant estates subject to certain conditions, and if these were unfulfilled, to reclaim the property. According to the old practice, if an estate were granted to a man and his heirs, he might, as soon as an heir was born, part with it again as if his was the sole interest in it. By the new act he had only a life tenancy, and, in spite of anything he could do, the estate must, at his death, pass to his heir. Even if he committed treason, the life interest only could be forfeited. Estates held by such a tenure were said to be entailed, from *taille*, cut off from the whole; and the practice, as enabling a man to perpetuate the retention of property

in his own family, became so popular that such estates became the rule rather than the exception. • .

In carrying these statutes, Edward had the goodwill of the nobles; but he had not been without warning that wary walking was needed to avoid touching their susceptibilities. When in 1275 he sent round a commission of *quo warranto* to inquire by what rights the lands of each were held, the Earl Warrenne bluntly told his visitors that his ancestors 'won their lands by the sword, and with the sword he was ready to hold them against all usurpers.' Warned by this outspoken remonstrance, Edward wisely dropped further inquiry, and was cautious to make his land legislation appear as favourable to the interests of men like the Earl Warrenne as to himself.

Quo
warranto
inquiry.

The statute of Winchester dealt with the defence of the country, and was founded on the Assize of Arms, issued by Henry II. in 1181. It must be considered, also, in relation to various writs of *distrain of knighthood*, of which the first was issued in 1278. The object of these writs was twofold : (1) to secure money, and (2) to increase the class of knights or gentry, whom Edward appears to have valued as a counterpoise to the great nobles, and whose importance is noticed on page 198. In 1278 it was ordered that all tenants of land to the value of £20 a year, 'whether they held it from the king or from any one else,' who 'ought to be knights and are not,' were either to be knighted or to give good and sufficient security. In 1282 all persons possessing an estate of £30 a year were ordered to provide themselves with a horse and armour. Such writs were constantly issued by Edward, with the double effect of keeping up the supply of cavalry and of filling his purse.

Distrain of
Knighthood.

The statute of Winchester dealt with the arms of those who had less than £20 of land, and constituted a summary of the existing law upon the subject. Like many of the legal documents of the time, it is written in French, and was issued in 1285. Every man between fifteen and sixty was to have arms according to his rank, 'according to the ancient assize.' If he have £15 of land and forty marks of goods, a hauberk, a helme of iron, a sword and a knife and a horse ; if £10 and twenty marks of goods, a hauberk, a helme of iron, a sword, and a knife; if £5, the hauberk changes to a doublet; if only £2, a sword, a bow and arrows, and a knife, and so on; and these weapons were to be regularly inspected twice every year.

Statute of
Winchester.

Besides the above statutes dealing with land and the defence of the country, there was also passed a large mass of legislation relating to the peace of the country, and touching such various matters as the keeping of watch and ward, the arrest of criminals,

General
Legislation.

and the judicial processes of the law courts. By the statute of Winchester it was enacted that if those who committed robberies and murders were not brought to justice, the hundred, in which the deed was done, should be answerable for compensation, a change said to be necessary, because jurors would not convict the men of their own neighbourhood. By the same statute it was ordered that the gates of every town were to be closed and watched from sunset to sunrise; that all strangers were to be arrested; and that all hosts were to be held responsible for the conduct of their guests. To make the highroads safer, a clear space was to be made for two hundred feet at each side. Finally, to carry out this statute, certain new officers were appointed under the name of conservators of the peace, but known later under the familiar title of justices of the peace. By the second statute of Westminster an improvement was made in civil legislation. The various special commissions granted to the justices-in-eyre were consolidated, and this enabled them, under the name of justices in *nisi prius*, to try nearly all civil cases.¹ In 1301 a further simplification was made by enabling the justices in *nisi prius* to hold sessions of gaol delivery, i.e. to try all criminals whom they found in gaol, an arrangement which, with some modifications, is practically that now in use.

Edward also introduced changes into the working of the central courts. The duties of the courts of king's bench, common pleas, and exchequer were more carefully defined, and judges permanently assigned to each. The court of chancery was formally constituted, and in 1300, by the *articuli super cartas*, it was arranged that the courts of chancery and king's bench were still to follow the king's person, but that the exchequer court was to remain at Westminster, as the court of common pleas had done since the granting of Magna Carta. These extensive dealings with judicial and legislative matters mark the reign of Edward 1. as an epoch in the history of English law, and it is a maxim that all statutes or decisions which date from Edward are 'good law' at the present day, unless they have been specially set aside.

Another event of this reign was the expulsion of the Jews from England. This was due partly to old standing causes (see* **Expulsion of the Jews.** page 159), partly to new. The necessities of Henry 1. had compelled him to have constant recourse to Jewish moneylenders, and his debts had descended to his son. The part thus played by the

¹ The name *nisi prius* comes from the form of the document instituting a civil suit which ordered it to be tried at Westminster *nisi prius*, etc. i.e. unless the judges came into the county before, which they always did.

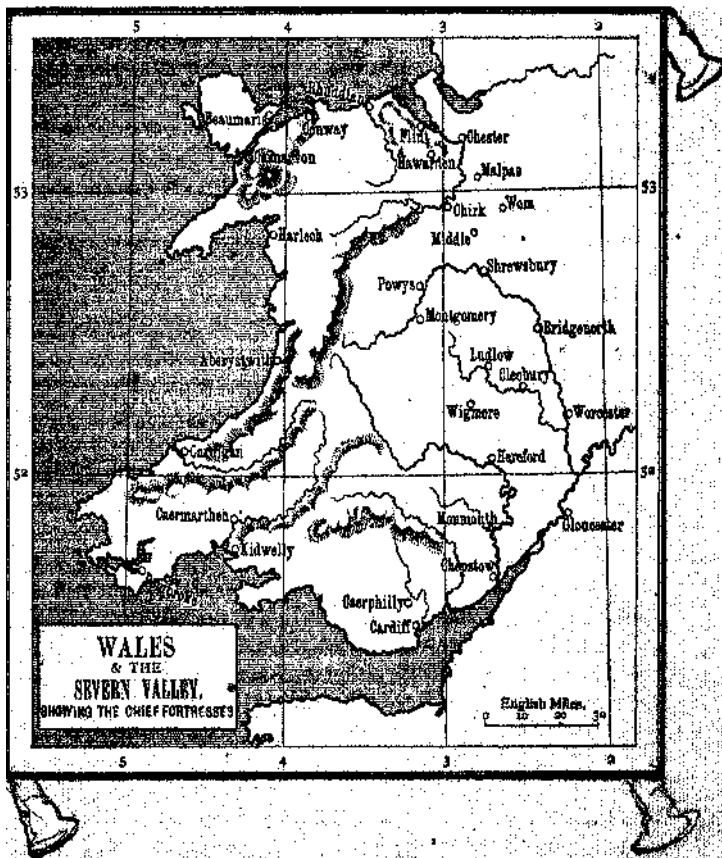
Jews in supplying the king caused them to be specially hated by the baronage, who saw that the king's power of borrowing made him more independent, and who constantly found themselves taxed to pay the king's debts to the Jews; moreover, borrowing had begun to have its usual effect in an agricultural country. Estates were heavily mortgaged. The task of paying the interest, amounting to thirty or forty per cent., left the landholders little to pay their taxes or keep their families, and the Jews came to be thoroughly detested by all classes of the community. Forced sales and evictions of course followed. Spurred on by public opinion, Edward forbade the Jews to hold real property, compelled them to obey the law which ordered them to wear a special dress, and finally prohibited usury altogether. Deprived of their ordinary livelihood, the Jews then took to clipping the coinage. Hundreds were hanged, but without checking the evil. Old charges were then trumped up; Archbishop Peckham ordered all synagogues to be closed; and finally, in 1290, Edward delighted his subjects by ordering all the Jews to leave the country. So popular was this action, that the laity readily granted Edward a gift of one-fifteenth, and the clergy one-tenth, of all movable property. The economical importance of the change was, however, more apparent than real. The place of the Jewish capitalists was largely taken by foreigners, especially by the Lombards, whose name is still preserved in Lombard Street; and kings still found the means to anticipate their revenue, and spendthrifts to borrow money on their lands. Though a few are found in England during most of the intervening periods, it was not till the time of the Commonwealth that Jews were again permitted to live openly in England.

We now pass on to Edward's dealings with Wales and Scotland. Since the days of William Rufus (see page 105), that part of Great Britain which is now denominated Wales had consisted of two parts, an ever-diminishing district ruled by the Prince of Wales, and an ever-increasing district ruled by Norman lords, generally termed the lords marcher. By the time of Henry III., the former had come to include little more than Anglesea and the two modern counties of Carnarvon and Merioneth, with some rights over what are now Carmarthen and Cardigan; the latter was divided into four main districts : that of 'the four cantreds' of plain country between the Dee and the Conway, which were ruled by the earl of Chester; the middle march of the Upper Severn under the Mortimers ; the lordship of Glamorgan, which was an appendage of the earldom of Gloucester; and the earldom of Pembroke ; but it also contained a vast number of petty holdings more or less dependent on the greater.

During the long struggle which had led to this state of affairs, the necessities of self-defence had compelled the Welsh to sink their differences and oppose an unbroken front to their foes, and the consequence was a sort of national revival, of which Llewelyn ab Iorwerth. Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, lord of Gwynedd, who died in 1240, was the leader. The next prince was unimportant, but in 1246 there succeeded another Llewelyn—Llewelyn ab Gruffydd, or Griffith—who adopted the policy of his grandfather, and took advantage of the barons' wars to ally himself with Simon de Montfort, and to take a prominent part in the struggles. He earned his reward in 1269, when Edward found it advisable to buy off the Welsh prince by the surrender of the 'four cantreds' at the treaty of Shrewsbury. Elated by his success, Llewelyn dreamed of further distinction, and had the temerity to hope that he might continue to make a profit out of English disorder, even under such a king as Edward 1. Here he was mistaken, and when in 1277 Edward detected him intriguing with the sons of Simon de Montfort, and arranging to marry Simon's daughter Eleanor, he at once took vigorous measures. Chance threw the young lady into his hands, so he placed her in charge of Queen Eleanor, and himself led an army against Llewelyn, assisted by that prince's younger brother David. The Welshman's plan was to hold out in the strong country of Snowdon, while he drew his supplies from Anglesea; but Edward defeated this by closing every avenue into South Wales, and bringing a fleet from the Cinque Ports to guard the Menai Straits. Starvation soon brought Llewelyn to reason, and on the approach of winter he emerged from his fastnesses and made a full submission, gave up all his lands except the district of Snowdon, even agreeing to hold Anglesea for life, and did homage to the king. Edward treated his fallen foe with generosity; excused some of the more onerous conditions of peace, and in 1278 allowed Llewelyn to marry Eleanor de Montifort.

The power of Llewelyn being thus destroyed, Edward proceeded to carry out a scheme of Welsh reconstruction that had been suggested to him during his early experiences as earl of Chester. He proposed, in short, to break down the tribal system of the Welsh by dividing the principality into shires, English fashion, to get rid of such barbarous Welsh laws as punished murder with a mere fine, and permitted the horrid practice of wrecking, and generally speaking to anglicise the whole country. In carrying out this policy, however, he forgot two things—(1) that the Welsh were so attached to their old customs as to prefer bad Welsh laws to English good ones; and (2) that his agents were not so high-minded as himself, and were always liable to make reform more hateful than necessary by their

Re-organiza-
tion of
Wales.



personal misdeeds. Accordingly his projected changes roused the utmost hostility, and in 1282 a new rebellion broke out.

The leader in this was David, Edward's ally in 1277, who had been rewarded by a rich domain in the Vale of Clwyd. In March he suddenly attacked Hawarden Castle and massacred the garrison. On hearing of his brother's movements, Llewelyn crossed the Conway to his assistance, and ravaged the four cantreds to the walls of Chester. Determined this time to avoid being blockaded in the Snowdon district, Llewelyn on the approach of winter made his way south to join another rising on the Wye ; but on December 11th he was killed in a chance encounter with a single knight. His brother David held out till the summer, but was then reduced to capitulate. Furious at his double treachery, first to Llewelyn and then to himself, Edward caused him to be tried by the barons and knights of the shire assembled at Shrewsbury, who condemned him to the horrible death concealed under the legal formula of 'hanged, drawn, and quartered.'

Edward was now free to carry out his Welsh policy. Llewelyn's district was divided into the three shires of Anglesea, Carnarvon, and Merioneth. The southern parts of the principality of Llewelyn became the shires of Cardigan and Carmarthen. Of the four cantreds part was made into the county of Flint, part annexed to Cheshire, and the rest carved out into new lordships marcher, of which the lordship of Denbigh, assigned to the earl of Lincoln, was perhaps the most important. The lands, however, of the marchers were left untouched, and the distinction between the principality and the marches was preserved down to the time of Henry vii. English law took the place of Welsh, and the new county courts replaced the rude judicature of the Welsh princes. More than all, Edward endeavoured to introduce the elements of commercial life by the foundation of towns, which he filled with English settlers, who contrived even to the time of Elizabeth to preserve their English speech even in districts which were otherwise exclusively Welsh ; while he bridled the mountaineers by a ring of castles, of which Conway, Rhuddlan, Harlech, and Aberystwith are examples, and secured the command of the Menai Straits by the twin fortresses of Carnarvon and Beaumaris.

In dealing with Scotland, Edward was less successful, mainly because his resources, adequate enough to deal with such a small territory as Llewelyn's, were insufficient to cope with national resistance on a larger scale. Ever since Richard I. had cancelled the treaty of Falaise the relations between the English kings and the kings of Scots, who, be it remembered, stood in the

David's
Rebellion.

Final Settle-
ment of
North
Wales.

Relations
between
England and
Scotland.

fourfold position of king of the Soots and Picts, lord of Strathclyde or Galloway, and earl of Lothian, had been vague and undefined in theory, but in practice they had been made tolerable by the excellent personal relationships between them. Alexander II. (1214-1249) had married Joan, the sister, and his successor Alexander III. (1249-1286) married Margaret the daughter of Henry III.

Alexander III.'S children were all delicate, and when he died in 1286 his only living descendant was Margaret, the Maid of Norway, daughter of his child Margaret, the wife of Eric of Norway. In 1284 she had been declared heir to the Scottish throne. At the death of her grandfather Margaret was three years old, and as the death of all Edward's elder sons had left his younger son Edward of Carnarvon, born in 1284, as his heir-apparent, a marriage between the two seemed to be the natural way of solving the problem of the relations between the kingdoms. After some negotiation, therefore, a treaty was made at Brigham in 1290, by which it was arranged that Margaret should marry Edward, but that the integrity and independence of the Scottish kingdom should be fully secured. An adverse stroke of fortune, however, prevented this hopeful plan from being carried out. An autumn voyage proved too severe a tax on the delicate constitution of the frail Maid of Norway, and she died at the Orkneys. Her death opened up two questions of great difficulty: (1) was the kingdom of Scotland to be preserved intact? (2), if so, who was to be king? No less than thirteen competitors put in a claim for at least a share of the spoil, but of these the three most important were John Balliol, grandson of the eldest daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion; Robert Bruce, the son of David's second daughter; and John Hastings, lord of Abergavenny, the grandson of the third. The contention of each had a certain element of plausibility. Balliol claimed the crown on the ground that he was the direct descendant in the eldest line; Bruce, that though he stood in the second line he was a degree nearer to David than Balliol; while Hastings contended that the daughters of David ought to be regarded as co-heiresses, in which case a third part of the kingdom ought to be allotted to each. No one of the three could be regarded as particularly Scottish in feeling; all had taken their place in English politics, and Bruce had for a time acted as chief justice of the King's Bench.

To arrive at some settlement which would stave off the impending calamity of a civil war, the Scots submitted the case to the decision of Edward, who had established a European reputation for the fairness of his decisions in several other complicated cases of

Margaret of Norway.

Competitors for the Crown.

Edward's Arbitration.

arbitration. Before acting, however, Edward claimed to be recognised as superior lord of Scotland, and after a month's investigation of the historical basis of his demand, his rights were fully admitted by all three competitors. The question was then submitted to the judgment of eighty Scots, half named by Balliol and half by Bruce, and of twenty-four Englishmen appointed by Edward himself. Their investigations were most elaborate, and the decision was not pronounced till 1292. Then, through the mouth of Burnell, Edward made his award, rejected the claims of both Bruce and Hastings, and gave the kingdom, whole and undivided, to John Balliol—a decision whose correctness no one can question, and whose disinterestedness in setting aside the tempting opportunity of weakening the northern kingdom by adopting Hastings' suggestion places it above suspicion. It was at once accepted by all parties, and Balliol, after doing homage, was crowned.

Had matters stood here, Edward would have gained a great success in definitely settling the relations between the two kingdoms, and have added to his reputation for upright dealing; but unluckily the coronation of Balliol proved a turning-point for the worse in the history of the two kingdoms. The fault was not altogether Edward's. As we have repeatedly seen, the vassals of the various great feudatories of the French king claimed and exercised a right of appeal to the king's court at Paris, and the lawyers held that by similar analogy there should be an appeal from the Scottish courts to that of Edward as overlord. In the first year of King John's reign four aggrieved Scottish suitors, of whom the most important was Macduff, the son of the earl of Fife, appealed to Edward to reverse the decision of the Scottish law-courts. According to the usual French form, with which Edward as duke of Aquitaine was only too well acquainted, Balliol was called on to defend his decision, which he was at liberty to do either in person or by deputy. However, in Macduff's case, Balliol appeared in person and denied Edward's right to hear the appeal, and on his return home the case was taken up by his nobles, who, apparently distrusting Balliol's intentions, appointed a committee of twelve to manage the affairs of the kingdom, prepared for armed resistance, and entered into negotiations with the king of France.

Meanwhile, a difficulty had arisen in France in which the parts of Edward and Balliol were reversed. It chanced that a Norman sailor had been slain in a casual dispute with an Englishman. In revenge the Normans seized an English ship, dragged out of it a passenger, and hanged him at the mast-head with a dog at his feet. As the passenger happened to be a merchant from Bayonne, this,

brought in the Gascons, and for some time the blood feud arrayed against one another the Normans and the English and the Gascons. Eventually, in 1293, after much promiscuous fighting, a pitched battle was fought in the harbour of St. Mahe, in Brittany, between a fleet of Normans, Flemings, and French, and of English, Gascons, and Irish. The result was the total discomfiture of the French, the capture of their ships, and the loss, it was said, of fifteen thousand lives. Exasperated at this disaster, Philip iv., commonly called the Fair, who had succeeded his father in 1285, called on Edward, as duke of Aquitaine, to answer in the French court for the conduct of his Gascon subjects. Edward neglected to appear, on which the French king declared his duchy to be forfeited. Anxious to accommodate matters without war, which in the then state of Scottish affairs would be specially inconvenient, Edward sent his brother Edmund, the earl of Lancaster, to negotiate ; but the earl allowed himself to be gulled by Philip into handing over the Gascon castles as a matter of form, and when after six weeks Edward demanded repossession, the wily Frenchman refused to budge, cancelled the terms of agreement, poured an army over the border, and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Scottish nobility. Edward's hands were now full. For four years England and France were at war; Scotland was seething with discontent ; and in 1295 no less than three revolts broke out simultaneously in south and north Wales, the chief of which was headed by Madoc, an illegitimate son of the last Llewelyn.

It was in these circumstances that Edward took the wise step of making a formal appeal to the patriotism of all classes of his English subjects by calling a complete and model parliament. In this assembly ^{Model Parliament of 1295.} were represented each of what were beginning to be known as the three estates of the realm, the clergy, the nobility, and the commonalty. For the clergy, separate writs were sent to the archbishops, the abbots, to the masters of Sempringham and of the Temple, and to the prior of the Knights Hospitallers; and the archbishops and bishops were also *premonished* and each directed to bring with him the prior of his cathedral, his archdeacons, one proctor for the cathedral chapter and two for the parish clergy of each diocese. The number of bishops summoned was twenty, and of abbots sixty-seven. A day later writs were sent to seven earls and forty-one barons ; and two days afterwards 'the sheriff of each county was directed to send two knights, elected by his county, and two citizens and burgesses from each city or borough within his shire. Thirty years had elapsed since the citizens and burgesses had been called to Simon de Montfort's convention in 1265. Since then, it had been no uncommon thing to summon knights and burgesses to parliament, but the exact

constitution of the assembly was by no means definitely settled, and a mere parliament of barons was thought as competent as a regular gathering of representatives of the people. This is, therefore, the first real parliament in which they had ever taken part; but since 1295 all full parliaments have included the whole of the lay members mentioned above. The clergy, however, preferred to make their money grants in the two convocations of the provinces of York and Canterbury, so that though the *premunientes* clause was long retained in the bishops' writs, the archdeacons and proctors rarely if ever came, while the abbots were abolished at the Reformation. The meeting of the Model Parliament of 1295 was a memorable day for England, and marks the beginning of a new era of parliamentary government.

The liberality of the Model Parliament completely justified Edward's trust in the generosity of his people. The clergy granted one-tenth of their goods, the earls, barons, and knights of the shire voted one-eleventh, and the citizens and burgesses one-seventh. With the money so raised, Edward was able to act vigorously.

First Cam-
paign in
Scotland.

Already the least serious danger, that of Wales, had been removed, for, as before, Edward's tactics of blockading the insurgents in the barren wilderness of Snowdon had been successful against Madoc. Edmund of Lancaster was sent out to Gascony; Edward in person took the field against the Scots. Accompanied by Earl Warrenne and the bishop of Durham, and taking with him the sacred banner of St. John of Beverley, that had already waved defiance to the Scots at the battle of the Standard, and after receiving at Newcastle a message from Balliol formally renouncing his allegiance, the English king crossed the border and captured Berwick in March. In April, Earl Warrenne with the vanguard inflicted a crush-

Battle of
Dunbar.

ing defeat on the Scots, who had been foolish enough to abandon a strong position on the Lammermuir hills and descend into the plain near Dunbar, in hopes of overwhelming the English. The result of this defeat was decisive. Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Dunbar, Edinburgh, and Stirling opened their gates. Balliol surrendered; but as he had already renounced his allegiance he was not reinstated, and after a short sojourn in the Tower of London was permitted to retire to his French estates, where he died in obscurity. After receiving Balliol's submission, Edward marched north as far as Elgin to show his power, and then, after receiving the homage of the leading Scots, and appointing Earl Warrenne and other English officials to represent him, he returned to England, well contented with his new and unexpected conquest.

Edward's next step was to organise a great alliance against France. Edmund of Lancaster had died at Bayonne, but his place had been filled by

the earl of Lincoln, and Edward designed a double attack on Philip—one from Gascony, led by Lincoln, the other from the north-east, led by himself and the count of Flanders. Unexpected difficulties, however, arose. Pressed, as usual, for money, he had not been scrupulous in his means of getting it, but had seized the wool of the merchants, tallaged¹ the towns and the tenants on the royal estates. A feeling of irritation was natural, especially as much money had been spent on subsidising foreign allies who had done very little by way of return.

Alliance
against
France.

However, if the expedition were to start, supplies must be obtained and the king summoned a parliament, exactly modelled on that of 1295, to meet at Bury St. Edmund's, in November 1296. When it met, the barons and knights granted a one-twelfth and the citizens and burgesses a one-eighth. The clergy, however, under Archbishop Winchelsea, refused to contribute, on the ground that since the last parliament a bull, *clericis laicos*, had been issued by Pope Boniface VIII., in which the clergy had been forbidden to pay any state tax whatsoever out of the revenues of their churches. As the clergy persisted in this "refusal, Edward did what John had once threatened to do, and what Richard had actually done in 1198, viz., denied the clergy the right to sue in the king's courts, which, in effect, amounted to a sentence of outlawry, and enabled them to be robbed and plundered with impunity.

Clergy refuse
to pay Taxes.

While waiting the effect of this measure Edward summoned a meeting of the earls and barons ; and, in February 1297, laid before them his plan for the expeditions to Flanders and Gascony. But here a new difficulty met him. One by one the barons began to excuse themselves, and in particular Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, the marshal, and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, the constable, who were asked to take charge of the Gascon expedition, raised the point of law that they were bound by the duties of their respective offices only to attend the king's person. 'By God, sir earl,' said Edward, addressing Norfolk, '*thou shalt either go or hang.' 'By that same oath, O king,' was the marshal's reply, 'I will neither go nor hang.' It was soon evident that the recalcitrant earls had popular feeling on their side. The meeting at once broke up ; the two earls retired to their estates followed by no less than fifteen hundred picked knights, and prepared, if necessary, to appeal to arms. Driven to extremity by this, Edward took extraordinary measures to provide himself with funds, seized the wool of the merchants

The Con-
stable and
Earl Mar-
shal refuse
to lead a
separate
Expedition
to Gascony.

¹ A tallage is a feudal tax Levied on towns and lands in demesne.

and requisitioned provisions from the counties, giving tallies in acknowledgment for both.

Meanwhile the clergy were in despair. Lent was fast slipping away, and Edward had threatened that unless they gave way before Easter he would confiscate the whole of their lands. A new convocation was summoned by Winchester for the 26th of March, and in this he receded from his former position and advised his fellow-clergy to make the best terms they could. Weary of the long contest, the clergy one by one gave way, some making the king a gift, others leaving money where the royal officers could find it, and others paying for protection. Winchester himself was still obstinate, and in consequence Edward seized the lands of his see.

In spite, however, of his double difficulty, Edward did not abandon his intended expeditions; but issued orders for a military levy of all who held lands over £20 a year to meet at London on July 7th. Again the marshal and constable refused to go; but Edward, by promising to confirm the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forest, contrived to induce the leading men of the levy to agree to a wholly unconstitutional grant of an eighth of the movables of the barons and knights, and one-fifth from the cities and boroughs. At the same time the archbishop made his peace, and agreed to call a convocation on August 10th to see about making a regular grant.

The two earls, however, and their followers continued firm, and sent Edward a petition on the part, not only of themselves and the barons, The Earls' re- but also on that of the clergy and of 'the whole community monstrence. of the land,' in which they boldly declared that whether their tenures bound them or not, they were utterly ruined by tallages and other forms of exaction, particularly by a new customs duty (the *maltSte*) laid on wool, which amounted to the fifth part of their income; demanded that the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forests should be confirmed; and suggested that Edward would do better to stay at home until he had better security from the Flemings, and Scotland less likely to break into insurrection.

This outspoken document reached Edward in September, when he was on the point of sailing for Flanders, and he simply answered that he could not consider it without his council, and that some members were in London and others had crossed to Flanders. On the 22nd he sailed away, leaving his son Edward, then a lad of thirteen, the regent, and his counsellors to do the best they could. No sooner was the king gone, than the two earls appeared in London and peremptorily forbade the

officers of the exchequer to collect the aid of one-eighth. The counsellors were at their wits' end. Resistance was out of the question, and parliament was somewhat irregularly summoned to receive the Confirmation of the Charters. These documents, however, from which all reference to taxation had long been omitted, did not cover the case in point, so the earls insisted on the addition of several new clauses, to the effect, (1) that the king would not take as a right all such aids and tasks as have been given him heretofore by his people's freewill, and ' would not take such manner of aids, tasks, or prizes but by the common assent of the realm, and for the common profit thereof, saving the ancient aids and prizes due and accustomed'; (2) that the *maltote* on wool should be given up, and that neither the king nor his heirs would take any such thing or any other without the common consent and goodwill of the commonalty of the realm ; saving to us and to our heirs the custom of wool, skins, and leather, granted before by the commonalty aforesaid.

Confirmation
of the
Charters.

The custom referred to in the last clause was the Ancient or Great Custom agreed to in the parliament of Westminster, 1275, as a commutation of the king's immemorial right to take a portion of all goods coming into or going out of the kingdom. In this form the Confirmation of the Charters was sent to the king, and received his assent, which was again given as a further security in 1298, 1299, and 1301. At the time of the first Confirmation of the Charters, an unauthorised abstract was published, known as the *Dt tallagio non concedendo*, which repeated Edward's grant but without the modifying word 'such.' In after times this came to be regarded as a statute, and was alluded to as such in the preamble to the Petition of Right of 1628. It is not easy to overestimate the constitutional importance of this struggle and its successful issue. Hitherto the right of the people to a voice in taxation had been little more than a usage ; even the concessions made to the tenants-in-chief in 1215 had been dropped in the following year. It now became a matter of written right, from which followed the natural development of our parliamentary government. It was not creditable to Edward that he should have asked and obtained from the pope a dispensation from his assent, which, fortunately, he did not venture to put into practice. The Flemish expedition, for which Edward had provided with so much difficulty, produced no great results. His Continental allies proved, as usual, selfish and inefficient, and the war was soon confined to Gascony, where the earl of Lincoln still held Bayonne. The disputes between the two sovereigns were at length

The Great
Custom.

Importance
of the Con-
firmations.

French
Quarrel
settled.

healed by the good offices of Pope Boniface VIII., who had conceived the idea of saving bloodshed by making the papal court into a court of arbitration for the settlement of national disputes. Neither Philip nor Edward, however, would admit Boniface's interference in his official capacity, but they accepted his good offices as a man, and eventually the whole of his Gascon possessions were restored to the English king. A good understanding for the future was secured by a double marriage : Edward, who had been a widower since 1290, marrying Margaret, the sister of Philip, and his son Edward, aged fifteen, being betrothed to Philip's five-year-old daughter Isabella.

In Scotland, meanwhile, things had been going altogether wrong. Earl Warrenne, the guardian, had been non-resident; and Cressingham, the treasurer, and Ormesby, the justiciar, ruled the Scots with a rod of iron. The natural result was an insurrection, analogous to that in Wales in 1282, but differing from it in the fact that it was led neither by a member of the reigning house nor by the nobility, but was a genuine outbreak of general discontent. Various leaders appeared in various parts, but eventually the movement concentrated round William Wallace or Waleys, *i.e.* the Welshman, and Sir Andrew Murray. In the

Rebellion of
Wallace.

Battle of
Cambus-
kenneth.

summer of 1297, Warrenne returned at the head of a large army, but in September allowed himself to be defeated at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling. At that place the Forth was crossed by a long bridge, so narrow that only two armed men, presumably horsemen, are said to have been able to pass abreast, and reaching the northern bank of the river at a point where a range of low hills comes close to the water. Behind these hills Wallace and Murray concealed their soldiers, and when five thousand English soldiers under Cressingham had crossed the bridge, they were suddenly overwhelmed by a rush of Scots from the high ground. Cressingham himself perished, and few if any of his men made their escape. The news of the victory caused the rebellion to spread like wild-fire. The English had to fly for their lives, and a provisional government was set up under William Wallace and Andrew Murray, 'the generals of the army of the kingdom of Scotland' and guardians for King John.

During the whole of this year Edward himself was in Flanders, almost as much troubled to keep the peace between his Flemish, English, and Welsh soldiers as to fight the French, but in 1298 an opportune truce gave him an opportunity to return to England, and he marched north to crush Wallace. The task was not easy, as the lowlands had been so ravaged that feeding the army was all but impossible, and a retreat was inevitable when Edward

Edward's
Second
Campaign
in Scotland.

learned that Wallace lay in Falkirk wood ready to fall on his rear. The news **revived** the drooping energies of his soldiers, and a rapid **march** brought them in view of the Scots on July 22nd, 1298. **Battle of Falkirk.** Being deficient in cavalry, then the offensive part of an army, Wallace took post behind a morass, drew up his spearmen in **four** circles defended by palisades, linked them together by a line of archers, and placed his scanty troop of cavalry in the rear. Edward, **however**, showed himself equal to the occasion. Sending his cavalry to right and left of the morass, he put the Scottish horsemen to flight, and drove the archers into the squares, and then bringing up his own archers and military engines he plied the Scots with missiles till well-directed charges of cavalry were able to break their ranks. The defeat of Falkirk was fatal to Wallace's power, and after less than a year's prominence he disappears from the scene, and seems to have spent the next few years partly in hiding, partly in France.

Though Wallace left the field, his place was taken by others; and between 1298 and 1303 the chief burden fell on John Comyn, sister's son to Balliol, and the bishop of St. Andrews, and by their efforts the independence of Scotland north of the Forth was **Corayn's Rebellion.** maintained. Their chief exploit was the victory of Roslin in 1302. During those years French affairs still detained Edward; but in 1302 the Flemings defeated Philip in the famous battle of Courtrai; Philip himself was further absorbed in a quarrel with Boniface; and in 1303 Edward was again able to give his personal attention to Scotland. The result showed how much the Scottish resistance had been indebted to the French troubles. Almost without fighting, he inarched his army across the Forth, and made his way to Aberdeen and Banff. This display of power frightened Comyn into submission. During the winter he negotiated for himself and his friends, and was permitted to make his peace: the same indulgence being offered to Wallace 'if he thought proper.' Wallace, however, made no sign, and Edward, fearful lest his continuance at large might lead to further troubles, made it known that his favour might be won by the apprehension of the outlaw. The hint had its effect. Wallace was seized by the sheriff of Dumbarton, Sir John Menteith, and **was** carried to London. There he is said to have pleaded that **Execution of Wallace.** what he had done was not treason, as he had never sworn allegiance to Edward. He was condemned to be hanged by the neck for the robberies, murders, and felonies of which he had been guilty. His head was placed on London Bridge, and his quarters distributed to Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth. Wallace had played for a **great** stake **and** lost; but his death made him the hero of Scottish **independence**;

and legend, song and fiction have tended to exalt his reputation somewhat unfairly at the expense of other Scottish patriots.

Besistance being now apparently at an end, Edward produced his scheme for the government of Scotland. The administration of Scottish **Organisation of Scotland.** affairs was placed under his nephew John of Brittany as lord-lieutenant and guardian. Two justices each were allotted to four circuits into which the land was divided. The Scottish laws were to be revised and those that were barbarous or contrary to the will of God abolished. Lastly, some representatives for Scotland were to be present in the English parliament. This scheme, if fairly carried out, was not bad; but a national feeling had begun to rise among the Scots, and a new pretender soon appeared to take

Robert Bruce. advantage of it. This was Robert Bruce, grandson of the claimant. Though his father played an ambiguous part, this young man, now about twenty-five, had hitherto been on Edward's side, and was consulted by him about the management of the kingdom; but in 1306 he determined to try for the crown

Murder of Comyn. himself. In an interview held at Dumfries in 1306 Bruce, in a fit of anger, stabbed Comyn, and whether his determination to try for the crown dates from before or after the murder it is impossible to say. At any rate he raised his standard in Galloway; and, being soon joined by a small following, was crowned at Scone in March. At first the matter did not seem very serious, for Bruce could not hold his own in the open field; but Scotland differed from Wales in this, that whereas in Wales the district of Snowdon could easily be blockaded, in Scotland the lowlands were fringed by a background of inaccessible moors, mountains, and islands to which retreat was always open, and in which pursuit was in vain. Consequently an outlaw could bide his time, and while striking sufficient blows to keep up his reputation and encourage resistance could always keep himself out of harm's way. This was Bruce's game, and circumstances ultimately enabled him to play it with success.

Chief of these was the death of the veteran Edward. Over fifty years of active life and anxiety had begun to break down the iron constitution of the king. In the autumn of 1306, when **Death of Edward.** he first heard of Bruce's rising, he had had to make the journey to Carlisle in a horse Utter; and though in 1307 he thought himself so far better that he was able to mount his charger, the effort was too much for his strength, and after two short marches he died at Burgh-on-the Sands on July 7th, 1307.

Edward was twice married, first to Eleanor pf CastUe, who died in

4290. By her he had four sons and nine daughters. Of the sons one omhr, Edward, the youngest, survived his father. Of the daughters, one) married Earl Gilbert of Gloucester; another married **Edward's** Humiphrey, earl of Hereford. By his second wife Marguret **family.** he heft two sons, Thomas, earl of Norfolk, and Edmund, earl of Kent Most of his other daughters married abroad.

CHIEF DA TES.

	A.D.
Statute of Mortmain (de religiosis), .	1279
fcinal Conquest of Wales, .	1282
Second Statute of Westminster (de donis),	1285
Statute of Winchester.	1285
Third Statute of Westminster (quia emptores)	1290
Scottish award, ...	1292
First complete and model Parliament,	1295
Battle of Dunbar, ...	1296
Battle of Cambuskenneth, ...	1297
Confirmation of the Charters, ...	1297
Battle of Falkirk	1298
Brace's rebellion begins, ...	130C

CHAPTER II

EDWARD I . : 1307-1327

Born 1284; married Isabella of France, 1308 ; died 1327

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

Scotland.

Robert I . , 1306-1329.

France.

Philip iv . , 1285-1314 (see page 246).

Piers Gaveston —The Lords Ordainers—Gaveston's Death—Brace's Scottish successes ~ Bannockburn—The Despensers—Lancasters' Defeat at Boroughbridge, and Death—General combination against the Despensers, headed by the Queen and Mortimer, leads to Edward's Dethronement

EDWARD, Prince of Wales, who succeeded his father at the age of twenty-three, was one of the worst of the English kings. His father Character of Edward and his grandfather Henry were both cast in Edward II. a different mould; but the younger Edward inherited neither the statesmanlike ability of the one nor the piety of the other. He grew up utterly frivolous and unprincipled; and though he was handsome, accomplished, and endowed with the power of winning the attachment of his intonate associates, his reign was a complete failure.

The most obvious cause of this was his addiction to favourites. The word ' favourite ' is one which needs to be used with discrimination. Its Meaning of most obvious signification is that of some one in whom the * Favourite.' sovereign delights, and on whom he lavishes gifts and favours ; but it is also used less correctly of any person who has special influence over the king's policy, though such influence may be the proper reward of distinguished ability. Favourites of the first class were hateful to the general body of the people, because the wealth lavished on them impoverished the crown, and consequently had to be made good by increased taxation; those of the second were specially disliked by the nobility. In England, it was the claim of the great nobles to be the hereditary advisers of the crown, and as such to have access at all times to the king's person, and, therefore, they regarded with jealousy any one, whether he were an upstart or one of themselves, who secured a paramount influence in the king's deliberations. For centuries this feeling

was one of the permanent factors of English politics, and somewhat curiously it seems to have been accepted as right and proper even by the general body of the people. If the king were strong he was able to protect his servants; if he were weak, he and they fell together; but the hatred between the titled nobility and the untitled ministers of the king always existed. It appears in the cases of Flambard and Becket, and such a man as Wolsey, for example, knew that his enemies were always on the watch to attack him the instant the king's favour was withdrawn.

The rallying-point of the nobility against 'the favourite' was almost invariably in England a younger member of the royal family. Even Simon de Montfort, being brother-in-law of Henry III., can hardly be regarded as an exception to the rule. ^{The opposi-}tion. The cause of this was in some measure the difficulty of providing for the princes of the blood. Henry II. had endeavoured without much success to carve portions for his younger sons out of his continental possessions. Richard was childless. John's sons were children. Henry III. made his only brother, Richard, earl of Cornwall, a position which carried with it the enormous wealth which accrued from the Cornish tin mines. On his second son, Edmund Crouchback or Crossback, Henry, after failing to make him king of Sicily, bestowed the earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, the two latter the forfeited holdings of Earl Simon and Earl Ferrers. Edmund was succeeded by his son Thomas, who married the heiress of Edward's faithful friend the earl of Lincoln and Salisbury, and so expected the eventual succession to two more earldoms, Lincoln and Salisbury. Thomas, generally known as Thomas of Lancaster, was a man of great force of character and violent temper, but in no sense a real statesman. Of the other great earldoms of the country, those of Norfolk and Kent had been given to Edward I.'s little sons, Thomas and Edmund; those of Cornwall and Chester were in the hands of the king; Gloucester, in those of Gilbert, the king's nephew; Hereford, in those of Edward's brother-in-law, Humphrey de Bohun;¹ and Pembroke, in those of Aymer de Valence, the king's half-cousin. Such a concentration of

¹ THE BOHUNS.

Humphrey de Bohun, friend of Simon de Montfort, died 1276.

Humphrey de Bohun, of the Confirmatio Chartarum, died 1298.

Humphrey de Bohun, *m.* Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I.
I killed at Boroughbridge, 1322.

Humphrey de Bohun.

Eleanor, *m.* Thomas
of Gloucester.

Mary, *m.* Henry of
Bolingbroke (Henry IV.).

property in a few hands was totally foreign to the ideas of such a king as William the Conqueror, for it resulted in any quarrel between the king and his relatives taking the form of civil war.

This moment, when the influence represented by the great earldoms was specially concentrated and powerful, Edward chose to advance a favourite, whose name has become typical of such characters for all time. This was Piers Gaveston, a Gascon, who had been the king's playfellow as a boy, and had gained such an influence over him that Edward seemed incapable of existing happily without him. His character, perhaps unfairly, has been assumed to be more than ordinarily depraved; but it is certain that Edward considered him a most improper companion for his son, banished him from the court, and made it one of his last requests to his son that he would free himself from his influence. On the contrary, no sooner was his father dead than Edward recalled Piers, made him earl of Cornwall, a proceeding so unpopular that few would address him by the title; married him to his niece, Margaret of Gloucester; dismissed at his bidding Walter Langton, the trusted treasurer of his father; presented him with vast sums of money, especially with £32,000, reserved by his father for a crusade; made him regent when he went over to France to marry the beautiful Isabella; permitted him to carry the Crown at the coronation, and to take precedence of the ancient nobles of the realm. Had Gaveston been a man distinguished for modesty and tact, such favours would have ensured his unpopularity; but, in fact, he was utterly devoid of any capacity for conciliation, made new enemies by his insolent ostentation, and exasperated the jealous nobles by inventing for them offensive nicknames, which by the folly of his royal patron became public property. Thomas of Lancaster he called 'the Hog'; Warwick, 'the Black Dog of Arden'; Pembroke was 'Joseph the Jew'; his brother-in-law Gloucester was 'the Cuckoo,' and so on.

The natural result of such folly was that at the very first great council held by Edward in April 1308, the prelates, earls, and barons unanimously demanded his banishment; and Edward had to give way. His popularity—if he ever had any—was absolutely gone. He had shown not the slightest capacity for carrying on the ordinary business of state, and what time he could spare from the most frivolous amusements he devoted to plotting the return of his favourite, whom he had made governor of Ireland. In 1309 a Parliament met, and the list of complaints presented proves conclusively in how short a time the course of such a monarch could affect the whole routine of government. Edward was ready to promise amendment,

especially as the pope had at his request released Gaveston from his oath to remain out of England ; and his one wish was to win the consent of the nobility to the favourite's return. For the moment he succeeded . but Gaveston made fresh enemies, and in 1310 a great council, held at Westminster, fell back on the precedent of 1258, took the government out of Edward's hands, and placed it in those of a body of The Lords Ordainers. twenty-one lords ordainers, including archbishop Winchelsea, the earls of Pembroke, Lancaster, Hereford, Warwick, and Gloucester, with directions to regulate the king's household, and to reform the abuses of the realm.

To escape from their surveillance Edward hurried to the Scottish border, taking Gaveston with him, and remained there for a year. In his absence the ordainers had a free hand, of which they took full advantage to draw up a lengthy scheme of reform, of which the most important items were the perpetual banishment of Gaveston, the appointment for the future of all state officers by the Gaveston again dismissed. counsel and consent of the baronage, the holding of a parliament at least once a year, and a complete reform of the administration. To this Edward, after humbly entreating mercy for ' his brother Piers,' was compelled to assent in 1311 ; but in 1312 the infatuated king again recalled Gaveston, and restored his forfeited estates. On this Archbishop Winchelsea put the favourite under the ban of the Church ; while Lancaster, Pembroke, Warwick, and Hereford raised their forces and besieged Gaveston in Scarborough Castle, where Edward had placed him for safety. Here Gaveston was forced to capitulate, and was then sent to Wallingford under the safe-conduct of the earl of Pembroke, to await the assembling of parliament. Warwick and Lancaster, however, were in no mood to wait, and when Gaveston had reached Deddington in Oxfordshire, he was seized by ' the Black Dog of Arden,' and hurried off to Warwick Castle, where he found Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel awaiting his arrival. A discussion took place as to his fate ; but the words of the proverb, * If you let the fox go, you will have Gaveston executed. to hunt him again' decided his destiny; and Lancaster and Hereford saw his head struck off on Blacklow Hill, on the road to Kenilworth.

Such a murder of a political opponent had hitherto been almost unknown in England, and it marks the beginning of a series of butcheries which can hardly be said, to have closed till the accession of Henry VII. Contrasted with the thirteenth century, those Demoralisation of the Country. of the fourteenth and fifteenth appear to indicate a distinct deterioration in the aims and ideals of the great men of the time,

Whether it was due to the hardening influence of the protracted wars with Scotland and France, or to the adoption of chivalry with its thin veneer of courtesy and breeding ill serving to conceal licentiousness, class feeling, and real heartlessness, or to the decay of personal religion, it is certain that such a degradation was at work among the upper classes of society. The change seems to be connected with and pretty much coincident with the adoption of the French language, **The French Language.** manners, and culture by the English. This movement gained strength under Henry I., from whose reign dates the first state paper in French; under Edward I., that language was adopted in the Law Courts, and by the time of Edward II. it is generally believed to have been the language of society. Its adoption must not be associated either with the Norman Conquest or with the French possessions of Henry II. It is more analogous to the adoption of French as the usual language of the upper classes in Russia at the present time. The language spoken, too, was not the old Norman French of the Conquest, but the dialect of Paris and the Isle of France, which was now becoming the standard French language. Beneath it, however, the real English, which for a long time had been eclipsed as a literary language by Latin, was beginning to assert itself; and the very period when French was most widely spoken in this country was also that which saw the fore-runners of Wyclif and Chaucer.

Edward was powerless to revenge the death of his friend, so again turned his attention to Scotland, where Bruce had been making rapid **Successes of Bruce.** progress. The English hold on Scotland depended on retaining possession of the great castles of southern Scotland, of which the chief were Roxburgh, Linlithgow, Perth, Edinburgh, and Stirling. In the course of five years—from 1307 to 1312—Bruce had overcome all opposition in the field, whether from the English soldiers or discontented Scots; and by 1312 he seems to have had the population on his side almost to a man. In 1311 his progress was interrupted by the invasion of Edward and Gaveston; but as soon as they were gone, Bruce encouraged his soldiers by an invasion of England, in which the northern counties were ruthlessly ravaged, and then began a systematic attack on the castles. In January 1312 he took Perth by assault; on March 7th Roxburgh surrendered; on the 14th his sister's son Randolph and a band of thirty men scaled the precipitous rock which is crowned by Edinburgh castle, and took that great stronghold by surprise. About the same time Linlithgow castle was taken by the address of a countryman named Binnock or Binnie, who concealed some soldiers in a load of hay, and then stopped his waggon in the gate

way, so that the portcullis could not be lowered. Other successes followed, and at length Stirling alone held out; and so beset were the garrison that the governor, Sir Philip Mowbray, agreed to surrender on June 24th, 1314, unless before that date he were relieved.

Edward, therefore, had ample time to relieve the town, and indeed Bruce was highly incensed when he heard what favourable terms had been offered to the garrison. However, he foolishly left matters till the last moment, and only fixed the 11th of June as the day for a general rendezvous at Berwick. On that day a vast array of horsemen, many clad in full armour, and many thousand archers, the value of whom was beginning to be fully recognised, assembled; and the numbers might have been even greater had not Lancaster kept sullenly aloof. The gallant force made its way unopposed through the Lowlands; but did not come within sight of Stirling till the very day before the promised surrender. Arrived near Stirling, the English found that Bruce was waiting to fight, and that the ground he held was terribly strong; but there was no time left to wait or to manoeuvre, and at all risks a battle had to be fought there and then.

Bruce had drawn up his men on some rising ground behind the little stream of the Bannockburn in such a way as to command all the roads which approached Stirling from the south-west. His right was covered by a marsh, through which the stream passes, and between his left wing and the Forth lay a piece of low, wet land, broken by pools of water, and made still stronger by concealed pits, which Bruce had caused to be dug wherever the ground was firm. The strength of the position was shown on the evening the English arrived, for Randolph, earl of Moray, easily defeated an attempt to throw reinforcements into Stirling; and Bruce roused the enthusiasm of his followers to the highest pitch by killing an English knight, Henry de Bohun, in single combat.

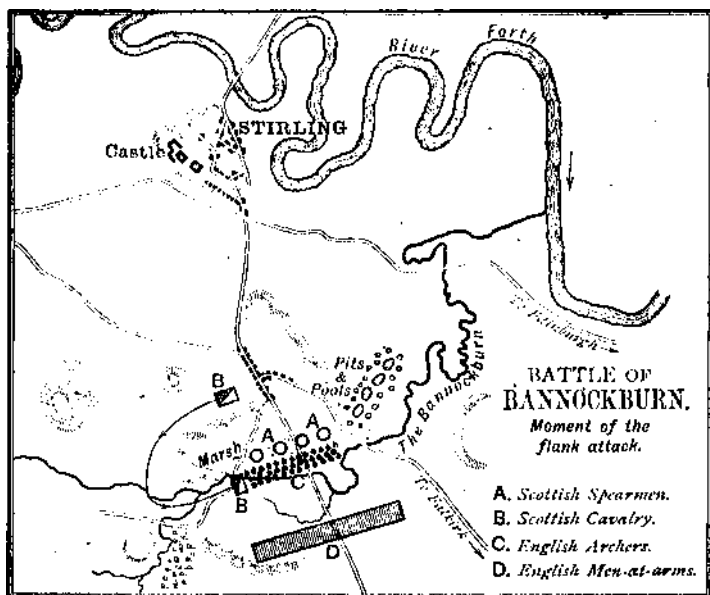
For the fight Bruce drew up his infantry in four divisions, all armed with long spears. Each division was circular in form, and the spears of the men of the front ranks stuck out in front like the spines of a hedgehog, making it almost impenetrable for cavalry. His horsemen Bruce kept in reserve. None of the English leaders, Edward himself, Humphrey of Hereford, or Gilbert of Gloucester, seem to have had any experience of high command; and, compared to the efficiency and readiness of Bruce, the English army was all confusion. At Falkirk, Edward I. had won the battle by first dispersing the Scottish cavalry and then bringing up his archers against the spearmen, who

Expedition
to Scotland.

The Scottish
Position.

The Battle
of Bannock-
burn.

could offer little resistance against missile weapons ; but at Bannockburn the archers were allowed to advance in a long line some way in front of the men-at-arms, while the Scottish cavalry was still unbroken. Of this mistake Bruce took instant advantage, and, bringing his horsemen round the marsh, hurled them on the flank of the English bowmen. Taken thus at a disadvantage, the whole line of archers were cut to pieces, and the Scottish horse had time to regain their old position before the English men-at-arms came up. This success decided the battle, for Edward's mail-clad cavalry could do nothing against the forests of levelled



spears that met its attack, and its headlong valour simply served to swell the slaughter. Presently, from behind the Scottish ranks, what appeared to be a fresh army was seen to be advancing, though in reality it was nothing more than a sham army of camp-followers, and the accident or ruse completed the confusion of the English lines. Defeat of the English.

Taking advantage of their disorder, Bruce ordered a general advance. Gloucester perished on the field ; Hereford and Edward both took refuge in flight; and a terrible slaughter of the now despairing fugitives, and the surrender of Stirling, closed a day as disgraceful to the English leaders as it was creditable to all ranks of the Scots,

This victory completed the work of the Scottish independence, and **for** the remainder of the war the Scots were the aggressors. Already, Bruce had found time for the conquest of the Isle of Man. In 1315 his brother David crossed the sea to Ireland, and endeavoured to emulate his brother by winning the crown of that island. His arrival was the signal for a partial rising of the natives ; but the chiefs, of Connaught and Munster remained true to the English crown. Next year he was joined by the king of Scots ; but an attack on Dublin failed. Robert soon returned ; and Edward Bruce, after being victorious in eighteen battles, was defeated and killed at Fagher, near Dundalk, in 1318. Beyond adding another to the list of sanguinary wars which desolated that unfortunate country, the expedition had no permanent effect on the condition of Ireland.

While Bruce had been away, Randolph, Douglas, and Bishop Sinclair had well filled his place, and on his return he proceeded to besiege and take Berwick ; and the eastern road into England being thus clear, every harvest time saw the Scots over the border and ravaging far and wide. On one occasion Scarborough, Northallerton, Boroughbridge, and Skipton were all burnt, and the whole country to the northwards harried with fire and sword. In 1319 they **were** again in Yorkshire, and the clergy, wishing to emulate the achievements of 1138, led out their flocks to withstand the invaders. Over such an army Randolph won an easy victory. Encountering them at Myton-on-Swale, he fired some stacks so that the wind blew the smoke into the eyes of the peasant host, and then charging with all his power he put them to the rout and slew so many of the white-surpliced clergy that the fight was named the Chapter of My ton. So terrible **were** the ravages of the Scots that no less than eighty-four villages were excused payment of taxes on the ground of their utter ruin ; and it is a certain fact that Northumberland farms, which had been in a flourishing condition down to 1314, were so devastated by the increasing warfare of the border that they never recovered their prosperity till after the accession of James I. of England.

To add to this misfortune of the kingdom, the years 1315 and 1316 were years of famine. In England famines were extremely rare, owing partly to the great diversity of the soil and climate, so that if **some** districts did badly others were better off, partly to the high standard of living to which the agricultural classes adhered, which gave a large margin between their ordinary fare and starvation. However, in these years incessant rain through the summer prevented the **corn** from ripening. In 1316 south Wales and Devonshire

and Cornwall escaped, but in 1316 the rain was universal. Consequently the mass of the people were put to sore straits to find food, many died, and even the royal table was with difficulty supplied with bread. Matters were made worse by the action of the great lords, who were driven to dismiss their retainers and servants; and these poor fellows, unaccustomed to work, and indeed without the means of getting a livelihood, betook themselves to robbery and pillage. So serious was the mortality that a permanent rise of wages to the extent of twenty per cent, was caused by the scarcity of labour. Cattle disease also broke out and caused great losses all over the country.

The disgrace of Bannockburn, the inroads of the Scots, the disasters of famine and pestilence completed the discredit of Edward's administration;

Thomas of
Lancaster.

while his cousin, Thomas of Lancaster, saw in the disasters of his country nothing but an excellent opportunity for pushing his own fortune. Since Gaveston's death his importance had been steadily growing. In 1311 the death of his father-in-law, the earl of Lincoln, gave him the two earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury. Archbishop Winchelsea died in 1313, and was replaced by the feeble Reynolds. Bannockburn removed the brave and high-minded earl of Gloucester, the "noblest character among the English barons. Warwick died in 1315. Lancaster's chief friends were Humphrey of Hereford and the two Roger Mortimers, of whom the elder, the lord of Chirk, was the nephew of the younger, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore; and in the council he was practically supreme. Against Lancaster's influence Edward tried to strengthen himself by the friendship of the earl of Pembroke, who had never forgiven Lancaster for his share in taking Gaveston from his charge, and by that

The
Despensers.

of the Hugh Despensers, father and son. Hugh Despenser the elder was the son of another Hugh, the friend of Simon de Montfort. He was a man of considerable ability, but grasping after wealth and tactless. His son Hugh, who had originally been placed near the king by Lancaster's influence, rapidly took the place in Edward's affections formerly filled by Gaveston. Edward gratified his new favourite by marrying him to his niece, one of the co-heiresses of the earl of Gloucester, which brought him into rivalry with Hereford, as lord of Brecon, and his fellow-marcher, Roger of Wigmore. Their rapidly accumulated wealth also added to their unpopularity. No less than sixty-three English manors were in their hands; and though by birth they ranked with the ancient families of the realm, they were almost as much hated as Gaveston, or as the foreigners of 1258. For some time, however, neither party was strong enough to crush the Other; but the country was kept in constant agitation by wars on the

Welsh march, by tournaments which served as excuses **for** armed assemblies of barons, by struggles for supremacy in the council, and by rumours that one party or another was intriguing with the Scots.

At length matters came to a head in a full parliament, which met at Westminster in July 1321, where a formal attack was made on the Despensers. The earl of Hereford appeared as chief prosecutor, and the favourites were accused of having prevented the magnates of the realm from having access to the king and of having removed ministers appointed by them, of having stirred up civil war, and generally of perverting and hindering justice. On this charge the barons condemned both Despensers to forfeit their property or to go into exile, and not return without the permission of the prelates, earls, and barons duly summoned in Parliament.

**Their
dismissal
demanded.**

Two months afterwards a reaction took place. Lady Badlesmere refused to admit Queen Isabella, who asked for a night's lodging in her castle of Leeds in Kent. Badlesmere was himself a foe of Lancaster; and when Edward appealed for aid to punish the

**The Queen
insulted.**

insult, Lancaster allowed him to get together a considerable force, of which Edward cleverly took advantage to attack the earl of Hereford. So much unexpected energy did the king display, that Lancaster was quite taken by surprise, and allowed the king to force the passage of the Severn, to crush the Mortimers, to capture the towns of Hereford and Gloucester, and to recall the Despensers in triumph. Hearing of these disasters, Lancaster, who had advanced into the Midlands, turned and fled north, probably hoping to join the Scots, with whom he had been engaged in a traitorous correspondence, and on his road was joined by Hereford and other fugitives from the west. On March 16 he reached

Boroughbridge on the Ure, but found the bridge held by Sir Andrew Harclay, governor of Carlisle. A desperate attempt

**Battle of
Borough-
bridge.**

was made to force the passage, but the archers on the northern bank commanded both the bridge and a neighbouring ford. Hereford was killed by a Welshman, who concealed himself among the supports of the bridge and stabbed him from below; and Lancaster, in utter despair, **took** sanctuary in a church. Thence he was dragged by Edward's men, who had closed upon his rear. Mounted on a **wretched** horse, he was taken in triumph to Pontefract, and there his head was struck off with every circumstance of contumely

**Execution of
Lancaster.**

and insult. Lord Badlesmere and twenty-eight others were hanged; the Mortimers and a number of others were imprisoned; and it seemed **for** the moment as though a clean sweep had been **made of** the **baronial**

party. Strangely enough, in spite of the known bad character of Lancaster, his evil life, his cruelty, selfishness, and contempt for human life, his showy popular qualities and his opposition to the still more detested Edward ultimately gained him the reputation of a saint—a fact which impressively shows the degradation through which the country was being dragged.

The fell of the Lancastrian party, however, was not in itself a blow to political progress such as a triumph of John over the barons of the

Constitutional importance of Lancaster.

Charter would have been. It is clear that Lancaster's idea of rule was not that of the king and nation working together, as had been the wish of Edward i., but rather of a baronial oligarchy controlling the king's policy by electing his council and officers, but not taking the people into their confidence. Even the Despensers had more conception of a national policy than their opponents ; and the acts of the parliament of York, called in May 1322, two months after the battle of Boroughbridge, are of distinct constitutional importance. In it the Ordinances were formally repealed, on the ground that they had been drawn up and published by men chosen only by the lords ; and the fundamental doctrine of the English constitution was formulated, that ' matters which are to be established for the estate of our lord the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, shall be treated, accorded, and established in parliaments by our lord the king, and by the consent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonality of the realm, according as hath been heretofore accustomed.' At the same time, as at Marlborough in 1267, the most valuable parts of the Ordinances were carefully re-enacted. When parliament was dissolved, Edward made a futile attempt to regain popularity by an invasion of Scotland ; but the expedition was a complete failure. The Scots were too wary to fight; the country had suffered too much to

maintain an army ; and when Edward recrossed the border the Scots entered England at his heels, all but took him prisoner at Byland Abbey, and routed him on the slopes of the Hambletons in October. Lancaster's treachery proved infectious; even Harclay, the victor of Boroughbridge, who had been made earl of Carlisle, was seduced from his allegiance, and, his crime being detected, he was degraded from his earldom and knighthood and ignominiously hanged within a year of his victory. With such a king, and with such leaders, the continuance of the war was impossible, and in 1323 a truce for thirteen years was made with the Scots.

Unwarned by their previous disaster, the Despensers, with almost inconceivable folly, again excited disgust, the elder, by his greediness, the

younger by the arrogance of his behaviour. The whole framework of government seemed about to dissolve: the law was unexecuted; the taxes were unpaid; the royal officials were detested; the clergy were neutral or disaffected: everything denoted a further revolution. Only a leader was wanting, and this was supplied in 1324 by the escape from the Tower of Roger Mortimer of Wigmore. Next year Edward found it necessary to send his queen to France to negotiate with her brother about the homage due from Gascony and Ponthieu. While there she was joined by Roger Mortimer, who soon alienated all her affection from her husband, and engaged her in a plot against the Despensers, of which the leading spirit was Mortimer's friend, Adam Orleton, bishop of Hereford. Of this plot Paris became the headquarters. Edward, duke of Aquitaine, now a lad of fourteen, who was sent over to do homage on behalf of his father, became a mere tool in his mother's hands. Compelled by her brother to leave Paris on the ground of her scandalous connection with Mortimer, Isabella removed to Hainault, where she secured a refuge and an army by negotiating a marriage between young Edward and Philippa, the daughter of the reigning count. At length, in September 1326, all was ready, and the conspirators landed at OrweU in Suffolk.

Folly of the
Despensers.

The Queen
in France.

Conspiracy
of the Queen
and Mor-
timer.

Meanwhile, Edward had found himself incapable of securing the means of defence, and his fleets and his armies alike dispersed for want of pay. The Despensers brought nothing but additional unpopularity; and when the queen landed, earls, bishops, barons, and townsmen crowded to join her, while her husband was all but deserted. Such rapid success naturally increased the ambition of the conspirators, and an expedition originally directed against the Despensers developed into one for the deposition of Edward himself. Not knowing where to take refuge in England, the king played into the hands of his enemies by an abortive attempt to escape to Ireland. He then wandered aimlessly about in Wales and the marches, accompanied by the younger Despenser, and ultimately fell into the hands of his enemies in November.

Incapacity
of Edward.

On Edward's flight to Ireland becoming known, young Edward was proclaimed guardian of the realm, and a parliament was summoned to meet in January 1327. Before it assembled, however, summary revenge was taken on the most unpopular of the king's immediate followers. On October 15, Bishop Stapleton, the treasurer, was murdered by the Londoners; on October 16, the elder Despenser was captured and hanged at Bristol; on November 17, the

Execution
of the
Despensers.

earl of Arundel was beheaded at Hereford by order of Mortimer; and on November 24, at the same place, the younger Despenser was hanged on a gallows fifty feet high.

The king's fate, however, required some deliberation; but when parliament met, Bishop Orleton's terse question, *whether they would have father or son for king,' disclosed an almost unanimous feeling against the elder Edward. Articles were drawn up in which **Deposition of the King.** the king's incompetence, his addiction to evil counsellors, his loss of Scotland, his violation of his coronation oath to do justice to all, and the utter hopelessness of expecting his amendment, were stated as obvious causes for his deposition. A request, however, was sent to Edward demanding his assent to his son's election. To this Edward was forced to consent. The homage and fealties sworn to him were then formally withdrawn, the high steward broke his staff, and the reign was thus declared to be at an end.

The ex-king was then handed over to the custody of Sir John Maltravers, his bitter enemy. By him he was carried successively to the castles of Corfe, Bristol, and Berkeley, and subjected to **Murder of Edward II.** the grossest indignities. So long, however, as he lived none of the conspirators could feel safe, and he was put to death on September 21, 1327. His corpse was then exposed to view, and was then quietly buried in the abbey church at Gloucester. The plea that he died a natural death deceived no one; but for some time reports were current that the corpse exposed was not that of the king's, and that he was really living in concealment. Edward does not seem to have been especially bad or incompetent—not so bad, for instance, as John, or so incompetent as Henry III.; but he did not realise that the first duty of a mediæval king was *to scorn delights and live laborious days,' and his disasters are to be traced chiefly to this radical defect.

The reign of Edward II. was remarkable for the fall of the Knights Templars. This order was founded in 1118, and was an attempt to combine the duties of a Christian soldier with the vows of monastic chastity, poverty, and obedience. During the **Order of the Templars dissolved.** fighting in Palestine it had, with their fellow-order the Knights Hospitallers, done yeoman service; but after the fall of Acre in 1291 its original mission might be regarded as ended. Offers of territory had been made to both orders. Richard I. had offered Cyprus to the Templars, Rhodes had been occupied by the Hospitallers; but while the latter turned Rhodes into a fortress and made it, for two centuries, the bulwark of the Grecian archipelago against the inroads of the Mahommedans, the Templars gave up all connection with the east, and

so abandoned all pretence of fulfilling the object of their existence. Naturally, such conduct drew upon them the condemnation of public opinion, and a body which was at once rich, landed and idle, and had at command a body of 40,000 picked cavalry, could not expect to be viewed with indifference. In addition to this, rumours were in circulation that life in the East, and their long contact with the Mohammedan world, had impaired both the orthodoxy and the manners of the knights. These accusations obtained the widest credence in France, where the order was particularly strong, and were taken up by Philip the Fair. As Pope Clement v. was a mere creature of Philip, the hostility of the French king was fatal to the order. After an investigation, the value of which is much decreased by the use of torture to extort confessions, a council held at Vienne in 1311 suppressed the order, and the bulk of its property was assigned to the Hospitallers, whose operations at Rhodes had recently gained them considerable popularity.

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
The Lords Ordainers, .	1310
Oaveston's death,	1313
Battle of Bannockbura,	1314
Battle of Boroughbridge, ,	1322
Aceoution of Lancaster,	1322

CHAPTER III

EDWARD III: 1327-1377

Born 1312; married, 1328, Philippa of Hainault.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Castile.</i>
Robert I., d. 1329.	Charles iv., d. 1328.	Pedro the Cruel, 1350, d. 1368
David II., d. 1370.	Philip vi., d. 1350.	
Robert II. d. 1390.	John, d. 1364.	
	Charles v.. d. 1380.	
	<i>fimpcror.</i>	
	Louis iv., 1813-1347.	

fall of Mortimer—Scottish Affairs bring on War with France, which led to important Constitutional Developments—Battles of Sluys and Crecy—Siege of Calais—The Black Death, and its effects on the Manorial System—Battle of Poitiers and Treaty of Bretigny—Spanish Expedition leads to a disastrous renewal of the War—Growth of a strong feeling against the Pope and the Clergy—John of Gaunt and Wyclif--The Reforms of the Good Parliament.

THE deposition of Edward II. had been effected by the coalition of three parties: a court party, represented by Isabella and the king's half-brothers, the earls of Norfolk and Kent; the Lords of Parties. Condition of Parties. Marcher, headed by Mortimer; and the Lancastrians or Northerners, led by Earl Thomas's younger brother Henry; and in nominating a standing council of fourteen to manage the State during the new king's minority, the claims of each were fully taken into consideration. Henry of Lancaster, who, on the reversal of his brother's attainder became earl of Lancaster, Leicester, Lincoln, and Derby, was its president; and other leading members were the earls of Norfolk and Kent, Bishop Orleton, the treasurer and confidant of Mortimer and the queen, and John Stratford, the rising administrator and Mend of Lancaster, who had drafted the articles of accusation against the late* king. Mortimer contented himself with the reality of influence, and devoted himself to amassing enormous wealth.

The immediate attention of the new government had to be given to Scotland. In 1323, a truce for thirteen years had been signed ; but the confusion into which English affairs had fallen suggested to Bruce, the opportuneness of the moment for securing a complete recognition of his independence; and in 1327 he broke the truce, and sent an army under Douglas into the northern counties. The tactics of the Scots made them the most formidable of raiders. Their soldiers were all mounted. Each carried on his saddle a bag of oatmeal, and an iron plate on which he cooked it, mixed with water from the nearest stream. For meat they trusted to plunder, and haring flayed the captured beasts, they fastened their skins by the legs to four posts, filled them with water, and, having lighted a fire beneath, boiled the flesh. Such an army was too rapid in its motions to be easily followed; but after a long chase Edward found them encamped on the banks of the Wear, near Stanhope. Their position was too strong to be assaulted with success: a proposal that the English should be allowed to cross without opposition and fight on fair ground was scornfully rejected by Douglas; and, after some manoeuvring, the Scots broke up their camp and recrossed the Border. Such an inglorious campaign gave little encouragement to either party to continue the war. Bruce was now an old man, and was anxious to secure a peaceful reign for his little son David ; the northern barons were tired of having their estates subjected to continual pillage ; and, accordingly, in 1328,* a treaty was made at Northampton, by which in return for £20,000 the English king renounced the claim to overlordship made by his grandfather, and gave his sister Joan to be brought up as David's affianced wife. The next year Robert Bruce died, and was succeeded by David, who, at his coronation, was anointed with oil, thus asserting that he reigned as an independent monarch, and not merely as the vassal of England.

Scottish
Affairs.

Invasion of
England.

Treaty of
Northamp-
ton.

Prudent as the peace of Northampton undoubtedly was, it proved exceedingly unpopular in the south of England, where the ravages of war had not been felt. One of the chief accusations against the late king had been the loss of Scotland ; and the appropriation by Mortimer and Isabella of the £20,000 seemed to be the culmination of the disgrace. For some time the council had been anything but harmonious; and in 1328, Lancaster, disgusted with a position which gave him the appearance of responsibility without any of the reality of power, formed a plan to get rid of Mortimer, who had recently been created earl of March. The scheme, however, was premature : the earls of Norfolk and Kent, who for a moment joined

Plots against
Mortimer.

Lancaster, deserted him, and the earl was compelled to make, terms Mortimer then turned on the unfortunate earl of Kent, accused him of plotting to restore Edward II., of whose continued existence he had been persuaded by Mortimer's agents, and in March 1330 hurried him to execution. This wicked act roused the horror of the whole country: Lancaster felt that he would be himself the next victim, and he at once took effective measures to secure the assistance of Edward for the overthrow of his mother's paramour. The young king had been married in 1328, and was already the father of a son, afterwards the Black Prince, when in 1330 Lancaster opened his eyes to the extraordinary insolence of Mortimer. Then measures were promptly taken. In spite of all Mortimer's precautions he was arrested in Nottingham Castle, and, having been taken to London, was hanged. Mortimer was hanged on the elms at Tyburn. Isabella herself was stripped of her ill-gotten wealth, restricted to a pension of £3000 a year, and condemned to perpetual residence at the manor of Rising, where she lived till 1358.

With the fall of Mortimer, the real reign of Edward in. may be said to begin. The young king was, and continued to be all his life, primarily a soldier. His morality was founded on the code of honour enjoined by the laws of chivalry, and he represented in his own person the strength and the weakness of that institution. Honourable in dealing with all who came within the social pale of the knightly order, he had little sympathy for the trader or the peasant. Scrupulously courteous, he was little affected by the laws of Christian morality. A mirror of knightly accomplishments, he was vain, selfish, and pitiless. He regarded England chiefly as the source of his supplies of men and money, and persisted in pursuing his warlike schemes long after his subjects had become tired of them. At the same time his reign, though mainly associated with his wars, was very important from a constitutional point of view, as his constant demands for money compelled negotiations with parliament, and the consequence was a steady progress towards constitutional government.

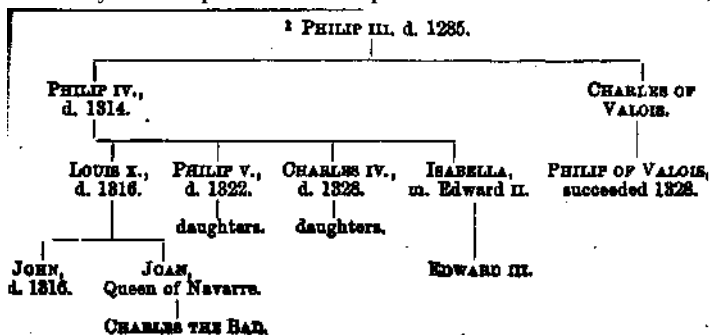
In the early years of his reign, Edward gave his chief confidence to John Stratford, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1333, and who, with his brother Robert, engrossed the chief administrative business of the next ten years. Both were men of industry, honesty, and considerable ability; but none of the officials of Edward's reign were marked by any pre-eminence in statesmanship, a circumstance which makes Edward's personal power more conspicuous than it would otherwise have been.

In 1332 a new difficulty arose in Scotland. A number of English barons, who held lands at both sides of the border, had lost their Scottish estates by the separation of the two kingdoms. These Edward made common cause with Edward Balliol, son of John, the Balliol. late king, and, the border being closed against them by the orders of the government, took ship at Ravenspur, on the Humber, and landed an army on the coast of Fife. There, by a wonderful stroke of fortune, they defeated a Scottish army with enormous loss in the night battle of Dupplin Moor ; and Balliol was crowned at Scone within a few weeks of his landing. His fall was equally rapid. Five weeks later he was badly defeated, and returned to England a helpless and solitary fugitive. Edward had discountenanced this expedition ; but as its events seemed to show the weakness of Scotland, he imitated the bad example of Bruce in similar circumstances, and determined to take advantage of David's minority to renew his claim to homage. Accordingly he recognised Edward Balliol's pretensions, and sent him with an army to undertake the siege of Berwick, where he himself arrived in 1333. To save the town, a relieving force of Scots under Archibald Douglas attacked Edward on Halidon Hill, a piece of rising ground two miles Battle of north of the town. Standing on the defensive, the English Halidon Hill. archers repelled every effort of the Scottish horsemen to make their way up the slope. The obstinacy of the Scots only added to the slaughter ; and eventually Douglas himself fell, and with him perished the flower of the Scottish nobility and a vast number of less distinguished combatants. Berwick instantly surrendered. Young David and his queen were hurried off to France, and Balliol was again placed on the throne. His second reign, however, was little longer than his first. Disgusted to find him a mere English puppet, who was willing not only to hold his crown as a vassal of England, but even to hand over to the English king that part of the lowlands which lies east of a line drawn from Linlithgow to Dumfries, i.e., roughly speaking, the old earldom of Lothian (see p. 65), the Scots again rose, and, though Balliol maintained Failure of his ground while English support was forthcoming, the Balliol. English were no sooner engaged in the French war than he began to lose ground- In 1339 he was forced to evacuate the country by David's brother-in-law, Robert the Steward ; and, in 1341, David ventured to return to Scotland. The only permanent result of Balliol's temporary success was the acquisition of Berwick by England.

The French war grew out of Edward's attack on Scotland. An alliance with France against England had been from the first the policy of the Scottish patriots ; and this policy, which brought untold misery

on all three countries, now showed its baleful effects. The Scots called on Philip vi. for aid, and in spite of the remonstrances of the pope, he took advantage of the situation to attack Gascony. Causes of the French War. Edward was naturally furious; and, unluckily, circumstances gave him an opportunity of raising a claim to the French crown, which was the cause of almost interminable hostilities, and an utterly unnatural feeling of hereditary hatred between the two countries. In 1316 died John i., the infant son of Louis x., who had succeeded his father, Philip the Fair, in 1314, and himself died in the following year. Anxious to avoid giving the crown to Louis' daughter Joan, then a mere child, the French nobles took advantage of a law of the Salian Franks, which disqualified a woman from reigning, and gave the throne to Louis' next brother, Philip v. In 1322 he too died, leaving only daughters, and the precedent having been established, the crown passed to his brother Charles; and at his death without a son in 1328, to his cousin, Philip of Valois, the son of Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fair.¹ In 1328 Edward, as the son of Isabella, had made some demur to the accession of Philip vi.; but as he had done him homage for Gascony and Ponthieu in 1329 and 1331, his objection might be regarded as withdrawn.

Edward, however, not only professed to believe that his claim was just, but it is indisputable that, at the commencement of the war, he persuaded the English parliament that if he succeeded it would be an advantage for the country. Many causes probably contributed to this end, There was something in the idea that the cost of a court might be more easily borne by two countries than by one; the memory of the prosperity of English commerce when both sides of the Channel were in the same hands, and annoyance at the ravages committed by French pirates would dispose the merchants in its favour ;



and an alliance with the Flemish wool merchants, always at variance with their count and with their overlord the king of France, would seem a valuable security for the wool trade. The country, too, was prosperous ; the spirit of chivalry was in the air ; and since the cessation of the Crusades in the East, foreign war had become almost the only opening for gratifying the love of adventure inherent in the English race. At any rate, Edward secured the hearty sympathy of his subjects, which Parliament showed by voting for each year from 1336 to 1340 a fifteenth from the knights and barons, a tenth from the towns, and a tenth from the clergy for five years in succession ; by raising the wool tax in 1336 to forty shillings per sack ; and in 1338 giving him no less than half the wool of the realm, amounting to 20,000 sacks.

Encouraged by finding parliament so ready to aid him, Edward took the title of King of France in 1337 ; and in 1338, * by the assent of the Lords and at the earnest request of the Commons,' he prepared to enforce his claim by arms. For an army, Edward relied neither on the feudal array nor on the militia. He filled the ranks of his army by hiring soldiers, so that the English force which fought the battles of the French war was in reality a volunteer army, like that which exists at present, except that the men were hired not for a regular term of service, irrespective of peace and war, but for the war only. Such an army was far more efficient than any feudal levy or array of soldiers furnished by requisition from the counties, of which such a diverting description is given in Shakespeare's *Henry IV.*, Part I. The men were picked men, kept in order by the fear of being turned adrift in a foreign country, accustomed to act together, and sufficiently practised in the rude drill required for efficiency as footmen. Above all ; they were thoroughly versed in the use of their weapons, and steady practice on Sunday afternoons had made every English yeoman a well-trained archer. The six-foot yew bow and three-foot arrow, the head of which was drawn level with the ear, was an effective weapon up to 260 yards, while the use of sword and buckler was the ordinary accomplishment of all who valued a reputation for manly vigour. Soldiers took service under some great leader, like Sir Walter Manny, and looked to him for the pay and orders which he received from the king, so that the whole force was a disciplined and well-organised body. Moreover, in England there was comparatively little of the class feeling which was so fatal to the harmony of feudal armies. Halidon Hill and Bannockburn had conclusively proved that the real strength of an English army lay in its archers ; and that cavalry, however chivalrous, could do little or nothing

without their support. Nothing did more than the recognition of this fact to cement all classes together. In an English force, noble and yeoman fought on foot and side by side. Efficiency was, as a rule, made the qualification for command; and miserable as were many of the results of the French wars, they gave us the memory of some splendid victories, which are the heritage not of the nobility or of the gentry, but of Englishmen of every class.

For allies, Edward followed the obvious policy of confederating the smaller states on the French borders. The emperor, Louis of Bavaria, and William of Hainault were his brothers-in-law; the Flemings, under the great brewer, James van Artevelde, were to him what the Scots were to Philip of France; and he hoped by a free distribution of money to attack the north-eastern frontier of France with an overwhelming force; while Henry, earl of Derby, son of Henry of Lancaster, undertook the task of defending Gascony.

In 1338 Edward sailed to Flanders, and called on his allies to fulfil their promises. The response, however, was extremely tardy. Some refused to invade France; others to advance far across the frontier; and Edward, having in vain challenged Philip to a fair battle, and waited his onset for a whole day at the village of Flamengrie, was forced to retrace his steps, after incurring the enormous debt of £300,000.

Such a deficit compelled Edward to make a further appeal to the patriotism of his subjects. Nor did he ask in vain, for in 1339 the barons offered him the tenth lamb, the tenth fleece, and the tenth sheaf; and the commons no less than 30,000 sacks of wool. These grants, however, were not made without equivalent concessions on the king's side. The taxpayers were perfectly aware of the strength they derived from the king's necessities, and steadily adhered to the parliamentary maxim, that redress of grievances must always precede supply. The grants, therefore, were made conditional upon the king's acceptance of a series of articles of reform. These were most important. By one, the king promised that he would collect no more unauthorised tallages—a concession which completed the restrictions on arbitrary taxation contained in the *Confirmatio Ghartarum*. By a second, redress was promised of the grievances of purveyance. A third did away with the ancient impost of 'presentment of Englisbry,' which practically amounted to a line on the hundred of about £40 for every unpunished murder.

Other causes besides the war helped to increase the power of parliament. By the statute of York in 1322, the commons had obtained full

recognition of their right to a share in the deliberations of Parliament. In 1331 and 1332 the knights of the shire had deliberated by themselves on the question of Edward's quarrel with France, and a proposed crusade. From this time the separation between the knights and the barons seems to have been usual, and in 1341 the knights are recorded to have sat in one body with the representatives of cities and boroughs. This change was most important. By birth the knights of the shire were of the same class as the lords ; often they were younger sons of baronial families. As landholders, though their properties were smaller, they tended to look at things from the same point of view as the barons ; while by sitting with the townsmen they learned to appreciate their standpoint, and to act in common with the trading classes. A hundred years later the towns had even begun to elect country gentlemen as representatives, so that the distinction between town and country became almost obliterated. This arrangement, which was almost peculiar to England, marked the great difference between the English parliament and the estates, diets, and cortes of the continent. In these, the three divisions between nobles, clergy, and commonalty gave the sovereigns a welcome opportunity of playing off two classes against the third to the ruin of all ; whereas in England, the union of the bishops, earls, and barons in one house, the union of the knights of the shire, citizens, and burgesses in another, and the absence of the inferior clergy, though it spoilt the symmetry and even the completeness of the representation, effectually deprived English sovereigns of this method of attack. The presence of the bishops and abbots in the Upper House also made the House of Commons to be distinctly the house of the laity, and consequently the representative of a feeling of resentment against the engrossing of offices by the clergy, which had already begun to show itself. The community of feeling between the barons and the knights of the shire, and the disadvantage under which the barons found themselves in being outvoted in their own house by the solid phalanx of clerical members, soon led to the lords pushing the commons forward into the forefront of the constitutional battle, and to their finding their best advantage in bringing forward their stewards for election as knights of the shire, and using all their territorial influence to secure a majority in the popular chamber.

Increasing
Power of
Parliament.

Separation
into two
Houses.

Strength
of the
Commons.

The consideration of the terms demanded in 1339 took some time, and the grants were not made till April 1340, when, in consequence of the king's concessions, both barons and commons made an even more liberal contribution than they had originally offered. Philip had by this

time altered his tactics ; and instead of playing a waiting game within his own frontier, had taken measures to prevent Edward from again landing in the Netherlands. With this view he had sent to the ^{Battle of} Sluys. harbour of Sluys, on the coast of Flanders, a fleet of over two hundred vessels. Edward had wisely expended part of his money on restoring the navy. He was, therefore, able to collect a strong force from the southern ports; and without waiting for the northern contingent, sailed in June to attack Philip's fleet. He found it drawn up in four lines, the ships of which were chained together, bow and stern, so as to make a floating rampart, on which the men-at-arms could fight as on land. Against this Edward devised an ingenious method of attack. He arranged his ships in groups of three; that in the centre carrying men-at-arms, those to right and left of it, archers. Then waiting till the afternoon sun was at his back, he bore down on the French lines. His ingenuity was rewarded with a great success. The archers soon cleared the decks of the French vessels ; the men-at-arms completed the victory by boarding, and soon every ship in the front line was in English hands. At this moment the contingent from the northern ports came up, and a fresh advance was prepared for. Terrified at the prospect, the Frenchmen in the second and third lines leapt overboard; but the sixty ships of the fourth line fought well, and a few made good their escape under cover of the night. The immediate effects of the victory were most important. Every French port was opened to Edward, and though, in 1350, he had a severe struggle with a fleet of Spanish privateers, the dominion of the seas was secured for England for nearly thirty years.

Flushed with his success, Edward then formed the siege of Tournay. But again Philip's tactics foiled him. Tournay was held by a powerful garrison. Philip with a large army hovered near, ready to take advantage of any mistake but resolutely determined not to fight on equal terms. The long delay exhausted Edward's supplies, and when winter came on he was obliged to raise the siege.

Furious at his disappointment, Edward foolishly allowed himself to be hurried into a quarrel with the Stratfords, who had been his faithful servants for ten years. Like every other minister who was ^{Quarrel with the} not a baron, the Stratfords had enemies among the nobility, and the archbishop had probably aggravated their hostility by courageously setting his face against the growing immorality. There was also rising a feeling against the monopoly of office enjoyed by the clergy. As the official representative of the old Lancastrian party, Stratford was also opposed by Orletou and by Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln, a

nephew of Lord Badlesmere ; and Edward, angry at the slowness with which supplies had been sent, allowed himself to lend a ready ear to the accusations of Stratford's enemies. Accordingly, in November, he arrived without warning in London, and the very next day turned Robert Stratford out of the chancellorship, dismissed a number of other officials, and even imprisoned some merchants, among whom was William de la Pole. He then made one layman, Kobert Bouchier, chancellor, and another, Sir Robert Parning, treasurer.

Meanwhile the archbishop, flying before the storm, had taken refuge at Canterbury, and when Edward summoned him to court, he declined to place himself in the king's power. In some respects the quarrel recalls that between Stephen and Roger of Salisbury ; but the conditions were really very different. If Stratford had trusted to his position as a churchman he would have leant on a broken reed ; but in trusting to the support, not of garrisoned castles, but of the goodwill of the English people, he stood on far stronger ground than either Thomas of Canterbury or Roger of Salisbury. Stratford maintained that the recent arrests were illegal, and declined to meet the king except in full parliament. Edward, on his side, accused Stratford of wasting his money, and so of being the real cause of the recent failure. In April 1341 parliament met. When the archbishop appeared he received orders to present himself before the court of exchequer. His answer was a demand to be tried by his peers. The case was referred to a committee of twelve lords, who reported that to try a peer except in full parliament and before his peers was illegal. This decision showed that Stratford had the parliament at his back, and Edward wisely gave way.

The Rights of Peers.

Not contented with this victory, for which they were mainly indebted to Stratford's courage and character, the lords and commons proceeded to extract further concessions as the price of the additional grant. Again Edward was forced to yield, and his constitutional concessions embodied three rules of very great importance. First, that the accounts of the kingdom should be audited by auditors elected in parliament; second, that the chancellor and other great ministers should be appointed by consultation between the king and his lords, and should be sworn before parliament to keep the law ; third, that at the beginning of each parliament ministers were to resign their offices into the king's hands, and be compelled to answer complaints brought against them. The first of these gave parliament increased control over the purse, for it enabled it not only to vote taxa but also to inquire how they had been spent: the second and

Further Concessions of Edward.

Auditing: of Accounts.
Appointment of Ministers.

Ministerial Responsibility.

third contained the principles that parliament ought to have a voice in the appointment of ministers, and also that ministers, when appointed, are responsible to parliament for their management of affairs. These contain in the rough the framework of the constitution as we see it working at present. Could they have been maintained in practice, the parliament of the fourteenth century would have anticipated, by more than three centuries, the actual growth of parliamentary government. The ground, however, so gained was too advanced to be held. In October, when the king had obtained his supplies, he ventured to revoke his concessions, and the next parliament raised no opposition to his action; but, short-lived as they were, they serve to show how uniform have been the objects aimed at by English statesmen, and how strong parliament had become.

For some years after the abortive expedition of 1340 the French war languished. To the credit of successive popes, great efforts were made by the church to effect a reconciliation between Edward and Philip on the basis of Edward receiving Gascony in full sovereignty in exchange for a renunciation of his claim to the crown; but though they were able to negotiate prolonged truces, the suspicions of both sides prevented the conclusion of a definite peace. However, a disputed succession in the duchy of Brittany between John de Montfort, the brother, and Jane, the niece of the late duke, opened up a new field of warfare. Edward, with curious inconsistency, supported the claims of John; Philip, more logical, as correctly distinguishing between the succession to a crown and that to a duchy, espoused that of Jane, and soon a civil war was being fought in Brittany with the aid of soldiers from both England and France. Meanwhile Edward had become disgusted with his northern allies. Louis of Bavaria had deserted him; James van Artevelde had been murdered in 1345 by the men of Ghent as their answer to a suggestion that they should take Edward's son Edward as their lord; nothing more could be hoped from Hainault, so Edward determined to attack France from a new quarter.

Since the cessation of the war on the Flemish frontier, Philip had been able to concentrate his forces in the south, and had pressed hardly on the English garrison of Gascony. The earl of Derby, however, had defended himself with great skill, and at Auberoche had won a brilliant victory over a superior French force. Accordingly, in 1346, Philip determined to crush him with an overwhelming army of 100,000 men; and, as a diversion, Edward crossed the Channel and landed in Normandy. After reaching Caen he proceeded to Rouen, intending to cross the Seine and make a junction with a body of Flemings who were ravaging in, the north-east. He found, however, that the bridge was

Abortive
Negotia-
tions.

Invasion of
Normandy.

strongly held, and that Philip with a numerous force was guarding the northern bank. Foiled at Rouen, Edward marched up the river, sacking and burning Mantes and Vernon as he went; but failed to find a bridge or ford unguarded. His movements were followed by Philip on the north bank; and it seemed as though retreat either to Gaacony or to his ships was inevitable, when a clever feint on Paris caused Philip to hurry on, and Edward rapidly retracing his steps, seized the bridge of Poissy a few miles below Paris, and flung his army across the river before his design was discovered. (See p. 317.)

From Poissy Edward made all haste towards the Flemish frontier, hotly pursued by the French; but his road was barred by the river Sonime, which flows slow and deep through a marshy soil, and could only be crossed at a few points. These were all held, and Edward found himself enclosed in the angle between the river and the coast. Escape seemed impossible, when a peasant was induced by promises and threats to disclose the existence of a bar of white shingle, still called *Blanche Taque*, where the Somine could be crossed at low-water just above its junction with the sea. On arriving there the ford was found to be defended by a powerful force of cavalry; but the English, impelled by the courage of despair, fought their way across, and Philip only arrived in time to see the incoming tide effectually prevent the continuance of the pursuit. Chagrined at his disappointment he retraced his steps to Abbeville, while Edward, who was now determined to risk a fight, turned to bay at Crecy, a little village situated in his hereditary county of Ponthieu.

March
through
Prance.

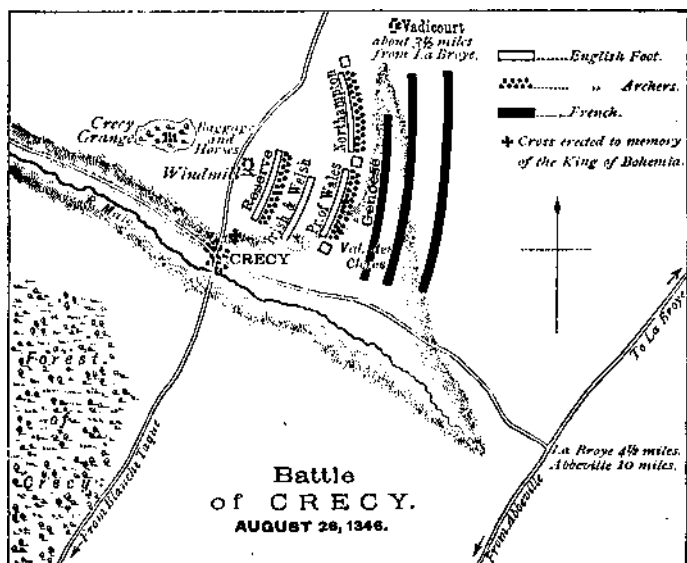
The ground chosen may well have reminded Edward of Halidon Hill, where he had seen archers defeat a force of cavalry similar to that by which he now expected to be attacked. Behind the village of Crecy a piece of high ground slopes away on three sides for a distance of six hundred yards from a windmill which still marks the spot. Such sloping ground was exactly what was wanted for archers, in order that the rear ranks might have a good view of their opponents, and it also gave the cavalry the additional disadvantage of having to charge uphill. Accordingly, Edward halted there on the evening of August 25, and prepared to fight Philip on the following day.

Crecy.

The rest was a great help to the English, and they made good use of it to prepare for the coming fight. Edward drew up his men on the hill side with their backs to the light, in three bodies each composed of men-at-arms and archers. All were on foot. The archers of each body were arranged in lines behind one another, like the teeth of a harrow, or the pieces on a draught-board so that those

Position of
the English.

in the rear could shoot over the heads of their fellows. Behind the archers stood the men-at-arms, armed with spear, sword and buckler, and provided with coats of mail. The first division, led by the Prince of Wales, now a lad of fifteen, assisted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, was on the right. Behind him were a body of Welsh and Irish footmen, armed with long knives. To the left of the prince's men, and a little in their rear, was the second division under the earl of Northampton. The third, under Edward himself, was in reserve. Edward is said to have had in these divisions only four thousand men-at-arms and twelve thousand archers; but besides these he had the Welsh and Irish, and a body of archers had been told off to guard the baggage and the horses.



Against this small but highly efficient force, in which nobility, gentry, and yeomanry stood side by side, presenting on the battlefield the unity of sentiment which was the true cause of the national strength, Philip brought an army, vast indeed, but singularly typical of the distracted condition of the country. The vast majority of the fighting-men were feudal vassals, arrayed in full armour and on horseback. The middle classes were conspicuous by their absence. A few serfs, dragged unwillingly to the field, made up the native infantry, to which was added a body of fifteen thousand Genoese crossbowmen by

way of supplementing the most obvious of their deficiencies. Philip, who liked not pitched battles, wished to postpone the fight till the next day ; but the impetuosity of his men, who looked on victory as certain, flung prudence to the winds.

The first to attack were the Genoese ; but a heavy thunder-shower had wetted their crossbow-strings, and their bolts flew feeble and inefficient. The English, on the other hand, to whom rain was no stranger, The Battle. had kept their strings under their coats till the last moment, and their arrows flew true and strong to the mark. Before such a deadly hail the Genoese drew back, and the French knights, furious at their defeat, cut down the poor fellows as they ran. Then the serious fighting began. As at Halidon, the cavalry struggled to mount the hill, but the English shafts soon strewed the ground with struggling horses and fallen men, among whom the Welsh and Irish did terrible slaughter with their long knives. At length by sheer weight of numbers the French closed on the English ranks, but so well did the first and second divisions stand their ground, that the king, who from the windmill commanded a perfect view of the field, never found it necessary to engage his reserve at all. In vain the count of Alencón, the brother of the French king, sacrificed his life; in vain the blind old king of Bohemia, who was fighting as an ally of Philip, caused his horse to be led into the fight so that he might have one stroke at the English. When night fell the English ranks were still unbroken, while the French, wearied and leaderless, were in hopeless confusion. Philip, wounded, fled from the field to La Broye, and thence to Amiens. The next day a dense mist prevented the French from rallying or seeing their enemies, and the slaughter of stragglers was said to have exceeded that of the battle itself. Altogether, eleven princes and twelve hundred knights met their death, and of those of less note a number estimated at thirty thousand. The glory of the day was given to the Prince of Wales, who adopted as his own the motto *Ich dien*, ' I serve,' said to have been that of the king of Bohemia; but the chief merit of the victory was really due to the archers.

From Crecy, Edward marched to Calais and laid siege to it. For several reasons Calais was a valuable prize. Its possession Siege of Calais. would place in English hands a convenient landing-place for troops, contiguous alike to France and Flanders. It would also be an excellent emporium for trade; and, moreover, would destroy a nest of pirates which had long been a bugbear to the merchants of the Channel. The works of Calais, however, were strong; the marshes by which it was surrounded were passable at few places. Winter was coming on, so Edward decided not to hazard the risk and loss of English life that Btiai

attend a regular siege, but to house his men comfortably, exclude all provisions from the beleaguered town, and wait for famine to do its awful work. Such a course, the hardships of which fell not so much on the fighting-men of the garrison as on the unfortunate inhabitants of the town, added a new and terrible horror to war.

Philip's first hope was that a Scottish invasion of England might compel Edward to return. At his request David had crossed the border

Scottish
Invasion.

with a large force of light horsemen, and made his way by Hexham into the bishopric of Durham. To meet them, a

second army was collected by the orders of Queen Philippa, under the archbishop of York and the lords Henry Percy and Ralph Neville, and

Battle of
Neville's
Cross.

compelled the Scots to fight at Neville's Cross on October 17. Hedges and enclosure* encumbered the Scottish attack.

Checked by these, their horsemen presented an easy mark to the English archers. As the Scottish ranks wavered, the English in their turn charged, and so vigorous was their onset that both wings of the Scottish army were quickly broken. In the centre, however, David fought with unflinching courage, but an arrow-wound in the face brought him to the ground. Coupland, a Northumberland gentleman, effected his capture ; and the discomfited Scots fled in utter disorder.

The victory of Neville's Cross and the capture of the Scottish king effectually secured Edward from Scottish interruption; and his sailors beat off a relieving fleet which Philip dispatched to succour the garrison. All through the winter the terrible blockade went on, and when spring came Philip summoned another army and advanced to raise the siege. His efforts, however, were abortive. He found the English lines too skilfully planned and too well defended to offer the least prospect of a successful assault; and though Edward, somewhat rashly, advanced into the open country and challenged him to an equal fight, Philip preferred an ignominious retreat to another experience of English archery. Thus, deserted by their sovereign, and having finished their provisions, the garrison had no course but unconditional surrender; and on August 4,

Surrender
of Calais.

1347, Calais capitulated. Edward made some show of punishing the townspeople for their piracy ; but graciously yielded to the milder counsels of his queen, Philippa. Determined to hold the town at all costs, Edward removed all the inhabitants who declined to take an oath of allegiance, and filled up their places with colonists from England. To secure the prosperity of the town, a market was established for the staple commodities of tin, lead, and cloth, and as the chief channel for trade between England and the continent it enjoyed, under its English rulers, many years of great prosperity.[^] The defences were put

in such good order as to be deemed impregnable, and a strong garrison maintained.

While Edward had been successful in the north, a less conspicuous but even more honourable war had been maintained in Gascony. Philip had sent his best troops to the south, and the summer of 1346 saw John, duke of Normandy, his eldest son, enter the province with an excellent force of six thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, and a full complement of besieging engines. Before them the Gascon fortresses fell fast, till at length the castle of Aiguillon, defended by Sir Walter Manny, checked their progress. From May till the end of August, this brave man and his heroic followers repelled every assault. Famine, however, was imminent, when the news of Crecy recalled Duke John to the assistance of his father; and the earl of Derby, vigorously taking the offensive, was able not only to clear Gascony of the French, but to storm and plunder the rich town of Poitiers. In recognition of his services, Derby, who in 1345 had become earl of Lancaster, was in 1351 honoured with the title of duke, a rank first created in England for Edward's eldest son, who had been made duke of Cornwall in 1337.

The capture of Calais brings to a close the first period of the war. Towards securing the crown of France, Edward had made little or no progress, but he had taken Calais, brought home quantities of spoil, and permanently enriched the annals of England with the memory of the victory of Crecy. On the other hand, war and plunder had begun to have a demoralising effect on the country. The standard of luxury is thought to have been permanently raised by the lavish squandering of the spoils of France; the profession of arms had been exalted to an undue eminence, to the disadvantage of more useful though less showy avocations; and habits of plunder and rapine, learned in foreign war, were not readily abandoned, and tended to harden the national character.

For a time, however, the attention of men was diverted from the war by the arrival of a new and horrible calamity. This was the Black Death, the best-known of a series of plagues which devastated England during the years 1349, 1361, and 1369. It was Relieved to have broken out in China in 1333, and gradually made its way to Europe, devastating each country through which it passed with all the rapidity and destructiveness of a new disease. Carried by infection along the usual trade-routes, it reached Constantinople and Cyprus in 1347. It appeared at Avignon in January 1348; in April it reached Florence; and the first cases were noticed in Dorsetshire in August.

From the Dorsetshire ports it spread to Bristol, and thence to Oxford, and from Oxford it made its way to London, and from there to Norwich. It then spread over the northern counties. For some time, however, it was checked by the devastated line of the border, and the exultant Scots began to swear 'By the foul death of the English'; but presuming on their fancied impunity, a raiding party ventured across the line, and the disease soon showed itself no respecter of persons. From England it travelled to Norway, and finally reached Russia in 1351. Everywhere it went its ravages were terrible; the strongest died even more suddenly than the weak. Neither palace nor cottage was spared. The spread of infection was aided by the filthy habits of the people, and the neglect of all sanitary precautions.

It is hard to know how many persons died. There were then no registers of deaths and burials, and in time of panic such matters are apt to be exceedingly exaggerated. The best modern calculations, however, put the number at one in three of the whole population. The disease spared no class. A daughter of Edward, and two archbishops of Canterbury, were victims of the first year; in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire, one half of the parish priests are said to have perished. On some manors whole families seem to have been cleared off. The Oxford students were decimated. In many monasteries the numerous vacancies had to be filled as best they could, and a permanent deterioration in the character of the monks seems to have been the consequence. On the other hand, the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, suffered little—an escape probably due to the good supply of pure water, which, a century before, they had prudently laid on from the hills.

This great disaster was sufficient to cause an economical revolution. At that date England was almost wholly an agricultural country. Some The Manorial cloth was made, indeed, but mostly for domestic use and System. not for sale; the greater part of the English wool being despatched to the looms of Flanders. The whole of rural England, outside the forests, was divided into manors,¹ which pretty nearly corresponded in area to the ancient township, and the manor was organised on a system which appears to have been in course of gradual development since the pre-Norman period (see page 40). Usually half the arable land was in the hands of the lord of the manor, and called the 'demesne'—a name

¹ Our knowledge of the internal condition of the manor is derived from the Manorial Accounts, which began to be kept and enrolled on parchment about the year of Earl Simon's rebellion, and these play in the history of rural England the same part which the great Pipe Roll doe* in that of the kingdom as a whole.

which, under the form 'mains,' or even 'remains,' may often be traced in English farms at the present day. A second portion was usually in the hands of a body of freeholders, who might be military tenants holding the whole or part of a knight's fee, or socage tenants, who paid such a sum to the lord as had been fixed from time immemorial. Sometimes these freeholders made a payment in kind, such as a pound of pepper, a hawk or hound, or performed some duty, such as keeping two lamps lighted in the church.

The rest was in the hands of villeins, and was held on more onerous terms, discharged partly by doing so much manual work on the lord's demesne, partly by money payments, partly by payments in kind. The villein was also restricted from leaving the manor without his lord's licence, from marrying his son or daughter without the same, or selling his stock, or cutting down timber, without the lord's consent. In return for these his holding, in some cases, was as much as twelve acres, at an estimated rent of about sixpence an acre, though sometimes the conditions were much harder. In every case, however, the villein had fixity of tenure so long as his dues were paid ; the rules show him to have been often the possessor of cattle and horses ; he had the run of the common for his stock, and could cut wood and get turf on the wastes ; the lord's licence could always be obtained for a money payment, and even if he chose to take French leave to the neighbouring town, the chances of his being ree'l'timed were not great. Two opportunities of rising presented themselves—the church and the army—and the examples of Robert Grossete, who became a bishop, and of Robert Sale, who became a trusted knight and officer of Edward III., prove that servile birth was no check on the ambition of the intelligent and the brave. Beside the lord, the free tenants, and the villeins, all of whom were engaged in the actual cultivation of the soil, there were also certain artificers and craftsmen who held merely their houses, and perhaps a right to a run on the common for their cattle or poultry. Such were the miller, who rented the mill, the smith, and, in a large village, perhaps a regular weaver. There was also the parson, and perhaps a clerk of some kind, who undertook the preparation of accounts, drew leases, and the like. Conspicuous among the inhabitants of every manor was the reeve, generally himself a villein, whose duty it was to see to the lord's interests, to exact the money payments due to him, to require the fulfilment of labour duties, and to keep an exact account of the earnings and outgoings of the manor. In Chaucer's Prologue we have contemporary accounts of the miller, the reeve, and the ploughman, which should be read in this connection.

If the lord was the owner of two or more manors, he visited each in

turn to eat the produce of his estates ; and the arrival of himself and his servants must have been the event of the year. At other times the manor-house was the residence of the lord's bailiff. News from the outer world came from the lord's household, or the visit of a preaching friar or pardoner from Rome, or in times when land needed little attention, lord, villein, freeholder and artisan might be found on pilgrimage. Such was the ordinary life of an English village in the thirteenth century. Life was hard, especially in winter, and comforts were few, but there always seems to have been plenty to eat. A man out of work, who wanted it, was unknown. The great curse of modern labour—uncertainty of employment—was absent; and though the conditions of indoor life were inexpressibly dirty, fresh air and clean water were abundant, and the plentiful leisure of Sunday and holiday gave every one a fair chance of enjoying such sports and pleasures as Lay within his reach. The chief business of the country was done at the great fairs, where the bailiffs brought their wool-packs, and the minors their pigs of lead or iron to sell to the foreigner or to the merchant of the town. The chief of these was that held at Stourbridge, near Cambridge, where the wares of different nations were arranged in sections and streets, as in a modern exhibition, and where it was the custom of the people of the eastern counties to lay in their stock of goods for the winter. Others were St. Bartholomew's fair in London, St. Giles' at Oxford, and St. Giles' at Winchester.

At the period when the preservation of the manor rolls gives an accurate view of the condition of an English manor, two changes were taking place. First, just as the king had commuted military service for the payment of scutage, so the lord of the manor was gradually commuting labour services for money payments. When such a change was made, a memorandum of it was entered on the back of the manor roll, a copy of this was given to the villein, who then became what was called a copyholder, and his land a copyhold. All copyhold land at the present day must at some time or another have been in the hands of villeins. The second tendency was for the lord of the manor to give up farming himself, and to let his demesne to a fanner for a term of years at a fixed rent. This was certainly done so early as 1280. Such an arrangement generally involved the letting of the demesne as 'a going concern,'¹ including the farm-buildings, implements of husbandry, and the stock. At the close of the term, the implements and stock, or their equivalents, had to be restored ; but it was the business of the lord to repair the buildings, and it is from this that the presumption in English law that the landlord, and not the tenant, should do the repairs. takes its rise.

This was the condition of rural England when some third of the population perished by the Black Death. The immediate result was a rapid rise in wages, and in the price of all articles in which the cost of labour was the principal item. This change fell most severely on those estates where the lord had gone furthest in the direction of commuting the services of his villeins, and on those farmers of demesne land who trusted to hiring labour. All landholders, in fact, except those who were themselves labourers, were very hard hit; and ruin seemed imminent unless the price of labour could be kept down. Two plans presented themselves : the most obvious was the passing of a law, to forbid any one to pay or to take wages higher than those paid in 1347; the second was to exact to the uttermost the labour services of those who had not entered into a composition. The first of these was done by a series of royal ordinances which were enacted by Parliament as the ' Statutes of Labourers ' in 1351, and renewed in 1362 and 1368, after fresh outbreaks of plague. The second became the regular business of every reeve in the country. The effect, however, of the first remedy was exceedingly small. It is pretty certain that the statutes were evaded even by the reeves themselves, who found it needful at ail costs to get their corn sown and their crops gathered; and the average rate of wages increased by about one-half. The second merely caused a widespread exasperation, which only waited for a favourable opportunity to produce a serious outbreak.

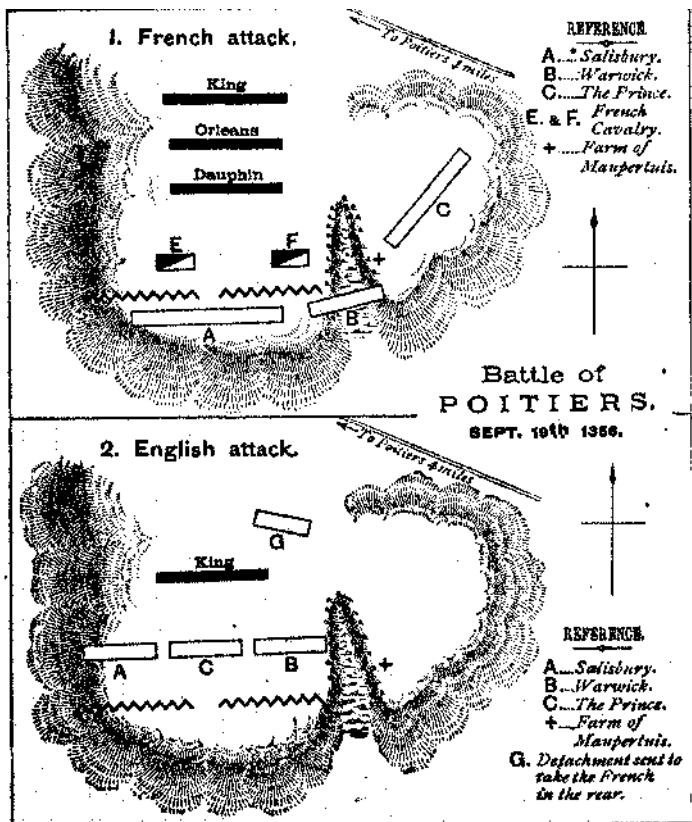
Effects of
the Black
Death.

Statutes of
Labourers.

For some years after the siege of Calais the French war languished, partly due to the plague, partly to the praiseworthy efforts of successive popes to arrange truces and to facilitate negotiations. In 1350 Philip died, and was succeeded by his son John, a better soldier than his father, who had usually commanded the French troops in Gascony ; but Edward's terms—Gascony in full sovereignty, in exchange for the renunciation of his claim to the crown—were still indignantly rejected both by the king and his subjects ; and at last in 1355 the war was renewed in full violence. That year the Black Prince—a name given to the Prince of Wales possibly from the armour worn by him in some now-forgotten tournament—with sixty thousand men marched up the fertile and prosperous valley of the upper Garonne, devastated the whole country with fire and sword, and returned to Bordeaux laden with spoil. Next year the prince ventured into the heart of France with no more than twelve thousand men, and, sweeping northward from the scene of his last year's raid, harried the country from the frontier of Guienne to Poitiers. Near that city, however, he was forced

French War.

to stand at bay at Maupertuis by an army which, unknown to him, had been collected by the king of France. Escape seemed utterly impossible. The French outnumbered the English by at least four to one; and so desperate was the case, that the prince, in deference to the wishes of Cardinal Talleyrand, who, as representing the pope, was doing all he could to avert hostilities, offered to surrender his spoil and his prisoners



and to give a promise not to fight again for seven years as the price of a free retreat. Puffed with pride, however, John refused anything short of unconditional surrender, and the prince and his little band prepared to sell their lives dearly.

The scene of the battle of Poitiers lies about four miles south-east of

the town of Poitiers, near the present farm of Maupertuis. The ground occupied by the English at the beginning of the battle consisted of a broad plateau on the left, a hill on the right, and a ravine with a marshy bottom in the centre. All the slopes ^{Battle of Poitiers.} were covered with brushwood and vineyards, and in front of the left and left centre ran a hedge, in which, opposite the left, was a gap, doubtless for carts. The hedge and gap were defended by the earl of Salisbury, the ravine and marsh by the earl of Warwick, and the Prince with the earl of Oxford was on the hill. The reliance of the English was, as usual, on the archers, who occupied the hedge and every available piece of cover, while men-at-arms on foot were placed on the wings to guard against a flank attack. The French army was posted on the plateau in three great divisions, led respectively by the king, the duke of Orleans, and the Dauphin. Mindful of Crocy, where the French wrongly believed themselves to have been beaten by the dismounted men-at-arms, all the French were on foot, with the exception of two bodies of horse, who were to act as a forlorn hope and begin the action by charging, one at the gap, the other along the upper edge of the ravine. This attack completely failed; for the French at the gap were utterly foiled by the showers of arrows that came through and over the fence, while their fellows suffered not only from these, but from the men in the ravine and even from the Prince's men across the ravine. A grand attack on foot by the Dauphin's division fared no better. Then followed a pause; and Orleans, despairing of success, withdrew his men from the field. Seeing this, the Black Prince decided to take the offensive against the king's division. For this purpose he brought back his men from the hill, and formed most of them up with those of Salisbury and Warwick for a front attack, and also sent a body of men-at-arms and mounted archers to pass round the hill, keeping out of sight, and come out on the plateau in rear of the king. This combined attack proved completely successful. In spite of desperate bravery, John and his son Philip were both taken, and the French army was completely routed. Taking his prisoners with him, they returned in safety to Bordeaux.

The capture of John was a terrible blow to France. That country had suffered infinitely more than England. Picardy, Normandy, Brittany, Poitou, and Auvergne, had all suffered the worst horrors of war. The finances were in utter confusion. The nobles, ^{Effects on France.} the peasantry, and the burghers were divided against one another, and the king's captivity soon brought the whole country to the verge of anarchy. Its desolation was its only defence against the English, but that was adequate enough. Every march through such a desert meant

the loss of hundreds of lives. An advance of Edward in person to Paris, in 1359, was thought to have surpassed in hardship all previous experiences of war ; and in 1360 the utter exhaustion of the French, and the obvious hopelessness of further success for the English, compelled both sides to come to terms at Bretigny in May 1360.

The result was the Treaty of Calais, signed in October 1360. By it Edward gave up his claim to the French crown, and, with the exception of the Channel Islands, to Normandy, Anjou and Maine—Treaty of Calais. that is, to the continental possessions derived from Henry . On the other hand, he was to keep *in full sovereignty* the whole of the duchy of Aquitaine as the descendant of Eleanor of Guienne, the county of Ponthieu as the grandson of Eleanor of Castile, and his recent conquest, Calais. By this arrangement, Edward gave up the empty dream of uniting the two crowns, a task even more beyond his resources than the conquest of Scotland, and secured for his people the rich valley of the Garonne, with its trade in wine and salt; Calais, with the command of the narrow seas and an easy road into the continent for either our wool or our soldiers ; and for himself, the reputation of the greatest soldier of his time. In addition, the impoverished French were compelled to pay a large ransom for the release of their king. This sum, however, proved far beyond their resources, and John died in London, unransomed, in 1364. The districts thus ceded were made into a principality for Edward's eldest son, on the analogy of Wales, and of the district of Dauphin[^], which had been handed over by the Dauphin or Dolphin, its hereditary ruler, to the French crown. The transaction, however, was incomplete until certain formal renunciations of homage and fealty had been performed. These ceremonies, however, were delayed by the procrastination of the lawyers, and eventually were not finished when a fresh outbreak of hostilities put a stop to the negotiations. ✓

In 1357 a permanent peace was made with Scotland. Ever since 1333 Edward had been in name the ally of Edward Balliol; but in 1356 Balliol, Peace with Scotland. old and childless, surrendered his hereditary rights and the estates of his family for a sum of money. Edward, however, was now prepared to acknowledge David's position without reserve, on payment of a ransom for the king and a further sum for the renunciation of his claim. This was agreed to, and the money, though a great strain upon the Scots, was most punctually paid. David's death occurred in 1371. By his wife, Joan of England, he left no children, and the throne went to Robert the Steward or Stuart, the son of his sister Margaret and his father's old general, Walter the Steward.

While England and France had been at war, Spain had been convulsed by the crimes of Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile. Unlike France or Germany, Spain had never made any pretence of being a united kingdom. The inroads of the Moors, which reached their greatest extent in the tenth century, had left the Christian inhabitants huddled up on the slopes of the Pyrenees, and of the Asturias, in the districts of Arragon, Navarre, and Leon. When the tide turned, two new kingdoms—Castile, or the Castle land, and Portugal, the name of a colony of mixed settlers on the shores of the Atlantic—had also been formed of lands retaken from the Moors. Of these Arragon was chiefly important from its connection with Italian politics and with Toulouse ; Navarre from its proximity to Gascony ; and Castile from its ever-increasing size. In the fourteenth century, the crowns of Castile and Leon had been united by marriage, and this had given Castile a decided pre-eminence. *

A revolt had just broken out against Pedro the Cruel, one of the most sanguinary tyrants who ever disgraced a throne. It was headed by his illegitimate brother, Henry of Trastamare, who, with the aid of the 'companies' of professional soldiers who, during the later years of the war, had fought both on the sides of the French and the English, and had lost their occupation by the Peace of Bretigny, had already pressed his brother hard. Pedro visited the Black Prince at Bayonne and besought his aid ; and nothing speaks worse for the tone of mind produced by the rules of chivalry than that the Black Prince should have felt himself under any obligation to assist so undeserving a fugitive. Such, however, was the case; and in 1367, Edward, by leave of the king of Navarre, led an army of thirty thousand men through the passes of the Pyrenees and advanced into the plain of the Ebro. There, between Navarette and Najara, not far from Vittoria, he encountered and routed Henry, and restored Pedro to the position he had disgraced. The success, however, brought in its train a series of disasters. Pedro refused to repay the money raised by the prince for the expenses of his expedition ; the summer heats of Valladolid proved fatal to the English soldiers ; and, eventually, the Black Prince retraced his steps, hopelessly loaded with debt, and with his constitution ruined by an insidious disease. His assistance did little good to Pedro. So soon as his back was turned, Henry of Trastamare again invaded the country, and Pedro was defeated. In an interview with his brother he made an attempt to despatch Henry. A struggle followed. The tyrant was stabbed to the heart, and Henry ascended the throne as the persistent enemy of the English.

Meanwhile the Black Prince, driven to his wits' end by the impotency of his creditors, was compelled to levy a hearth tax on his French principality. By some it was readily paid; but in the French War renewed. recently-annexed districts it was bitterly resented, and an appeal against it was lodged at the French court. AS the renunciation of suzerainty had never been made by the French king, Charles agreed to hear it, and summoned the Black Prince to appear before him. Edward replied that he would willingly do so, but 'with 60,000 men at his back.' The boast, however, was a vain one; and in 1369 the war was resumed under very unfavourable circumstances for the English. In any long war the balance always turns in favour of the country attacked. The invaders have against them the difficulty of keeping up their supplies of men and money, of getting adequate and trustworthy information from a hostile peasantry, and of having all the country against them, except that which is in the immediate occupation of their armies. All these began to be felt in full force by the English. Besides these, there were special causes. The battles of Crecy and Poitiers had been won by trained soldiers over hastily-gathered feudal levies. In the latter part of the war, the French armies were chiefly composed of professional soldiers commanded by such chiefs as the celebrated Bertrand du Guesclin, who thoroughly understood their business. Again, the most disastrous thing for a defending army is a defeat; for invaders not to be able to fight at all is almost as ruinous. The truth of this had been as much demonstrated by the campaigns in which the French had avoided battle as those in which fighting had been attended by defeat; and the new king, Charles v., was fully determined that come what might he would never allow himself to follow his father's imprudence at Poitiers, or that of his grandfather at Crecy. He was also extremely economical, and contrived to get the uttermost value out of his limited resources.

In such circumstances, and against such an antagonist, the Black Prince would have been sore bestead, even if he had been in his full vigour. Weakened by disease, and "embarrassed at every turn by want of money, it was out of the question for him to bring the struggle to a successful issue. In 1370, the French invaded Aquitaine in force; but, avoiding a pitched battle, they contented themselves with throwing garrisons into all the disaffected towns, among others into the *eiti* or episcopal town of Limoges. Boused by the danger, the prince gathered his forces, and caused himself to be carried in a litter to besiege it. The inhabitants and garrison defended themselves bravely; but in spite of all their efforts a breach was made,

Illness of
the Black
Prince.

and an assault was on the point of being delivered, when an offer of capitulation was made. So furious, however, was the Prince at what he regarded as the insolent treachery of the citizens, that he refused all terms, and actually ordered that every soul in the *city* of ^{Massacre of} Limoges should be put to the sword. This atrocious order ^{Limoges.} seems to have been literally carried out. Man, woman, and child perished, with the exception of a body of knights, who had placed their backs to the wall, and were preparing to sell their lives dearly, when their bravery won the compassion of Edward. Such a horrid deed as the massacre of Limoges admits of no palliation. Indeed, the sparing of the knights makes the slaughter of the unoffending women and children even worse ; for it shows the class feeling which was one of the worst products of the debased chivalry of the time. In the eyes of his contemporaries the Black Prince might, indeed, be the mirror of chivalrous virtue ; but, judged by any other standard of morality, the massacre of Limoges has left a foul stain on his character. Soon afterwards the Black Prince returned to England.

Two years later, a disaster befell the English cause which made their position even more serious. An English fleet, under the earl of Pembroke, was defeated off La Rochelle by the Spaniards; and the ^{Battle of} dominion of the sea, which we had held since Sluys, passed ^{Rochelle.} out of our hands. The result was to make the sea-route so precarious that next year an attempt was made to send succour to Gascony by marching an army from Calais. This was entrusted to the charge of John of Gaunt, Edward's second surviving son. The campaign, however, was a complete vindication of Charles' tactics. In July the great expedition left Calais. The French carefully avoided a battle ; but, hanging on the rear of the troops, they cut off every straggler who left the ranks, harassed the baggage, destroyed the crops along the ^{English} line of march; and though the army eventually made its ^{Losses in} way to Gascony in December, it arrived in sorry plight, decimated in ^{France.} numbers, ruined in *morale*, incapable of adding any real strength to the defenders. After such a disastrous campaign, the French were able to advance with rapidity, and in 1374 the English had lost not only all the recent acquisitions of the treaty of Bretigny, except Calais, but all Ponthieu and all Gascony, except the towns of Bordeaux and Bayonne. Next year, by the intervention of the pope, a truce was negotiated, and was fairly observed till the end of the reign.

It is now time to return to English affairs. The activity of parliament, which was noted as one result of the French war, showed no diminution during its continuance, and a number of notable statutes had

been passed. Earliest among these is the Statute of Provisors, passed in 1351. By Provisors is meant the system by which the popes *provided* for their officials by giving them English preferments. *Statute of Provisors.* Since John had granted free election to the clergy, and had confirmed it by the Great Charter, the actual method of appointing bishops had been the subject of much contention, which, on the whole, had been decided in favour of the popes. Left to themselves, chapters rarely came to a unanimous decision. When they could not agree they appealed to the pope; and so frequently was he called upon to arbitrate that at length he almost succeeded in making it a rule, that in case of dispute the election should be set aside, and that he himself should appoint the new bishop. Besides this, the popes also invented a system by which, before the death of a bishop, letters were written to the chapter *reserving* the next appointment to the pope; and, moreover, it became an accepted rule that if a vacancy were created by the removal of a bishop to another see, the new vacancy so caused should also be filled up by the papacy. These encroachments, however, met with less resistance than might have been expected, because the pope was generally willing to appoint the king's nominee, such as Archbishop Stratford. The provisions, however, were extremely unpopular in the country, especially after the popes had removed their residence to Avignon, and became the dependants of the French king. Accordingly, in 1351, the statute of provisors enacted 'that all persons receiving papal provisions should be liable to imprisonment, and that all preferments to which the pope nominated should be forfeit for that turn to the king.'¹ Ultimately a compromise was effected wholly in the king's favour. When a see became vacant the king sent a *conge' d'elire*, or licence to elect, accompanied by a 'letter missive,' in which he named a person whom, if elected, he would accept. At the same time the king requested the pope to name the same person by a 'provision.' In this way the dignity of all concerned was saved; and, so long as it lasted, the king practically nominated his own friends to any vacant sees. By John's Charter freedom of election had also been given in the appointment of abbots. • In this neither pope nor king interfered; the former probably because he trusted the monks, the latter because the elected abbots, chiefly absorbed in the internal affairs of their respective monasteries, took little active share in the affairs of state.

In 1353 was passed the first Statute of Praemunire. These acts were an *elaboration of the principle enunciated by William the Conqueror, that no letters from the pope should be received if they had not been first shown to the king, and were specially directed*

against the growing practice of appeal from the English ecclesiastical courts to that of Rome. These appeals were regarded with great dislike, partly because they tended to undermine the royal authority, and, much more, because they withdrew money from the kingdom and poured it into the laps of the lawyers and officials of the papal court, thus reducing the tax-paying capacity of the English clergy, and adding indirectly to the resources of the king of France. A statute was therefore passed to prevent persons prosecuting suits in foreign courts without the king's leave. Its name was taken from the first words in the writ of *praemunire* (a corruption of *prwmoneri facias*, cause A.B. to be forewarned). The act of 1353 was very carefully drawn, and the papal court was not mentioned by name; but in a subsequent act, passed in 1365, suitors in the papal courts are distinctly mentioned by name; and later still, in 1393, when the country was exasperated by the pope's resumption of provisions and reservations, it was enacted that 'all persons procuring in the court of Rome or elsewhere such translations, processes, sentences of excommunication, bulls, instruments, or other things which touch the king, his crown, regality or realm, should suffer the penalties of *praemunire*.' These penalties consisted of forfeiture of goods and imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and though the statute was often evaded, the fact that such penalties hung over delinquents was a very serious check on papal interference with the affairs of the English Church.

Coupled with the statutes of provisors and *praemunire*, must be taken a decision made in 1368, by which the payment of the one thousand marks promised by John was finally repudiated. The money had been paid under Henry in., discontinued by Edward I; again paid by his unworthy son, and again discontinued by Edward III. At length, in 1366, the pope sent a formal demand for the payment of thirty-three years of arrears. The demand was submitted to parliament. Though the precise form of their answer is unknown, it is certain the payment has never again been made, nor did the pope again venture to ask for it.

In 1352 a very important statute defined the meaning of treason. The person of the king had from the earliest times been hedged about with safeguards which did not exist in the case of ordinary men; **Statute of Treason.** and since the Norman Conquest, and especially since the rise of the great lawyers, the relations between the king and the people had been the subject of much definition. According to the view held in the fourteenth century, the relation between the king and his landed subject involved the ideas of fealty, homage, and allegiance; with non-landed subjects, of fealty and allegiance only. Of these, fealty was a

personal undertaking to be faithful as between man and man, homage was the oath by which the vassal swears fidelity to the lord whose land he holds, allegiance was the duty which every subject—landed or landless—owes to the head of the nation to which he belongs. Every man of fourteen, on being admitted to his frank-pledge, swore to be 'foial et loial,'—faithful and loyal to the king; and if a landowner he did homage as well on coming into his estates. Treason and treachery were the violation of these undertakings. Under the Norman and earlier Angevin kings forfeiture had usually been the punishment for treason; but in the time of Edward I. the less common punishment of death had been inflicted, and the adoption of this penalty, while it brought home to men's minds the heinousness of the offence, also made it imperative to have an exact definition of what constituted the offence of treason. This was given in the Statute of Treasons of 1352, which defined the crime as 'compassing the death of the king or of his eldest son; the violation of the queen, or of the king's eldest unmarried daughter, or of his son's wife; the levying of war against the king in his realm, adhering to the king's enemies, counterfeiting the king's seal or his money, importing false money, or slaying the chancellor, or treasurer, or judges in the discharge of their duty.'

In 1362 a most important statute was passed on the subject of taxation. By Magna Carta the feudal vassals had secured themselves, as a class, against the imposition of extra feudal aids or scutages; by the *Confirmatio Chartarum* the freedom of the nation as a whole from arbitrary taxation was secured. Nevertheless, tallages on the royal demesne, and the cities and towns in it, were occasionally levied till 1332, but were finally forbidden by a statute passed in 1340, by which it was enacted that the nation should 'no more be charged or grieved to make any common aid or sustain charge, except by the common assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and other magnates and commons of the realm, and that in parliament.' It still remained open for the king to enter into special bargains with particular bodies, such, for example, as the wool merchants. Of this opening Edward I. had constantly availed himself; but the parliament of 1362 deprived him of this mode of evasion by enacting that no further subsidy should be set on wool without the consent of parliament.

The long series of financial measures necessitated by the war resulted in several important changes in the system of taxation. In the twelfth New Taxes. and earlier centuries all taxation had fallen on land, and had taken the shape of scutages, carrucates, and aids, all calculated on so much per given area of land. In the thirteenth century, however,

the rise of the great wool industry and the increased prosperity of the merchant class led to the introduction of taxes calculated, not on land, but on movable property—such as tenths, twelfths, fifteenths, of its value. Moreover, at the close of the century, the growth of foreign commerce attracted attention to the customs as an important source of revenue ; and duties on various articles of export and import began to form a large item in the national accounts. Accordingly, the ancient impost of scutage became exceedingly exceptional after the reign of Edward I. On the other hand, the customs duty on wool was first formally granted in 1275, and a general customs duty, under the title of tonnage and poundage, calculated at 2s. on the tun of wine, and 6d. on the pound of merchandise, was first formally granted for two years in 1373, as a commutation of the king's ancient right to a ' prise' or share of all goods passing out of the country. From this time forward the customs duty on wool and tonnage and poundage became one of the most important items of the parliamentary grants. The three feudal aids, or rather two, 'pur fille marrier,' and for the knighting of the king's eldest son, continued to be collected as before.

Besides these important statutes, parliament gave a great deal of attention to the regulation of trade, particularly the staples of wool, lead, and tin ; frequently altering the regulations under which the sales of these articles were to be permitted. Their chief objects were to render taxation easy by concentrating trade in a few places, and also to prevent gold and silver from leaving the country, a feeling which appears in the anti-papal legislation of the time, and which was based on the idea long held that the amount of coin in a country is the true test of its wealth.

During the middle ages ecclesiastical affairs had always two aspects—(1) the connection between the church of England and the papacy; (2) the internal condition of the English church. During the reign of Edward III. both require attention. For some time a very serious feeling of discontent with the clergy had been growing up in the country and shown itself in various ways. One cause of the unpopularity of the ecclesiastics was the way in which, since the Norman Conquest, they had engrossed the offices of state. With the exception of the lay chancellor and treasurer, named by Edward in. in 1341, these offices had invariably been held by ecclesiastics ; and the minor offices of what we should now call the civil services were almost exclusively in the hands of ecclesiastics. For many years this had been almost an unavoidable necessity, in consequence of the almost exclusive possession by ecclesiastics of the

General
Legislation.

Ecclesi-
astical
Affair*.

Bishops.

knowledge of business, account-keeping, and of the civil law; but of recent years the universities had been turning out students well skilled in such matters, and in particular the practice of the law was falling into the hands of laymen. To these, and to the baronage, the position of the official clergy seemed an injustice, and those who held this feeling were naturally ready to make common cause for the moment with the baronial party, which always (see page 228) regarded with hostility the official advisers of the sovereign.

Against the parish priests the chief grievance was their non-residence, which arose partly from one clergyman holding several livings, and only
 Parish Priests. residing at most in one; and partly from the practice of beneficed clergymen deserting their cures and residing in London or other towns, where they gained an easy livelihood as chantry-priests, while their livings were served by ill-paid curates.

The 'regulars' were beginning to be unpopular on account of their wealth, which had turned even the Cistercians into little better than
 The Regular Orders. communities of rich sheep-fanners, while the Friars, though the most recently created of the orders, had found the temptations of their vagabond existence too powerful to be resisted when the first ardour of their enthusiasm had passed away.

More unpopular, however, than any one order were the officials of the ecclesiastical courts, who had long converted what was intended to be an
 Ecclesiastical Officials. engine for the suppression of vice into a machine for collecting blackmail from sinners, and whose perpetual meddling and prying made them universally detested. Two contemporary and easily accessible pictures of the ecclesiastical life of the day should be examined in this connection: the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, in which he gives a kindly and not exaggerated sketch of the various ecclesiastics of his day, and the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*, in which the vices and avarice of the clergy are denounced in a sterner tone. To reform these abuses one party appeared who wished to drive the clergy from all secular offices, and another who wished to purge the church of abuses and restore it to the purity of primitive times. Of these sections the leaders were John of Gaunt and John Wyclif

John of Gaunt was only the third son of Edward, who had grown to manhood; but the death of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, in 1368, and the
 John of Gaunt. long absence of the Prince of Wales in Gascony, made him the most prominent man about the court. He had been born at Ghent in 1340, and was created earl of Richmond. In 1359 he married Blanche, the daughter and heiress of Duke Henry of Lancaster, on whose death, in 1362, he had become duke of Lancaster, earl of

Leicester, Lincoln, and Derby, and as such the natural leader of the old Lancastrian party. By his first wife, Blanche, he had one son, afterwards Henry iv., and two daughters. After her death he married Constance of Castile, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Pedro the Cruel, and when she died in 1394 he married Katharine Swynford, the governess of his children, and sister-in-law of Chaucer the poet, by whom he already had several illegitimate children, afterwards well known as the Beaufort*. His abilities were fair, but his personal character was bad, and he appears to have had little skill in winning popularity. In consequence, he never acquired any real hold over the people at large, and his chief influence was exerted as the leader of the nobility.

If the court was the headquarters of the hostility to the clergy, represented by the duke of Lancaster, Oxford was the headquarters of the hostility to clerical abuses, represented by John Wyclif. Since Robert Pulleyn lectured on the Scriptures in 1133, and Vacarius on Roman law in 1149, the schools of Oxford had steadily increased in importance; and at some date unknown the body of teachers and scholars had come to be recognised as a university or corporation, presided over by a chancellor, named by the bishop of Lincoln as head of the diocese, and capable of conferring the degrees of doctor and master. So important were these schools, that in 1185, when Gerald the Welshman wished to make known his work on the *Topography of Wales*, he could devise no better way than to go to Oxford and read it on three successive days to the students. Another proof of their importance is shown by the efforts made by the various religious orders to get a hold over the teaching. In 1221 the Dominicans, on first landing, made their way to Oxford, and in 1224 were followed by the Franciscans, and afterwards by the Carmelites and Augustinians. Many of the older monastic orders, especially the Benedictines, sent scholars from their convent schools to reside at the university, and established for them special halls of residence. So successful were their efforts that the mendicant orders soon became a very important and almost a dominant element in the life of the place; and Roger Bacon, himself a Franciscan, complains that they withstood the progress of true learning no less than the clergy. Against this predominance of the orders a stand was made by Walter de Merton, chancellor of Henry in. Hitherto with the exception of those who lived in one of the hostels of the orders, or had united for economy to hire a house under the leadership of a 'principal,' the students had lived in lodgings about the town. Walter's plan was to incorporate his students as an independent society, enjoying the advantage of the lectures of the 'schools,' but living

University
of Oxford.

Foundation
of Merton
College.

together under proper discipline. Such corporate life was calculated to promote in his scholars a feeling of *esprit de corps*, and in his statutes Walter de Merton set before them an ideal different from that preached by the orders. No 'religious person'—that is, no monk or friar—was to be a member of the body, and the scholars were to set before themselves as their aim, not the narrow vision of obedience to the petty interests of an 'order,' but to go out and to do good service in the great world. It was in 1264 that Walter de Merton obtained his charter, and in 1274 he settled his small body of fellows and scholars at Oxford. The foundation of Merton forms an epoch in the history of Oxford, for the example of Walter was soon copied by others. The first ordinance of Balliol dates from 1282. Exeter College was founded in 1314, Oriel College in 1326, Queen's College in 1340. A similar change occurred in the life of the younger university of Cambridge, and in 1280 the statutes of Peterhouse, the first Cambridge college, were copied from those of Merton. The 'orders,' however, were not willing to lose their hold on the universities without a struggle, and it was as a leader in this rivalry between the 'seculars' and the 'regulars' that Wyclif appears to have first established a reputation.

John Wyclif is believed to have been born in 1324 at the village of Hipswell, near Richmond in Yorkshire, some ten miles from Wycliffe-on-Tees, the home of his family. Of his boyhood nothing is known, but that he found his way to Oxford; and the first definite fact known of his later career is that in 1361 he became master of Balliol College. As a head of a college Wyclif was by position a leader among the 'seculars,' and his character well fitted him for controversy. To a temperament naturally witty, humorous, and acute, he had added an admirable training in the methods of scholastic philosophy which turned upon acute definitions and distinctions. His personal character was so good that his opponents could never find in it the slightest handle for personal attack; while his genial temperament appears to have won him the love and co-operation of others. Such a man made an admirable leader of the movement against the 'regulars.' In 1366 Wyclif brought himself into further prominence by defending, before the university of Oxford, the decision to withhold from the pope the tribute of 1000 marks; and in 1375 he was selected as one of a deputation who were to meet the pope's representatives at Bruges, and argue the whole question of the relations between England and the papacy.

Meanwhile, in 1372, the court party had taken vigorous action against the ecclesiastical officials. Taking up the policy of 1341, they had demanded and secured their dismissal, and a heavy tax had been levied

on lands taken into mortmain since 1282 for the purpose of raising a fleet. A parable of the time illustrates the attitude of the courtiers. The owl (the church) had borrowed its feathers (endowments) from the other birds (the laity); but when the birds were in danger from the hawk (the French), then the birds rightly demanded to have their feathers restored for their own defence. Ill luck, however, attended the application of the story; for the fleet so provided perished off La Rochelle (see p. 267); the expedition of John of Gaunt was a failure, and the new lay officials showed themselves less competent to manage affairs than the more experienced ecclesiastics.

Of these ecclesiastics the most conspicuous was William of Wykeham. This celebrated man was born in 1324. He had long served the court in the capacity of surveyor of works, had built for Edward the castles of Windsor and Queenborough and many other buildings; and in reward had been made president of the king's council, bishop of Winchester, and chancellor. In 1386 he founded New College at Oxford, and the college of Winchester, to which he gave for a motto the maxim 'Manners makyth man.'¹ To John of Gaunt Wykeham appears to have been personally distasteful, and as Wykeham's cause was taken up by the clergy as a body, the controversy between the two assumed a national importance.

Meanwhile, the general condition of the country had become most unsatisfactory. Queen Philippa died in 1369; and after her death Edward in. allowed himself to be completely fascinated by the charms of one of her attendants, Alice Perrers or Pierce, whom he publicly exhibited in the streets of London as 'the Queen of Beauty.' Under her influence his character suffered a rapid deterioration. Alice acquired a greater influence than any king's mistress before or since; wheedled the king into granting her the late queen's jewels, made an open sale of her influence, and actually ventured to dictate the decisions of the courts of law. Under her influence, the extravagance of the court knew no bounds; the king was overwhelmed with debts; and courtiers, such as lord Latimer and lord Neville and Richard Lyons, made money by buying up the claims of the king's creditors and getting payment for themselves at the expense of others.

Such a state of affairs at court caused widespread dissatisfaction; and in 1376 Edward the Black Prince, who, since his return to England, had been living the retired life of an invalid, roused himself to exertion; and, putting himself at the head of the malcontents, demanded a change of ministers and the purification of the court.

Hostility to the Clergy.

William of Wykeham.

Demoralisation of the Court

The Good Parliament.

The;

famous parliament of 1376, honourably distinguished as 'the Good Parliament,'¹ met in April, and, probably under the direct guidance of the Black Prince and William of Wykeham, the members made a vigorous attack on the court. As their speaker they chose Peter de la Mare, steward of the earl of March, who had married the daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, and was friendly to a policy of reform ; and then proceeded to attack Latimer, Neville, Lyons, and Alice Perrers. Their method of attack was almost as important as the attack itself, for the commons proceeded by *impeaching* the accused before the House of Lords. In this method of procedure, the House of Commons, as a body, appears as prosecutor. The Lords act as judges ; hear the evidence brought by the managers for the commons, their speeches on it, and the answers of the accused, and finally pronounce by a majority the verdict and sentence. Latimer and Lyons were found guilty of having lent the king 20,000 marks and receiving £20,000 in return ; Neville of buying up the king's debts ; and Alice Perrers of breaking an ordinance which, forbade women to practise in the courts of law.

In June the Black Prince died, leaving behind him a name for military courage and chivalry, and perhaps a sounder reputation for the reforming zeal he had shown in his later years. As in the eyes of the reforming party John of Gaunt was capable of any crime, the commons proceeded to take trenchant measures to exclude him from power, and to secure the succession of the little Richard, the sole surviving child of the Black Prince. They had Richard brought before them as heir ; induced the king to accept the addition to his council of ten additional members of the popular party ; and they presented no less than one hundred and forty petitions, demanding the redress of grievances of all sorts and kinds dealing with the administration of justice, the claims of the pope and foreign clergy, into whose pockets no less than £20,000 of English money was said to go yearly, interference with the right of free parliamentary elections, and the non-enforcement of the statutes of labour.

So long as parliament was sitting, favourable answers were given to their requests ; but when it was dissolved in July, after the longest session then recorded, John of Gaunt resumed his influence.

Reaction. Alice Perrers was recalled. Peter de la Mare was thrown into prison, and an elaborate list of charges of peculation, similar to those advanced against Hubert de Burgh and Becket, was brought against William of Wykeham. The new members of council were not allowed to sit, and not one of the petitions received the formal consent of the crown. Readily snatching at any weapon with which to attack the

clergy, John of Gaunt had endeavoured to pose as a sincere friend of Wyclif; and the Oxford doctor, perhaps too sanguine, perhaps too easily carried away by the blandishments of the court, had allowed himself to appear as a friend of the duke. Confident in the strength of his position and his power to pack a parliament, Lancaster summoned that body in January 1377, and was so successful that a majority of the members petitioned for the restoration of Latimer, Neville, and Alice Perrers, and voted a poll-tax of one groat per head.

Exasperated by the attack on Wykeham, convocation then determined to strike at the duke through Wyclif, who was summoned to appear before a committee of bishops at St. Paul's. He appeared under the protection of John of Gaunt and his friend Henry Percy, who, having been formerly a reformer, had been won over by the office of lord marshal. The natural result was an altercation between Lancaster and the committee. The chairman, Ourtenay, bishop of London, was insulted; and so angry were the Londoners at the insult offered to their bishop that a riot followed, in which John of Gaunt and Percy with difficulty escaped with their lives; but no violence seems to have been offered to Wyclif, in spite of his association with the unpopular noblemen. As yet, however, Wyclif had not published the views which afterwards gained him the reputation of a heretic; but his short experience of political life seems to have decided him in favour of more effective and permanent ways of increasing his influence.

For the moment John of Gaunt seemed supreme, and nothing short of an armed insurrection seemed able to displace him, when the death of the king in June 1377 opened a new page in the contest.

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Battle of Halidon Hill, ...	1338
Battle of Crecy, ...	1346
Black Death, ...	1349
Statute of Treasons, ...	1362
Statute of Praemunire, ...	1353
Battle of Poitiers, ...	1356
Treaty of Calais, ...	1360
The Good Parliament,	1376

CHAPTER IV

RICHARD II. : 1377-1399

1381, Anne of Bohemia.
Born 1366; mamed 1381, Anne of Bohemia.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Emperor.</i>
Robert II., d. 1390.	Charles v., d. 1380.	Wenceslas, deposed 1400.
. Robert in., d. 1406.	Charles VL, 1422.	

The Minority—Peasant Revolt—The Lollards—Opposition Nobles displace the King's Ministers—Richard's personal rule—His revenge on the Nobles, and final fall

ON Edward's death, his grandson Richard, the son of the Black Prince, was made king. He was only eleven years of age, and his accession is a strong proof both of the popularity of his father and of the strong hold gained by the idea of hereditary right; for as yet, with the exception of Edward in., no minor had been allowed to reign in England who had an uncle of full age ready to take the throne.

The experiment, however, was fraught with many dangers, one of which was the accumulation of immense territorial influence in the hands of the royal family. The problem of providing for their younger sons has always been one of difficulty for monarchs. Before the Norman Conquest, the temptation to find such provision in the revival of under-kingdoms frequently proved a menace to the integrity of the realm. It is a strong proof of the prudence of William the Conqueror, that he created none of his sons an English earl; and Henry II., in dividing his wide dominions, had wisely kept England intact. The first to depart from this wholesome policy was Henry III. who created the earldom, of Cornwall for his brother Richard,

made his eldest son, Edward, earl of Chester, and his second, Edmund, earl of Lancaster, Derby, and Leicester. Edward I. was responsible for the marriage of Edmund's son Thomas with the heiress of Lincoln and Salisbury; and Edward II. gave the earldoms of Norfolk and Kent to his half-brothers.

On the accession of Edward I., therefore, he found the earldoms of Chester, Lancaster, Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, Cornwall, Kent, and Norfolk in the hands of the royal family, and when his sons grew up, he carried on and extended the system. His eldest son, the Black Prince, was created duke of Cornwall in 1337, and married his cousin Joan, the heiress of the earl of Kent. His second surviving son Lionel, duke of Clarence, married the heiress of William de Burgh, earl of Ulster, and heiress of a third of the estates of the earls of Gloucester and Hereford. In 1368 Lionel died, leaving a daughter, Philippa, who united her great possessions to those of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, the great-grandson of the traitor, and himself one of the leaders of the reforming party in the Good Parliament. Edward's third son, John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, married the heiress of Henry, duke of Lancaster, who brought her husband, besides Lancaster, the earldoms of Derby and Leicester; and their eldest son Henry married the heiress of half the lands of the Bohuns of Hereford; while her sister gave her hand to Edward's fifth son, Thomas of Woodstock. The accumulation of territory in the hands of the royal family was therefore enormous; and as the possession of certain territories appeared inevitably to force on the owner a certain uniform line of policy, it may be said, roughly speaking, that John of Gaunt was at the head of the ancient combination of north-country barons, that the line of Clarence was identified with the lords marcher of Wales, while the king as earl palatine of Chester and earl of Cornwall had special powers, which gave him a strong claim over the loyalty of the men of Cheshire, and a certain revenue from the valuable mines of Cornwall. The most important earldoms unconnected with the royal family were those of Northumberland, created at the close of the last reign for Lancaster's friend, Henry Percy; Warwick, held by the Beauchampes; Salisbury, by the family of Monmouth or Montagu; Oxford, by the family of Vere, and Arundel. A knowledge of the distribution of these earldoms is essential for understanding the events of the fifteenth century.

Following the precedent set during the minorities of Henry III and Edward III., a council of government was appointed, representative of both parties, including, for example, the earl of Arundel as the friend of Lancaster, and also the earl of March. To

The great
Earldoms.

The Royal
Council.

avoid jealousy the king's uncles were all excluded, and the guardianship of the king's person and the general superintendence of affairs were left to his mother, Joan of Kent, who enjoyed unbounded popularity. When parliament met, the same conciliatory policy was carried on. The commons were deferential to the duke of Lancaster, and he on his part made no complaint when Peter de la Mare was re-elected speaker. It was agreed that during the king's minority the chancellor, treasurer, and other great officers of state should be chosen by parliament, and also that two London merchants, William Walworth and John Philipot, under the name of treasurers, should superintend the expenditure of a liberal grant made for the war. This excellent beginning, however, proved too good to last. John of Gaunt was too ambitious to be content with a secondary position, too incompetent to govern well when he got power into his hands, and his combination of arrogance and inefficiency soon made him as unpopular as ever.

The greatest event of the early years of Richard II. was the peasant revolt of 1381. It was the result of a variety of causes, the most obvious of which, if not the most important, was the poll-tax of 1381. Driven to their wits' end to provide money, and very imperfectly informed as to the taxable capacity of the country, the commons in 1379 had followed the precedent set in 1377, and levied a poll-tax. This tax was graduated. A duke paid £6, 13s. 4d., earls paid £4, and so on to the humblest villein, who contributed one groat; and the clergy paid on a similar scale. This tax was collected with great exactitude; and in those counties where the rate-books have been preserved, and especially where they have been printed, they afford a complete and accessible census of the population. The amount raised, however, fell short of what was needed, and in 1380 a second poll-tax was imposed. The graduation of this, however, was by no means so fair. The poorest were to pay one shilling; the richest only one pound. Such an arrangement, which brought home to every one's door the consequences of ill government and extravagance, produced widespread discontent; and in June 1381 the Kentishmen rose in arms, headed by Wat Tyler, who is said to have been driven to fury by an insult offered to his daughter, and rescued from Maidstone gaol a priest of revolutionary views named John Ball, the author of the distich

' When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman !'

who had been imprisoned by the archbishop of Canterbury.

Simultaneous with the Kentish rising but edited by various causes

insurrections broke out in Essex, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, and even in such an isolated shire as Somersetshire. The mainspring of these outbreaks was hatred of villeinage. In Kent villeinage was unknown, and there the movement was distinctly political; but elsewhere the villeins were deeply incensed at the attempted enforcement of the statutes of labourers, and at the stop which had been put in practice to the commutation of villein services for money. The times were exceedingly prosperous ; wages were naturally high, and in consequence, not only was restriction on a further rise resented, but those who still continued in villeinage saw that the real money value of their service rents was steadily rising, while no lord would willingly exchange them for a money commutation. In addition to this, it seems certain that considerable excitement had been caused by the less temperate of Wyclifs simple priests and other enthusiasts ; and the materials for insurrection had of late years been much augmented by disbanded soldiery, who had returned from the wars.

Accordingly, all these causes worked together to produce the most serious popular outbreak that England has probably seen. The actual insurrection only occupied a fortnight; but while it lasted, all the south-eastern counties were in fluræ. Everywhere the manor-houses were fired and the manor-rolls burnt, precisely as was done by the French peasantry in 1789 ; and every lawyer on whom the peasantry could lay hands was promptly put to death. Converging on London, the Kentishmen, under Wat Tyler, crossed the Thames at London Bridge, murdered Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, who is said to have called them * shoeless ribalds/ and his colleague, Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and roundly declared that they would never have a King John to rule over them. The villeins were less outrageous and more reasonable. Richard met the Essex men at Mile-end, and having gained their goodwill by promising the abolition of villein tenure, prevailed on them to go home. Next day he met Wat Tyler at Smithfield ; but in the course of the interview an altercation broke out, in which Tyler was stabbed by William Walworth, the lord mayor. Richard, however, showed great presence of mind. Lad as he was, he rode boldly forward and won the hearts of Tyler's men by exclaiming: 'I will be your leader!' Meanwhile, Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich, had put down the Norfolk insurgents at North Walsham, and burnt the church in which they took refuge; and in other parts of the country the news of the king's promises was followed by the dispersal of the villeins.

Difficulties, however, presented themselves in, the way of giving these

promises the sanction of law. The villeins¹ demands were that the customary services should be abolished in favour of a fixed rental of fourpence an acre, and that all should have liberty to buy and sell in fairs and markets. To promise on his own responsibility that these should be granted, was clearly in excess of the king's prerogative. It was giving away what did not belong to him; and when parliament met, the members, while showing themselves willing enough to take up the political cries of the Kentish rebels, took up the unimpeachable legal ground that the king had no right to promise an arbitrary and wholesale commutation of customary services.

Apparently the villeins had lost their case ; but in practice they gained from individual landlords what parliament refused to sanction in the

Results of the Revolt. mass. Terrified by the prospect of a second outbreak, lords willingly commuted services so difficult of exaction, and found their advantage in letting their lands to leasehold tenants who cultivated them with hired labour. From the villein tenants of the fourteenth century sprang the yeomen of a later period, holding their copyhold lands practically as freeholds ; while the landless wage-earning labourers enjoyed after 1381 a period of prosperity which lasted more than a century, until the wholesale introduction of sheep-farming produced a new economical crisis.

The hostility shown by the Kentish rebels to John of Gaunt convinced that nobleman that he had little chance of playing a great political game in England. Nevertheless, he retained considerable influence

John of Gaunt goes abroad. till 1385, when he began to make preparations for an expedition to Spain, where he had some hopes of winning the crown of Castile, as husband of the elder daughter of Pedro the Cruel. In 1386 he left England, and did not return till the close of 1389.

Meanwhile, the ideas of Wyclif had been rapidly spreading. Shortly after the death of Edward, a bull directing his trial for holding opinions subversive of church and state had been received from

Wyclif. Rome; but when Wyclif appeared to answer the charges, he was backed by the presence of a large body of Londoners; and the Princess of Wales, who knew Wyclif's worth, and seems to have generally consulted him about papal business, peremptorily stopped the proceedings. Upon this, Wyclif retired to his living of Lutterworth, which had been presented to him by the crown, seemingly for his services at Bruges in 1375, and devoted himself to popularising his ideas. In this work he showed a capacity with which his Oxford friends could hardly have credited him. Abandoning his scholastic style, he poured forth a series of 9f tracts in homely English, which are generally considered to be the first

specimens of literary English prose written since the cessation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the reign of Stephen, and which, even had they no historical importance, would have given Wyclif a high place in the history of English literature. Besides this, he organised a body of poor priests, not by any means dissimilar to Wesley's preachers, who were to go through the length and breadth of the land, teaching, when permitted, in the churches, when not, on the village green or common, and who were to show in their own persona an example of real poverty and asceticism. But what did more than anything else to secure permanence for his reputation was the English translation of the Bible, designed by himself, and carried out partly by his own hand and partly under his supervision. This translation was made, not from the original Hebrew and Greek, but from the Vulgate or Latin version ; so good, however, was the Latin text, that Wyclif's English version has been made the basis of our own translation, and many passages of the latter repeat almost verbatim the words of Wyclif.

Though Wyclif's name is not directly connected with the rising of 1381, for John Ball's ideas were quite independent of Wyclif's teaching, there is little doubt that the doctrine of equality preached by his priests, and their invectives against wealth and luxury, had not been without influence in producing the feelings which gave rise to it; and it is certain that its suppression was followed by a formidable attack upon the reformer. Simon of Sudbury was succeeded by Courtenay, bishop of London, and, in 1382, he called a provisional synod to consider Wyclif's views. In the former trials it was Wyclif's political tenets which had been called in question ; now he was accused of heresy, and twenty-four conclusions extracted from his writings were branded as heretical. Among these was one which questioned the literal truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation ; a second that ecclesiastics should not hold temporal possessions; a third was that 'he who gives alms to a mendicant is excommunicate.' Having obtained this decision, Courtenay's next step was to attack Oxford, the stronghold of Wyclif's views, and drive his adherents out of the university. Peter Rigge, the chancellor, Wyclif's friend, was expelled; some were compelled to recant; others fled. At a parliament held in Oxford, Wyclif was summoned to appear before convocation and explain his views. The result was a further condemnation, upon which Wyclif for the last time retired to Lutterworth. But in England Courtenay could do no more. No law existed for the burning of heretics; and Wyclif was too infirm and too prudent to obey a summons to Rome, and died in peace at Lutterworth in 1384. So successful had he been that in

Renewed
attack on
Wyclif.

Wyclif's
Death.

spite of the suppression of his 'simple priests,' his tenets spread rapidly, not only among the poorer classes, but even at court. Richard's queen, Anne of Bohemia, whom he married in 1382, was a convert; and so numerous were his followers that it was said by an exasperated monk that 'if you saw five men talking together, three were Wyclifites.' The general name given to them was Lollard. Its origin is unknown. Some derive it from *lullen*, 'to sing'; but in 1396, Pope Boniface ix., writing to Richard II., mentions them as those who call themselves 'the poor men of Christ's treasure-house,' but whom 'the common people in more correct language have called "lollards," as being "dry tares," *lollium aridum* which may or may not be a pun.

As there were no children of Richard's marriage, it was needful to provide for the succession, and in 1385 the young Roger, earl of March, Richard's grandson of Lionel, duke of Clarence, was definitely **Favourites.** recognised as successor in case the king died without children. The same year the Princess of Wales died; and as she was a woman of ability and tact, her loss as a moderating and reconciling power was much felt. Richard was now nineteen; but in spite of the promise given by his resolute conduct in 1381, it was a long time before he showed any real inclination to assume the responsibility of government, and at an age when his father and grandfather were immersed in affairs, he was still given over to pleasure. In these circumstances, his immediate friends had much influence; and, as a rule, their influence was bad. His half-brothers, Thomas and John Holland, earls respectively of Kent and Huntingdon, were violent and lawless men; Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, the king's bosom friend, was in everything, except that he belonged to an ancient English family, very much a second Gaveston; Sir Simon Burley, his tutor, inculcated notions of high prerogative which were sure in their application to lead to trouble; and though Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, the chancellor, was a painstaking financier and honest soldier, he never won the confidence of the country.

Against these men, who might be regarded as a court party, a powerful opposition was being organised by Thomas of Gloucester, the king's uncle, **The Opposi-** and by his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, earl of Derby, son **tion.** of John of Gaunt. Much more astute than Lancaster, Thomas and Henry made every effort to conciliate not only the clergy but the commons. Lancaster had offended the former by his attacks on Wykeham and his patronage of Wyclif; Bolingbroke won their favour by deference to Courtenay and by discountenancing any approach to Lollardism. On his part, Gloucester cultivated popularity, made himself a rival of Richard for popular favour, aided Bolingbroke to win the

alienated affection of the Londoners. The result was the growth of an opposition of no ordinary power, including Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick; Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham; Thomas, bishop of Ely, and his brother, Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, and even William of Wykeham, now a very old man.

The attack, which was more personal than political, opened in the parliament of 1386, when a demand was made for a heavy tax to enable Richard to carry on the war in person. This naturally led to discussion; and Richard was ill-advised enough to take this opportunity to make his friend, Vere, duke of Ireland. The result was a storm. Parliament demanded the dismissal of Michael de la Pole; Richard declared that at their request not a scullion in his kitchen should be dismissed. On this the act of deposition of Edward II. was moved for in the commons, and Richard, having convinced himself that parliament was in earnest, dismissed Suffolk, and made bishop Arundel chancellor. The fallen minister was then impeached on the usual charge of malversation, found guilty, stripped of his property, and ordered to be imprisoned.

The next step of the opposition was to demand the appointment of a commission to regulate the royal household and the realm after the manner of the Lords Ordainers. This was agreed to; but though he had yielded to pressure, Richard was none the less furious at what he considered an insult to his prerogative. Taking with him Sir Simon Burley, the duke of Ireland, archbishop Neville, Tressilian, the chief justice, Sir Nicholas Brember, a Londoner, and releasing Suffolk, he retired into the country, and elicited from the judges an opinion that the commission was contrary to the prerogative of the crown. In return, Gloucester charged Neville, Vere, Suffolk, Tressilian, and Brember with treason, and both parties prepared for war. The collapse of the king's friends was, however, complete. Bolingbroke defeated Vere at Radcot Bridge in Oxfordshire, and Vere at once fled to the continent. Suffolk and Neville did the like. Tressilian and Brember alone were taken.

A new parliament met in January 1387, and in it the five named by Gloucester were formally charged by Gloucester, Derby, Nottingham, Warwick, and Arundel, who were named the Lords Appellant. The charges were various: ranging from attempting to make Vere king of Ireland, to causing Richard to impoverish the crown by lavish gifts of lands and money. The judges declared an accusation brought in this form illegal; but parliament over

Suffolk* a
Dismissal.

Royal
Household
regulated
by Commis-
sion.

Battle of
Radcot
Bridge.

The Lords
Appellant.

rode their decision, found the accused guilty of treason, and, by what amounted to an act of attainder, condemned all except Neville to be put to death. This was immediately done in the case of Tressilian and Brember, and Neville was disposed of by the ingenious device of getting Pope Urban vi. to promote him to the archbishopric of St. Andrews in Scotland, a country which acknowledged a rival pope. Besides Tressilian and Brember, Sir Simon Burley and three other laymen were put to death ; and these wholesale executions of rival politicians mark a further development of the barbarous practices which had been begun by the murder of Gaveston, and were to culminate in the wholesale attainders of the Wars of the Roses, and the judicial murders of the Tudors and Stuarts. By such acts the parliament of 1387 well earned its infamous title of the Merciless. For about a year Gloucester and his friends retained their power; but in 1389, Richard, who was now twenty-two years of age, suddenly declared his intention of managing his own affairs, dismissed Arundel from the chancery and the lords appellant from the council, and apparently with great satisfaction to his subjects inaugurated a new *regime*.

The character of the young king has always been regarded as one of the puzzles of history. Good-looking, clever, cultivated, inheriting the popularity of his father and mother, he nevertheless proved a complete failure; and ended by having his crown taken from him by a decision almost as unanimous as that which dethroned Edward II. One cause of this was undoubtedly his habitual idleness. Whether this was due to constitution, or was the result of an evil bringing-up, cannot now be determined, but it certainly was the dominant trait of his political character; and the occasional flashes of fitful energy which he displayed only served to make his ordinary conduct more exasperating. Nevertheless, for eight years, from 1389 to 1397, in spite of his high views on prerogative, he reigned with considerable success, acting constitutionally through his ministers and by the advice of parliament; and the contrast between this period and the two years which followed is so marked that it has been suggested, with some plausibility, that a mental change amounting to insanity is the true explanation of his later conduct.

Several events made government work more smoothly after 1388. In 1389 John of Gaunt returned from Spain, and, instead of resuming his former intrigues, showed himself an honest subject and a faithful adviser of his nephew; and as he had great influence over both his brothers, Gloucester and York, this change in his conduct was of the first importance. In 1390 Henry of Bolingbroke left England to fight against the Lithuanians, in the ranks of the German knights,

Quieter
tales.

and with the exception of one short visit to England, stayed with them till 1392. Then he went by way of Prague, Vienna, Venice and Rhodes to Jerusalem, and returned home in 1393 by way of Italy and France. Suffolk died abroad; and, as Vere never returned to England, a complete break was made between Richard and his old advisers. The energies of Henry Percy were for the most part occupied in border warfare, during which, in 1388, was fought the famous battle of Otterburn, near Wooler, the true facts of which have been almost lost in the ballad of 'Chevy Chace.' The earl of March was in Ireland; and Warwick, Mowbray, and Arundel were not strong enough of themselves to give trouble. All these things made for peace.

The chancellorship was first given by Richard to the aged William of Wykeham; and on his death in 1391, to bishop Arundel, who held it till 1396, when he became archbishop of Canterbury; and the treasury was occupied by a series of able but not remarkable bishops, whose policy was confined to the routine of office. The period covered by their rule is marked by all the signs of good government. Ministers were trusted by parliament, which, on one occasion, expressly declared that it had no fault to find with their rule. Taxation was moderate and regular. Prices were low and wages good. The irritation of the villeins was fast passing away through the reasonable concessions of the lords. A series of truces were concluded with France. The eight years of constitutional government, moreover, were marked by a large amount of useful legislation, in which the commons had their full share. The statutes of provisors and praemunire were re-enacted with additional safeguards. The statute of mortmain was enlarged so as to forbid the practice of granting estates to laymen *in trust* for religious houses, and guilds or fraternities were also forbidden to acquire land. On the other hand, Richard, to his great honour, refused his consent to a monstrous proposal that villeins should not be allowed to acquire lands, or to send their children to school.

Constitutional Government.

Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire renewed.

Another statute, that of *maintenance*, dealt with an evil which was to be the curse of England for the next hundred years.

In the days before the statute of *quia emptores*, the military strength of the great nobles had lain in their sub-tenants bound to do them military service; but since the practice of subinfeudation had been abolished, they had begun to replace their vassals by bands of hired retainers, men clothed and fed at their expense, who wore the badge of their lords, and who were ready at any time to fight in their battles. This practice appears to have been much stimulated by

Statute of Maintenance.

the habits of command acquired by the nobles in the French wars, and their capacity for indulging in it had been increased by the recent practice of letting land for a money rent, which added to their command of ready money. The men thus hired constituted practically a small but efficient standing army at the beck and call of each nobleman, and their existence was at once an incentive to and a means of carrying on the civil warfare, which, from the battle of Radcot Bridge to the battle of Stoke in 1487, was such a terrible characteristic of English life. In 1390, this practice was forbidden by the statute of maintenance, under the name of 'livery of company'; but this law, though often renewed, was a dead letter for want of an adequate force to compel its observance, and remained so till the time of Henry VII.

The time which we are now dealing with was also remarkable as the culminating point in one of the great epochs of English literature. The fourteenth century was remarkable throughout Europe for the progress made in ousting the literary Latin of the Middle Ages in favour of the vernacular tongue of each country. In Italy was written by Dante the great poem of the *Divina Commedia*; France produced the prose *Chronicle* of Froissart; Spain produced the *Gid*. In England the revolt was a double one. Not only had we to displace Latin but also French, which the spread of French fashions among the upper classes had made the usual speech of court and castle, from which it had spread to such an extent that Robert of Gloucester tells us that no man who valued himself neglected to learn it; and William Langland represents his poorest peasants as singing French songs on their way to work. When the great French war opened, a reaction set in. French began to be less used in documents of state; and in 1362 it was forbidden in the courts of law. It held its own, however, with great tenacity. The rolls of parliament under Richard II. were always in French; and, indeed, the phrase, 'O yes! O yes!' (*Oyez! Oyez!*) of the town-crier; and the royal phrase, *la reine s'avisera* or *la reine* *Il veult* survive to the present day. Fortunately the revival of English was contemporary with the appearance of three great writers—Wyclif, Chaucer, and Langland—who did more than any three other men to make English the literary language, both of verse and prose, and to secure its acceptance by all classes of the community. Of Wyclif's life, his tracts, and his translation of the Bible, we have already spoken; it remains to notice Chaucer and Langland.

Geoffrey Chaucer was the son of a London vintner, and was probably born in the year 1340. His father's interest sufficed to get him the post of page in the service of Lionel, duke of Clarence; and he saw service

in France in 1359. About 1366, Chaucer married a sister of the Katharine Swynford, afterwards wife of John of Gaunt. He then served in a variety of missions abroad, visiting among other places **Chaucer.** Genoa and Florence; and was rewarded with the post of

comptroller of the customs and subsidy of wools, skins, and leather at the port of London; and in 1382, comptroller of the petty customs, or tonnage and poundage. In 1386 he sat in parliament, but soon afterwards was dismissed from his post, and for some years was in money difficulties. He apparently recovered his good fortune by the aid of the Lancasters, and died in 1400. Chaucer was a voluminous writer; but his best-known work is the *Canterbury Tales*, in which he gives a picture of most of the familiar characters of his own day. Though a courtier and a linguist, Chaucer chose to write in English, and the popularity of his tales and poems did much to secure the position of our native tongue. Of Langland, much less is known. He was **Langland.**

born about 1332, near the Malvern Hills; became a clerk, and lived in London, dying about 1400. His chief work is the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*, in which the ploughman is depicted as living the only true Christian life, with which the lives of the barons, the clergy, and the gentry are forcibly contrasted. His works show much better than those of Chaucer the real grievances of the peasants, and the feelings which led both to the revolts of 1381 and the revolution of 1399.

The period of peace and good government terminated in 1397, and the change was led up to by several noticeable events. In 1394 died the good queen, Anne of Bohemia, whose influence, like that of ^{Death of} Richard's mother, had always made for peace, and whose ^{Queen Anne.} funeral witnessed an unseemly scuffle between Richard and the earl of Arundel. The same year died John of Gaunt's wife, Constance of Castile, and he at once married Katharine Swynford, governess to the children of his first wife, and sister-in-law of Chaucer, by whom he already had a numerous family. To oblige his uncle, Richard promoted the passing of an act of parliament, by which the Beauforts—as these children were ^{Burnamed}—were made legitimate, an act thought to have annoyed the dukes of Gloucester and York. In 1396, Richard, having concluded a truce of twenty-eight years with France, went over to Paris and married Isabella, daughter of Charles vi., then a child of eight years.

From this moment Richard's character seems to have changed, whether **from** physical causes, or whether his head was turned by **the** splendour of the French king, or by an illusory suggestion that he ^{Deterioration} should be elected emperor, it is impossible to say; but from ^{of Richard.} that time **he gave** free scope to his extravagant tastes; is reported to

have given £10,000 for a coat; and to have filled the court with bishops and ladies, a change from which his subjects augured no good to the realm.

Accordingly, the parliament of 1397 took up the old question of grievances ; and in particular, a complaint about the extravagance of the royal household was brought forward by Sir Thomas Haxey, **Haxey's Case.** a prebendary of the collegiate church of Southwell, who is believed to have been sitting as a proctor for the clergy. In the first instance Haxey's motion was accepted by the commons and passed on to the lords ; but Richard, hearing of it, made a violent protest, and declared it to be a most offensive interference with his rights. Before his wrath both lords and commons gave way, apologised for their mistake, and actually adjudged Haxey to die as a traitor. Archbishop Arundel, however, saved him as a clerk, and soon afterwards he obtained pardon. The incident is most remarkable, and shows how little influence the commons had unless they were supported by the military power of the great barons.

Fearful, however, lest the discontent of the commons should be taken advantage of by the old baronial party, who were exasperated by the long truce with France, to fetter his independence, Richard **Richard's Coup d'Etat.** determined to strike first. In July 1397, with the help of the Hollands, Rutland, son of the duke of York, and Nottingham, he carried out a *coup d'etat* by suddenly arresting Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick; and provided against a new battle of Radcot Bridge by levying in his county palatine of Chester a formidable body of archers. He then called a parliament to meet at Westminster in September. The commons met in a temporary building, erected in Palace Yard, and were completely overawed by the presence of a body of 4000 Cheshire archers, ready to let fly their arrows at a moment's notice. The king also **took** careful steps to form a royalist party in the commons, headed by Sir John Bussy or Bushy, the Speaker, Sir Thomas Green, and Sir William Bagot; and in the lords induced Nottingham, Rutland, John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, the earl of Salisbury, and three others, to accuse Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel of treason for the acts done in 1387 and 1388. Arundel was tried first, convicted, sentenced by Lancaster as high steward, and beheaded the same day. Gloucester's turn came next; but it was announced that, having been sent to Calais for safe keeping, he had died in prison. Whether Gloucester died a natural death is uncertain; if he was murdered the blame must fall, as it did in current rumour, on Richard and **on** Nottingham, who, as **governor of Calais**, was **responsible for his safe custody**. **Warwick was then sentenced on hi***

own confession to perpetual imprisonment, and was removed to the Isle of Man ; and a little later, Arundel's brother, the archbishop, was translated by Boniface ix. to St. Andrews, a change equivalent to banishment and deprivation. In reward for their services, the earl of Derby, who, though not an appellant, was seemingly a consenting party, was made duke of Hereford; Rutland, duke of Albemarle; the two Hollands, earls of Surrey and Exeter; Nottingham, duke of Norfolk; and Sir William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire.

As soon, as the trials were over, the parliament was adjourned till January 1398, when it again assembled at Shrewsbury. There it held a session of three days, again overawed by the Cheshire Shrewsbury archers, and passed three measures which practically cancelled Parliament. all the constitutional progress made during the last century. By the first, the whole of the acts of 1388 were annulled, and an amnesty granted, By the second, the great subsidy on wools, wool fells, and leathers, and an annual tax of one-fifteenth on the counties, and one-tenth on the towns, was granted to the king *for life*. By the third, the full powers of parliament were delegated to a body of eighteen members : ten lords temporal, two earls as proctors for the clergy, and six members of the House of Commons. The eighteen, it is needless to add, were devoted followers of the king. Richard's victory was now complete. He had secured a good income for life : he held parliament in the hollow of his hand; he had terrified the opposition by executions, and possibly by murder; he even obtained a confirmation of his acts by the pope. His position in 1398 is not unlike that of Charles II. in 1685 ; but Richard lived to face the reaction ; Charles, more fortunate, left the task to his brother. Whether, after all, Richard exhibited the cunning of a madman, or whether, like many another ingenious schemer, he just overshot his mark, is a problem which in all probability will never, in the insufficiency of the evidence, be satisfactorily decided.

The actual opportunity for the reaction arose out of a personal matter. In December 1397, the new dukes of Hereford and Norfolk were riding between Brentford and London, when, according to Hereford's account, Norfolk informed him that Richard intended to kill both Hereford and Lancaster; and in answer to Hereford's objection that he had the king's pardon, added that the king was not to be believed on his oath. By Richard's orders Hereford repeated the words before the Shrewsbury parliament as a slander on the king, and, after a personal altercation in Richard's presence at Oswestry in February, in which Norfolk gave Hereford the lie, the committee referred the matter to a court of chivalry, which ordered

Quarrel
between
Hereford
and Norfolk.

the disputants **to** decide the question by a judicial combat at Coventry, on the 16th of September. However, when the combatants entered the lists, Richard stopped the fight, and, by his own award, without further trial, ordered Norfolk to quit the kingdom for life, and Hereford for ten years, which he afterwards reduced to seven. The unfairness as well as the injustice of this was obvious ; but Richard may have thought himself clever in ridding himself by one blow of two such barons. In banishing them, Richard made them swear that they would not communicate with the exiled archbishop Arundel; and promised Hereford that he should not be deprived of any lands or goods which might come to him by inheritance during his exile.

News, however, had arrived that on July 20 1398, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, had been killed in Ireland, in a skirmish between the **Expedition to Ireland.** O'Briens and the O'Tooles; and Richard, whose extravagance always kept him poor, took advantage of the death of John of Gaunt, which occurred in February 1399, to seize the Lancaster estates; used them in fitting out an expedition to that country, and in May 1399 he sailed to Ireland, leaving his uncle York as regent. On the 4th of July, Henry landed in Yorkshire, demanded the **Landing of Bolingbroke.** restoration of his family estates, and was immediately joined by Percy, earl of Northumberland, who had his own quarrel with Richard, and by other north-country barons. His arrival was the signal for a rising as unanimous as that which had dethroned Edward n. All the friends of Gloucester, all who were aggrieved by Richard's arbitrary government, all who had lands to leave to their heirs, and feared to see them share the fate of the Lancaster estates, rallied round the duke as the natural leader of a constitutional party. The adhesion of archbishop Arundel carried with it the support of the church, and without striking a blow, Lancaster found himself master of the country. On July 27 he was joined by the regent. On the 29th, Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, Bussy, and Green, who had been captured at Bristol, were put to death.

Meanwhile, contrary winds had detained Richard in Ireland; and when he landed in Wales on July 25, he found that a body of Welshmen, whom the earl of Salisbury had collected to support him, **Deposition of Richard.** had just dispersed. Recognising the futility of further resistance, he made an offer of resignation to archbishop Arundel and the earl of Northumberland. At Flint he met Lancaster, and went with **him to London**, where a full parliament was **to** meet on September 30. On **the 29th** Richard affixed his signature to a written document in **which he absolved his subjects from fealty, homage, and allegiance; renounced**

every claim to royalty ; declared himself insufficient and useless, and not unworthy to be deposed ; and verbally expressed a wish that Lancaster might be his successor. This document was read to parliament, and in its turn parliament prepared a statement of thirty-three reasons why Richard ought to be deposed. None of these were trivial ; but, from a constitutional point of view, the most notable were the sixteenth, in which he •as accused of asserting that his laws were in his own mouth and in his own oreast, and that he alone could change and frame the law of the land ; and the twenty-sixth, which charged him with saying that the life of every liegeman, his lands, tenements, goods and chattels, lay at his royal will without sentence of forfeiture, Richard was then formally deposed.

Then Henry of Lancaster spoke in English, and claimed the crown as of the right royal blood of Henry in., and, more important, as sent by God to recover his right when 'the realm was on the point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of the good laws.' His plea was at once accepted unanimously, and he was led to the throne by archbishop Arundel of Canterbury, and archbishop Scrope of York. With the exception of the death* at Bristol, no blood was shed in the carrying out of this great revolution. Richard had friends, but with the doubtful exception of bishop Merke of Carlisle, no one spoke on his behalf. At the moment the list of charges must have seemed overwhelming, and it was impossible for any Englishman to defend the position taken up by Richard in the clauses cited above. Outwardly there was much resemblance between the cases of Edward II. and Richard II. In reality they had little in common except their melancholy fate. Edward fell because he never even attempted to play the part of a king : Richard because he held too exalted an idea of such a part, without possessing the tact to secure a party and make his power a reality. Edward had the advantage of an admirable example in his predecessor, and of succeeding to a well-organised kingdom. Richard's difficulties were very largely inherited ; and it is to this and to the inculcation of altogether wrong principles of rule that his failure is to be attributed, and not, as in the case of Edward, to personal worthlessness of character. As it was, he had played the game of high prerogative and lost, and the unanimous choice of the nation transferred the throne to a popular leader, who, they believed, would restore government on constitutional principles, and this distinction was made perfectly clear by Henry himself. For, whereas Richard had declared that the law was in the heart and mouth of the king, and that the goods of his subjects were his own, archbishop Arundel officially

**Crown
claimed by
Boltngbroke.**

**Edward II.
and
Richard II.**

informed Henry's first parliament that the new king would act 'by common advice, counsel, and consent,' and 'do right to all people in mercy and truth according to his oath.'

CHIEF DATES.

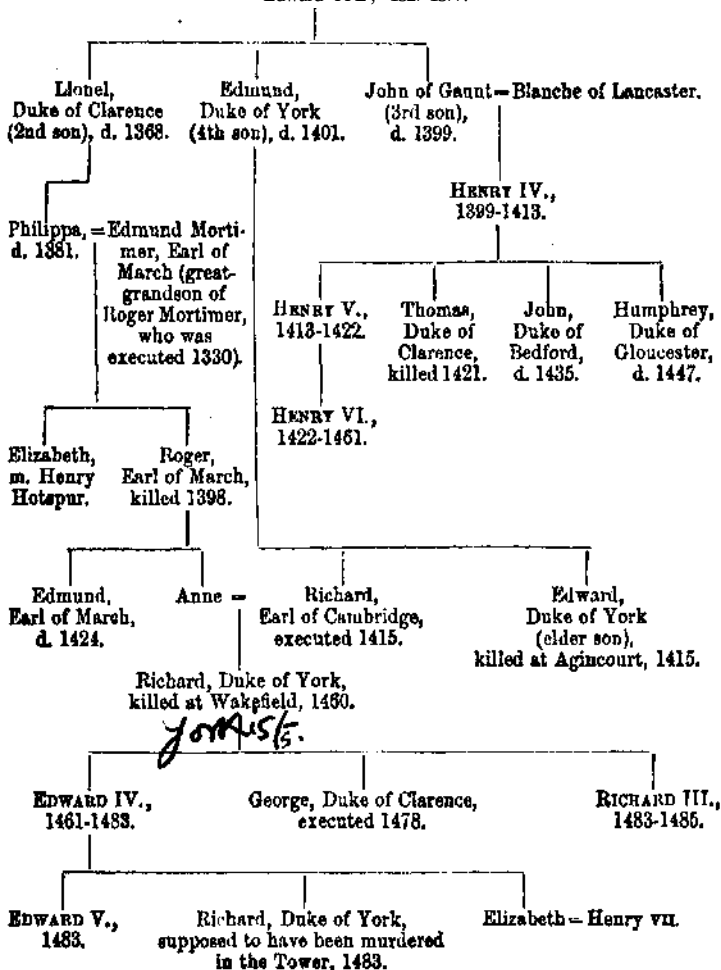
	A.D.
The Feasant revolt.	1381
Death of Wyclif, ...	1384
Battle of Radcot Bridge, ...	1386
The Merciless Parliament, ...	1387
Battle of Otterburn, ...	1388
' Maintenance' and ' Livery' forbidden by Statute,	1390
Parliament at Shrewsbury, ...	1398
Roger Mortimer killed, ...	1398

Book V

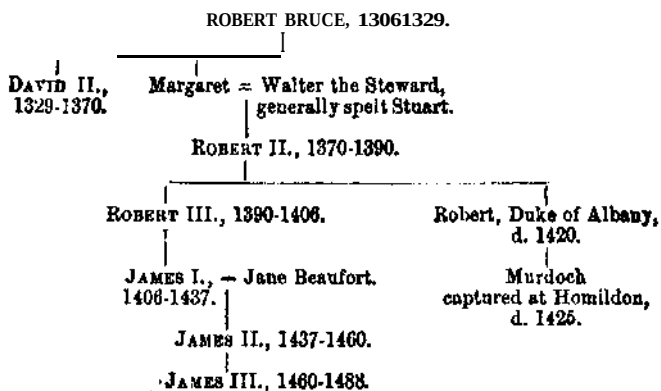
THE LANCASTRIAN AND YORKIST KINGS

XI.-THE HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER

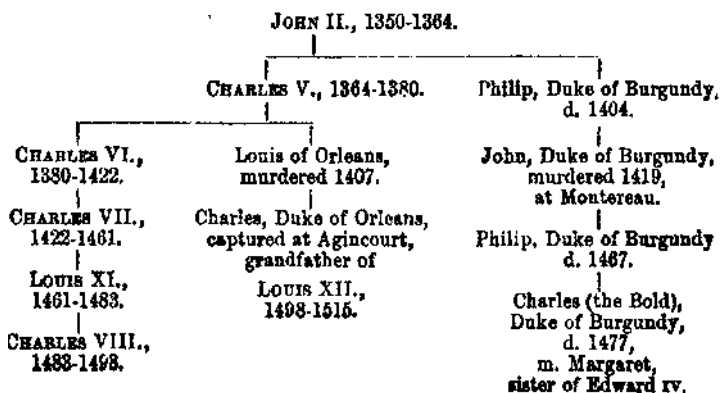
Edward III., 1327-1377.

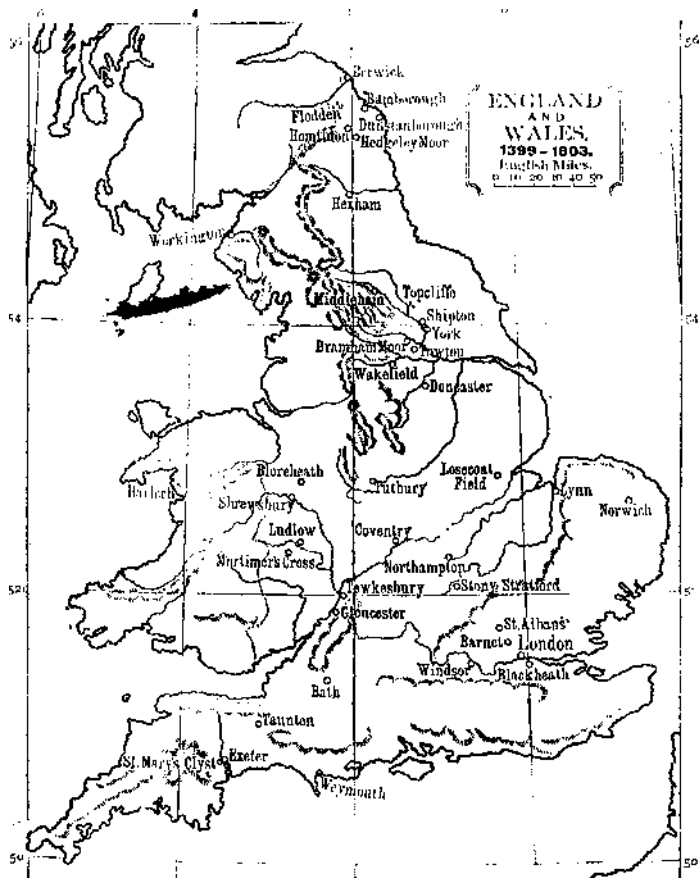


XII.-SCOTTISH KINGS, 1306-1488.



XIII.—THE KINGS OF FRANCE, 1350-1515.





CHAPTER I

HENRY IV.: 1399-1413

Born 1366; married 1403, ^{1380, Mary de Bohun,} Joan of Navarre, Duchess of Brittany.
1403, Joan of Navarre, Duchess of Brittany.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

<i>Scotland,</i>	<i>France,</i>	<i>Emperor,</i>
Robert III., d. 1406.	Charles vi., d. 1422.	Sigisinund, 1410-1437.
Jaines I., d. 1437.		

Rebellions in Richard's Favour—The Lollards—Owen Glendower—The Risings of the Percies and of Scrope—Foreign Affairs—Henry's Constitutional Government.

IT would not be easy to find two men whose characters presented a greater contrast than those of Henry iv. and his predecessor. Few of the graces that marked richard 11. had fallen to the lot of his cousin. His person, though sturdy and active, appears to have been neither handsome nor graceful; and his square face and thick beard had little of the charm and refinement which had distinguished the son of the Fair Maid of Kent. But whereas Richard had been a mere carpet-knight, untried in the field, and dependent on others both for counsel and execution, Henry was pre-eminently a man of action, who had seen much hard fighting in many lands, had been accustomed always to think and act on his own responsibility, and was capable of inspiring confidence in others by showing that he believed in himself. Nor was the difference between their conceptions of kingship less marked than that between their personal characters. Richard, as Shakespeare has rightly delineated him, was the holder of a theoretical view of the dignity of royalty of the most exalted kind, to which his personal insufficiency acted as a perpetual foil. Henry, on the other hand, put forward no such theoretical claim to respect; but his personal force of character and self-restraint secured him a deference to which Richard was a complete stranger.

The new government had to provide for the safe custody of the ex-king. By the advice of the lords, it was ordered that he should be removed to some safe place and there kept in custody ; that no former members of his household should have access to him ; and that he should neither send nor receive letters of any kind. Accordingly, he was removed from the Tower at dead of night and taken to Leeds Castle, in Kent, and thence to the Lancastrian stronghold of Pontefract, in Yorkshire. He had still a good many personal friends, of whom the chief were the eldest son of the duke of York, commonly known as the earl of Rutland ; the Hollands, Richard's half-brother and nephew, earls respectively of Huntingdon and Kent ; John Beaufort, earl of Somerset ; and John Montague, earl of Salisbury. By request of the commons, the cases of these noblemen were examined by the lords, and after much consideration it was decided that they should forfeit all lands acquired since 1397, and they were expressly warned that any further support of Richard would be dealt with as treason. At the same time, a sweeping Act against retainers was passed, in hope of doing something to curtail the power for mischief possessed by the malcontents.

In spite, however, of the warning against treason, the lords were no sooner at liberty than some of them began to plot. The chief conspirators were the earls of Huntingdon, Kent, Rutland, and Salisbury ; Roger Waiden, ex-archbishop of Canterbury ; Thomas Merke, bishop of Carlisle ; two abbots, and a priest named Maudelyn, who happened to be in appearance a double of Richard himself. Their scheme was to assemble at Kingston in January 1400, and to cut off Henry, who was expected to be at Windsor, from his supporters the Londoners. Henry was then to be seized, Richard proclaimed, and Maudelyn was to play his part until his place of imprisonment had been discovered. At the critical moment, however, the marplot, Rutland, revealed the plan to his father, and York lost not a moment in warning the king. Without hesitation, Henry rode through the night to the capital, appealed to the Londoners, and within twenty-four hours had 20,000 men-at-arms, archers, and billmen in the field. The king's midnight ride completely disconcerted the rebels ; a sharp fight took place at Maidenhead Bridge, and then they fled westward to Cirencester. There a new danger confronted them. The country people, flocking into the town, attacked the house occupied by the leaders, compelled them to surrender, and, without waiting the formalities of a trial, cut off the heads of Kent and Salisbury in the open street. Huntingdon was captured by the Essex men at Chelmsford, and beheaded at Pleshy ; Lord Despenser, another conspirator, was put to

Richard's
Imprison-
ment.

Rebellion in
his favour.

death at Bristol ; Maudelyn was hanged at Tyburn ; and the ex-bishops placed in safe custody. The most striking feature of this insurrection is the proof it gives both of the popularity of Henry and of the detestation in which the personal friends of Richard were held by the populace. To Richard himself it was fatal. Hitherto, the king himself had probably stood in the way of any violence to Richard's person, for on the first news of his capture, the Londoners had written to Henry asking that he should be beheaded at once; and about Christmas, the duke of York, and the earls of Northumberland, Westmorland, Arundel, and Warwick, had presented a petition to the same effect. Both these suggestions, however, Henry had put aside, though he told his uncle and the other lords that if a rising took place, Richard should be the first to die. There is little doubt that he was as good as his word, and that while the rebels were out in the Thames valley, Richard was put to death at Pontefract. At any rate, by the end of January 1400, it ^{Richard's Death.} was generally accepted that he was dead; a body said to be his was exhibited and buried, and for some time the fact remained unquestioned. The exact date and manner of his death are, however, unknown; and about two years afterwards rumours that he had escaped and was still living began to be current, which added so much to Henry's difficulties that his enemies gave them every encouragement.

Hardly had rebellion at home been put down, than Henry's attention was called to the affairs of Scotland. Since the release of David in 1357, the courts of England and Scotland had been, on the whole, ^{Scottish Affairs.} on fair terms, though the unceasing raids of the border lords kept the marches in constant disorder, and resulted from time to time in such a serious battle as that of Otterburn in 1388. In 1400 the nominal king of Scotland was Robert i. n. ; but as he was a cripple, the real sovereignty was in the hands of his brother, the duke of Albany. A truce made by Richard expired at Michaelmas 1399, and it was extremely important to have this renewed to prevent the Scots giving their usual aid to the French, in case Richard's father-in-law, Charles vi., chose to make his deposition a pretext for renewing the war. Finding the Scots hesitate, Henry determined to force from them an acknowledgment of his accession and a renewal of the truce, and in the summer of 1400 he invaded Scotland, accompanied by George of Dunbar, earl of the march of Scotland, who had taken offence at the Scottish king. Warned, however, by much experience, the Scots declined to be drawn into battle, while Henry was too wary to attack them at a disadvantage; so after burning Leith, he was compelled by famine to retire, leaving the exasperated Scots to revenge themselves on the next opportunity.

With France dissatisfied and Scotland burning for revenge, Henry's hands were full enough, when a further trouble on the Welsh border was added to his other difficulties. A Welsh landowner, Owen Glendower—Owen Glendower. or, as he spelt himself in full, Owain ap Gruffydd, lord of Glyn-dyfrdwy, *i.e.* the Valley of the Black Water or tjee—had quarrelled with his neighbour, Lord Grey of Kuthin, and the squabble developed into a national rising. Owen had been a law-student at Westminster, and an esquire of Henry himself before he came to the throne. He was a man of wealth and hospitality, of popular manners and address, and, as his subsequent career showed, possessed a genius for irregular warfare. While Henry was in the north, Owen's men not only harried the lands of Lord Grey, but attacked the English settlers in the towns, and even carried their depredations into the English county of Shropshire. Hurrying west, Henry invaded Wales in September; but his attempt met with as little success as his invasion of Scotland, for Owen retired into the mountains, and there, secure amidst inaccessible fastnesses, he bade defiance to the English till the November frosts compelled Henry to beat a retreat. He left his eldest son Henry, a lad of thirteen, to guard the borders as earl of Chester, under the guidance of Henry Percy, eldest son of the earl of Northumberland, an able and brave man, whose border raids had gained him the nickname of Hotspur.

In January 1401 Henry assembled his second parliament at Westminster. The session was chiefly notable for the passing of the statute *de HcBretico Comburendo*. De Heeretico Comburendo. John Wyclif had died in 1384; but his doctrines had been spreading since his death, and, though the Lollards can hardly be regarded as a defined and coherent religious sect, the number of malcontents both among the laity and the clergy was undoubtedly very large. The chief points attacked by them were pluralities, the wealth of the clergy, the mendicant orders, image worship, the sale of pardons, pilgrimages, and habitual confession; but some had followed Wyclif in an attack on the doctrine of transubstantiation. This state of affairs was carefully considered in 1401 by the convocation of the province of Canterbury.

The Convocation of Canterbury consisted of two houses: the upper of which contained eighteen bishops, with the abbots of Gloucester and Glastonbury, and the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury; the lower, of the other priors and abbots, and the proctors of the cathedral and parochial clergy of the province. This body specially considered the views of four Lollards, of whom the most notable was a beneficed clergyman, William Chatrys—pronounced Sawtery or Sawtre—who had been vicar of a church at Lynn, but had afterwards removed to London. Eventually, this examination

turned upon his sacramental views. ' Bread,' he said, 'it remains ; but bread plus the body of Christ.' This, however, was not considered sufficient, and he was pronounced heretical, and degraded from the ministry. The same day Henry addressed an order to the mayor and sheriffs of London directing them to burn *Ohatrys* **alive.** Such executions had been common enough on the continent, but it was the first of the kind in England; and, to provide for other cases, convocation petitioned the king to enact that heretics condemned, or relapsing after recantation, should be handed over to the king's officers, and that * further action should be taken.' In accordance, therefore, with this request, a statute was drawn up, by which all heretical writings were ordered to be given up within forty days ; and obstinate and relapsing heretics were ordered to be publicly burnt. This statute was passed by the advice of the lords and at the request of convocation; but, as the commons thanked God for the king's destruction of evil doctrine and of the sect who preached it, the famous statute of *de Hceretico Comburendo* must be regarded as an expression of the views of the time with regard to the proper way of dealing with heresy. From this time forward executions for heresy were not infrequent. One notable case is that of *Badby*, a tailor, burnt in London in 1410. As a rule, however, such events did not attract the attention of the chroniclers, but the expenses of burning a heretic occur from time to time in the accounts of cities and boroughs. The act, it must be noticed, dealt distinctly with doctrinal heresy, under which head many of the Lollard opinions did not come ; wad the discontent of the people with the general condition of the church does not seem to have suffered any diminution in consequence of the new statute.

After Henry's return to England in 1400, the conduct of the Scottish war was left to the earl of Northumberland, and the exiled earl of March. Little, however, was effected in 1401, which was chiefly occupied with negotiations ; but in 1402 the earl of March, at the head of a body of English, defeated the Scots at the battle of *Nesbit Moor*, near Berwick; and when *Hotspur* returned from Wales, a body of 10,000 Scots, under the earl of Douglas and Murdoch Stewart, earl of Fife, eldest son of the duke of Albany, which had penetrated into Northumberland, was cut off at *Homildon Hill*, **Homildon Hill.** *Humbledon* or *Homildon Hill*, by the river Glen, utterly discomfited by the English archery, and both leaders were taken.

Unluckily, the brilliant success of the Percies contrasted ill with Henry's personal achievements. Owen was still at large. All the efforts of *Hotspur* and the prince **had** failed to stop him raiding the open country,

and the castles even were with difficulty defended. In the spring of 1402 he captured Lord Grey de Ruthin ; and when Sir Edmund Mortimer was defending the Mortimer lands in the valley of the Teme, he failed in an attack on Glendower at Brynglas, near Knighton, many of his followers perished, and he himself only saved his life by surrender. Then Henry himself attempted an elaborate invasion; but the ingenuity of Owen again avoided battle, and Henry's followers, drenched with rain and half-starved among the barren crags of Merionethshire, were forced, after three weeks, to make an ignominious retreat. Against such an enemy the ordinary resources of civilised warfare were expended in vain. Short campaigns were useless ; and Henry's want of money effectually prevented him from garrisoning his numerous castles with men sufficient to make them a terror to the surrounding country.

**Disasters
in Wales.**

Other causes also had by this time begun to undermine his popularity. The revolution of 1399 was soon followed by the inevitable reaction which waits upon all popular movements. Hampered as he was both by foreign war and domestic revolution, it was out of Henry's power to conciliate popular feeling by reducing taxation. His poverty deprived him of the means of conciliating opposition; while his inability to pay his debts kept him a prey to the importunity of a band of discontented creditors. For some reason, in spite of his religious zeal, the mendicant friars were against him, and their preachers were doing all they could to promote discontent. Rumours of impending wars and conspiracies were in the air, and stories of Richard's escape were being industriously spread. It might well seem that Henry was a failure ; and, though Richard was dead, the existence of Edmund, earl of March, eldest son of Roger Mortimer, and his brother and sister, afforded a rallying point for any insurrectionary movement. Of this state of affairs the Percies determined to take advantage to raise a most formidable rebellion.

**Reaction
against
Henry.**

Though the earl of Northumberland, in a fit of pique, had aided Henry to overthrow Richard II., a long-standing feud existed between the Percies and the house of Lancaster. Since Henry's accession, a variety of causes had tended to bring about a renewal of the strife. Foremost among these were money difficulties. The Percies, father and son, had for two years borne the brunt of the struggle, both in Scotland and Wales. Their expenses had been enormous; and of £60,000 which they had provided, £20,000 yet remained unpaid, while the condition of the royal finances made the raising of this sum almost out of the question. ' The brilliant part played by the Percies in the north contrasted with Henry's useless invasion of

**Discontent
of the
Percies.**

Scotland and his inglorious campaigns in Wales; while Hotspur's tenure of office in North Wales had not been unproductive of jealousy and distrust. Matters first assumed a threatening aspect over the surrender of the prisoners taken at Homildon Hill, whom the Percies retained as a security for their money. A further difficulty presented itself in the case of Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle of the young earl of Mortimer. Actuated partly by an idea that Sir Edmund had been a traitor all along, partly, no doubt, by a feeling that the uncle of the young earl was better out of the way, Henry refused to raise money for his ransom, saying that he would not pay money to help the Welsh. Mortimer's sister, Elizabeth, was Hotspur's wife, and the refusal led to an open quarrel, in which Henry is said to have actually struck Percy.

The result of Henry's refusal was the marriage of Mortimer to Owen's daughter, and the creation of a grand alliance between his enemies—of which the heads were Owen and Mortimer, ^{Percy's} Henry Percy, the earl of Northumberland; his brother, ^{Conspiracy.} Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester; Hotspur, and the earl of Douglas. Short of paying them their money, Henry had done all he could do to secure the goodwill of the Percies, even making them a grant of a large slice of southern Scotland which he had declared annexed to England after the battle of Homildon. He seems, therefore, to have been unprepared for their treachery, when, in the summer of 1403, he suddenly heard that Thomas Percy had escaped from Shrewsbury, taking with him all the treasure in his possession, and that Hotspur himself was in full march towards Cheshire with the evident intention of using his influence there to raise a force with which he could co-operate with Owen against the Prince of Wales.

In Cheshire Richard II. had always been popular; and Hotspur himself had acquired much influence there during his residence in the marches; consequently the Cheshire men flocked eagerly ^{Battle of} to his standard, and he soon found himself at the head of at ^{Shrewsbury.} least 14,000 men. He then issued a manifesto accusing Henry of having murdered Richard, of collecting taxes contrary to his word, and of tampering with free election to parliament, and declaring his intention of redeeming his own error in supporting him by placing on the throne Edmund, earl of March, the rightful heir of Richard. After moving from Chester to Lichfield, Hotspur invested Shrewsbury, where the Prince of Wales was stationed, and waited the arrival of Owen's contingent; but when he heard that Henry was marching from Burton to attack him, he concentrated his troops on a line of country, some three miles north of Shrewsbury, where a slight rise in the ground would

give his archers a decided advantage, and awaited the king's coming. On his side, Henry, though he had an army at least as large as Hotspur's, was by no means eager to fight, but made every effort to induce the rebels to agree to an accommodation. His efforts, however, were fruitless; and on July 21 he gave the order for attack. A most obstinate battle was the result. The struggle began at noon: it did not close till nightfall. Seven thousand men are said to have fallen, and the struggle was probably more severe than any battle on English soil since Northallerton and Hastings. The result, however, was a complete victory for Henry. Hotspur fell in the thick of the fight, and the earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners. Two days after the battle, the earl of Worcester and two Cheshire gentlemen were executed for treason, and, as a proof of Hotspur's death, his head was exposed for a month on London Bridge.

Henry seems to have been really grieved by Hotspur's fate, and did all he could to avoid the slaughter of another battle. Fortunately, the

aged earl of Northumberland had been completely cowed by his son's death. On August 11 he met Henry at York,

surrendered his person, and agreed to all the stipulations made by the king for the security of peace. Henry then marched to Worcester, to see what could be done against Owen. The depredations of that chieftain were at least as audacious as ever; but he had no force in the field that could be regarded as a regular army, and Henry experienced exactly the same trouble in dealing with his guerilla troops as had twice before defeated his efforts. In these circumstances nothing could be done but to keep up as far as possible the garrisons of the border castles, and to wait till the insurrection died out. The process, however, was excessively slow; and Owen's power was a thorn in Henry's side till the day of his death. After 1407, however, the actual business of dealing with him was left to the Prince of Wales, who acquired on the Welsh borders the military experience which afterwards served him in such good stead. Within six months of his surrender, the earl of Northumberland was restored to liberty and his estates; but Henry's kindly attempt to give his old friend a chance of making a fresh start met with little gratitude. Nothing could stop the earl from intriguing; and in

1405 another conspiracy was formed between him and Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, son of the late duke of Norfolk, and Eichard le Scrope, archbishop of York, brother of Lord Scrope of Masham, and a kinsman of the earl of Wiltshire (see page 291). The rebels, with 8000 men, were met on Shipton Moor, near York, by the king's third son John, afterwards the great

Submission
of North-
umberland.

Conspiracy
of Mowbray
and Scrope.

duke of Bedford, and by Northumberland's old rival, Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland. In some negotiations which passed between the leaders, Scrope stated their case against the king, accusing him of getting the crown by treachery and false promises, of conniving at Richard's murder, of illegally putting both clergy and laity to death, and generally of causing the destruction and misery of the country. He demanded a free parliament, a reduction of taxation, and the vigorous prosecution of the war against the Welsh. Reform, not revolution, seems to have been Scrope's desire, and no suggestion of March's claim seems to have been made. Though Mowbray had certainly been privy to an abortive attempt just made to release the Mortimers, Westmorland promised to lay their demands before the king, and on this assurance the rebel soldiers dispersed. Of this advantage was immediately taken to arrest Mowbray and Scrope. This time Henry showed no mercy ; and, after the bare semblance of a trial, both prisoners were beheaded. No such public execution of a bishop had ever yet taken place in England. The audacity of the act seems to have struck universal horror ; miracles were soon reported to be worked at the tomb, and an illness with which Henry was subsequently affected was generally believed to be a judgment for his crime.

Meanwhile, Northumberland and Lord Bardolph had made their way north and escaped across the border ; while Henry seized Alnwick, Prudhoe, and Cockermouth, and other Percy strongholds. There they vainly attempted to gain Albany's assistance, and, failing, made their way to Owen in Wales, and thence visited France and Flanders. At length, in 1407, they again returned to Scotland, and having crossed the border with some Scottish troops, were joined by a few of Northumberland's former tenants. Yorkshire, however, was against them; and Sir Thomas Rokeby, the sheriff, at the head of the *posse-comitatus*, put them to rout at Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster. Northumberland perished on the field; Bardolph was mortally wounded; and the long struggle between Henry and the barons was virtually at an end. About the same time, though Owen was still at large, he ceased to be formidable. A French force, which landed at Milford Haven in 1406, found almost as poor entertainment on the Welsh mountains as Henry himself, and returned home in disgust; and after this effort the war gradually died out, though the fidelity of his countrymen enabled Owen himself to preserve his freedom till his death, which occurred several years after that of Henry himself.

The prolonged struggle with Owen and the Scots, the rebellion of the Percies, coupled with the constant anxiety about money matters, **made**

**Battle of
Bramham
Moor.**

Henry's throne no enviable seat during the first eight years of **his** reign; and no one but a man of first-rate ability and of iron resolution could have battled through his difficulties. As it **was**, the victory of Bramham found Henry, though only forty-one years of age, a worn-out and enfeebled man; and the last six years of his reign, though a period of comparative peace as far as external affairs were concerned, were passed by him in a constant struggle against a debilitating and wearisome disease.

**Difficulties
of Henry's
Position.**

In other respects, however, fortune was kind, and two strokes of luck relieved him from anxiety on the score of Scotland and France. For years Robert in. had been only in name a king—wandering from one abbey to another, a mere looker-on at the proceedings of his strong and energetic brother, the duke of Albany. At length Albany seized Robert's eldest son, the duke of Rothesay, and starved him to death in Falkland Castle. In 1406 the poor king despatched his second son James, then about twelve years old, to France. On his voyage, while becalmed off Kamborough Head, his ship was boarded by some English seamen, and James was taken to Henry's court. Delighted to possess a further hostage for the good behaviour of the Scots, for Murdoch, Albany's eldest son, was already in his hands, Henry caused the boy to be carefully guarded at Windsor; but gave him an excellent education, and the nineteen years passed by James in England were probably the happiest, and certainly the most peaceful, of his life,

**Capture of
James of
Scotland.**

In France a struggle was taking place, **not** ualike the English Wars of the Roses, where the government of the country during the incapacity of the imbecile king Charles vi., was the prize contended for by John, duke of Burgundy, the king's cousin, and Louis, duke of Orleans, his brother. This civil contest made foreign war impossible, and Henry had merely to watch his opportunity, and prevent the weaker side from being overwhelmed by the other. In 1407 the duke of Orleans was murdered in the streets of Paris; but the quarrel was kept up by his son Louis, whose father-in-law, the count of Armagnaoof was **so** powerful that the name of Armagnacs was frequently given to the whole Orleanist or southern party. The first duke of Orleans had made himself a personal enemy of Henry iv., so the English influence generally inclined **to** support the Burgundians, even after the murder of Orleans. In 1411 a considerable force was sent **to** their aid; but in 1412, finding the cause of the Armagnacs failing, Henry transferred his assistance **to** them, and in this **way peace was secured at the price of consistency.**

**The Bur-
gundians
and
Armagnacs.**

The real interest, however, of the reign of Henry iv. lies not in the national aspirations of the Welsh, or the rebellions of the Percies, or the fighting in Scotland, or the intrigues in France, but in the fact that Henry iv., as representative of the constitutional ideas of the Lancastrian party, was honestly trying to govern as a parliamentary sovereign. In this respect, as well as in others, a profitable comparison might be instituted between him and William in. Both were compelled to engage in long and not very successful wars; both were confronted by a rival supported by a powerful party; both were extremely badly off; and both had to deal with parliaments determined to use the king's necessities for the advancement of their own rights.

Throughout the whole reign, finance was Henry's great difficulty. His normal income amounted to rather over £100,000 a year; made up of £50,000 yielded by the 'great custom' on wool and the 'small customs' on other articles, and the remainder from the crown lands, feudal dues, fines, forfeitures, annual payments for charters, and a practically annual grant of fifteenths and tenths. During the first year of his reign, which included the putting down of the rising of the earls and the expedition to Scotland, his income was £109,249, his expenses £109,006, leaving a balance in hand of £243. As time went on, however, things grew worse. The expenses of the Welsh war alone were enormous; a large force had constantly to be kept on foot; castles to be garrisoned and kept in repair. Even in time of peace Calais cost £18,000; while the six great castles of North Wales: Conway, Carnarvon, Criccieth, Harlech, Denbigh, and Beaumaris, consumed over £5000, to say nothing of some fifty smaller strongholds, each of which required its garrison. The expenses connected with the restoration of Richard's widow, Isabella, accounted for £8000. Money was also needed for Guienne, for Ireland, for the Scottish border; and, year after year, Henry had to tell his officers and his parliament that the exchequer was empty, and that he had no idea where money was to be got.

In these circumstances, any attempt to govern without reference to the wishes of parliament would obviously have been futile; but Henry was on principle a constitutional ruler, and had no desire to revert to the arbitrary practice of his predecessor. Accordingly, we find him carrying into practice the principle so often enunciated, that the king's ministers should be a body possessing the confidence of parliament. For example, in 1404 the king, at the request of the commons, named twenty-two members of parliament to be his great and continuous council; and changes in its composition

Constitutional
Government.

Financial
Difficulties.

Parliamentary
Influence.

were made at the request of the commons in 1408 and 1410, throwing upon the council the responsibility of government, just as a constitutional sovereign would now do ; and in 1406, when complaints were made of the inefficiency of government, Henry's reply was that he would ask the council to do its best. Equally complete was the control of parliament over finance. The expenses of the royal household were regulated again and again, and various sums, ranging from about £7000 to £12,000 a year, were assigned for its maintenance, an arrangement which anticipates the modern Civil List. In spite of some reluctance on Henry's part, the commons were permitted to name auditors to inspect the national accounts, and taxation without consent of parliament was not even imagined. Little less striking was the advance made by the House of Commons. Regular sessions, one even extending over one hundred and fifty-nine days, consolidated the corporate feeling of the members and accustomed them to act together. The paramount importance of finance increased the power of the commons. Being the poorer house, its votes were a fair test of the taxation which the nation was able to bear, and in 1407 the constitutional practice was made definite by a declaration of the king. For the future no report about money grants was to be made by either house till both were agreed, and then the report was invariably to be made through the Speaker of the House of Commons. The adoption of such constitutional principles and practice make the relations between Henry iv. and his parliaments quite unique in the history of the middle ages.

One cause which decidedly aided Henry to maintain his position was the unvarying support he received from the church, as a body, under the leadership of archbishop Arundel. The church, indeed, had the need to walk warily. The Lollard movement—particularly the non-doctrinal part of it, directed against the position and wealth of the clergy—had, for almost a generation, been undermining their position; while the papal schism, which had followed the return of the popes from Avignon, had deprived them of any effective support from the holy see. Consequently, they were compelled to rely on the king, and a sovereign at once so orthodox and so constitutional as Henry became their natural ally. We, therefore, find the great ecclesiastics, such as Arundel and Beaufort, ready to advance money for the royal necessities, and the general body of the clergy making no objection to the severe taxation which Henry's difficulties entailed. From time to time, indeed, the grumbling of the commons reminded the clergy of the insecurity of their tenure. On several occasions it was suggested that the whole revenue of the clergy might be impounded for a year; and in 1410 the

commons actually brought forward a definite proposal to confiscate the whole property of the bishops and religious corporations, and to employ it to endow fifteen earls, fifteen hundred knights, six thousand esquires, and a hundred hospitals, an arrangement which would still leave £20,000 a year for the relief of the revenue. The plan, however, broke down, not apparently from any regard for the church, but because it was obviously dangerous to add to the number of an already too powerful baronage. Both Henry and his eldest son were against it, and the suggestion was not renewed. Arundel, however, was by no means satisfied with a mere passive resistance. In his office of archbishop, he carried the war vigorously into the enemy's country; and in 1409, by the authority of a church council, published a series of constitutions for the church, by one of which the Bible was forbidden to be translated into English until such a translation had been approved by the bishop of the diocese or a provincial synod; while another forbade all disputes on points determined by the church.

After the year 1405, a great change took place in the king's health. Opinions differ as to his malady; but it is certain that he became a hopeless invalid, and apparently he suffered some diminution in his mental as well as his physical capacity. At such times the chief direction of affairs fell into the hands of the Prince of Wales, whose life was divided between active service in the Welsh or Scottish marches, and official business as chairman of the council in London. Next to the Prince, archbishop Arundel was decidedly the most important man in the country, and a steady friend to Henry; but his power was subject to the rivalry of the Beauforts.

**Failure of
the King's
Health.**

John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, son of John of Gaunt, died in 1410, leaving two sons, young John and Edmund, and a daughter Joan. He was not a man of much mark, but his younger brothers, Henry and Thomas, possessed more ability and ambition. Henry had been made bishop of Lincoln in 1398, and in 1404 he succeeded William of Wykeham as bishop of Winchester. He is said to have been tutor to the Prince of Wales, and he was through life his intimate friend. Thomas distinguished himself both as an admiral and a soldier, especially at Agincourt, and was ultimately created duke of Exeter. By the act of legitimation passed under Richard II., the right of the Beauforts to count as legitimate children of John of Gaunt was not limited by exclusion from the crown; but when it was confirmed by Henry in 1407, he interpolated the words *excepta dignitate regale*, which, however, could not be regarded as having the force of law. Owing probably to the circumstances of their birth, the Beauforts **always**

**The
Beauforts.**

hung closely together, and, although friendly to the Prince of Wales, it was always possible that they might take a line of their own. Arundel, also, seems to have been less of a constitutional minister and more closely allied to the ideas of the old nobility than were the Beauforts, and to have been, far more than even Henry Beaufort, a representative of the separate interests of the church. We therefore find the chancellorship sometimes in the hands of Arundel, sometimes in that of a Beaufort, according to the policy in favour at the time, and also according as Henry or his son had the greater influence in the council. In 1407 Arundel became chancellor, and held the post till 1409. In that year, however, his promulgation of *the constitutions,' and a quarrel which followed with

Prince Oxford university, in which the Prince of Wales, himself
Henry. an Oxford man, took the opposite side, made him unpopular, and the office was given to Thomas Beaufort. He held the place till 1412, during which time it is probable that the prince really governed in his father's name ; but in that year a crisis occurred, brought on, according to one account, by a formal suggestion by the prince and the Beauforts that Henry should definitely resign the crown. What happened, however, is obscure, but Arundel came back to power; the Prince of Wales gave up the presidency of the council, and his place was taken by his second brother, Thomas, duke of Clarence, who appears to have always been against the Beauforts. Moreover, the expedition to France, which was sent to aid the Orleanists, was entrusted to the second brother. The change, however, was only temporary. Henry grew rapidly worse, and in March 1413 he died, leaving a name which ought to stand very high among English sovereigns, but has been much overclouded by pity for the misfortunes of his predecessor, and by the admiration excited by the showy exploits of his brilliant son.

OHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Statute 'do hsaretlco comburendo,' .	1401
Battle o f Homlldon Hill, ...	1402
Battle o f Shrewsbury, ...	1403
gcrope's rebellion, ...	1405
James of Scotland captured,	1406
Commons secure the final vote on taxation,	1407

CHAPTER II

HENRY v.: 1413-1422

Born 1388; married 1420, Katharine of France.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Emperor.</i>
James I., d. 1437.	Charles vi., d. 1422.	Sigismund, 1410-1487.
	<i>Popes.</i>	
	Martin v., 1417-1429; Eugenius IV., 1431-1438.	

The French Wars—Agincourt—Siege of Rouen—Treaty of Troyea.

TRADITION records that at some period of his life Henry the Fifth led a wild and riotous life. If this is true, it probably refers to the last year of his father's reign, when the Prince's enforced idleness put him into the way of temptation. At all other times authentic records show that he was far too busy with serious work to have time for dissipation. Whether the story, however, is anything more than a myth is immaterial; at most, the riotous living was an interlude of idleness between two periods of hard work, and never after his accession did Henry show the slightest wavering in his determination to be, according to the ideas of his age, a thoroughly good king.

In accordance with his preference for the Beauforts, the first act of the new king was to give the chancellorship to his uncle, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, a change which left Arundel free to attend to his archiepiscopal duties. Determined, however, not to quarrel with the Arundels, he made his friend, the earl of Arundel, treasurer. In the same spirit of conciliation, he had the remains of Richard II. honourably re-interred at Westminster. A little later, he restored their lands to the sons of Hotspur and the earl of Huntingdon; made a confidential friend of the young earl of March; and arranged that the loyalty of the duke of York—formerly earl of Rutland—should be formally recognised by parliament. In short, he did all he could to show that, in his eyes, bygones were bygones, and that he meant to act as king of a united nation.

Traditions of
Early Life.

Concilia-
tory
Measures.

For playing this part, Henry had qualifications which had been denied to his father. He was perfectly satisfied of his own right to the crown, was haunted by no doubts as to the propriety of his former actions, and he brought with him no blood-feuds, the relics of ancient entanglements in political intrigue. His personal qualities were excellent—tall, strong, stately, and of winning manners, he looked as he felt, every inch a king. His moral character was good; his orthodoxy unimpeachable. He had received an admirable training in the business both of peace and war, and he had the invaluable capacity for taking infinite pains. Such a man would at all times have made his mark as a sovereign; but, fortunately for Henry, the national bent for foreign war gave him exactly the opportunity he needed, and though we, with our later knowledge, are tempted to impute to him the responsibility for the disastrous termination of his French enterprise, there is no doubt that his warlike policy was in perfect accord with the ideas of the time, which regarded him as the mirror of chivalry. War, however, did not break out at once; for mediæval kings, who fought not for mere accessions of territory or for ideas, but for rights, were deliberate in their proceedings, and did not proceed to open hostilities before they had made their demands in a diplomatic shape. The first two years of the reign, therefore, were occupied with preparations and the routine of ordinary business.

The most striking exception to this was the affair of Sir John Oldcastle. Though few martyrs had braved the terrors of the stake, the Lollard views were by no means extinct; and the first use Arundel made of his freedom from the cares of the chancellorship was to attempt to make an example by striking at their most noticeable supporter at court. The victim he chose was Sir John Oldcastle, generally known by right of his wife as Lord Cobham, who had sat in the House of Commons as member for Herefordshire in 1404, and had been called to the House of Lords since 1409. Oldcastle was a brave and intelligent man, who had been one of Henry's best lieutenants in the Welsh war; he was also a sincere adherent of Lollardism, and had aided to spread it by giving countenance to Lollard preachers, both in Kent and Herefordshire. Acting under Arundel's direction, convocation presented an indictment against him, and he was summoned to appear before three bishops. Failing to appear, he was then arrested by the king's order, and, after a long examination before the archbishop, was pronounced to be heretical, and ordered to be burnt. Forty days, however, were allowed him to recant, and he used the opportunity to escape. A plot then seems to have been formed to seize the king at Eltham on Henry's removing to London for a meeting in St. Giles' Fields. The king, however, was fully on the

alert, and when the night came he closed the gates of London, scoured the country in person with a body of horse, captured some sixty of the conspirators, and so effectually put a stop to the design that it has been doubted whether there was any reality in the movement. All attempts to arrest Oldcastle failed for the time; and he was not captured till 1417, when, at the request of the commons and by sentence of the lords, he was put to death as an heretical traitor by being drawn, hanged, and burnt. Arundel died in 1414, and was succeeded by Henry Chichele, who, however, did not play so prominent a part as his predecessor. Lollardism still survived; and, forty years later, Bishop Pecocke of Chichester thought it worth while to attack it in a book called *The Repressor of over-much Blaming the Clergy*, in which he defended pilgrimages, confession, the decoration of churches with pictures, and other practices attacked by the Lollards. This fact shows the tenacity of Wyclif's teaching, and it is one of the problems of history how far the Lollardism of the Lancastrian era is connected with the reforming movement of the Tudors.

Meeting in
St. Giles'
Fields.

The year 1414 was also notable for the grant of a parliamentary privilege which had long been a great object with the commons. The right of the commons to a share in legislation had been fully recognised since 1322, but the actual text of all laws was a matter for the royal officials; and consequently, although the commons found their petitions granted in name, the actual statute frequently differed most materially from what they had suggested. Accordingly, in granting tonnage and poundage for three years, the commons asked 'that there never be no law made' on their petition, * and engrossed as statute and law, neither by addition or by diminution, by no manner of term or terms the which should change the meaning and the intent asked.' To which the king replied, that 'henceforth nothing be enacted to the petitions of his commons that be contrary to their asking, whereby they should be bound without their assent.' At the same time the king's right to grant or refuse his consent to a petition was fully confirmed.

Petitions of
the Com-
mons.

In 1415 Henry was ready to declare war against France. His plan, was discussed in parliament; received the consent of the three estates; and supplies were voted and paid with a readiness which tends to show with what a wonderful recuperative power such an agricultural country as England then was could take advantage of a very few years of peace. The same causes which contributed to the warlike enthusiasm of the early years of Edward in. were doubtless again at work; but in addition to these, the king, probably acting on the advice of his father, was glad to find an outlet for the

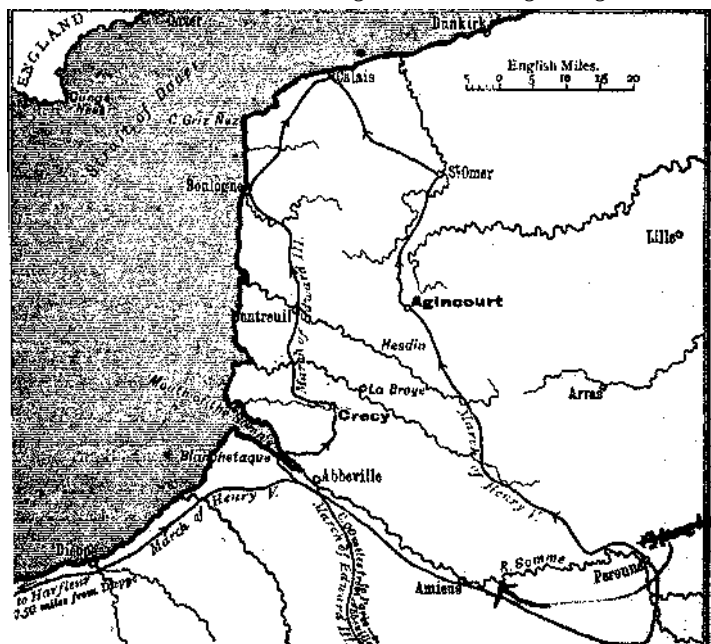
Causes of
the Prtnch
War.

warlike energy of his nobles, while, according to one account, the clergy were not sorry to see the attention of the nation diverted from the abuses of the church. Henry himself believed thoroughly in the propriety of his demand, though it is difficult to see how he reconciled his claims with law, for by inheritance the rights of Edward III. had passed through Richard II. to the earl of March. The moment, however, was favourable, for the Burgundians and Armagnacs were quarrelling as usual, and he hoped to gain the support of one or the other. Accordingly, in 1414 he sent a demand for the restoration of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and such parts of Gascony as were not already in English hands; and as his demand was rejected, he took the advice of parliament and set about an invasion of France. Parliament granted two-tenths and two-fifteenths, and also made over to Henry the lands held in England by foreign monasteries, technically called 'alien priories.'¹ An army was hired in the usual way: a duke receiving 13s. 4d. a day for his services; an earl 6s. 8d.; a baron or a knight-banneret, i.e. a knight with other knights in his train, 4s.; a knight 2s.; an esquire 1s.; an archer 6d. As the ordinary pay of a labourer was about 4d., Henry's liberal offer drew to his banners the pick of the country, and a further inducement of two-thirds of all booty for the rank and file was also offered. When all was ready, a 'Great Council,' i.e. a meeting of the magnates without the inferior clergy and the commons, determined that war should begin. Then in April 1415 a formal demand was made for the French crown, and this having been rejected, Henry led his forces to the coast, and, in the course of an inspection of the London contingents, remarked that his policy would 'redound to the manifest advantage of the whole realm.'

The troops assembled at Southampton, and were on the point of starting when a plot in favour of the earl of March was unexpectedly brought to light. The principal in this was Richard, earl of Cambridge, younger brother of the duke of York, who had been permitted by Henry iv. to marry Anne Mortimer, sister of Edmund, earl of March, whose claim to the throne stood next after that of her brother. His colleagues were Henry, Lord le Scrope, a relative of the late archbishop of York and of the earl of Wiltshire, executed in 1399, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton. Their plan was to take advantage of Henry's absence to carry off March to Wales and proclaim him king; but the design is believed to have been imparted to Henry by March himself. The conspirators were instantly arrested. Cambridge and Grey confessed their guilt; Scrope was convicted by his peers; and all three were beheaded. Henry showed his magnanimity by making no change in his friendship

with March, or in his relations to the duke of York. The little son of Cambridge was brought up in his court, and lived to be the celebrated duke of York, the antagonist of Henry vi.

From Southampton, Henry, with a force estimated at 7000 archers and 2600 men-at-arms, and well supplied with siege cannon, sailed to the mouth of the Seine, and, landing at Havre, laid siege to the fortress of Harfleur. Henry placed his chief reliance on his cannons,' the London,' the Messagere,' and 'the King's Daughter,' with



NORTH OF FRANCE, TO ILLUSTRATE THE CAMPAIGNS OF CRECY AND AGINCOURT.

which he kept up a continual bombardment—and on mines, in the use of which, however, the English seem to have been inferior to the French. The siege lasted thirty days; and it was not till their outer works had been destroyed by fire that the besieged found the shot from 'the gunners intolerable,' and agreed to capitulate. Dysentery, however, broke out in the camp, owing to exposure, eating unripe fruit, and the stench; and when a garrison had been told off to guard the town, under the command of the earl of Dorset, only nine

hundred men-at-arms and five thousand archers remained for active service—a number, however, which is so small that it throws much doubt on the correctness of the original estimate.

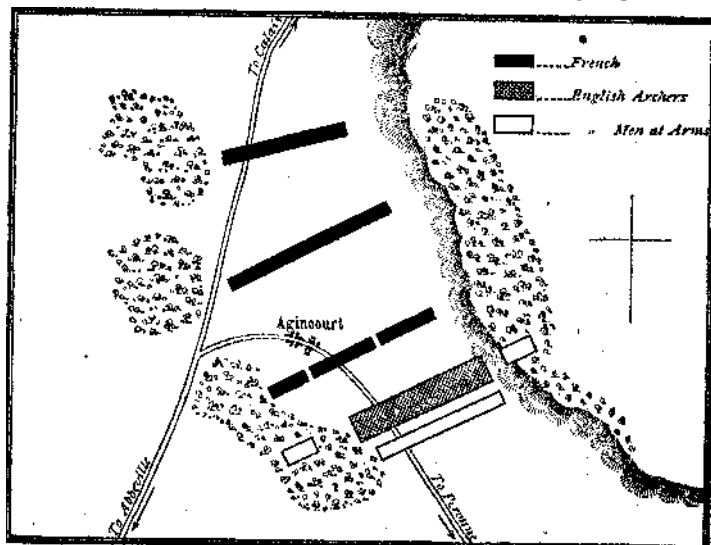
With these Henry determined to march along the coast to Calais—a perilous undertaking—for the expedition was unaccompanied by ships, and a powerful French army lay at Rouen. On their road the little band suffered terrible privations, having for some days only * walnuts for bread.' Henry's design was to cross the Somme at Blanche Taque ; but he found the ford strongly guarded and staked, and, the bridges being held, had to march up the river to P^ronne before he found a place to cross. He then made straight to Calais. Meanwhile, the French army, under the dukes of Bourbon, Orleans, Alenc^on, the constable, and the Marshal Boucicault, had crossed the river at Abbeville, and had placed itself across his line of march at Agincourt, near Hesdin. As he had no provisions, Henry had no choice but to fight or surrender, so he and his little army faced the French, and prepared to make a brave resistance.

Although the French had chosen the field of battle, it was not at all suited to their army ; which, although authorities differ as to the actual numbers, certainly greatly outnumbered the English, possibly by as much as seven to one. It was a defile between two woods, and so narrow in proportion to their numbers, that the French had to be drawn up in three bodies, each some distance behind the other. Even as it was, the five thousand men of the front line were so packed together that they could hardly use their swords. Moreover, the field in which they stood was new-harrowed and very wet, so that the men-at-arms in their heavy armour sank knee-deep in the mud. The French had no archers, but relied chiefly on the dense masses of their men-at-arms, who, as at Poitiers, fought on foot; partly in a body of picked horsemen on each wing, who were to charge the archers, not in front as at Poitiers, but in flank.

Henry fully expected that the French would make the attack, and his arrangements were all made for defence. Early in the march, by the advice of the duke of York, he had ordered the archers to provide themselves, with six-foot stakes, sharpened at each end, as a protection against cavalry; and now these were ordered to be set up slantwise in the ground, so that the point was on a level with a horse's chest. To get a firmer grip of the ground, each archer bared his left foot; and the men cut off or turned up the* sleeves of their jackets so as to have free play for their arms. Thus arrayed, the archers took their places in open order in the front line; behind them

on foot were the men-at-arms; and on the wings were mixed bodies of cavalry and archers, designed either to repel the attack of the French cavalry, or to make their way through the woods and take the French in flank.

For some hours Henry awaited the French attack ; but finding them immovable he gave the word to advance, and the archers, taking their stakes with them, moved forward. Then from each wing Battle of Agincourt. five thousand French horsemen in full armour swooped down on the English bowmen, but the stakes did yeoman's service; the arrows fell like rain, and the discomfited horsemen galloped back



FIELD OF AGINCOURT, 25TH OCTOBER 1415. (Adapted from Spruner.)

into the second line. Thus free from attack, the archers were able to send their shafts without interruption on the crowded masses of French infantry; and when the supplies of arrows were exhausted, the whole army bore down on the French line. Then the fighting became terrible ; the ranks swayed now this way, now that; and the chaplains, who were watching the battle from the rear, expected every moment to see their countrymen overthrown; but at length the English, aided by a flank attack of their cavalry, carried the day, and the first division was routed. A similar manoeuvre destroyed the second; and then the English, confident of victory, marched to attack the third. At that moment a cry was

raised that they were being attacked in the rear. Nothing could be more likely, and as only ten horsemen and twenty archers had been left to guard the sick and the baggage, the danger was most serious. The alarm, however, proved false; but the mistake was not discovered till orders had been given to kill the prisoners, lest they should take advantage of the danger to turn upon their captors. Then the third line was attacked, and a charge in flank completed its destruction. The loss on both sides was heavy. The constable of France, four other dukes, and a vast number of officers and men lay dead. On our side, the duke of York had atoned by a soldier's death the many treacheries of his early life, and the earl of Suffolk had met the same fate. The number of French prisoners of note was immense, and the list was headed by two princes of the blood—the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon. Henry himself had fought in the thickest of the struggle; and his declaration that, come what might, England should never be put to expense for his ransom, made him more than ever the idol of his soldiery.

Meanwhile, the anxiety in England had been terrible. Since Henry set out from Harfleur on the 8th of October, no news whatever had been heard of his fortunes, and the reaction was proportionate when the tale of such a splendid victory was reported. Overjoyed at their success, but conscious of the insecurity of their position, the English lost no time in

Henry's
Return.

Marching to Calais and returning to England. So eager was Henry to get home, that he crossed in a storm so terrible that the French prisoners said they would rather fight another battle than make such another passage. Even before his arrival, parliament, in the first transports of enthusiasm, had granted the great customs on wool and the tonnage and poundage on other goods for life, and given him another tenth and fifteenth; and, when he landed in triumph with his prisoners, he was received by the whole nation with tumultuous rejoicings.

Even outside his own country the victory of Agincourt made Henry the most renowned of European sovereigns, and in 1416 his assistance was

European
Reputation
of Henry.

personally invoked by the Emperor Sigismund, brother of Anne of Bohemia, with a view to the closing of the never-ending conflict between the rival popes, which had distracted Western Christendom since 1378. To this Henry agreed, and in the council of Constance, which terminated the schism by the election of Martin v., a distinguished part was taken by Henry Beaufort, and by Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury.

Henry, however, was well aware that the victory of Agincourt, however brilliant, had done little to advance the conquest of France, and he

immediately set about preparations for a second expedition. In the campaign of Agincourt, luck had undoubtedly played a very large part, and nothing shows more clearly the real greatness of Henry than the care he was at to eliminate chance in his second campaign. No subject was too trivial for his attention. Like Richard I., he took special pains, with the fleet; and with his six great ships, eight barges, and ten ballingers, may be said to have created the nucleus of the royal navy. Surgeons were appointed both for the army and for the navy. A code of regulations for soldiers and sailors was drawn up. Piracy was forbidden; duelling discouraged; and every detail of victualling was carried on under Henry's personal supervision. Abroad, Henry had been working without intermission to secure the assistance of allies, negotiating, besides his league with Sigismund, an understanding with the Hanse towns, and with Cologne, Holland, Bavaria. At home he carried further the work of conciliation; drew closer his friendship with the earl of March and with Henry Hotspur's son; restored the earldom of Huntingdon to young John Holland; and rewarded Thomas Beaufort for his services at Harfleur by the title of duke of Exeter.

**Preparations
for a second
Campaign.**

At length in 1417 he again crossed to Harfleur, which had been bravely defended by Beaufort, and a naval attack had in 1416 been defeated by the duke of Bedford. The second campaign, though it contained no such striking incident as the battle of Agincourt, reflected perhaps even higher credit upon him as a cautious, painstaking, and determined commander. Eschewing all fighting in the open field, the French endeavoured to gain time by obstinately defending the Norman fortresses, and the seasons of 1417, 1418, and 1419 were consumed in sieges. Early in 1419, however, Henry brought to a successful conclusion the great siege of Rouen, where, exasperated by a joke of the garrison, who placed a braying ass on the walls by way of a bad pun on his name (*L'ane rit: Henri*), he sullied his fame by cruelly allowing the women and children of Rouen to perish between his trenches and the walls. In July Pontoise fell, and the road to Paris lay open.

**Henry's
second
Campaign.**

Danger now made the French factions unite. Hitherto, the queen, with her daughter Katharine, had been on the side of the Burgundians, and Charles the Dauphin on that of the Orleanists; but hopes were now entertained that a reconciliation might be effected. Accordingly, in August a meeting was arranged between the duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin at the bridge of Montereau-faut-Yonne. A strong barrier separated the two sides; but the duke of Burgundy unsuspectingly crossed it, and the followers of the Dauphin, headed by Tanneguy du Chastel, put the duke to death. This horrid

**Murder of
the Duke of
Burgundy.**

crime destroyed all hopes of resisting Henry ; for the duke's son, Philip, and the French queen opened negotiations with the English. The prospect opened by this caused Henry to raise his demands, which would probably have at first been satisfied by the cession of Normandy; and, eventually, it was agreed that Henry should marry Katharine, become king of France on Charles' death, and should act, meanwhile, as Regent

Treaty of
Troyes. of France. This arrangement was completed at Troyes on May 24, 1420. On June 3, Henry and Katharine were married. Soon afterwards he entered Paris in triumph, and after spending Christmas in royal state, returned with his bride to England in February 1421, leaving Clarence to act as his representative in France.

Meanwhile, the Dauphin had gathered to his standard the forces of the south of France, where the Armagnacs had most adherents; and called

Battle of
Beauge'. to his aid the Scots, who, as was usual during a war with France, had invaded the north of England. Their raid, long remembered as ' the burnt Candlemas,' did no great harm ; but the arrival of a body of Scots in France, under the command of the earl of Buchan, was a more serious matter. In March, Clarence marched against the allies, and, forgetful of the old adage, ' England were but a fling, but for the crooked stick and the grey goose wing,' foolishly attempted to surprise them by a forced march of his cavalry. The result was disastrous. At the battle of Beauge the English were completely routed, and Clarence paid with his death the penalty of his temerity.

To repair the disaster, Henry returned to France in June 1421, and his arrival restored victory to his countrymen. The Dauphin was driven

Henry's
third Cam-
paign. Bouth of the Loire, and the strong fortress of Meaux was besieged. During the winter a son, afterwards Henry vi., was born at Windsor, and in May Katharine rejoined her

husband. The same month Meaux fell. Though unbroken success had hitherto followed Henry's standards, and he had fought no battle he had not won, and besieged no town that he had not taken, there was

Henry's
Death. one chance that he could not eliminate. Dysentery, then the scourge of camps, attacked him; and he died at Vincennes on the 31st of August 1422, and in the 34th year of his age.

Henry's character has been much and deservedly praised. There is no doubt that he was an able warrior and a great administrator, and also

Henry's
place in
History. that, according to the ideas of the time, he was a really religious man. His persecution of the Lollards has been condemned by the judgment of subsequent times, but it is

hard to blame a man because he was not in advance of his age, and his cruelty at the siege of Rouen is a more suitable subject for detestation.

In his dealings with parliament, he was as true to constitutional principles as his father, though much less under the influence of compulsion ; and while aiding the clergy against the Lollards, he was by no means blind to the necessity of reform, which he showed by ordering a reduction of the clerical fees, and by ordering bishops to enforce the residence of the parochial clergy. He also stood well with learned men, and the impression he created among his contemporaries was certainly most favourable. Even a French chronicler, Juvenal des Ursins, admits that 'he had been of high and great courage, valiant in arms, prudent, sage, great in justice, who, without respect of persons, did right for small and great. He was feared and revered of his relations, subjects, and neighbours.'

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Battle of Agincourt, ...	.1415
Siege of Rouen, ...	.1419
Murder of the Duke of Burgundy, ...	1419
Treaty of Troyes, ...	.1420
Battle of Beauge, ...	.1421

CHAPTER I I I

HENRY vi. : 1422—(DETHRONED) 1461—(DIED) 1471

Born, 1421; married 1446, Margaret of Anjou.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Pope.</i>
James I., d. 1436.	Charles VI, d. 1422.	Eugenius iv., d. 1447.
James II., d. 1460.	Charles VII., d. 1461.	

**French Wars—Siege of Orleans—Loss of France—Growth of Hostile Parties
headed respectively by the Beauforts and the Duke of York—Outbreak of
Civil War—Enthronement of Henry VI**

THE heir of Henry v. was his son, a child of nine months old, and during his minority the government was carried on by a protector and a council.

The Some difficulty was experienced in defining the exact powers
Minority. of each ; but eventually, by the sanction of parliament, it was arranged that the duke of Bedford should be protector and defender of the realm and of the church of England, and principal counsellor to the king whenever Bedford was present in England ; and in his absence the same duties were assigned to the duke of Gloucester. The council consisted of Gloucester, as chairman, and of five prelates, one duke, five earls, and five barons, and was fully representative of the great baronial families. All patronage was reserved in its hands, and all business was carried on with its cognisance and advice. In practice, however, Bedford was almost invariably in France, so that Gloucester acted as protector; and after him the most prominent place was held by Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, the uncle and friend of Henry v.

The characters of these men, who may almost be ailed & triumvirate, were very different Bedford was now thirty-three years of age, and had
Bedford. had plenty of experience both of government and war. He had been thoroughly trusted by his brother, and well deserved it, for he was really a noble character, distinguished by serious

ness, honesty, and complete disinterestedness; and, though he was not so brilliant as his elder brother, he combined Henry's thoroughness and soundness with some of the nobility of character which distinguished the Black Prince. Gloucester, on the other hand, may be compared with his great uncle, Thomas, the popular rival of Gloucester.

Richard 11. His good qualities were all of the showy order. Brave, adventurous, amiable and cultivated, he gained popularity while his brother earned respect; and his self-seeking ambition and complete thoughtlessness hurried him into actions most injurious to the fortunes both of his country and of his house. Fortunately, the evil genius of Gloucester was, to a great degree, balanced by the sterling qualities of the great bishop of Winchester. With abilities, both for peace and war, as great as those of any of his family, Henry Beaufort was, by his profession, debarred from exhibiting the latter on English fields, but the former he placed fully at the disposal of his nephews; and for nearly forty years he was the guiding spirit in English domestic politics, always ready to sacrifice both time and money for the interests of his countrymen.

The late king had wished that the regency of France should be undertaken by Philip, duke of Burgundy; but as that prince declined it, the duty fell to the lot of Bedford. His first care was to secure the territories occupied by the English from French attacks. Roughly speaking, the English district took the form of a wedge, whose base was the sea-coast from Calais to the borders of Brittany, and whose apex was at Paris. The security of this obviously depended on the maintenance of friendly relations with Burgundy and Brittany; and to gain their goodwill Bedford negotiated a double marriage, by which he himself married Anne, sister of the duke of Burgundy, and Arthur of Richemont, brother of the duke of Brittany, married her sister. His next step was to drive the French from those lands which divided the English territories from those of their allies. Two campaigns effected this. In 1423 the victory of Orevant, won by Thomas Montague, earl of Salisbury, cleared the district between Paris and Burgundy; and in 1424, Bedford's great victory of Verneuil did the same for the lands north of the Loire, between Paris and Brittany. By a politic act of generosity the council also detached Scotland from the French alliance by releasing king James, and in 1424, after a captivity of nineteen years, he returned home taking with him an English wife, Jane Beaufort, cousin of the English king.

Unfortunately, the folly of the duke of Gloucester went a long way to

neutralise Bedford's policy. Exactly a month before his brothers marriage to Anne of Burgundy, Humphrey was unpatriotic enough to marry Jacqueline of Hainault, the half-divorced wife of the duke of Brabant, an act which gave mortal offence to Philip of Burgundy, who expected to succeed to her dominions; and, as if this were not bad enough, in 1424 he proceeded to Hainault to push his wife's claims by arms.

**Foolish
ness of
Gloucester.**

By this time the condition of France was much less favourable to the invaders than it had been. The imbecile Charles vi. died in 1422, not long after Henry v.; but the succession was claimed by the Dauphin as Charles VII., and he was, of course, supported by the French national party, who regarded him as the rightful champion of the French cause. The old difficulties which had proved too much for the Black Prince also began to tell against Bedford. The first enthusiasm of the English had spent its force, and men and money were both more difficult to get. Moreover, the feudal armies, against which all the great English victories had been won, were replaced, as the war went on, by professional soldiers of the type of the celebrated Dunois. The grave disadvantages that always beset armies which have to operate among a hostile population also told their tale, and it only required that a striking success should restore the confidence of the French to bring about a turn of the tide.

In this state of affairs, Bedford decided to lay siege to Orleans. As this turned out badly, he has been much blamed, but the causes of the failure could not well have been foreseen; and the serious danger to be apprehended from leaving Orleans in French hands was obvious. Commanding, as it did, the passage of the river Loire, the city acted as a gate by which the French troops from the south could cross over into English territory, and so long as it remained untaken it was a constant source of anxiety and disquiet. Accordingly, in 1428, Bedford ordered an English force under Salisbury, the victor of Crevant, to lay siege to Orleans. Unluckily, however, Salisbury was killed by an iron cannon-shot aimed at him by a French gunner while he was inspecting the works, and his place was taken by William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk. For some months the siege went steadily on; and in February 1429, at Rouveraij a small detachment under Sir John Fastolf distinguished itself by beating off a French force which tried to capture a convoy of provisions which was being brought up for the besiegers. When the attack commenced, the Englishmen drew up the wagons in a circle—laager wise—and eventually repelled the attack with showers of arrows, though the French cannon-balls made so much havoc among the herring-

**Siege of
Orleans.**

barrels, with which the wagons were loaded, that **the** fight was jocularly called the battle of the herrings. The failure of this attempt appeared to seal the fate of the garrison, when a completely new turn was given to events by the appearance on the scene of the Maid of Orleans.

This wonderful personage was a girl of eighteen, named Jeanne **Dare**, daughter of a Domremy peasant, who believed that she had a **divine** mission to lead her countrymen to victory over the English, and to crown Charles VII. in the cathedral of Rheims. Her **Jeanne Dare.** pertinacity and belief in the truth of her mission gained her admittance to the court. There her services were accepted ; and clad in armour, and girt with a sword, she led the enthusiastic soldiers against the English. In May the siege of Orleans was raised. A few days later, the earl of Suffolk was defeated and captured at Jargeau, and **Battles of Jargeau and Patay.** the heroic Sir John Talbot suffered the same fate at Patay; and, within the year, Charles VII. was actually crowned at Rheims. **The** effort, however, died away. The English recovered their nerve ; jealousy again broke out among the French ; and the capture of the maid at Compiègne, in May 1430, finally broke the spell. To the disgrace of **all** persons concerned, she was tried as a witch and condemned to die by a court of Norman and Burgundian prelates, presided over by the bishop of Beauvais. She **was** burned to death at Rouen in May 1431, and her ashes thrown into the Seine. The failure at Orleans put a stop to any further forward movement on the part of the English ; but for some time their defensive strength seemed unimpaired, and it was not till six years after this that the French made any considerable progress in ridding themselves of the invaders.

Unfortunately, in 1433, Bedford himself made a most serious mistake, which had the effect of breaking the English alliance with Burgundy, on which, more than on anything else, their power of holding their conquesta rested. His first wife, Anne of Burgundy, died in 1432 ; and very soon afterwards he married Jacquetta of Luxembourg, the sister of the count of St Pol. The lands of St. Pol lay along the watershed which separated Flanders from Artois, and so formed a barrier between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, much as at a later date Savoy **was the barrier land between** France and Italy. Of this the counts of St. Pol **had made their advantage**, by siding sometimes with the duke of Burgundy, **and sometimes with the king of France.** Consequently, his alliance **with Bedford was most distasteful to the duke of Burgundy, who from that moment sought an excuse to separate himself from the English.** The opportunity came in 1435. For some time Bedford's health had been declining, and he

Bedford marries Jacquetta of Luxembourg.

had found it hard to cope with the accumulation of difficulties with which the English were threatened; and, moreover, English affairs had compelled him to leave France for sixteen months. Meanwhile, negotiations between the French and the Burgundians resulted in a secret agreement that the French should formally offer terms of peace to the English, and that if these were refused, Burgundy, at the price of the cession of Amiens and certain other towns along the river Somme and of the county of Ponthieu, should come over to the French side. Accordingly, in 1435, and when a great congress was summoned by pope

Con great of
Arras.

Eugenius iv. to meet at Arras in August, and try to conclude the war, the French were ready with their terms,

which were, that Normandy and Aquitaine should be given up in full sovereignty to the English king, and that in return he should repudiate all claim to the French crown. In an evil hour the offer was declined.

On September 14, Bedford died at Rouen ; and on the 21st the duke of Burgundy made a formal treaty with France, and openly renounced his alliance with the English. The death of Bedford and the severance of the Burgundian alliance bring to a close the second period of the war, which lasted from the treaty with Burgundy in 1419 to 1435.

During Bedford's thirteen years' struggle to uphold the English rule in France, he had been continually harrassed by having to attend to the

Proceed-
ings of
Gloucester.

perpetual bickerings and disputes, of which his brother, Gloucester, was the originator. That infatuated man, after mortally offending the duke of Burgundy by his marriage

with Jacqueline of Hainault, had actually, in October 1424, led an armed expedition into Hainault, drawn off the duke from France, challenged him to single combat, and assumed for himself the title of count of Holland and Zealand. He gained, however, little or nothing by his expedition ; and returned to England loaded with debt. His next action was to pick a quarrel with Henry Beaufort; and in 1425 Bedford had to return home to restore peace. This was eventually accomplished, rather on the whole to Gloucester's advantage, at the instance of the

Parliament
of Bats.

parliament of 1425, long remembered as the parliament of bats or bludgeons. In 1426, Bedford returned to France,

accompanied by Henry Beaufort; and Gloucester immediately renewed his designs against Burgundy. The same year, however, Beaufort made the great mistake of his life. Hampered in England by

Beaufort
becomes a
Cardinal.

the intrigues and' follies of his nephew, he seems to have turned his thoughts to playing a part in the larger field of

European politics; accepted from the pope the title of cardinal, and

spent some time in Germany, where a campaign was being carried on by the papacy against the Hussites of Bohemia. No sooner, however, had he returned to England in 1428 than he found that he had placed a most formidable weapon in the hands of his English opponents; for, in spite of all his protests to the contrary, it was easy to represent him as a traitor to his country, and to play upon the ancient hostility of the English people to all forms of papal interference in English affairs. A year later, therefore, Beaufort was glad to go to France in attendance on the little king, who was crowned king of France in 1429, and Beaufort remained with him* the greater part of two years. On his return the old troubles broke out afresh ; and, in 1433, Bedford was again in England, doing what he could to restore peace. Next year, however, he was compelled to return to Normandy, and never saw England again. Throughout these quarrels Gloucester was usually supported by the London mob, with whom Beaufort was unpopular ; but Beaufort had the confidence of the country at large, and parliament was therefore on his side.

For some time the question of the right method of conducting parliamentary elections had been in agitation. The writs of summons of knights of the shire, issued to the sheriffs in the time of Edward i. , seem to have left the actual method of election to the discretion of that official, and the practice was therefore subject to wide variations ; while the tendency was to leave the election pretty much in the hands of the sheriff. Under Edward i. n. and Richard II. complaints had been made of the partiality and overbearing conduct of the sheriffs ; and, in 1406, an act of parliament was passed by which it was directed that the election should be made by the whole county at the next county court held after the writ had been received. Ordinarily, however, the monthly meeting of the county court was attended by few persons of importance; and so it was open to the sheriff, by giving notice of the election only to his personal friends and adherents, to pack the court as he pleased ; or, in case of a riot, to return his own candidates after going through a mere farce of election. **Accordingly**, in 1430, an act was passed by which the right of election was secured to all freeholders, whose lands were worth forty shillings a year; and, in 1432, it was further ordered that these freeholds were to be situated in the county itself. The force of this act was twofold. First, it checked the power of the sheriff by securing a right to vote to certain qualified people in each shire ; and, second, it checked mob violence by taking away from every casual attendant at the county court the right of interference. Another act passed in 1445 insisted on sheriffs duly sending the ' precept to elect¹ **due** to each city or borough in the county

Parliamentary Elections regulated.

which returned members. The election then took place in the city or borough, according to its own customs; and a deputation from it attended the county court to hand in the return, and to see it attached by the sheriff to his return of the knights of the shire. Owing, however, to variations in practice, the whole subject of parliamentary elections is very obscure; but the object of the legislation of the reign of Henry vi. was to secure the free expression of the opinion of both town and country against the interference of the sheriff, whose action was doubtless often inspired by the party which was for the time in power. At the same time, it distinctly reduced the number of those who had been able to take a part in the conduct of elections, for in silencing the voices of the sheriffs' retainers and hangers-on, parliament also disfranchised the copyholders and villeins, some of whom had certainly attended the court; and the forty shillings freeholders continued to be the only voters in counties till the Reform Act of 1832.

The desertion of Burgundy in 1435 roused the English parliament to such anger that the death of Bedford passed almost unnoticed. The regency was bestowed on the young Richard, duke of York, then about twenty-six years of age, and the captaincy of Calais, which from its situation was likely to bear the brunt of Burgundy's attack, was entrusted to the duke of Gloucester. Neither, however, was able to effect much. Paris was irretrievably lost, and Calais proved strong enough to defy the duke of Burgundy without Gloucester's personal assistance. A year later York was recalled by the council, and the command entrusted first to the earl of Warwick and then to John Beaufort, earl, and afterwards duke, of Somerset; and though York was again employed, the rivalry between him and the Beauforts began the feud which afterwards played such a conspicuous part among the causes of the Wars of the Roses. For the time, however, their rivalry resulted in efforts which, though unable to keep back the advancing tide of French success, served to maintain the English reputation for deeds of arms. Among these, the most conspicuous was the recapture of Harfleur, in 1440, by Somerset and his brother Edmund Beaufort.

In spite, however, of the active continuation of the struggle, a peace party was forming itself, which based its convictions on the growing certainty that England was not strong enough to establish an English dominion in France in defiance of French national feeling. Before his death this conviction had certainly been forming itself in Bedford's mind; after his death it was taken up as the ground of a definite policy by the great cardinal and some of the most experienced of the statesmen and soldiers. On the other hand it was

Effect of
Burgundy's
desertion.

Growth of
a Peace
Party.

bitterly opposed by Humphrey of Gloucester, partly, no doubt, because it was the cardinal's, partly, too, because by temperament and inclination he was the natural mouthpiece of the warlike nobility, and of that class of mind which regards the carrying on of a hopeless or unjust war as less ignominious than coming to honourable terms. His opposition, however, was most **Opposition of Gloucester.**

serious ; for he was very popular with the Londoners, and had contrived, by means not easily comprehended, to win himself the reputation for chivalry on which was based his title of 'the good/ which accords ill either with his exploits in war or the story of his private life. Whatever he could do to thwart the peace party, however, he did ; and in 1440, when the peace party persuaded the king to release the duke of Orleans, who had been a prisoner since Agincourt, on condition that he should use his good offices in favour of peace, Gloucester addressed to the king a letter, in which he reiterated all his charges against Cardinal Beaufort and the peace party, and endeavoured to make it appear that the writer and the duke of York were the leaders of the only patriotic party. Though not successful in preventing the release of Orleans, this protest was of importance as giving the nation a wholly false estimate of the real motives and policy of the Beaufort party. John Beaufort died in 1444, leaving a daughter, Margaret; and his place at court was taken by his younger brother Edmund, who also became duke of Somerset.

Meanwhile, the peace party received a valuable adherent in the person of the young king. Henry actually came of age in 1442 ; but for some years before he had acted as king, and the date is, therefore, of little consequence. From the first he was a delicate boy ; quite unfit to take his share in the business of war at an age when his father and uncles had led armies in the field. On the other hand, his mind seems to have been singularly precocious ; and ill-considered efforts to force him forward make it probable that he was a victim of educational overpressure. Warwick instructed him in chivalry, Gloucester in the study of literature, Beaufort in the art of government; and the docile lad seems to have well profited by their instruction, for he grew up a courteous gentleman, an accomplished man, with a real anxiety to do his duty to his subjects, but at the same time wholly unfitted by nature to be the successful king of a high-spirited people in such troublous times. For a long time, however, the real incompetence of the king for independent action was concealed from the eyes of the nation by his youth, and by the conspicuous parts played by such men as Gloucester **and** the cardinal; but sooner or later it was inevitable that **the** real character of the king would come to be understood.

**Henry
becomes
of age.**

In 1441, 1442, and 1443, the English held their own well in Normandy under the duke of York ; but the peace party held true to their policy, and in 1444 an embassy was sent to Paris, headed by William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk. This nobleman, who was the grandson of Michael de la Pole, the minister of Richard II., and brother of the earl of Suffolk, who fell at Agincourt, had early distinguished himself in war and diplomacy, and had gained great influence over the king. He was a thoroughgoing member of the peace party, and his embassy resulted in a truce for two years, and an arrangement that Henry should, as a step towards a permanent peace, marry Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Rene, duke of Anjou and count of Provence, and titular king of Naples and Jerusalem, and niece of the queen of Charles VII. In April 1445 the bride reached England and was married to Henry, he being twenty-four years of age and she sixteen. At first this marriage and the hopes of peace that it brought with it were popular in the country. Both houses of parliament voted their thanks to Suffolk in 1445. The merchants were glad to renew commercial relations with France ; and it seemed as if the policy of Cardinal Beaufort, who heartily approved of the marriage, was going to be crowned with complete success. Of this state of affairs Suffolk, as the negotiator of the marriage, took every advantage to ingratiate himself with the new queen, and by so doing diverted to himself the ill-will of Gloucester, who naturally disliked the marriage, not only as a triumph for the peace party, but also because the possible birth of an heir to Henry would bar his hopes of succession to the crown. Since Bedford's death he had stood next in the succession, and so eager were some of his household, at any rate, for his interests, that his wife, Eleanor Cobham, whom he had married on his union with Jacqueline being pronounced null by the pope, practically confessed that she had been guilty of employing sorcery to bring about the king's death. The cardinal's health was failing, and it was clear that his place as leader of the peace party was about to fall to Suffolk, who attempted to strengthen his position by arranging a marriage between his son John and the little Margaret Beaufort, who, after Henry and Humphrey, was the next representative of the line of John of Gaunt.

In 1447 the struggle between Gloucester and Suffolk came to a head. Suffolk was sufficiently influential to have the parliament of that year summoned at Bury St. Edmunds, where Gloucester would be at a distance from his friends the Londoners, and where Suffolk's own influence would be at its greatest. The House met in February ; and on Gloucester's arrival he and some of his

Negotiations for Peace.

Henry marries Margaret of Anjou.

Parliament of Bury St. Edmunds.

followers were arrested by the earl of Salisbury and several other noblemen. This occurred on the 18th, and on the 23rd Gloucester died in his lodgings. How he met his end none can say. On the one hand, he is known to have been in exceedingly delicate health, and anxiety and indignation may have hurried on the course of natural disease; or he may have been slain by some officious underling; or he may have been deliberately put to death by Suffolk himself. The cardinal can hardly have had a hand in it, for the removal of Gloucester was, a most serious blow to the house of Lancaster, whose fortunes it was his interest as a Beaufort to support. Henry was certainly innocent; and it is hard to suspect Margaret, a girl of eighteen. At the time, as much uncertainty seems to have prevailed as since; but as time went on, the darker rumour became the more popular, though unsupported by additional evidence. Six weeks after the death of his old antagonist, Cardinal Beaufort also passed away, leaving behind him a great reputation as the mainstay of his house, and, next to Cardinal Wolsey, the most magnificent ecclesiastic produced by this country.

Death of
Gloucester.

Death of
Cardinal
Beaufort.

The deaths of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort made Suffolk for a time supreme. With great adroitness he had made himself the confidant of Margaret, and there was no one at court to compare with him in influence. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, was occupied with his French command; and in 1447, Richard, duke of York, was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and so kept at a distance. Among the officials, Bishop Moleyns and Lord Say and Sele were Suffolk's adherents; while Cardinal Kemp, the archbishop of Canterbury, represented Beaufort's ideas. The general aim of Suffolk's policy was to secure peace, and it must be taken as a proof of his honesty that he pursued this unpopular object with such tenacity. Accordingly, in 1448, the remaining places held by the English in Anjou and Maine were given up to René, probably in accordance with a verbal promise made by Suffolk at the time of the marriage negotiations. This was an attempt to secure the rest of the English dominions by the surrender of a part, but it was bitterly resented in England; and, with Somerset's consent, some men of the Maine garrisons in their retreat sacked Fougères, a town belonging to the duke of Brittany. This wicked and foolish action led to the renewal of open war. In May, Pont de l'Arche, which commanded the approach to Rouen, fell; and, in October, Rouen itself was taken. For these accumulated disasters Suffolk and Somerset were held responsible, a cry of treachery was raised; and

Suffolk in
power.

Anjou and
Maine
surrendered.

Duke of
Brittany
offended.

the council seeing itself involved in their unpopularity, was at its wits¹ end for a defence.

The position of the council was certainly a hard one. Constitutional government had been carried far enough to make the ministers responsible for failure, but not far enough to provide a ready and peaceful way of transferring the duties of government from the shoulders of unpopular ministers to those of their critics; and, with the exception of the discredited Suffolk, there was no man in the court party strong enough to take the lead at such a crisis. A strong king, who believed in himself, and could be his own prime minister and his own commander-in-chief, might have brought the nation through its troubles ; or under a constitutional sovereign, a strong minister like the elder Pitt might have weathered the storm ; but Henry vi. was completely wanting in the qualities of a successful despot, and no one of the politicians who surrounded him had a tithe of Pitt's capacity and spirit. The natural consequence was that, judged by every standard, the administration of Henry vi. was a failure. Suffolk's peace policy and Somerset's ill luck or want of capacity were alike condemned by the nation. The debt amounted to ,£370,000 ; and the household expenses had increased from £5000 to £25,000 a year. The regular income was but £5000 ; and, though additional taxation was voted without much demur by parliament, the burden was wearily borne by the nation.

Moreover, the elementary duty of government, that of preserving order, had been neglected. The bands of retainers, of whom little is heard between the rebellion of the Percies and the loss of Normandy, had again become a curse to the country, and the great nobles, each with his little standing army at his back, showed scant respect to the king's peace when their interests were at stake. For example, in Norfolk, a gentleman named John Paston, whose family letters have been preserved, and furnish a mine of information as to the events of the time, made good his legal right to the manor of Gresham, which was wrongfully claimed by Lord Moleyns. The baron collected a body of one thousand men, and choosing a time when Paston was away, stormed the house, and took the beams from under the floor of Mrs. Paston's bedroom, to make her leave the place. So early as 1435, a quarrel between two branches of the Nevilles had led to fighting, and the lawlessness of the country was such as had not been tolerated in England for many centuries. Moreover, in addition to their household retainers, the great nobles had begun the practice of making bonds with the freeholders and

Unpopular-
ity of the
Government.

Disorder in
England.

knights in their neighbourhood, by which the latter agreed—save their allegiance to the king—to serve their patron against all comers, so that each noble had a small standing army in readiness, and a larger force behind on which he could count in an emergency. In these circumstances, nothing but a leader was wanted for a rebellion. York, however, was in Ireland; there was no other name likely to attract a following; and in consequence a number of disconnected outbreaks took place, which make the year 1450 notable as a year of riot and disorder.

In January, Bishop Moleyns of Chichester was sent to Portsmouth to pay the sailors, who were starting for France. Unluckily for him, his funds did not permit of his doing more than making a payment on account; and the sailors, furious with disappointment, seized and murdered him, the soldiers meanwhile looking on.

Murder of
Bishop
Moleyns.

On January 22 parliament met, and Suffolk, well aware that an attack would be made upon him, endeavoured, by a vigorous protest of innocence and an appeal to his past services, to stave it off. The attempt, however, was unsuccessful; and the commons acting apparently under the direction of Lord Cromwell, himself one of the lords of the council, prepared a long series of charges, on which they impeached Suffolk before the lords. The accusations thus made dealt some with incompetency and some with treason. The

Impeachment of
Suffolk.

former practically arraigned the whole policy of the peace party, the latter accused Suffolk of a plot to marry his son, John de la Pole, to Margaret Beaufort, and to place them on the throne. The latter charge could only be met by a denial; but the former, which really involved the council, was most embarrassing for the court; and apparently it was arranged, as the best way out of the difficulty, that Suffolk should avoid a trial, which would be as awkward for his party as dangerous to himself, by throwing himself on the king's mercy, without answering the charges at all. Accordingly this was done, and then Henry ordered Suffolk to leave the country for five years. On April 30 Suffolk set sail; but his ship was intercepted off Calais by the *Nicolas of the Tower*; and on May 2 he was taken into a small boat, decapitated, and his body cast on the shores of Kent. Evidence is wanting to decide

Murder of
Suffolk.

whether his murder was due, like that of Bishop Moleyns, to the anger of mutinous sailors, or to a determination of Suffolk's political enemies not to be balked of their prey. There is no doubt, however, that by depriving Henry of the one really able councillor he possessed, it struck a severe blow at the Lancastrian dynasty, and may be compared to the loss which Charles I. sustained by the death of Strafford on the eve of the civil war.

A month later Cade's rebellion threw the south-eastern an ires into confusion. Jack Cade was an Irish retainer of Sir Thomas Dacre, who had fled the country as a murderer, but returned under Cade's Rebellion. an assumed name. It is, however, a moot point whether he was the real leader of the rebellion which bears his name, or whether, the original leader having perished or fled, Cade did not step into his place. The first beginnings of the movement are imperfectly understood ; but a rumour that the men of Kent would be held responsible for Suffolk's death, and indignation at the exactions of Crowmer the sheriff, seem to have been the sparks which set fire in Kent to the combustible matter with which all England was filled. Once on foot, the movement soon assumed formidable dimensions. No nobles and only one knight are said to have joined it; but the lesser gentry and yeomen came out with as much unanimity as though the militia had been summoned, and marched in orderly array to Blackheath. There they heard that Henry was coming against them in person and retreated ; but when a detachment sent in pursuit by Henry, under Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother William, overtook them at Sevenoaks, the Battle of Sevenoaks. rebels turned, defeated the royal troops, killed both their leaders, and returned to Blackheath. From this moment Cade was certainly their leader. He dressed himself in the armour of the fallen Stafford ; declared himself to be Mortimer, a cousin of York, and did all he could to make it appear that he was acting in his cousin's interests.

Meanwhile, Henry had found his troops disheartened by the defeat at Sevenoaks, and so far from being whole-hearted in defending the government, that an imperious demand was made for the imprisonment of Lord Say, the treasurer. This was granted ; and Henry retires to Coventry. then Henry, feeling himself unequal to the task of rallying his mutinous followers, retreated to Coventry, leaving London to its fate, and giving a clear demonstration to the whole nation that he had neither the fighting power nor the self-reliance necessary for an English king. On the king's retreat, Cade advanced to Southwark, setting forth as the grievances of the rebels: the loss of France; the heavy taxation ; the exclusion of the king's relatives from the Council; interference with elections ; and, generally, the ill government of the country. On July 3, Cade crossed the bridge into London. There he was well received by the citizens, and had no difficulty in getting possession of the persons of Lord Say and Crowmer, both of whom were beheaded. Every night his men slept in Southwark; but Cade himself having set the example of plunder, the citizens, aided by Matthew Gough—a veteran of the

French wars—maimed the bridge, and though Cough himself was killed, the rebels were defeated in attempting to cross on July 6. Disheartened by this failure, and finding no nobleman willing to join them, the mass of rebels accepted pardons, which the government offered through Cardinal Kemp and Bishop Waynflete, and the most part returned home. Cade, however, kept some men together, and retired with his plunder to Rochester. Thence he fled alone, but was overtaken and slain by Alexander Iden, the new sheriff of Kent. During the course of Cade's rebellion, other risings had taken place. In Wiltshire, Askew, bishop of Salisbury, had been slain at Edington by his own tenants; outbreaks had occurred in Gloucestershire and the eastern counties; and the fact that no less than twenty-four traitors' heads were placed on London Bridge within the year, shows into what anarchy the nation had drifted.

Fight on
London
Bridge.

Death of
Cade.

Murder of
Askew.

The deaths of Suffolk, Moleyns, and Say left Henry almost without responsible advisers. Somerset was in France, and in dire distress; for the battle of Formigny, April 15, in which the English were defeated by the skilful use of the French artillery, had shattered the reinforcements sent out under Sir Thomas Kyriel, with the loss of three thousand Englishmen; and the surrender of the remaining garrisons of Normandy was merely a question of days. In these circumstances the natural adviser of the king was undoubtedly the duke of York; but that nobleman, whose abilities as a warrior and an administrator had been proved both in France and Ireland, had long been an exile from court, and the way, in which his name had been used by the Kentish rebels and by the discontented generally, as a contrast to the late incompetent advisers of the king, was not likely to have made him more welcome. Now, however, Duke Richard thought that the time had come to assert himself; and in September he crossed over from Ireland, collected a force of 4000 men from the Mortimer lands on the Welsh marches, advanced on London, and demanded a personal interview with the king. At this, interview York presented a petition, in which he complained of the false charges made against himself, and of the hindrances that had been put in the way of his landing; and demanded to be confronted with his accusers. In answer, Henry replied that the language used by the insurgents had naturally caused some suspicion, but that he was now satisfied of York's innocence, and 'reputed and admitted him as his true and faithful subject, and as his faithful cousin.' Thus relieved of the fear of a prosecution for treason, York's next object was to get the reins of government out of the hands of

Battle of
Formigny.

Position of
the Duke of
York.

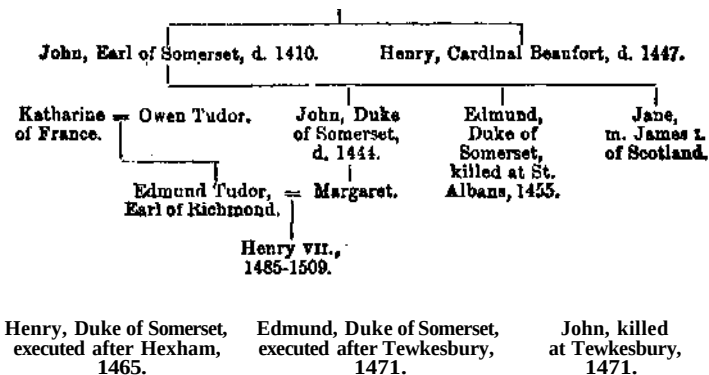
the survivors of the court party. He was, however, a cautious man, and would proceed no further than he could be sure of his ground, for his methods were always slow.

The fall of Bayeux and Caen set Somerset free from his duties in France, and in September he too was in England, reorganising the shattered court party, and preparing to dispute York's claims to direct affairs. At this moment Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, was probably the most unpopular man in England.¹ Now that Suffolk was gone, Somerset had to bear the full odium of the loss of Normandy; and peculation, cowardice, treachery, and incompetence were everywhere laid to his charge. His one hope of maintaining himself lay in his intimate relations with the court; and his first act on his return was to secure the title of constable of England, which might be regarded as a virtual acknowledgment of his claim to direct affairs. Moreover, he had the confidence of Queen Margaret, who was now beginning to exercise a decisive influence over the king's mind, and who naturally disliked York as the probable successor of her husband in case her marriage proved childless. Henry himself, weak both in mind and body, was little better than a tool in their hands.

For three years York and Somerset manoeuvred against one another. Somerset was actually in power, and York was excluded from all share in the government; but politics were resolving themselves into a set struggle between the two. Unluckily for Somerset, affairs in France were going from bad to worse. No sooner had Normandy been cleared

THE BEAUFORTS.

John of Gaunt, = Katharine Swynford.
d. 1399.



of the English than the French attacked Guienne, a district which had been connected with the English crown for nigh three hundred years, and which was the centre of a flourishing trade. Soinorset, however, proved unequal to its defence ; and in 1451 Bordeaux and Bayonne were both lost. To look on while the ancient dominions of the realm were being sacrificed by an incompetent rival was more than York could bear. The lower his own fortunes grew the more assiduous was Somerset in plying the king with doubts of York's loyalty. Finally in 1452 York made a move, and, repeating his action of 1450, approached London, protected by a formidable force. On Blackheath his troops were confronted by those of the king. Neither side, however, wished to fight; and, after York's complaints had been heard, Henry agreed to arrest Somerset, with a view to a thorough sifting of York's charges. On this, York dismissed his followers, and himself visited the royal camp; but on arrival found Somerset still in power, and was himself placed in virtual arrest. Somerset, however, knew too well the truth of the duke's charges of peculation, corruption, and incompetence in his French administration to face an open investigation. His one wish was to stop York's mouth ; and this he effected by compelling York to swear himself a loyal subject, and then treating the incident as at an end. For the moment York had been outmanoeuvred, and retired to his estates; but Somerset's ill-luck was constantly providing fresh matter for complaint. In 1452, a chance of retaking Guienne had presented itself through the dissatisfaction of the Gascons with French rule, and a force of five thousand men was despatched by Somerset to Bordeaux, under the command of John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury. For a time they carried all before them ; but on July 17, 1453, Talbot was enticed into attacking a strong French force at Castillon, with inferior numbers. The French were strongly posted and well supplied with artillery ; and after terrible slaughter, in which Talbot and his two sons perished, the English were utterly routed. Three months later, Bordeaux again fell into French hands, and it seemed only too likely that the whole force of France would be concentrated for a decisive attack on Calais.

Loss of
Bordeaux
and
Bayonne.

Struggle
between
Somerset
and York.

Battle of
Castillon.

Complete
loss of
French
possessions.

Meanwhile, York had been sounding his friends and preparing for fresh action. His chief reliance was placed on his brother-in-law, Richard, earl of Salisbury, the head of the younger branch of the Neville family. This powerful and numerous clan, who for many generations had strengthened themselves by a series of fortunate marriages, at this time held among its members

Richard
Neville the
Elder, Earl
of Salisbury.

and connections some dozen out of the thirty-six peerages that at that date existed in England. Its head was the earl of Westmorland ; but a feud had existed for some time between the descendants of the two wives of the late earl; and Richard Neville, the eldest son of the second, was a more powerful man than the head of his house. His mother left him the castles of Sheriff Hutton and Middleham, and other estates in Yorkshire ; from his wife, the daughter of that earl of Salisbury who was killed at Orleans, he derived his seat in the House of Lords, and

considerable estates in the south-western counties. Richard Neville the younger, his eldest son, was an even more powerful man than his father, for his marriage with Anne Beauchamp, the heiress of the earldom of Warwick, had made him the largest landholder in England; for in his hands were accumulated the property of the Despencers and Beauchamps, amounting to some hundred and fifty manors, and some fifteen strong castles. Warwick came of age in 1449, and as he was as energetic and vigorous as his father was cautious and calculating, their alliance with the duke of York was of first-rate importance. One of Salisbury's sisters married John Mowbray, earl of Norfolk, and a brother William married the heiress of the barony of Falconbridge.

Hardly had the news of Castillon been received when it became known that the king was seriously ill. Probably he inherited a taint of madness from his grandfather, Charles vi.; possibly, as has been suggested, the defeat of Castillon may have unnerved him; but it was soon evident that his mind was completely unhinged, and in a couple of months he was practically an imbecile. The news of the king's misfortune was followed by the intelligence that Queen

The King's illness. Margaret had given birth to a son, which occurred on October 13; but by that time the king's mind was so far gone that he knew nothing of what had happened, and did not even notice the child when it was presented to him. These two events completely changed the position of affairs. Since the death of Humphrey of Gloucester, the childless marriage of the king had fostered hopes in the mind of York that he would succeed to the throne in the natural course of events; and in 1451 a proposal had even been made in the House of Commons to declare him heir to the throne. Now, however, it was probable that the succession would be continued in the direct line, and York's enemies would no longer be inspired by a cautious fear that in attacking him they might be making an enemy of their future sovereign. On the other hand, the immediate effect of the king's malady was to destroy the foundation of Somerset's power, for even the lords of the

Birth of a Prince.

council refused to identify themselves with so unpopular a statesman. In the difficulty all eyes naturally turned to York ; and as a parliament had fortunately been summoned, York acted as the king's representative, and virtually assumed the reins of government.

The inevitable attack on Somerset was begun by York's brother-in-law, the earl of Norfolk, who reiterated the old charges of treason and peculation; and in December the council, as a precautionary measure, committed him to the Tower. Next year **Attack on Somerset.**

Further changes were made. The death of the chancellor, Cardinal Kemp, made it absolutely necessary to appoint some provisional government ; and the lords, disregarding Margaret's claim to have the direction of affairs, named York protector, reserving, however, most carefully, the rights of the little Prince Edward, to whom **York made Protector.**

York stood godfather. The new protector, who is described as 'a man of low stature, with a short square face, and somewhat stout of body,' at once took energetic measures to reform the administration, and began by filling the chief offices of state with men on whom he could rely. The earl of Salisbury became chancellor; Warwick was made a member of the privy council; Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, was lord treasurer.

Under York's guidance the condition of the country rapidly improved, and his influence was strong enough to put a stop to a private war which had broken out in the north between Thomas Percy, earl of Egremont, assisted by the duke of Exeter and some of the elder Nevilles, against the younger branch of that family, headed by John Neville, afterwards Lord Montague. Meanwhile, Somerset was lying in the Tower, for in the king's state it was a dangerous and difficult task to bring him to trial; and so long as he had no influence, he could do no further harm. Unfortunately for the country, in December the king began **Henry recovers.** to show symptoms of recovery, and in January 1455 he was again himself; and the first use he made of his power was to release Somerset and restore him to his ascendancy in the royal councils.

For York this turn of affairs was most serious. Not only had he to resign the protectorate, but he lost all his other posts; and his friends Salisbury, Warwick, and Tiptoft were also cashiered. In May a council was held, to which York and his friends were **York's friends dismissed.** not summoned, and by its advice a parliament was called at Leicester, for the purpose of providing for the safety of the king's person against his enemies.' Who were meant by the king's enemies, York had no doubt; and seeing that the moment for action had come, he called out his retainers, summoned Salisbury and Warwick to his aid, and marched straight on Ifondon, announcing **that they were** coming to convince

the king of 'the sinister, malicious, and fraudulent reports of their enemies.'

No sooner was it known that they were on their road than Somerset and the king marched to meet them with a small force of three thousand men, hastily collected by the court peers, of whom about twelve were present, including the dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the earls of Pembroke, Dorset, Wiltshire, Stafford, and Devon. The two armies met at St. Albans; and, after some parleying and the refusal of York's demand that the king would 'deliver up such persons as he might accuse to be dealt with like as they have deserved,' the town was stormed by the Yorkists. The slaughter among the soldiers was slight; but the Lancastrian leaders suffered severely, as their heavy armour made flight difficult. Henry himself was wounded by an arrow; Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and Lord Clifford were killed; Buckingham, Stafford, Devon, and Dorset were wounded and taken; Pembroke and Wiltshire escaped.

The result of the fight at St. Albans was to sweep away Somerset and his friends much as Suffolk and his ministers had perished in 1450. It left York practically supreme, and his first act was to restore his friends to power. Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury, a clever but somewhat time-serving prelate, was left undisturbed as chancellor; and his brother, Lord Bouchier, was made treasurer. Somerset was succeeded by the duke of York as constable, and by Warwick as captain of Calais; and Salisbury was made steward of the duchy of Lancaster. These appointments were confirmed by parliament; and an opportune recurrence of Henry's illness in October restored York to the position of protector. However, in January Henry again recovered, and the old game of intrigue was renewed; for Margaret of Anjou had now definitely stepped forward as successor to Somerset's influence, and was bent on regaining power at all risks. So infatuated indeed was she, that, for the purpose of discrediting York's administration, she suggested to the French an attack on Sandwich; is believed to have had a hand in a Scottish raid; and actually admitted to a friend, that 'if the great lords of her own party knew what she was doing, they would be the first to rise to put her to death.'

On the whole York's government was successful. Warwick, too, particularly distinguished himself by his successful captaincy at Calais, and also won much reputation and popularity by the energy he threw into the defence of the narrow seas, in which he distinguished himself in several hand-to-hand fights with Spanish, French)

and Hanseatic sailors. These exploits, though not exactly in accord with modern ideas of international law, made him the darling of the sailors, and of the merchants of London and of the southern ports: and he became, next to York, the most conspicuous and popular figure in the country. Under York's rule the country seemed again to be settling down; the popular songs of the time show that there was a widespread expectation of better times; and so sanguine was Henry himself that, in 1458, he planned a great function of reconciliation at St. Paul's, in which the chiefs of both parties went in procession, two and two, to pray for the souls of those who had been killed at St. Albans.

Service at
St. Paul's.

Margaret, however, had far different thoughts, and was working steadily to oust York and his friends, and little by little she succeeded. The king's recovery terminated York's protectorate; then the Bouchiers were both dismissed; Salisbury lost his post as steward; and the government was reorganised, under the direction of the queen, in the hands of Wiltshire, Beaumont, Shrewsbury, and Exeter. At length, in 1459, Margaret felt herself strong enough to renew the attack on York, which had been defeated in 1455. York was at Ludlow, Salisbury at Middleham, Warwick at Calais, when in September the queen, acting in the king's name, assembled an army in the Midlands; and, deciding to deal with Salisbury first, had a summons sent him to come up to London. Salisbury, however, was too wary to fall into the snare, and, instead of obeying, collected a force of 3000 men and made his way towards Ludlow; at the same time sending word to Warwick to come to his assistance. The queen's plan, however, was so far successful that a force of her adherents, headed by Lord Audley, intercepted Salisbury at Blore Heath, on the borders of Shropshire and Staffordshire; but in the battle that followed, Audley was defeated and slain, and Salisbury effected his junction with York without further molestation; while Warwick, bringing with him six hundred trained soldiers under Sir Andrew Trollope, also joined them. Both sides then called on their followers; but whereas the queen, with all England at her back, was able to raise 50,000 men, the Yorkists, cooped up in the Severn valley, and cut off from many of their estates by the royal army, were only able to raise 20,000. The result was that their followers loathed heart; and when the two armies confronted each other at Ludford-on-the-Teme, a panic spread through the insurgent host, Sir Andrew Trollope went over to the enemy, and the whole army broke up in confusion. York made the best of his way to Ireland: while Salisbury, Warwick, and Edward, earl of March, York's eldest son.

Margaret
attacks
York.

Battle of
Blore Heath.

Panic at
Ludford.

reached the coast of Devon, and there taking ship, were indebted to Warwick's practical skill as a sailor for a safe voyage to Calais.

For the moment Margaret was completely successful; but the use she made of her victory was not calculated to conciliate her opponents. A parliament was hurriedly summoned to Coventry; so hurriedly indeed, ^{Parliament of Coventry.} that through want of time for the due formalities of election, the Lancastrian sheriffs were able practically to nominate

the members; while the choice of Coventry as the meeting-place instead of London was also a check on Yorkist influence. The great object of the session was the punishment of the insurgent leaders. By fit salutary act, passed in 1404, 'appeals in parliament,' such as had been common under Richard II., had been declared illegal; but an even readier

^{Yorkists attainted.} weapon was now devised by the queen's friends in the shape of Acts of Attainder. A Bill of Attainder is a bill brought Into parliament for attainting, condemning, and executing a person for high treason. The meaning of the word *attaint* is to '*corrupt*' the blood, so that an attainted person can neither possess property, nor transmit it to his heirs. His property, therefore, is forfeited to the crown. An attaint may follow upon either an Act of Attainder or upon a sentence of death in a court of law for treason or felony. The king had the power to remit part of the penalty; and sometimes attainted persons lost their lives, but were allowed to transmit their property. To reverse an Act of Attainder, a bill for its repeal had to be passed through parliament, just as much as for the repeal of any other law. This terrible implement of punishment was used for the first time in the Coventry Parliament of 1459 against York, Salisbury, and Warwick. Their property and their lives were forfeited; and the natural result was that the struggle, which had hitherto been for the power of directing the king's government, became one for life and death.

Meanwhile, the attainted lords were collecting their forces to renew the contest, and a simultaneous landing of York in Wales and of the earls in

^{The Earls land in Kent.} Kent was arranged for the following June. York, however, was behind his time; so the first step was taken by the earls.

As Warwick's ships had command of the Channel, they were able to cross without molestation; and the Lancastrians, who did not expect them in Kent, had no force to oppose them between Sandwich and London, which the earls entered without fighting, and were enthusiastically received by the citizens. Everywhere they declared that the cause of their coming was the restoration of good government, and that they were personally loyal to the king. Once in London, the earls found themselves joined by numerous adherents. In the late struggle they had

stood almost alone; but the queen's severity had decided the waverers, and throughout the south-eastern shires their friends were in a decided preponderance. Leaving Salisbury to besiege the Tower, Warwick and March advanced to Northampton, where they found a Lancastrian force under the command of Henry himself, assisted by the duke of Buckingham. After vain efforts to obtain an interview with the king, Warwick ordered an attack, and the Yorkists, aided by treachery, stormed the trenches and put their opponents to utter rout. Margaret and her son made good their escape; but Henry was captured. As at St. Albans, the slaughter of leaders was disproportionately great compared to the total loss, and included Buckingham.

Battle of
Northamp-
ton.

The result of the battle of Northampton was to make the Yorkists supreme in southern and middle England; so, without troubling to pursue Margaret, Warwick and March, taking Henry with them, returned at once to London. There, in Henry's name, a change of government was effected like that which followed St. Albans. Salisbury was made lieutenant of the six northern counties; George Neville, bishop of Exeter, chancellor; John Neville, chamberlain; and Lord Bourchier, treasurer. In October parliament met; and, having been elected under Yorkist influence, repealed the Acts of Attainder passed at Coventry in 1459. On the third day of the session York arrived in London. On his journey up he had ventured to assume royal state, and on reaching Westminster forced his way into the palace, and compelled Henry to vacate the royal apartments. Next day he appeared before the lords and openly claimed the crown as the heir of Richard II. This action, however, proved to be going too far even for his most sturdy followers. The lords made no sign of assent, while Warwick openly avowed his disapproval of a step which violated all the oaths of fidelity they had taken to Henry, and was in complete defiance of every declaration of Yorkist policy. The result was a compromise. York was not crowned; but was declared heir to the throne, and given the titles of Protector and Prince of Wales, and this arrangement was accepted by Henry and confirmed by Act of Parliament.

York claims
the Crown.

York de-
clared heir
to the
Throne.

Whether, however, it would be of effect depended on the relative strength of the adherents of York and Margaret. The latter was in Wales, but her friends were rallying in the north under the earl of Northumberland and Lord Clifford, sons of those who had fallen at St. Albans, and Lord Neville, brother of the earl of Westmorland, and they were soon joined by Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, the duke of Exeter, and other noted Lancastrians. To watch them, York

The north-
ern Lancas-
trians.

and Salisbury advanced with six thousand men **to** Sandal Castle, **near Wakefield**, and were there awaiting reinforcements, when, on December 30, a clever ruse of Clifford drew York into a rash encounter with superior numbers, in which he himself was killed and Salisbury captured. Rutland, York's second son, a fine lad of seventeen, was slain in the pursuit. The unlucky Salisbury was promptly beheaded at Pontefract; and his **head** with that of York, the latter adorned with a paper crown, was barbarously set upon the gates of York.

**Battle of
Wakefield.**

**Deaths of
York and
Salisbury.**

The victory of Wakefield seemed to give Margaret such a superiority **that** the men of the north flocked to her standard by thousands, and she was soon at the head of 40,000 men ; but her very success was her danger, for the rumours of the intentions of the ruder northerners, who claimed to plunder at will south of the Trent, roused a feeling of desperation in all the southern shires, and made the campaign that followed a national war in a sense it had never been before. Hitherto the chief fighting had been borne by the retainers of the nobility, but now, for the first time, the towns came into the field, **and** the interference of the men of the northern moorlands was met by the appearance of peaceful citizens and agriculturists, who saw in the victory of the Yorkist cause the only guarantee for peace and good government.

**Margaret's
southern
march.**

**Disposition
of the
armies.**

Four leaders were soon in the field. Margaret and her northerners advancing by the Ermine Street on London, and plundering on their way Grantham, Stamford, Peterborough, and Huntingdon ; Warwick, with 30,000 men, was at St. Albans, blocking the line of Margaret's advance on London. The earl of March, with a force of 10,000 men, raised from the Mortimer lands on the marches, was in the Severn valley ; and Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, who had gathered a body of Welshmen to reinforce the queen's army, was threatening March's rear. March was only nineteen, but with the instinct of a general he saw that it was little use **to** cross the Severn while Pembroke's force was intact; so, turning upon his foe he delivered a crushing attack at Mortimer's Cross, near Wigmore, on February 2, 1461. Pembroke was utterly **routed**, and his aged father, Owen Tudor, was put to death on the field.

**Battle of
Mortimer's
Cross.**

From Mortimer's Cross Edward hurried to join Warwick ; but **he had barely** reached Oxfordshire, when, on February 17, Warwick was defeated at **the** second battle of St. Albans. This **was** due partly **to** bad management, partly to treachery. Warwick's **line** was **too** extended **for** quick concentration. By some error of his **Scouta no warning was given of the Lancastrian attack; and when**

**Second
battle of
St. Albans.**

the fight began a body of Kentish men deserted, and let the Lancastrians through the line. Inextricable confusion followed; the Yorkists were driven from the field ; and Warwick, with difficulty keeping together a few thousand men, joined Edward at Chipping-Norton, leaving the road to London completely open.

The queen now seemed to have the game in her own hands; King Henry had been recaptured at St. Albans, and nothing remained but to march on London. At this crisis, however, Margaret failed. Time was lost, and when the Londoners heard that Warwick and Edward were still in the field and marching to their assistance, they plucked up courage to stop the provision carts which were carrying stores to Margaret's army, and next day Warwick and Edward again entered London.

London
declares
against
Margaret.

Next morning a *coup d'etat* was carried out. Four months before, York's proposal to seize the crown had met with universal disapprobation ; but so far as southern England was concerned, Wakefield and St. Albans, and above all the plundering by the northern men, had swept away all feelings of loyalty for Henry ; and it was felt that, blameless as was the king's personal character, his wife's conduct had made his further reign impossible. So long as he had stood aloof from party, men like Warwick would have been content to leave him the shadow while they retained the substance of power; but his wife's folly had identified Henry with a faction, and by so doing had made him impossible. Accordingly, on Sunday, March 9, in Clerkenwell Fields, Bishop George Neville of Exeter addressed the soldiers and set forth Edward's claim to the crown. His speech was received with applause ; and Warwick, having secured the assent of Archbishop Bourchier, of John Mowbray, earl of Norfolk, his brother William Neville, Lord Falconbridge, and a few others, held a meeting of the notables of the Yorkist party, and went through the form of electing Edward king, and he was accordingly proclaimed as Edward iv.

Edward,
Earl of
March,
chosen
King.

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Siege of Orleans,	1429
Death of Bedford,	1435
Deaths of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort,	1447
Cade's Rebellion,	1460
Wars of the Roses begin,	1460

CHAPTER IV

EDWARD IV.: 1461-1483

Born 1441 ; married 1464, Elizabeth Wood villa.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

Scotland,

James III., d. 1488.

France.

Louis xi., d. 1483.

**Battle of Towton and Suppression of the Lancastrians—Edward's Marriage—
Warwick intrigues for Power—Restoration of Henry—Battles of Barnet and
Tewkesbury—Death of Henry—Expedition to France—Power of Edward.**

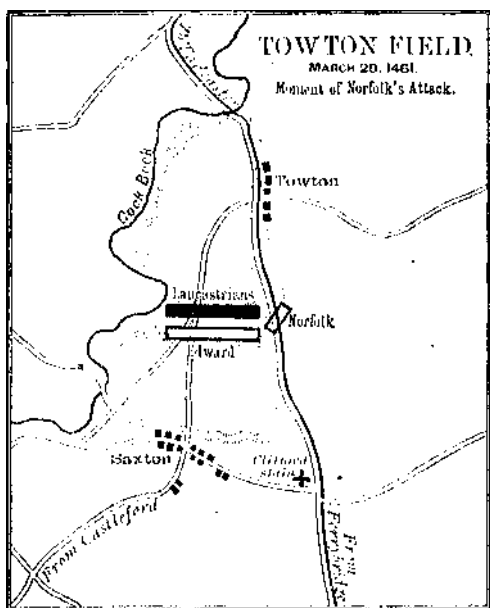
No regular coronation was attempted ; for no one could tell how soon Margaret's standards might be seen on Highgate Hill; and great was the joy when it was rumoured that her army was in retreat. Hope of plunder had drawn the northerners southward ; but the first use Henry made of his liberty was to issue a proclamation forbidding it altogether. The disgust of Margaret's men knew no bounds. Some set out to plunder on their own account, others hurried north to secure what they had already won ; and even those who remained with their standards were so discontented that the lords declared a retreat inevitable ; and, on the very day of Edward's election, MaYgaret and her husband reluctantly turned their faces north.

No time was lost in pursuing them. On the 10th the main body left London, and on March 26 Edward was at Pontefract. His army amounted to 48,000 men, led by Warwick and his uncle, Lord Falconbridge, Norfolk, and himself. Every southern shire was represented in their ranks, for the northerners had been merciless, and every southerner who had anything to lose felt that plunder must be stopped once for all and at whatever cost. The men of Coventry were there under their 'Black Ram,' and those of Bristol under the standard of the 'Ship.' After passing the lines of the Trent and the Don, the northern army had turned to bay between the Aire and the Wharfe, and were encamped on a comparatively high plateau, known as Towton Field, **about** four miles south of Tadcaster, where the

**Retreat of
the Lan-
castrians.**

**Pursuit
of the
Yorkists.**

roads from Castleford and Ferrybridge-on-Aire meet on their way to Tadcaster. By a rapid movement Edward seized the passage of the Aire ; but though the crossing at Ferrybridge was retaken by Lord Clifford, Lord Falconbridge successfully crossed at Castleford, and had the good luck to intercept and kill Lord Clifford when he attempted to retreat on Towton.



Next day, March 29, which happened to be Palm Sunday, Edward, Warwick, and Falconbridge, with a large force, attempted to storm the plateau, relying on the aid of Norfolk, whom they left ill at Battle of Pontefract, but who promised to be up in time for the great Towton fight. At the beginning of the battle the Yorkists were much aided by a blinding snowstorm which Falconbridge cleverly used to deceive the Lancastrians into discharging most of their arrows at a useless distance; but the real struggle was hand-to-hand. For some hours neither side gained any advantage ; but when Norfolk came up, his attack on their left wing proved fatal to the Lancastrians, whose right rested on a steep ravine. Hemmed in thus, but fighting furiously, the northern men were gradually borne backwards, and at length, after ten hours¹ fighting, were pushed down the steep bank, at whose foot flowed the Cock Beck, then in flood.

This disaster completed their destruction. Thousands perished in the stream ; and it is said that no less than 37,000 corpses were buried in the field. During the battle Henry and Margaret were at York, and after it took refuge in Scotland.

From Towton, Edward advanced by York to Durham ; and then, finding that the Lancastrian army had broken up, he returned to London, leaving to Warwick the business of capturing the great
Conquest of the North. Percy castles of Alnwick, Dunstanborough, and Bamborough, and of resisting any invasion of the Scots which Margaret might be able to organise. The reduction of these strongholds proved a formidable task, and the castles were taken and retaken several times before they finally remained in Yorkist hands. The bulk of the fighting fell on Warwick and his brother, John Neville, created earl of Montagu in reward for his services at Towton. Anger and thirst for revenge had destroyed the last vestige of Margaret's patriotism. The Scots were bribed by the surrender of Berwick, and even Calais was offered to the French as the price of their aid. At this terrible price both Scots and French gave some assistance to the Lancastrians. Several times the Scots crossed the border, and 2000 troops were landed by Louis ; but at length, in the winter of 1462, a successful raid in Scotland brought the Scottish regents to reason, and deprived Margaret of her footing in that country. The French were confined to the Percy castles; and in 1463, a final attempt at fighting, made by the duke of Somerset, was defeated by Montagu at Hedgeley Moor in April 1464, and "again near Hexham on May 13, after which fight Somerset and other leaders were summarily put to death. In the summer the three castles surrendered, and this brought the war in the north to a conclusion. In Wales a few isolated castles still held out: among others Harlech, in which was being educated and cared for the little Henry, son of Edmund Tudor and Margaret Beaufort, who was afterwards destined to reign as Henry VII. In 1465 Edward's safety was assured further by the capture at Waddington Hall, near Olitheroe, of Henry vi., who, since the flight of his queen and his own expulsion from Scotland, had wandered aimlessly about among the tenants of the duchy of Lancashire in Craven and Ribblesdale.

King Edward took little personal share in the pacification of the north, but for the most part remained in southern England ready to deal with
Edward's personal character. the even more serious danger of a French invasion. The king's character is one which is not easy to define. In person he is described as the handsomest man of his time,—tall, strong, and stately in his bearing. His capacity for war was great, and in politics he showed himself from boyhood a master of the intrigue

which in that day passed current for statesmanship; affable and pleasant in his address, he knew well how to gain both the ear of his friends and the applause of the multitude, while his personal fearlessness and good humour ensured a wide popularity. With these qualities, however, he united others, which recalled neither his father nor the Nevilles so much as his great-grandfather, Edmund of York. He was self-indulgent in no small degree, put no restraint upon the gratification of his passions, and, though capable at times of acting with conspicuous energy and vigour, allowed himself in general to sink into idleness. Of statesmanship in the higher sense of the word he appears to have had little conception, as was clearly shown by his treatment of foreign affairs.

In this department of politics, the question of the day was that of our attitude towards France. On this matter a statesmanlike and clear view was held by Edward's great supporter, the earl of Warwick. Warwick, who had grown to manhood since the days of the struggle for Normandy, believed the prolongation of the war to be impolitic for two reasons : (1) because the conquest of France by England was impracticable, and the war only served to exhaust our resources without advantage ; and (2) because so long as we were at war with France its court was open for Lancastrian refugees, and French assistance was forthcoming to aid in keeping England divided by civil strife. He, therefore, advocated peace with France, and wished to see a treaty cemented by a marriage between Edward and a French princess. To this policy Edward offered no open resistance, and allowed Warwick first to negotiate a truce and then to make the preliminary arrangements for a formal embassy and proposal of marriage; but at the very last moment, on September 28, 1464, within a week of the day fixed for the meeting between Louis and Warwick, he suddenly announced that the whole negotiations were a farce, for since May 1 of that year he had been married to Lady Elizabeth Grey.

Policy
towards
France.

This lady was the daughter of Jacquetta of Luxembourg, duchess of Bedford and her second husband, Richard Woodville or Wydville, Lord Rivers. As a girl she had married John Grey or Ferrers, of Groby, who had been killed on the Lancastrian side at the second battle of St. Albans, and in 1464 was a widow of thirty-one, with two boys of thirteen and eleven respectively. As a Lancastrian and a person who brought to the king no addition of political strength, Elizabeth was a most undesirable match; but Edward was perfectly infatuated about her, and married her secretly at Grafton on May 1, 1464. Once married, however, Edward saw his way to turn his action to account; and determined, by raising up the relations of his

Elizabeth
Woodville.

wife, to create a counterpoise to the powerful Neville clan, and so reduce Warwick's influence. The history of the next seven years, therefore, is little more than that of a duel between Warwick, the astute warrior of middle age, and the young but clever king whom he had designed to keep in leading strings.

The game began by Edward's marrying every marriageable member of his wife's family—to the number of some half-dozen—to various members of the peerage ; making his father-in-law first lord treasurer, then an earl, and finally constable of England; and, in direct defiance of Warwick's advice, giving his sister, Margaret of York, to Charles, count of Charolais, the eldest son of the duke of Burgundy, and the lifelong enemy of Louis xi. Meanwhile, Warwick bided his time, and prepared a counterblow by a marriage between his elder daughter Isabel—who would have half his lands—and George, duke of Clarence, the king's younger brother. This match, however, was peremptorily forbidden by Edward; and Warwick then engaged in a series of plots, which, though by no means completely unravelled, are believed to have been at the bottom of the disturbances that broke out in 1469.

In April of that year Warwick moved his wife and two daughters to Calais ; and in June a rebellion broke out in the neighbourhood of York, led by Robert Huldward, otherwise known as Robin of Redesdale. This outbreak, which was directed in the first instance against a piece of local maladministration, was put down by Warwick's brother, John, earl of Montagu, and Huldward was put to death; but his place and name were immediately taken by Sir John Conyers, the husband of one of Warwick's nieces, and other members of the Neville family joined the insurgents. Thus led, the rebels made their way south,

and at Edgecote, near Banbury, they encountered Edward's troops under Herbert, who had just been made earl of Pembroke for a victory over Jasper Tudor, and defeated him on July 26. Herbert was put to death after the battle; and a few days later, Rivers and his son were seized at Chepstow, and beheaded at Coventry. As Herbert and the Woodvilles were the personal enemies of Warwick, his hand is thought to appear in their deaths ; and it is certain that no sooner was Edward called north by the insurrection than Clarence slipped across to Calais, and, on July 11, was married to Isabel Neville. That done,

Warwick and his son-in-law hurried to Kent, raised the Neville faction, and, matching north, took advantage of the discomfiture of Edward's forces at Edgecote and the desertion of many of his followers, to seize his person. Seeing that for the moment

Promotion
of Queen's
relations.

Discontent
of Warwick.

Rebellion of
Robin of
Redesdale.

Battle of
Edgecote.

Edward in
Warwick's
power.

resistance was out of the question, Edward submitted with a smile, agreed to all Warwick's demands, and accompanied him in a sort of honorary confinement to Warwick, Coventry, and Middleham. Edward, however, was too popular to be treated as a prisoner; and in October, Warwick, after making the best terms for himself and Clarence, allowed the king to go free.

Next year, however, disturbances broke out in Lincolnshire—again probably by Warwick's contrivance. This time Edward acted with great promptitude, marched himself against the rebels, and defeated

them on March 12, at Casterton, near Stamford, in a fight

Rebellion
in Lincoln-
shire.

popularly known as Losecoat Field, from the precipitation

with which the fugitives flung away their coats and badges. This success turned the tables on Warwick, who had no

Battle of
Losecoat
Field.

mind to encounter Edward at the head of a victorious army. He therefore fled the country, and, taking Clarence with him, made for

Calais. There, however, his friend Sir John Wenlock, possibly by arrangement, refused to receive him, and he therefore landed

Flight of
Warwick.

in France as the guest of Louis xi., who was still at war with Edward.

In Warwick's arrival Louis saw a great opportunity, and used all his immense fund of diplomatic skill to bring about an alliance between

Warwick and Margaret of Anjou, who, with her son Edward, now seventeen years of age, was also an exile in his dominions. His success was greater than could possibly

Alliance
between
Warwick
and Mar-
garet.

have been expected, and an agreement was entered into by

which Edward was betrothed to Warwick's second daughter Anne; and an expedition was to be made for the purpose of dethroning Edward of

York and replacing Henry vi. Of the two parties to this strange treaty, Margaret probably regarded the scheme as a last desperate chance of

regaining the throne; and Warwick may well have considered that as he had now utterly broken with Edward, the best method of securing the

ascendancy of the house of Neville—his one permanent political aim—was to restore the Lancastrian dynasty. To Clarence, however, the whole arrangement must have been utterly distasteful; and secret communi-

cations were at once opened between him and his brother, by which Clarence agreed to desert Warwick as soon as they had landed in England.

The treaty between Margaret and Warwick was completed in July, 1470. Proclamations announcing Warwick's return were scattered

throughout England, and an arrangement was made for a Warwick's rising in the north to draw Edward out of the way. So Invasion.

long, however, as the ships of Edward's brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, were guarding the Channel, the passage was impossible; but

in September the Burgundian fleet was driven into harbour by the equinoctial gales; and on September 25, Warwick landed unopposed at Dartmouth, accompanied by Clarence, Jasper Tudor, the earl of Oxford, and other Lancastrians. Meanwhile, Edward, as designed, had been drawn north to Doncaster; so Warwick was able to gather his friends unmolested. On October 6, however, Edward had returned to the neighbourhood of Nottingham, when he found that Warwick's brother, John Neville, marquess of Montagu, on whose fidelity he had placed absolute reliance, had declared against him, and that his army was honey-combed with treachery. Aghast at his position, Edward immediately fled, and taking with him his young brother Richard, and his friend Lord Hastings, and his brother-in-law, Lord Scales, he made the best of his way to Lynn, and thence taking ship, landed almost destitute in the dominions of his brother-in-law of Burgundy.

Edward's
flight to
Flanders.

The very day of Edward's flight Warwick reached London, which opened its gates with alacrity; and, immediately riding to the Tower, he released King Henry, and took him in state to St. Paul's, where the poor broken man was again placed on a throne and treated with royal honours. It was, however, made clear that the restoration was rather that of the Nevilles than of the Lancastrians, and that Warwick meant to keep the reins of government in his own hands. In short, in the view of the great kingmaker, the king was to reign but not to govern. Warwick himself was to be the king's lieutenant, captain of Calais, and admiral; his brother the bishop was to be chancellor; and other offices were handed over to the members or adherents of the Neville clan; an arrangement much facilitated by the fact that Margaret and her son had not yet left France. The duke of Clarence was relegated to the distant post of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The revolution thus accomplished was almost bloodless; the only man put to death being Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, a stout adherent of Edward, who combined a cruelty to political opponents, which gained him the curses of his countrymen, with a taste for learning and literature, which won him the applause of Europe. Warwick's first use of power was to negotiate the long-needed peace with France; and he prepared to act vigorously against Louis¹ enemy the duke of Burgundy.

The rapid success of Warwick, and the absence of Edward in the north, had made it impossible for Clarence to carry out his scheme of deserting at once to Edward; but he was no better satisfied than before, and kept himself in constant communication with his brother with a view to a counter-revolution. The duke of Burgundy

Discontent
of Clarence.

was no less anxious to put a stop to a state of affairs so favourable to his French rival; but his resources were far too much taxed by his own struggle with France to be able to give much aid. Accordingly, Edward found it needful to act for himself; and, following the example of Henry of Bolingbroke, he landed at Ravenspur on March 15, 1471, with a band of 1500 English exiles and 300 German hand-gun men, Edward lands at Ravenspur. lent him by the duke of Burgundy. For the defence of York-shire, Warwick relied on his brother Montagu, who lay at Pontefract Castle, and the young earl of Northumberland. Edward, however, acted with great subtlety. Giving out that he was come merely to claim the lands of his father, he mounted the Lancastrian badge, and actually swore at York • that he would never again take upon himself to be king of England.' Still, however, he marched steadily on; and—Montagu, having with quite unaccountable folly allowed him to pass Pontefract—made his way into the Midlands. In this way he turned Warwick's defensive position, and Edward's followers from the north and west were able to join him without opposition. On March 22, Edward reached Nottingham, where, finding himself at the head of five or six thousand men, he threw off all pretence and had himself proclaimed king. His position, however, was most perilous. Oxford was marching against him from Norfolk, Montagu was in his rear, Archbishop Neville was guarding London and King Henry, the kingmaker was at Warwick, and Clarence in Gloucestershire. But Edward's energy was now fully roused. With a sudden rush he drove Oxford back, and then hurried south to Leicester. Warwick was at Coventry, and a battle seemed imminent; but both sides were waiting for reinforcements, and Warwick knew that both Clarence and Montagu were not far off. Now was the moment for Clarence to carry out his long-arranged plan. On April 4 Clarence joins his brother. he joined Edward; Warwick, of course, was still more determined to wait for his brother, so Edward and Clarence marched on London. There George Neville was doing all he could to organise resistance, but utterly failed to rouse the citizens; and on April 10 Edward marched in unopposed. There he found Edward enters London. the queen and his eldest son, who had been born during his absence, and was joined by Bourchier, earl of Essex, and by so many others of the south-country Yorkists as raised his force to about 20,000 men.

His entry was made on the Thursday before Good Friday; and on Saturday he marched out to fight the earl of Warwick, who was advancing along the Watling Street with about an equal force. The Battle of Barnet. two armies met on the farther side of Barnet, on the rising ground by Monkton Hadley church; and after lying all night within

cannon-shot, Edward's troops made their attack in the early morning of April 14, while the view was still obscured by the mist. In Edward's army Richard, though only eighteen, led the right, Hastings the left; while Edward placed Clarence's men in the centre, and took the command of them himself. On the other side, Montagu and Oxford were on the right* Warwick and Exeter the left; Somerset had the centre—an arrangement which placed Yorkists and Lancastrians alternately along the line. Owing to the impossibility of seeing more than a few yards, great confusion ensued. Oxford and Montagu were victorious on their wing; Warwick was holding his own; Edward and Clarence were gaining ground, when some of Oxford's victorious men were mistaken for Yorkists, and shot at by their own side. The accident arose from Oxford's badge, 'the star with rays,' being mistaken for the 'sun with rays' of York; but the result was completely disastrous for Warwick. The cry of treachery ran down his motley line. No man would trust another, and no leader could make himself obeyed. The result was a complete rout, in which Warwick and Montagu were both slain.

Edward had been as fortunate as Warwick was unlucky. Margaret had been ready to sail for seventeen days, but had been kept back by a north wind, and it was only on the very day of Barnet that she was able to land at Weymouth. Had the wind changed a few days earlier, Margaret could easily have reached London before Edward, the result of the campaign might have been wholly different, or Edward's death in battle might have made the restoration permanent. As it was, the victory of Barnet left Edward free to deal with Margaret at his leisure. She had two courses open to her: one to fight her way to London and rescue Henry; the other, to slip across the Severn into Wales and prolong the war by the aid of the Welsh and northerners. Edward, therefore, marched to Windsor, ready for either event. After some hesitation Margaret, having been joined by Edmund duke of Somerset, his brother John Beaufort, and other fugitives from Barnet, decided for Wales; but before she reached the Severn, Edward was close on her track. During the whole war the towns had, as a rule, been Yorkist, and at the critical moment the citizens of Gloucester refused to allow Margaret to cross the river.

Thus disappointed, she was obliged to make for Tewkesbury, and there, before the crossing could be effected, Edward appeared. The Lancastrians ready to cross were posted in enclosures; and, when Edward attacked them in the early morning of May 4, his troops had a difficult task before them.' The van, however, was led with great spirit by young Richard of Gloucester; and the Yorkists at

Margaret
lands at
Weymouth.

Battle of
Tewkesbury.

length fought their way through the hedges and gained a decisive victory, Young Edward, who was a year younger than Gloucester, had fought gallantly ; but was killed in the flight, either fairly or in cold blood—probably the latter. Margaret was soon afterwards, captured. The victory was sullied by the treacherous slaughter of fifteen Lancastrians, including Somerset and his brother, who left sanctuary on Edward's express promise that their lives should be spared. From Tewkesbury, Edward returned to London; and on the day of his entry Henry died, not, as **Death of Henry.** the official account gave out, 'of pure displeasure and melancholy,' but by the hand of an assassin, and almost certainly under Gloucester's direction. So long as his son was living, Henry's life was of importance. Now that Edward was gone, the death of his father would destroy the last descendant of Henry iv. The line of the Beauforts, however, was not extinct; for though Henry, Edmund, and John had left no children, the family was still represented by Margaret and her little Bon Henry, now aged fourteen, whom his uncle Jasper at **Henry Tudor.** once hurried off to a safe asylum in Brittany. Warned by experience, Edward made every exertion to destroy his dangerous enemies. Tewkesbury was followed by a wholesale and treacherous slaughter of prisoners. George Neville was imprisoned at Guisnes ; John Holland, duke of Exeter, who had taken sanctuary, was seized and privately put to death. To others less dangerous he displayed a conciliatory temper, especially to John Morton and John Fortescue, lord chief-justice, both of whom had so far been consistent Lancastrians, but who in 1472 and 1473 were allowed to return to England.

So successful was Edward's policy, that in 1475 he found himself strong enough to leave England for a great expedition to France. On this the English placed great expectations. The **Expedition to France.** duke of Burgundy, who was to act in alliance with Edward, seemed to be at the height of his power; and it did not seem likely that Louis would be able to offer much resistance in the field to a warrior so celebrated as the English king. Accordingly, money was readily voted, and a host of English nobles and gentry impoverished themselves to provide a suitable outfit for the war. The event, however, was most disappointing. Before the English expedition could sail Charles had spent all his resources; exhausted his army in a fruitless siege of Neuss on the Rhine; and he arrived almost unattended at Edward's camp, to the huge disgust of his allies. Louis, on the other hand, was determined to leave no stone unturned to get rid of the English without fighting; for, as Philip de Comines, his counsellor, tells us. 'he would do anything in the world to get the king of England out of

France, except putting any of his towns into his possession ; rather than do that he would hazard all.' Accordingly, well gauging the character of his opponent, he industriously plied him with flattering messages and offers of favourable terms; and, when he at length won Edward to his will, he made a lavish distribution of money to the leading nobles, giving pensions to Dorset, Hastings, Howard, and others; and provided a magnificent supper for the rank and file. In the end the two kings met

Treaty of
Picquigny. on the bridge at Picquigny, on the Somme, and there mutually agreed on a seven years' truce; and that in consideration of the payment of 75,000 crowns down, and a pension of 60,000 a year, Edward was to return to England and release Margaret of Anjou; while Louis also promised that the dauphin, afterwards Charles VII., should marry Edward's eldest daughter Elizabeth, afterwards queen of Henry VII. Though a statesman might think that a pension of 50,000 crowns was a good exchange for a war which experience had shown could never be permanently successful, the nation as a whole was indignant at the peace, and decidedly sympathised with young Richard of Gloucester, who had expressed his disapproval of it without reserve.

To Edward, however, the discontent of his subjects, so long as it did not show itself in open rebellion, was tolerably indifferent; and of this, now that the main line of the Lancastrians was destroyed, there was no great danger. He would, no doubt, have been glad to get young Henry Tudor into his hands, but his negotiations for this purpose proved abortive. Edward, indeed, was afraid of trouble within

Troubles
with
Clarence. his own family. In 1471, sorely against Clarence's will, Richard had married Anne, the second daughter of Warwick, who had been betrothed to Edward of Lancaster, and, of course, claimed half the lands of Earl Richard as her dowry. The result was a succession of bitter disputes between the brothers; and Edward, who liked and trusted Gloucester, while he held a deservedly poor opinion of Clarence's trustworthiness, had had much ado to prevent them from coming to open blows. At length, in 1478, he found an opportunity to rid himself of anxiety on this score. In a parliament which met in January of that year, Edward himself charged his brother Clarence with treason, chiefly on the ground of his action in 1471, but also in general terms with a series of actions calculated to discredit his brother's rule. A bill of attainder passed through both houses,

Death of
Clarence. and on it Clarence was put to death, but by what method is uncertain. Some said he was drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine. Gloucester was present in parliament; but it is certain

that Edward himself took the prominent part in the proceedings against his brother, and that Gloucester openly, at any rate, opposed the king. After Clarence's death, English affairs during the remainder of the reign were unimportant. Gloucester distinguished himself by retaking Berwick, after it had been held by the Scots for twenty-one years, in the course of an invasion of Scotland, in which he took part as the ally of the duke of Albany, who had been banished by James i. In 1482, when Louis xi. violated the treaty of Picquigny by betrothing his son to Margaret of Austria, granddaughter of Charles the Bold, there was some talk 'of another French war, when the scene was wholly changed by the death of Edward, after a few days' illness, in April 1483, at the age of forty-two.

**Death of
Edward.**

On the whole, the condition of England improved under Edward iv. What England wanted at that stage of her social and political development was a strong and resolute government, capable of enforcing law and order, and securing the weak against the aggressions of the strong. Of this, so long as each great baron had at his call an army of household retainers, backed by a reserve of his neighbours, sworn to fight in his quarrel and to wear his badge, there could be no possibility; and the correspondence of the Paston family, happily preserved throughout this period, shows us how, even in Norfolk, then one of the most flourishing districts in England, honest men had much ado to come by and keep their own. Fortunately the prolonged agony of the civil wars, the rebellion of Warwick, and the expenses thrown on the fighting classes by the French campaign of 1475, materially diminished the power even of the surviving nobility to maintain the military retinues of their predecessors, and this by itself made for peace. Moreover, the fact that, except during the Towton campaign, the fighting had almost entirely been done by retainers, and that sacking of towns had been unknown, had allowed the mercantile and industrial classes to pursue their ordinary avocations almost undisturbed, while the cessation of foreign war had as usual been followed by a period of revived prosperity. Of these circumstances Edward iv. reaped the benefit; and though he personally showed little political insight, except so far as to cherish the goodwill of the middle classes as the best support for his crown, his reign may be taken as the starting-point of a new period, distinguished by the existence of a strong and popular monarchy, resting for its support on the middle classes, and bent on curbing by every means the overweening power of the turbulent nobles. Edward, however, was well aware that such a rule as his could not afford to make itself unpopular by heavy taxation, and

**Need for a
strong
Government.**

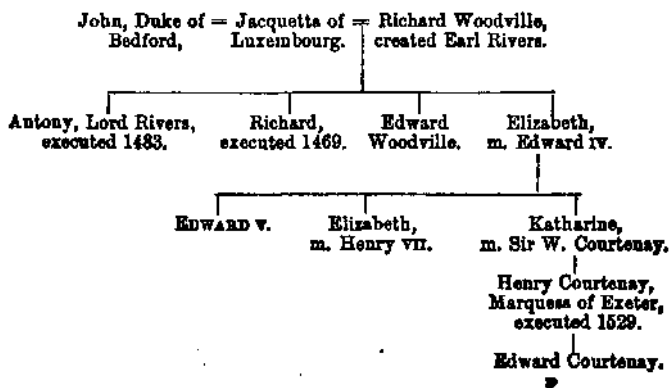
**Edward's
reliance on
the middle
classes.**

he therefore devised the ingenious expedient of asking his rich supporters to oblige him from time to time with gifts of money. These **Benevolences.** gifts were called benevolences, and, if legal in form, were in spirit a violation of the principle of taxation by parliamentary consent only ; but those who paid them had neither the wish nor the power to invoke the strict letter of the law, so long as the government, on the whole, gave them the peace and security which they considered it to be its chief function to afford. On the other hand, a system of this kind brought with it many ill and dangerous practices. For the **Torture.** first time in the history of England torture was systematically used as an engine for extorting confessions ; an odious spy system was set on foot, which undermined the very foundations of social trust and fidelity; while the rare meetings of parliament tended to **Espionage.** free the king from the salutary check of the organised public opinion of the community.

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Battle of Towton,	1461
Edward's Marriage,	1464
Battle of Barnet,	1471
Treaty of Picquigny,	1475

GENEALOGY OF THE WOODVILLES.



CHAPTER V

EDWARD V.: 1483

(9th April to June 25th.)

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

Scotland.
James III., d. 1488.

France.
Louis xi., d. 1483.
Charles VIII., d. **1494.**

Richard of Gloucester becomes Protector, and eventually Edward is dethroned.

EDWARD IV. died on April 9, and the council at once recognised his son Edward as his successor. The new king was only thirteen years of age, and, consequently, the government would have to be carried on in his name as in the early days of Richard II. and Henry vi. In England, such minorities had uniformly been unfortunate, and the truth of the proverb, 'Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child/had been forcibly impressed on the English mind by bitter experience; while the story of the evil that befell the mice, or the commonalty, when the cat, or king, was too young to keep down the rats, or nobility, which appears in Langland's *Vision of Piers Ploughman*, pointed out exactly the sort of evils which invariably followed the accession of a weak sovereign. It is little wonder, therefore, that the accession of so young a king excited more fear than hope in the nation, and prepared the way for his dethronement.

During Edward's lifetime his determined character and ruthless punishments had kept in check the elements of discord which existed at court; but no sooner was he dead than a struggle began for the possession of the reins of power, and the different sections at once stood out in clear relief. First of all in prominence, but not in real power, were the Woodvilles, who had been raised to position and wealth by Edward as a counterpoise to the Nevilles, but who were still regarded by old Lancastrians as renegades, and by the **ancient** nobility as upstarts. Their leaders were the queen, her brothers,

the accomplished Anthony, Earl Rivers, and Richard and Edward Woodville, and her sons by her first marriage, Thomas Grey, earl of Dorset,

Official
nobility.

and Sir Richard Grey. Next to them stood the lords of the council, who had been the friends and advisors of the late king, chief among whom were William, Lord Hastings, a tried warrior and honourable man, who held the post of captain of Calais; Thomas, Lord Stanley, third husband of Margaret Beaufort, who had great estates in Cheshire and Lancashire, steward of the household; and John Howard, created Lord Howard in 1470; and two clergymen, Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, and John Morton, bishop of Ely. Outside the official circle stood Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, grandson of the duke killed at Northampton. This young nobleman, as great-grandson of

The old
nobility.

Anne, daughter of Thomas duke of Gloucester, Bon of Edward HI., and also a Beaufort through his mother, was not only a prince of the blood royal, but also heir of half the lands of the Bohuns of Hereford, and wielded great influence in the Severn valley. Another representative of the ancient nobility was John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, son of the old minister of Henry vi., and husband of Edward's sister Elizabeth, by whom he had a numerous family, of which John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, was the eldest. Lastly Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, son of the earl who fell at Towton, who had been restored to his honours in 1469, and was now warden of the Scottish

Richard of
Gloucester.

marches. While aloof from all these, but most important, was Richard of Gloucester, the ablest son of Richard, duke of York, whose reputation as a warrior was known far and wide, and who was also esteemed in the north as an excellent administrator of civil affairs.

As to the ability of Richard of Gloucester there can be no two opinions; and in matters where his own personal interest was not concerned, he was not without kindness of heart; but where the interests either of his house or himself were at stake, he knew no scruples whatever. It cannot, however, be proved that he was the actual murderer of Henry vi., and if he took part in the death of Prince Edward at Tewkesbury, he was only one among others. His whole early training must have made him think lightly of the guilt of such crimes as these, which were so obviously for the advantage of his house. His personal courage was unquestioned, and though there is evidence that one of his shoulders was slightly higher than the other, it did not hinder his efficiency as a soldier. In private life his manner and address seem to have been exceptionally winning, and to have given no indication of the darker crimes with which he is credited. His successes in Scotland, and

excellent rule on the border, coupled with his patriotic disgust with the French peace, had caused him to stand high in the opinion of his countrymen.

At the moment of Edward's death, the queen, with her brothers Edward and Richard, and her son the earl of Dorset, and the lords of the council, were in London ; Earl Rivers and Sir Richard Grey were at Ludlow, in attendance on the Prince of Wales ; ^{Intrigues for possession of King.} Buckingham was on his estates ; and Gloucester in Yorkshire. The differences between the lords of the council and the Woodvilles at once showed themselves, for the queen claimed the guardianship of the young king, while Hastings, supported by Buckingham, and in accordance, it is believed, with Edward IV.'s own intentions, wished to fall back on the precedent of 1422, and to make Gloucester protector. At the same time the council positively forbade the Woodvilles to send an escort of more than 2000 men to conduct the king to London. Meanwhile, Gloucester was marching south, and at Northampton, on April 29, found himself within ten miles of the king, who, under the escort of Rivers and Richard Grey, had left Ludlow on the 24th and had just passed through Northampton to Stony Stratford. The same evening Rivers and Grey were sent back by the young king to convey his greetings to Gloucester, and Buckingham also joined the party. The four passed the evening together, but next morning Rivers and Grey were seized, and sent under guard to the north ; and the two dukes, taking the little king with them, marched forward to London. They were preceded, however, by the news of the arrest of Rivers and Grey ; and on hearing it, the queen at once took sanctuary at Westminster, accompanied by her second son, Richard, a boy of eleven, and her five daughters, the eldest of whom was Elizabeth, now aged about eighteen. Dorset and Edward Woodville, who had hitherto been engaged in raising an armed force, took to flight. In this way the Woodville party was shattered before the king reached London ; and on his arrival there, Hastings and the council declared Richard, duke of Gloucester, protector. So far, Richard's conduct seems to have met with general approval, and he was very well received by the citizens. Little sympathy was felt for the fallen Woodvilles.

Richard assumed the protectorate on May 4. The coronation was fixed for June 22, and a parliament was summoned for June 26. The interval was used by Richard of Gloucester to advance his plans a step further. Having gained the goodwill of ^{Richard unites with Buckingham.} Buckingham, and brought up a sufficient number of their retainers to put down any resistance, they proceeded to attack the lords

of the council. On June 13, at a council meeting in the Tower, Gloucester suddenly brought against Hastings an accusation of plotting with the Woodvilles—which may very well have been true—and insisted on his immediate execution, while Rotherham and Morton were thrown into prison. At the same time, Richard subjected to public disgrace Jane Shore, Hastings' mistress, formerly mistress of Edward iv., who, it is probable, had acted as intermediary between Hastings and the Woodvilles. On the 16th, Gloucester gained a further point by employing the blandishments of the aged time-server, Cardinal Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, to induce the queen to allow her son Richard to join his brother in the Tower. Everything being now ready, and all serious opponents dead or in prison, the coronation and parliament were put off, and a sermon was preached at St. Paul's Cross by Dr. Shaw, a brother of the lord mayor, in which the theory was advanced that Edward iv.'s marriage with Elizabeth Woodville was illegal in consequence of a pre-contract to Lady Eleanor Butler; that the right of Clarence's children was barred by their father's attainder; and, therefore, that the true right to the crown lay in the duke of Gloucester. This startling announcement

Richard
claims the
throne.

—which may or may not be really true—failed to win the applause of the congregation; but two days later the duke of Buckingham repeated the same arguments in a speech to the citizens at the Guildhall, some expressions of applause emanating from the followers of the two dukes were taken for consent, and next day Gloucester, no doubt by pre-arrangement, was waited on by Buckingham at the head of *many and diverse lords, spiritual and temporal, and other nobles and notable persons of the commons.' They asked him to take the crown ; and, with some show of surprise and hesitation, he graciously consented. On or about the same day Rivers and Richard Grey were publicly put to death at Pontefract; and on the 26th Richard went to Westminster Hall, seated himself, as Edward had done before Towton, in the marble chair, and declared his right to rule as an hereditary and elected king. The reign of Edward v. was reckoned as having closed on June 25.

End of
Edward's
reign.

CHAPTER VI

RICHARD III. : 1483-1485

Born 1452; married, 1473, Anne Neville.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Arragon and Castile.</i>
James III., d. 1488.	Louis xi., d. 1483.	Ferdinand and Isabella.
	Charles VIII., d. 1408.	d. 1516. d. 1504.

Murder of the Princes—Morton's Conspiracy—Benevolences condemned—
Conspiracy of Henry Tudor—Bosworth.

THOUGH the revolution which placed Richard on the throne was the work of a small clique, it does not appear to have excited any great indignation among the people at large. Edward v. was too young and too little known to excite personal enthusiasm ; acceptance and the advantages of avoiding a long minority, and substituting for it the rule of a distinguished soldier and administrator, were too obvious to be overlooked by practical men. Of the importance of laying stress on his claims to support on this ground Richard was perfectly aware ; and throughout his short reign did all in his power to exhibit himself as a dispenser of justice, and the stern upholder of public morality.

The first care of the new sovereign was to reward his followers, Buckingham¹ was made constable, and received shortly afterwards the

* GENEALOGY OF THE STAFFORDS.

Edmund, — Anne, daughter of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, and
fifth Earl of granddaughter of Edward III
Stafford,

Humphrey,
created Duke of Buckingham,
killed at Northampton, 1460.

Humphrey, Earl of Stafford,
killed at St. Albans, 1455.

Henry, Duke of Buckingham,
beheaded 1483.

Edward, Duke of Buckingham
beheaded 1521.

Sir Henry Stafford, m. Margaret,
Countess of Richmond,
mother of Henry VII
by her first
husband.

chief part of that moiety of the lands of the Bohuns which had passed to the descendants of Henry IV. (see page 279). Stanley was retained in his office of lord steward. Lord Howard was advanced to the rank of duke of Norfolk, and became earl marshal. **Richard's first measures.** Richard's next step was to make a progress through that part of the country where he was less known, with a view to extending the favourable impression of himself which undoubtedly existed in the north. Setting out from London, he and his queen visited Oxford, Woodstock, Gloucester, Worcester, and Warwick; and then turning north made their way by Leicester, Nottingham, and Pontefract to York, where he gratified his friends by again going through the ceremony of coronation on September 8. This journey produced a very favourable impression, especially the king's refusal of money gifts offered by the citizens.

. During this progress, however, a crime is believed to have been committed, which in the end lost Richard his crown. Ever since his deposition, Edward and his brother Richard had disappeared from the public gaze within the walls of the Tower; but a rumour now spread that they had been put to death, and though the truth of the report could not be proved, for many years the whole subject was involved in a mystery which has not yet been wholly dispelled. It is certain, however, that early in the autumn of 1483, a rumour asserted that they had been murdered, and that this report was taken as true; **but** no details were known for nearly twenty years, when, in 1502, Sir James Tyrrel confessed that, during the king's progress, he had been employed with two of his servants, Forest and Dighton, to strangle the princes and bury them secretly in the Tower. This confession was made **when** Forest was dead and Tyrrel was under sentence of death for another crime; but it was supported by the evidence of Dighton, and in **1674** received further confirmation by the finding of two skeletons corresponding to the size of the two princes.

According to Tyrrell story, the murder took place about the middle of August **1483**; but before that date a widespread conspiracy for dethroning Richard was on foot. The originator of this was John **Morton's Conspiracy.** Morton, bishop of Ely. He had been thrown into the Tower by Gloucester, as a friend of Hastings, but had been subsequently entrusted to the care of Buckingham, by whom he had been taken to **Brecknock** Castle. **Morton had** been a Lancastrian **as long as that dynasty seemed** to have a chance of success, but made his peace with Edward IV. after Tewkesbury. He was, however, no friend to Richard; and the ingenious **prelate so far won the confidence of his gaoler**

that he induced Buckingham to enter into a conspiracy for "his overthrow. The first design of Morton and Buckingham was to restore Edward v.; but the news of his death changed their plans, and Morton then induced the duke to enter into an entirely new political combination, based on a marriage between Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, and Elizabeth of York, who, if her brothers were dead, had become the representative of the house of York. Accordingly, negotiations were opened between Margaret Beaufort, now Lady Stanley and the queen-dowager for the marriage of their children. Henry also gave his consent, and aided by Edward Woodville, set about organising an expedition in Brittany, which was to land on October 18, on which date Buckingham and Morton were to be ready to rise in England. Eventually it was settled that simultaneous outbreaks were to occur on that day at Maidstone, Newbury, Salisbury, and Exeter, so that Richard would be distracted by the number of his enemies; while Buckingham and his Welsh followers were to cross the Severn in force and give coherence to the movement.

The scheme was well planned ; but sufficient allowance was not made for the uncertainty of the weather, and an inopportune storm of wind and rain wrecked the whole. So violent was the gale in the Channel, that Richmond's fleet was dispersed, and when he himself at length reached Poole with a single ship, he found the coast guarded, while a Severn flood, higher than had been known for years, and long remembered as 'Buckingham's great water,' rendered all the fords impassable; and since, just as at Tewkesbury, the bridges were either destroyed, or held for the Yorkists, Buckingham was quite unable to cross, and his soldiers, pinched for subsistence, rapidly deserted. The English rising, thus unsupported, came of course to nothing. Thus baffled, the leaders took refuge in disguise and flight. Morton had the good fortune to reach Flanders ; but Buckingham was betrayed by a retainer he trusted, named Ralph Banaster, and was promptly put to death at Salisbury. His office of lord high constable was conferred on Lord Stanley.

Scheme
fails.

Buckingham's
flight.

Execution of
Buckingham,

Encouraged by his good luck, Richard now thought himself secure, and after celebrating Christmas with great pomp, assembled a parliament in January 1484, of which Sir William Catesby, who had betrayed Hastings to Richard, was chosen speaker. This body confirmed the petition by which Richard had been requested to **assume the crown**, and embodied it in an Act of Parliament. An act of attainder was passed against the late duke of Buckingham, Richmond,

Meeting of
Parliament.

Pembroke, Dorset, Morton, and ninety-five others. On the other hand a variety of useful enactments were carried, the most important of which was a condemnation of benevolences as 'new and unlawful inventions.'

Condemnation of Benevolences.

An oath was also taken by the members to secure the succession of Richard's only child Edward, Prince of Wales, born in 1476. Unluckily for Richard, the Prince of

Wales died in April the same year, leaving him childless; and he then recognised as his successors, first Clarence's son, Edward, Plantagenet, and afterwards John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, the son of his eldest sister.¹

Death of Richard's son.

The greater part of the year 1484, however, was taken up by Richard's efforts to counteract the plans of Richmond. With great adroitness he made friends with the duke of Brittany by promising to defend him against the king of France; and he also threw over his alliance with the duke of Albany, and became friendly with king James III. An embassy also was sent to the pope, promising 'that filial and catholic obedience which was of old due and accustomed to be paid by the kings of England to the Roman pontiffs,' a proceeding very much on the lines of those of King John. These measures had some success, and in particular Landois, the duke of Brittany's minister, was induced to consent to a plan for seizing Richmond and handing him over to Richard. Richmond, however, was warned, and escaping in disguise, received a good reception in France j

Precautions against Henry Tudor.

¹ THE DE LA POLES.

William de la Pole of Kingston-upon-Hull.

**Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk,
minister of Richard II., d. 1388.**

**Michael, second Earl,
restored to his earldom in 1399,
died at Harfleur, 1415.**

**Michael, third Earl,
killed at Agincourt, 1415.**

**William, first Duke of Suffolk,
minister of Henry VI., impeached
and murdered, 1450.**

**John, second Duke of Suffolk, =f Elizabeth, sister of Edward 17.
d. 1491.**

**John, Earl of Lincoln, killed Edmund, third Duke of Richard de la Pole,
at Stoke, 1487. Suffolk, surrendered title of Duke and that of Earl,
1493, executed 1513. killed at Pavia,
1525.**

while the duke of Brittany provided funds for the other English exiles to join him in his new retreat.

Meanwhile, Richmond's position had been strengthened in other ways. No sooner had he got back from his first expedition to England, than he summoned a meeting in Brittany of Dorset, Sir Edward Woodville, Edward Poynings, and his other friends, at which he swore to marry Elizabeth of York, and they to be true to him and to each other, while a new expedition to England was unanimously resolved upon. For this purpose his expulsion from Brittany was no disadvantage, for France could give more effective assistance, and was not so likely to be coerced into deserting him as a small duchy might have been.

Richard's apprehensions, therefore, in no way diminished, and he went steadily on with his preparations ; gave great attention to the fleet, and organised a system of horsemen, posted twenty miles apart, on all the chief roads, by which letters could be sent; two hundred miles in two days. Moreover, in the course of 1484, Richard contrived to come to terms with the queen-dowager, and when his wife Anne died in March 1485, he proposed to checkmate Richmond's scheme by marrying Elizabeth himself, and had probably made some overtures for the purpose during the lingering illness of his late wife. More strange still, there is some evidence to show that Elizabeth herself was not averse to the plan, and her time-serving mother certainly made a show of considering it. When, however, the matter came to the ears of Richard's own counsellors, Sir Richard Ratcliffe and Sir William Catesby, they told him plainly that such a marriage would outrage the feelings of the country, and must not be thought of. Richard, therefore, gave it up ; and, summoning before him the lord mayor of London and a number of aldermen, solemnly assured them that such a step had never even been contemplated.

Richard's
prepara-
tions.

Proposal to
marry
Elizabeth.

By this time Richmond was nearly ready. With the assistance of the ministers of Charles VIII. he had collected a small fleet at the mouth of the Seine, and was at the head of a small force including all his former friends, except Dorset, whom his mother's influence had withdrawn ; also Fox, an able priest, who was destined to play a great part in England; and, above all, John de Vere, earl of Oxford, who had escaped from his prison at Hammes, and brought many soldiers with him.

Henry's
adherents.

These preparations filled Richard with natural alarm; and when he heard that Richmond was at Harfleur, and ready to sail, he issued a proclamation declaring him to be illegitimate, both on the side of his father

and his mother, and, therefore, without claim to the crown, and accused him and his followers generally of every kind of vice and treachery, and especially of an intention to restore Calais to the French in payment for their present assistance. To furnish himself with supplies he called on his richest supporters to lend him money, promising to repay all in a year and a half; and, stationing himself at Nottingham, sent orders to the nobility and gentry to join him in force on the first news of the landing of Richmond. So numerous, however, were the defections which had recently taken place, that the king was filled with constant apprehensions of treachery; and he particularly dis-trusted Lord Stanley and his brother, Sir William Stanley, chamberlain of Wales. As husband of Margaret, Stanley might be expected to sympathise with Richmond, but he was too acute a politician, and had too much at stake, to associate himself prematurely with what might be the losing side. He therefore made no sign, and he and his brother were entrusted with the general defence of North Wales, Cheshire and Lancashire.

Meanwhile, Henry had sailed from Harfleur on August 1, and reached Milford Haven on August 7. Landing there, he found himself in the midst of his own people; and though he brought with him but 2000 men, the accessions of Welshmen who were irawn to his standard by the presence of Jasper Tudor soon raised his numbers. Passing slowly through central Wales, he reached Shrewsbury, and there passed the line of the Severn; while Sir William Stanley, so far from crushing him, maintained an attitude of neutrality. Alarmed at this, Richard summoned Stanley to Nottingham. Stanley, however, contented himself with sending his son George, Lord Strange, whom Richard retained as a hostage for the good conduct of his father. Consequently the Stanleys were compelled to pretend fidelity; but though they marched on Nottingham, they kept at a respectful distance from Richmond's army. In this way Richmond's force, followed by the Stanleys, advanced through Lichfield and Atherstone, while Richard moved from Nottingham to Leicester. There the armies were within striking distance, and at a secret interview with the Stanleys, Henry was assured of their support in the coming battle.

Thus encouraged, he determined with his inferior force of 5000 men to attack Richard. The night before the battle Henry's small army was camped about four miles from that of Richard, which was composed of about twice the number; but besides the king's and Richmond's troops, there were also in the field 5000 men under Lord Santley, posted near the king and ostensibly on his side, and

3000 under Sir William Stanley, who was somewhat nearer to Richmond but on his other flank. Richard had with him the Duke of Norfolk^ and his son Lord Surrey, and the Earl of Northumberland, besides Ratcliffe, Catesby, Francis, Lord Lovel, Sir James Tyrrel, Sir Robert Brackenbury, and other faithful followers.

In the morning the two main armies encountered one another on Redmoor Plain, about three miles south-east of Market Bosworth. Henry had at first the better position, being drawn up between a morass and a stream ; but he advanced to the attack, and as ^{Battle of Bosworth.} soon as he was clear of the morass Richard ordered his men to fall on. The advantage seemed all on his side, when Lord Stanley threw off his disguise and advanced to aid Lord Oxford, while Sir William hurried up to save Richmond, who was being attacked by Richard in person with such violence that for a moment his followers despaired of his safety. At the same time the earl of Northumberland, as was likely in one of a Lancastrian house, held his followers aloof. Norfolk was killed; Surrey taken prisoner; and the whole brunt of the attack fell on the king. Scorning to fly, Richard turned fiercely ^{Death of Richard.} to bay ; but at length, pierced with many wounds, he fell dead, and the crown which he had worn in the field was placed by Sir William Stanley on the head of his rival.

CHIEF DATES.

Murder of the Princes,
Buckingham's Rebellion,

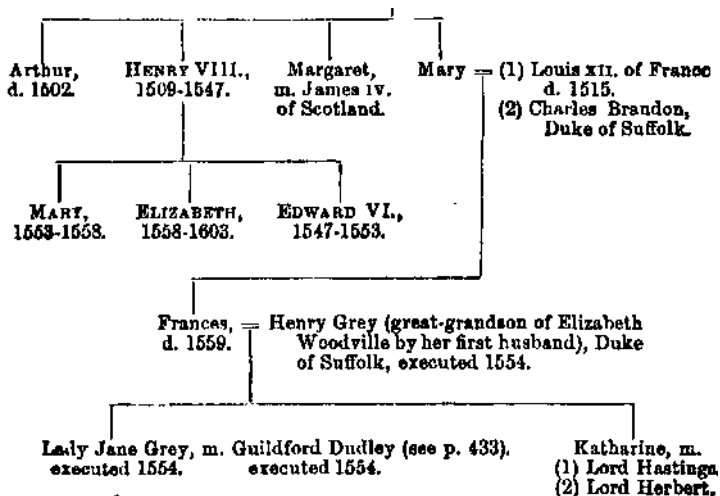
A.D.
1483
1488

Book VI

THE HOUSE OF TUDOR

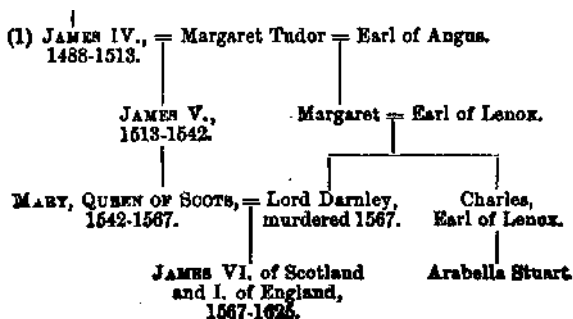
XIV.—THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.

HRNRY VII. 1485-1509. = Elizabeth of York.
 great - great - grandson daughter of
 of John of Gaunt, by Edward iv.
 his mother, Margaret
 Beaufort.



XV.—THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND, 1460-1603.

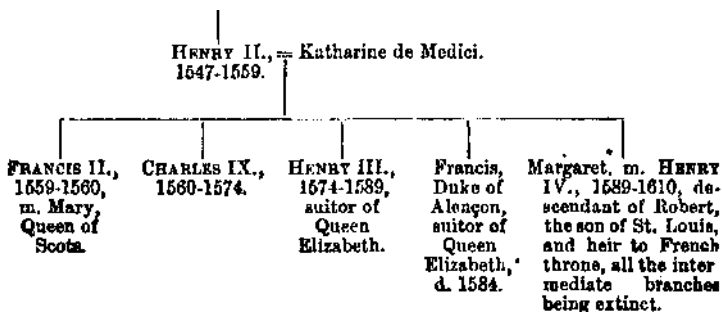
JAMES III., 1460-1488.



XVI.—THE KINGS OF FRANCE, 1483-1603.

CHARLES VIII., 1483-1498, great-grandson of Charles VI.
Succeeded by Louis XII., 1498-1515, grandson of Louis, Duke of Orleans,
brother of Charles vi.

Claude— FRANCIS I., 1515-1547, great-grandson of Louis,
Duke of Orleans, brother of Charles vi!



CHAPTEE I

HENRY VII: 1485-1509

Born 1456 ; married, 1486, Elizabeth of York.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

Prance.
Charles VIII., d. 1498.
Louis XII., d. 1515.

Scotland.
James m., d. 1488.
James iv., d. 1513.

Spain,
Ferdinand (d. 1516)
and Isabella.

Policy of Henry VII.—Rebellion of Simnel and Perkin—Ireland—Strengthening of the Crown—Foreign Affairs.

HENRY TUDOR assumed the position of king on the field of Bosworth ; **and**, after inarching by easy stages to London, entered the capital in royal state on September 3, the second Saturday after the battle. Any formal statement of his claims would have been

Henry assumes the position of

inconvenient and dangerous, so Henry merely appealed to the silent logic of accomplished facts, arranged for his coronation on October 30, and sent out writs as king for the election of

a parliament. When this met on November 7, Henry **His first Parliament.** informed the members in vague terms that he held the crown by just right of inheritance, and by the judgment of God as shown on the field of battle. They in the same spirit declared, by act of parliament, 'that the inheritance of the crowns of England and France be, rest, remain, and abide in the person of our now sovereign lord, King Henry the Seventh, and in the heirs of his body.'¹ At the same time Richard in. was declared to have been an usurper, and those who fought for him at Bosworth traitors.

No executions, however, followed, for it was Henry's policy, to put a stop to the slaughters and executions which had been lately **the** rule, and a general pardon soon restored confidence. So far nothing had been publicly said about Henry's promise to marry **the** Lady Elizabeth, on which

Marriage with Elisabeth.

his Yorkist supporters had relied; but at the close of the session both houses joined in a request that **Henry would** 'deign' to marry her, and to this he consented **at** once.

The marriage took place in **January 1486.; and as a son, Arthur,** the.

first of many children, was born the same year, the union between the two houses, the crafty device of Bishop Morton, was secured* Henry, however, was determined to rest his position on his own claims, and not on those of his wife; so, though treated kindly in private, the queen was for some time kept in the background.

The character of Henry has been already shown by his actions. He was cool, wary, and persevering, a fair soldier, and a born diplomatist. There was also something about him which distinguishes him from former kings, and makes him well fitted to be the first modern sovereign of England. His portraits show him to have been eminently a thinker and reasoner, and his features have an expression which shows what was meant by saying that his face had in it somewhat of the 'ecclesiastic.'¹ His queen, on the other hand, was of the true Yorkist type, full-faced and rather voluptuous, as became the daughter of Edward iv.

As befitted his character, Henry, throughout his reign, trusted to diplomacy rather than force; and though, when it was necessary, he showed no want of ability for warfare, preferred to outwit his enemies rather than meet them in the open field. The two main objects of his policy were, first, to secure the throne to himself and his family by rooting out all rivals; and, secondly, to strengthen the power of the crown itself by curtailing that of the nobility; and to these he afterwards added a third, viz. that of taking an active part in European politics, and strengthening himself by matrimonial alliances. These three objects Henry handed down as of cardinal value to his successors, and the circumstances of the period were such that with some variations they form the basis of the policy of all the Tudors. Such a policy, however, could only be attempted by popular sovereigns, for in the absence of a standing army the king, in time of rebellion, could rely only upon the goodwill of law-abiding citizens. It, therefore, became the policy of Henry and his successors to court the favour of the gentry and middle classes, by rigidly enforcing the laws for the security of life and property. On the one hand, they put down the retainers of the great nobles, whose existence had made civil war possible; and on the other, they dealt sternly with all forms of theft and violence. In this way a sense of security was created which had hitherto been unknown. Men ceased to wear arms as a matter of course, and the industrial classes, profiting by the increased facilities for trade, gave a steady support to the government.

In pursuance, therefore, of a consistent scheme, Henry's first care was to scourge the persons of his rivals. Richard III. had, at different times

named as his heir Edward Plantagenet, eldest son of the duke of Clarence, **who**, on the death of his grandmother, would be **earl** of Warwick, and **Imprison-** John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, eldest son of his sister **ment of** Elizabeth and John de la Pole, earl of Suffolk. Of these **Edward** **Plantagenet.** Edward Plantagenet was brought from Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire and placed in the Tower; but Lincoln was permitted to make his peace with the king, and remained at court. These precautions, **however**, did not prevent rebellions. In 1480, during a tour which **Henry** made in the north, outbreaks occurred in Worcestershire and

Yorkshire, and Henry narrowly escaped capture by the Yorkshire insurgents under Lord Lovel. The same year Richard Simon, a priest, trained a lad named Lambert Simnel to personate Edward Plantagenet. The impostor made his appearance in

Simnel's Ireland, where the house of York had always been popular, **Rebellion.** and was crowned without opposition; and his story gained additional credence when Lincoln suddenly left the court and fled to Flanders, spreading a report that he had himself aided Edward to escape, and had spoken with him on the way to Ireland. In Flanders he met Lovel, and received the best assistance of Margaret, the widow of Charles the Bold. With her aid, a band of 2000 trained Germans was hired under Martin Schwarz, and the expedition reached Ireland in May 1487,

Picking up Simnel and an Irish contingent, Lincoln crossed into England, and landing at Bardsea-in-Furness, made his way into York-

Battle of shire. There, however, they met with little favour; and, **Stoke.** turning southward, they encountered Henry himself at Stoke-upon-Trent, near Newark, and were routed, after a battle far more bloody than that of Bosworth Field. Lincoln and Schwarz fell with many of their followers; Lovel disappeared; Simnel and Simon were taken prisoners. The latter was hanged, the former was made a scullion in the royal kitchen. Had the rebellion been successful, in all probability Lincoln

would have made himself king. As it was, the overthrow of such a formidable force added to Henry's reputation; but he recognised the advisability of gratifying the Yorkists by carrying out the long-delayed coronation of the queen.

For five years the Yorkists remained quiet; but in 1492 there **appeared in Ireland an** impostor whose real name was soon ascertained to be **Perkin's** Perkin Osbeck or Warbeck, but who gave out that he was **Conspiracy.** really Richard, duke of York, who had escaped from **the** **Tower when** his elder brother was murdered. The imposture took its **rise in Ireland**, and seems **to have been** almost forced **on** Perkin **by** the **people of Cork**, who, seeing a well-dressed and unknown stranger in theis

streets, insisted that he must be a prince of some kind, and Perkin fell in with their whim. Though Perkin's origin was soon ascertained, his imposture gave Henry considerable trouble, because he was unable to prove the death of the princes, about whose fate nothing certain was known till after Perkin's conspiracy. From Ireland, Perkin went to France in September 1491, and was well received by Charles vi., with whom Henry was then at variance; and when the conclusion of a peace compelled him to leave France, he passed into Flanders, where he was well received by Margaret of York, who pretended to recognise him as her nephew. For three years he remained with her; but Henry knowing that the real policy of Flanders was dictated by the burghers, whose trade depended on English wool, interdicted all commerce with Flemish ports, and the burghers were soon glad, through their young duke, Philip the Handsome, to enter into a commercial treaty with England, and as the price of the expulsion of Perkin obtained from Henry commercial advantages, which placed their trade on an excellent footing, This treaty is known as the *magnus intercursus*, or great * *Magnus Intercursus*.' From Flanders, after an abortive attempt to land in Kent, Perkin returned to Ireland and thence on to Scotland, where he was kindly received by James iv., who was glad of an opportunity to make his power felt by Henry. Accordingly, whether James really believed in Perkin or not, he kept him in Scotland about two years, and even allowed him to marry Katharine Gordon, a relative of his own. Once, indeed, James and Perkin crossed the border, but the harrying of Northumberland peasants seems to have been distasteful to Perkin, and the expedition soon returned. At last James grew tired of his guest, so Perkin and his wife sailed for Cork under the escort of the celebrated seamen, Andrew and Robert Barton. In Ireland he found small assistance, for the country was settling down under Henry's wise rule; but while there he heard of events in Cornwall which led him to think that something might be effected there.

Before Perkin left Flanders, however, Henry decided to show by a terrible example that he would brook no playing fast and loose with loyalty. Evidence was forthcoming that his chamberlain, Sir William Stanley, who had placed the crown on his head at Bosworth, had been repeating the double-dealing which had deceived Richard iii. Henry had him promptly arrested, tried, and put to death; and this fearful proof that no nearness to the throne could secure immunity for disaffection, put a stop to Perkin's hope of creating an English party in his favour.

In 1497, to defend the northern counties against another inroad of the Scots, parliament granted a subsidy of £120,000, and a loan of £40,000 was also collected. These imposts aroused the wrath of the Cornish Rebellion. the Cornish men, who grumbled at having to pay so much for 'a little stir of the Scots soon blown over.'¹ Their discontent took form under Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, and Michael Joseph, a Bodmin blacksmith, and under their lead a strong body of insurgents set out to march on London. At Wells they were joined by Lord Audley, under whom they marched to Kent. They reached Blackheath, but were there attacked by an overwhelming force of horse, foot, and artillery under Henry in person. The leaders were put to death, but their followers were treated with such lenity that some thought Henry was too frightened to be severe, and sent over to Perkin to tell him that if he would land in Cornwall he would find plenty of supporters. Perkin accordingly landed at Whitsand Bay, and was joined by 3000 followers. With them he made an unsuccessful attempt upon Exeter, and then passed on to Taunton; but by that time all Henry's friends were in arms, and Perkin, seeing that all hope of raising a serious insurrection had vanished, left his army, and took sanctuary in the Abbey of Beaulieu. On promise of his life he soon surrendered, and Henry, who was glad to get a full confession of his imposture, ordered him to be paraded through the streets of London, and then placed in security. Katharine, his wife, was made an attendant on the queen. On the flight of their leader, Perkin's followers at once submitted. A few were hanged; but Henry punished most of them by levying fines in proportion to their property, thus showing the western men that he was not afraid of exacting their money. After his disgrace, Warbeck was retained about the court, but a futile attempt to escape led to his being imprisoned in the Tower. There he was able to communicate with his unlucky fellow-prisoner, the earl of Warwick, and in 1499 the two formed a plan to escape. Detection followed. The affair, mainly to get rid of Warwick, was treated as treason, and that ill-fated nobleman was beheaded on Tower Hill at the age of twenty-four, fourteen years of which he had passed in confinement. Perkin was hanged at Tyburn.

The death of Warwick destroyed the last Yorkist representative in the male line; but Henry was still apprehensive of danger from the younger brothers of the earl of Lincoln—Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and his brother Richard—and in 1601 they escaped to the continent. In connection with this, Sir James

Cornish
Rebellion.

Battle of
Blackheath.

Perkin lands
in Cornwall.

Perkin's
imprison-
ment and
execution.

The De la
Poles.

Tyrrel, governor of Guisnes, was accused and convicted of treason, and it was between his sentence and his death that he made the confession of his share in the murder of the little princes, on which all subsequent versions of that incident are based. Suffolk remained abroad till 1506, when he was surrendered to Henry by Philip, duke of Burgundy, but on condition that his life was spared. Henry kept his promise to the letter; but in 1513 Suffolk was put to death by Henry viii. His brother, Richard de la Pole, succeeded him as earl, and lived on the continent till his death at the battle of Pavia in 1525. Warwick's only sister Margaret, countess of Salisbury, married Sir Richard Pole, and became the mother of a family which played an important part in subsequent events.

The support which both Simnel and Perkin had received in Ireland attracted Henry's attention to the condition of this country, where the people were so prone to revolt, that as Henry remarked ^{Condition of Ireland.} to some of them, 'My masters of Ireland, ye will crown apes for kings.' The state of Ireland at his accession was not materially different from what it had been at any time since the so-called conquest. The country was parcelled out among great chiefs, some of whom, like the O'Neals and O'Briens, were at the head of native clans; others, like the Geraldines of Kildare, the Bourkes of Connaught, and the Butlers of Ormond, were representatives of great Norman families. The usual English machinery of government had been introduced, and Ireland had its parliament, council, courts of king's bench and common pleas, chancellor, justiciar, and treasurer; but these officials had no authority worth mentioning outside the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin and the counties of Kildare, Dublin, Meath, and Louth, which were known as the Pale; for the Norman lords were palatines in their own districts, and the Irish clans were ruled according to their own laws*. In this way a state of society grew up much more analogous to the feudalism of France and Germany than anything that had ever existed in England. The chief efforts of the government were directed to preventing the Norman settlers from relapsing into the barbarism of the native Irish, and becoming, as was said, 'more Irish than the Irish themselves.' Two typical statutes display the state of affairs. In 1367 was passed the statute of Kilkenny, which made it high treason for an English settler to adopt Irish customs, to speak the Irish tongue, or to marry an Irish woman. In 1465 parliament declared it lawful for any freeman to kill a thief, or inspected thief, and deliver his head to the government. In such a country as this the very rudiments of political and social well-being were wanting, and Henry vii. set himself seriously to deal with it

For some years, however, he found it practically impossible to get rid of the earl of Kildare, who, in spite of manifold treasons, was so powerful that it was impossible to oust him from his post of deputy. 'All Ireland,' it was said, 'could not rule him.' So perforce, as Henry himself put it, 'he had to rule all Ireland.' At length, however, Henry felt himself strong enough to act, and in 1494 he gave the post of deputy to his trusted friend Sir Edward Poynings, who had been his companion in exile. Poynings arrested Kildare, and summoned a parliament at Drogheda, in which was passed a series of memorable statutes known as the Poynings Acts.

These statutes dealt with many matters, but the chief enactments were three: first, that no parliament should be summoned in Ireland without the consent of the king of England and his council; second, that no bill could be considered by an Irish parliament unless it had previously been approved by the English council; and third, that all laws recently passed by the English parliament should be of binding force in Ireland. These enactments were designed to make a fresh start in the government of Ireland. They were aimed at controlling the great English settlers, and hardly touched the native Irish at all. Moreover, although they indicate a state of parliamentary government very far removed from ideal, the actual state of the English parliament was not materially different from that which existed in Ireland, for under Henry VII. the real initiative of legislation lay with the king and his council.

During all his dealings with the difficulties created by pretenders, Henry had steadily been pursuing his design to strengthen the power of the crown. In this, his right-hand man was John Morton. Morton, formerly master of the rolls and bishop of Ely, whom he had advanced, on the death of Archbishop Bourchier, to be archbishop of Canterbury. Morton was a man of great experience and ability, a representative of the official ecclesiastic of his time, who devoted himself heart and soul to the king's business; and, till his death in 1500, he must be regarded as the king's leading minister and most trusted adviser in all constitutional matters. Henry saw clearly that the one real guarantee of order was the abolition of retainers; and, having obtained from Parliament an enactment making it penal to grant liveries or enter into 'engagements of maintenance,' he set himself to devise a means to make this statute a reality instead of the dead letter which all its predecessors had been.

With this end in view he devised a new court which should be Independent of popular control, and which should not be liable to failures

of justice, either through the goodwill of jurymen to the offender, or their intimidation or corruption by some powerful or wealthy magnate. The new court was constituted by act of parliament, and was composed of the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the keeper of the privy seal, a bishop, a lord of the council, and the two chief justices. Their orders were to deal with such offences as livery and maintenance, jury packing, inciting to riot, and other offences difficult to deal with in the ordinary courts. Of these, livery and maintenance were the chief. Livery is a word whose meaning is now restricted to the clothes which a nobleman or gentleman gives his servants; but in its original sense it included the allowances of food which in every mediaeval household were measured out to all its members. The political signification of the word implied the practice of the magnates of keeping in their household as large and ostentatious a retinue as their wealth permitted, and using it either to fight their quarrels in war or to support their interests in peace, not always by peaceful means. Maintenance was the practice of great men taking up the quarrels of poor ones, as was done by John of Gaunt in the case of Wyclif, and by appearing at their side, or filling the court with men wearing their livery, trying to intimidate judge and jury into giving a false decision. Such a system was liable to the grossest abuse, maintainor and maintained even going shares in dividing property so wrongfully obtained; and as the two practices were at the very root of the power possessed by the fifteenth century barons, Henry was determined to put them utterly down. The method of the court was astute; for on conviction it fined the culprit so severely as to put it out of his power to offend again. Even Henry's most intimate friends were not spared. As he had beheaded Sir William Stanley to show that past services could not condone treason, so he made his old general, the earl of Oxford, an example that the keeping of retainers could no longer be permitted.* One day when leaving the earl, after a visit, Henry passed through two rows of gentry and yeomen wearing the earl's badge. 'These are your servants,' said the king. * No/ said Oxford, 'I am too poor for that. They are my retainers assembled to do you honour.' 'I thank you for your hospitality,' Henry replied; 'but I cannot have my laws broken in my sight¹ Oxford was summoned before the new court and fined £15,000, equivalent to at least £160,000 of our money. Such an example was effective; and complaint began to be made that the retainers who were turned adrift became thieves and robbers.

The court which dealt so effectively with these elements of disorder

was new, but in reality its constitution did not materially differ from a revival of the criminal jurisdiction of the privy council. Since the reign

The Privy Council. of Henry m., by which date the chief judicial functions of the council had been exercised by special courts, the council had been chiefly an advising body ; sometimes, under weak kings, like Henry in., Edward II., or Richard II., specially constituted by parliament as a check on the royal authority ; sometimes, under such powerful sovereigns as Edward I. and Edward III., dropping out of sight altogether. Under Henry iv., however, and the Lancastrian sovereigns, it began to have a more permanent character, and to be really an advising body, trusted and used by the king both for consultative and executive business. Its importance grew rapidly during the minority of Henry vi., and by degrees the phrase 'king and council' showed that it had come to be considered as having a sort of co-ordinate authority with the king. Edward iv. tried to increase its representative character by introducing commoners as well as nobles; and whether it was due to deliberate intention, or merely to the weakness of parliament, the Tudors made it a chief instrument of government.

The weakness of parliament here alluded to is one of the most striking facts of the reigns of Edward iv., Henry VII., and the first part of the reign of Henry VIII. It was due to a variety of causes. Chief among these was the decline of the nobility, to whom the commons had always looked for the armed support on which their power to attack a king's favourite or to resist an unpopular proposal necessarily depended. It was also due to the circumstance that, on the whole, the Tudors carried out the policy of those classes to whom members of parliament belonged. At any rate, under Edward iv. and Henry VII., parliament did little except pass without question acts which had been prepared by the king and his council, and vote supplies.

Among other important statutes passed by direction of Henry VII. was one designed to give greater security to those who held office under a king of doubtful title who might ultimately be dispossessed.

De Facto Statute. This was passed in 1495, and enacted that 'no person attending upon the king and sovereign lord of this land for the time being, and doing him true and faithful service, shall be convicted of high treason, by act of (parliament or other process of law, nor suffer any forfeiture or punishment; but that every act made contrary to this statute shall be void and of none effect.¹ Thus a distinction was made between a king *de facto* and a king *de jure*, and the temptation to take part in Yorkist plots with a view to being safe in every eventuality was diminished.

Another great enactment was the statute of fines, copied from an act of Richard III. The immediate object of this act was to provide a ready way of settling the ownership of estates. Numbers of ^{Statute of} disputes had arisen during the confusion of the late war, ^{Fines.} and as a consequence of the extensive forfeitures which had taken place. For this purpose it was enacted that if a decision in a disputed case had been given, and a fine levied with proclamations in a public court of justice, then, after five years, except in a few special cases, no further claim to the lands could be raised. The indirect results of this act were wider than its immediate effects, for the lawyers discovered in it an ingenious device for breaking the entails created under the statute *de donis conditumalibus*. This device was extremely welcome to many of the ancient landowners who had become impoverished through extravagance or war, and in consequence many entailed estates came into the market and were bought by rich merchants of the towns.

The direct taxes voted by parliament under Henry VII. were not numerous, and he had ample means to know their unpopularity. Besides the Cornish rebellion already referred to, taxation caused ^{The Bene-} an outbreak in Yorkshire at Topcliffe, one of the Percy ^{volence*} manors, where the earl of Northumberland was murdered by some of his own tenants who objected to pay towards an expedition to Brittany a subsidy of one-tenth of the annual value of lands, and about one-sixth of the value of goods and chattels. Henry therefore relied on indirect means to fill his treasury. Among these was the collection of benevolences. The first of these was collected in 1491, and received the sanction of a great council or assembly of notables, a substitute for a parliament, of which Henry was somewhat fond. Cardinal Morton is said to have drawn up directions to the collectors to the effect that 'if they met any who were sparing, they must tell them they must needs have, because they laid up ; and if they were spenders they must needs have, because it was seen in their port and manner of living.'¹ This ingenious method of approach gained the name of Morton's Fork. This benevolence was afterwards sanctioned by parliament, and all arrears were ordered to be paid.

Even these exactions, however, did not make Henry so unpopular as those which are associated with the names of Sir Richard Empson and Sir Edmund Dudley, barons of the exchequer. The method ^{Empson} of these men was to rake up all the ancient customs and ^{and Dudley.} obligations of feudalism which, in the rise of a new civilisation, were either obsolete or rapidly becoming so, and to have before their court all who wittingly or unwittingly had infringed the rights of the crown.

The offenders were then mercilessly fined; and so great was the anger aroused by such an oppressive perversion of law, that the names of the two barons still retain an evil notoriety as examples of such as strain the law for the benefit of a king. In spite, however, of the grumbling of his people, Henry contrived to grow rich. He spent little on himself, and, at the close of his reign, left property, chiefly in the shape of jewels, estimated in our money at no less than £18,000,000 sterling.

We must now turn to foreign affairs. Rather from necessity than choice, Henry found it needful to mix more in the general politics of the continent than any of his predecessors, and in this respect his reign forms a turning-point in English history. During its early years Henry was drawn into a war in Brittany. That duchy, the last of the great fiefs of France to be absorbed by the crown, was, in 1490, by the death of the duke, left in the hands of Anne, a girl of eleven years. The prospect of seeing Brittany become an integral part of France, and her harbours and seamen at the disposal of the French king, was naturally distasteful to Englishmen; and Henry, who himself was under much obligation to the late duke, had the sympathy of his subjects in trying to protect the dominions of the little duchess. In doing so he had some expectation of assistance from Ferdinand of Arragon and from Maximilian of Austria, the latter of whom was designed to be the husband of Anne; but Ferdinand was too busy, and Maximilian too poor, to be of much assistance so far from home; and, though Henry sent soldiers to help the duchess, it was impossible to defend Brittany permanently against France without sacrifices much greater than either he or his subjects were willing to make. Eventually the matter was settled by the French invading Brittany, and Anne agreeing to marry Charles VIII., the young king of France, since which marriage Brittany has become a part of the French monarchy.

The way in which Henry had been thus outwitted led to war with France; and in the autumn of 1491 Henry, having entered into an alliance with Ferdinand and Maximilian, led an English army to the siege of Boulogne. The expedition, however, proved to be the counterpart of that of 1475. Charles showed himself as anxious as his father had been to get rid of the English without fighting. He opened negotiations at once, and agreed by the Treaty of Etaples. treaty of Etaples to repay the English the expenses they had been at in sending troops to Brittany, and also two years' arrears of the annual sum promised at Picquigny. The whole sum is calculated at from three and a half to four million pounds of our money, and was to be paid in instalments amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand

pounds a year. Such a peace, though doubtless a good thing for both countries, was most unpopular in England, where many nobles and gentlemen had half-ruined themselves to provide an outfit for the expected campaign.

Henry's next alliance arose out of a wide European complication. The new unity which had been given to France by the policy of Louis xi., and to which the annexation of Brittany had given the key-^{Charles VIII.} stone, marked an epoch in the history of Europe. Hitherto, ^{in Italy.} as a rule, French kings had concerned themselves mainly with the affairs of France; now an opportunity was given for engaging in enterprises abroad, and the energy of the French people, which had hitherto spent itself either in civil broils or wars with the English, was eagerly on the look-out for a new outlet. Such an opportunity was found by Charles VIII. in the revival of claims which had come to him from the last count of Anjou to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. To prosecute this claim, Charles allied himself with Ludovico Sforza, the uncle and guardian of the little duke of Milan, with the Genoese, the Florentines, and the pope, and in 1494 marched an army into Italy, and with little or no fighting occupied the kingdom of Naples. His presence, however, soon roused the national feeling of the Italians, and a great league was formed, with the Venetians at its head, to intercept his homeward march. The plan, however, failed; for Charles¹ soldiers, who were much better fighters than the Italians, brushed away the army of the league at Fornovo, and regained France in safety.

This expedition created the utmost consternation among the other European powers, especially at the court of Maximilian, the emperor, who regarded himself as sovereign of Italy, and at that of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, having completed the conquest of the Moors of Granada in 1492, were also prepared to take a larger share than before in European affairs. The consequence was the projection of a great European alliance to keep France in check, and 'for the mutual preservation of states, so that the more powerful might not oppress the less powerful, and that each should keep what rightly belongs to him.'¹ As a renewal of the English invasions would probably be the most effective check on the Italian designs of the French, it became a great point to secure the assistance of the king of England. Henry, however, was not prepared to give his assistance for nothing. Maximilian had lately been aiding Perkin Warbeck, and Henry would do nothing till this was withdrawn. Ferdinand And Isabella, however, were most anxious to secure Henry's aid, and were willing to put pressure on Maximilian; so Warbeck was dismissed, and negotiations

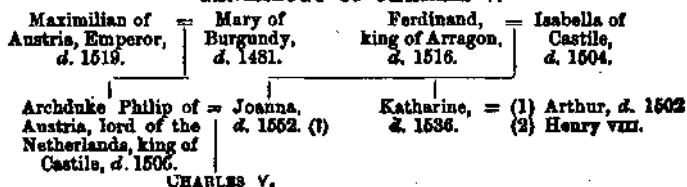
**European
League
against
France.**

entered on for the marriage of Henry's son Arthur with Katharine of Arragon, third daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. On this, Henry entered the league and sent a peremptory letter to Charles requiring him not to disturb the peace of Europe. By this means France was completely isolated. Charles, however, died in 1498; but as his successor Louis XII. not only succeeded to his claims on Naples, but had claims of his own to the duchy of Milan, the need for a great anti-French alliance was no less than before.

Accordingly, the league was placed on a more permanent basis by a series of marriages which had the most important results upon the history of Europe.¹ Already the marriage of Maximilian of Austria with Mary of Burgundy, the heiress of Charles the Bold, had brought the Netherlands under the rule of the House of Austria; while that of Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabella of Castile had brought under one crown the whole of the Spanish peninsula with the exceptions of Portugal and Navarre. In 1496 Joanna, the second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, married Maximilian's only son Philip the Handsome; and as her only brother died childless, Joanna became the heiress of the dominions of Ferdinand and Isabella, and passed her rights on to her eldest son Charles, afterwards the celebrated emperor, who was born in 1500. In 1601, Arthur, Prince of Wales, at the age of fifteen, was married to Katharine of Arragon, but died in April of the next year; upon which negotiations were immediately opened for her marriage with Henry's younger son Henry, born in 1491; and in expectation of this the girl-widow still remained in England under the guardianship of her father-in-law. One European country, Scotland, still remained the ally of France; but both Ferdinand and Henry exerted themselves to the utmost to detach the Scots from their hereditary alliance, and in 1503 this was thought to have been effected by the marriage of Henry's elder daughter Margaret to the Scottish king, James iv.

Henry's queen died in 1503, and various negotiations were carried on for a second marriage connected with the great alliance, but all came to nothing; and in 1509 he died, leaving his kingdom in peace and prosperity, and with a European position

1 GENEALOGY OF CHARLES V.



and importance far beyond anything she had held since the days of Henry v.

In many respects the reign of Henry VII. forms a turning-point in English history, either as the beginning of a new epoch or the end of an old one. This was due partly to the domestic causes which had enabled Henry to do so much for civilisation by ridding the country of retainers, and by enforcing a higher standard of law and order, and partly to causes which affected, in a greater or less degree, the whole of the civilised world. This great movement, which is known sometimes as the Renaissance—renascence, or new birth—sometimes as the revival of learning, according as it is regarded in its more general or special aspect, is so complicated and in any-sided that it is impossible to do more than glance at its broader facts. Its birthplace was Italy, where a variety of causes had created the possibility of a higher standard of civilisation than had been possible elsewhere. Much attention had early been paid to the study of painting and sculpture; and when in 1453 the taking of Constantinople by the Turks had dispersed Greek-speaking scholars into Europe, and made possible the acquisition of thousands of precious manuscripts of classical authors, which had long mouldered unread in the libraries of Byzantine monasteries, an immense stimulus was given to classical study, and so enthusiastic did the Italian scholars become in the pursuit of the new learning that the ideas of Plato and Aristotle were almost worshipped by their new votaries.

The Renaissance in Italy.

From Italy the movement spread to other lands. Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, was an enthusiastic Latin scholar; in 1492 Groceyn taught Greek at Oxford, and a little later was aided by Linacre. John Colet, afterwards dean of St. Paul's, lectured on the Greek Testament at Oxford in 1496, and used his influence in after life to promote education in the new modes of thought. Hardly of less influence in England was Erasmus, a Fleming, who came to England in 1498, became the friend of all English scholars, and by his ready wit and keen satire influenced the thoughts of Englishmen. Painting, too, gradually made its way north, and the new mode was made familiar to Englishmen by Holbein, who lived here some years after 1626.

The Movement in England.

Learning and the fine arts, however, were only one side of the movement. Immense strides were made in geographical discovery. Early in the fifteenth century Henry the Navigator, nephew of our Henry iv., had directed the Portuguese to the advantage of seeking new outlets for trade by investigating the west coast of Africa. Later on, the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, and the closing

Geographical Discoveries.

of the old trade-routes from the Levant to the east compelled merchants to seek a new road to India, and gave rise to the speculations and voyages which ultimately, in 1492, resulted in the discovery of the New World. This event naturally roused the Portuguese to further exertions, and in 1497 Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope and reached Calicut. Nor was England much behind. In the very first year of his reign Henry had assured the Bristol merchants of his sympathy and assistance ; and in 1497 the merchant adventurers of that city manned a British ship with British sailors, and sent it on a voyage of discovery, under the command of John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son Sebastian. This ship was the first European vessel to reach the mainland of North America.

These discoveries not only changed men's ideas in geography, but made a great alteration in the relative political importance of the nations of the world. Hitherto, these which had had the most ready access to the Mediterranean Sea had taken the lead in civilisation and commercial activity; now, however, men's thoughts turned to the ocean, and Cadiz, Lisbon, Bordeaux, Bristol, London, and Antwerp became the natural harbours for the traffic of the world.

Side by side with these discoveries stand the two great inventions of printing and gunpowder. Printing, or, to speak more correctly, the art of printing with moveable types, is said to have been invented by Gutenberg in 1440. The improvement was due to the desire to copy books more rapidly than by hand in response to the greater demand created by the growing thirst for knowledge; but when it had been made, the greater cheapness of the copies multiplied by the new method gave an immense stimulus to the spread of learning. Printing was introduced into England by William Caxton in 1471, and the first new book printed and published in England was *The game and playe of the Cheesse*, which appeared in 1474. Gunpowder was first employed for artillery about the time of the battle of Crecy, but it was slow in coming into use; for so efficient were the continental crossbows and the longbows of the English, and so destructive were the siege implements in use, that it was long before the new cannons and hand-guns could really compete with them. When, however, equality in efficiency was reached, the old weapons speedily became obsolete, for their use required a longer training than the new, and cannons were less difficult to transport than the old catapults, rams, and mangonels. The effect of the new weapons on society was perhaps greater than that on the art of war, for with the disappearance of the armoured knight, whose mail was no defence

Introduc-
tion of
Gunpowder.

against the new projectiles, passed away a class distinction which had made warfare a comparatively safe amusement for the rich. Henceforward the same danger confronted the noble and the plebeian soldier. Moreover, the introduction of gunpowder was of enormous moment in the conquest of the New World. Without the advantage given by its possession it is difficult to see how the exploits of Cortez and Pizarro could have been performed, or the rapid conquest of vast territories inhabited by semi-civilised but brave people have been accomplished by such handfuls of Europeans as were then able to cross the ocean.

The discovery of America and of the new route to India, the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, the revival of learning, and the inventions of printing and gunpowder, are the great events which mark the change from mediæval to modern Europe, and their influence began to make itself felt in the reign of Henry VII.

CHIEF DATES

	A.D.
Battle of Stoke, ...	1487
First appearance of Perkin Warbeck,	1492
Discovery of the West Indies, .	1492
Charles VIII.'s Expedition to Italy, .	1494
Cabot discovers the American Mainland,	1497
Vasco da Gama reaches Calicut,	1497
Capture of Perkin Warbeck,	1498
Death of Prince Arthur,	1602

CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII.: 1509-1547

Born 1491; married 1509, Katharine of Arragon, divorced 1533, d. 1536
 1532, Anne Boleyn, executed 1536.
 1536, Jane Seymour, died 1537.
 1540, Anne of Cleves, divorced 1540, died 1557.
 1540, Katharine Howard, executed 1542.
 1543, Katharine Parr, survived her husband.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain,</i>
James IV., d. 1513.	Louis XII., d. 1515.	Charles I., 1516-1556.
James v., d. 1542.	Francis I., d. 1547.	
Mary, deposed 1567.		
<i>Emperors.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>	
Maximilian I., d. 1519.	Julius II., d. 1513.	
Charles v., d. 1558.	Leo x., 1513-1522.	
	Clement vii., 1523-1534.	

Foreign politics—Flodden—Wolsey's career—The Divorce question leads to the fall of Wolsey and the separation from Borne—Changes in the Church—Dissolution of the Monasteries—Resistance to these changes—Henry's domestic life—Later foreign policy.

THE death of Henry VII. gave the crown to his son Henry, a young man of eighteen. In appearance there was little in Henry to recall his Character of father. His figure was cast in the Yorkist mould—tall, Henry. strong, and stoutly built, with round, fair-complexioned face and a profusion of reddish flaxen hair. His temperament was jovial, and delighted in all manner of games and sports in which his personal courage and agility enabled him to display himself to advantage. At the same time it must not be supposed that his addiction to such pursuits was allowed to interfere with his business as king. From his very accession Henry showed himself as determined as his father, not only to reign, but to govern. The reports of ambassadors were made directly to him. Each day he made time to despatch a vast quantity of business, and both his own letters and those written to him fully prove

that he considered no detail of government as beneath his notice. Like his father he was a good judge of character, and probably was a greater adept at reading the thoughts of the masses ; and his ready wit and easy manners gained him, from the very outset, a popularity so well established that no subsequent actions, however arbitrary or cruel, appear to have seriously diminished it.

No change of importance was made in the composition of the council, of which the chief members continued to be Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, a painstaking and able ecclesiastic, who had succeeded to much of Morton's influence ; Thomas Howard, ^{The Ministers.} earl of Surrey, son. of the duke of Norfolk who fell at Bos worth, a man of courage and determination, who represented the ideas of the nobility; and Archbishop Warham, a man of no great force. Thomas Wolsey, a young and able ecclesiastic, was acting as secretary to Fox. Under these men the quiet and orderly domestic government of Henry VII. was continued, and was broken chiefly by the disgraceful treatment of Empson and Dudley, who were sacrificed by the ^{Empson and Dudley.} young king to appease the popular outcry. It was no easy matter to find a legal charge, for their acts, though harsh, had come within the letter of the law, and had been fully provided for in their commissions ; so an absurd charge of treason was brought against them, accusing them of plotting to get the young king into their hands, and usurping the government. On this, Dudley was convicted in London, Empson at Northampton, and the whole iniquitous transaction was confirmed by an act of attainder. For some time their lives were spared, but at length Henry, exasperated by the constant complaints of their extortions, ordered them to be put to death. At the same time some attempt was made to compensate their victims.

In foreign affairs the king showed his intention of following his father's policy by marrying Katharine, with whom he declared himself so well satisfied that if he had to choose again he would take her. Katharine was then twenty-four, and, though not beautiful, was a very attractive person, and is described as being ' of a lively and gracious disposition.'¹ She danced well, was a good musician, wrote and spoke English excellently, and, above all, was perfectly devoted to her husband.

Though Henry VII. had joined the anti-French alliance, he had taken no active part in foreign affairs, in which he had been little more than a dependant of Spain. Since the death of Charles VIII. Italy had been the chief centre of affairs. In 1499, Louis XII., with the aid of the Venetians, had taken Milan ; and in 1501, contrary to the general policy of the

League, Ferdinand had entered into alliance with him and made an attack upon Naples, which, since the expulsion of the French, had again fallen into the hands of a branch of the house of Arragon. Next year, however, Louis and Ferdinand quarrelled about their plunder, and the French were again expelled from Naples. However, by 1508, the French and Spaniards had again patched up their quarrels, and, under the nominal leadership of Pope Julius 11., had formed the League of Cambray for the purpose of partitioning the territories of the Venetians, the only power in Italy which might possibly have rallied the smaller states to keep out both French and Spaniards. In the war that followed the French acted with such vigour that they secured most of the Venetian territory on the main land ; and so alarmed was Julius 11. at this exhibition of French power that he immediately set on foot what was described as a Holy League for the defence of the pope and the expulsion of the French from Italy, and in 1511 requested Henry VIII. to join it. As his father-in-law, Ferdinand, was one of the leading members, Henry had no objection, and planned a joint campaign in the south of France, by which it was hoped that England would reconquer Guienne and Ferdinand acquire Navarre. The temptation to attack Guienne was great; for its trade was extremely valuable, and the possession of a piece of territory, driven like a wedge between France and Spain, would give the king of England a great advantage in dealing with their respective sovereigns.

Expedition However, when the English troops, under the marquess of to Guienne. Dorset, landed in Guienne, they found Ferdinand quite unprepared. After six weeks of inaction, their commander, under the impression that Ferdinand meant to use his own troops against Navarre, brought his soldiers back to England. This expedition was a great disappointment to Henry. Accordingly, great preparations were made for the campaign of 1513, and it is in these that Wolsey first made a reputation with the king.

Thomas Wolsey, who is perhaps the greatest of the long line of ecclesiastical statesmen from Lanfranc to Laud, was born at Ipswich in 1471.

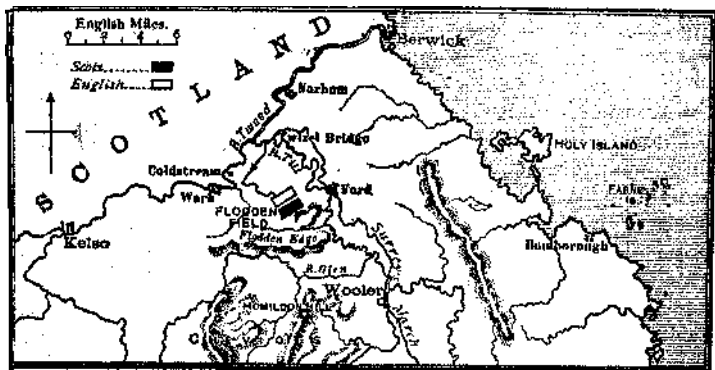
Wolsey. His father was a burgher of wealth and position, and gave his clever son the best education in his power. He entered Oxford as a boy and took his degree of bachelor of arts at fifteen, and became fellow and bursar of Magdalen College. While there, the beautiful tower of the college was being built, but it does not appear that Wolsey had any thing special to do with it. His next post was that of master of Magdalen College School, and while there he made the acquaintance of the marquis of Dorset whose sons he had taught. Dorset presented him to the rectory of Lymington. He next became chaplain

to Deane, who succeeded Morton as archbishop of Canterbury, and he acquired a knowledge of administrative life as assistant to Sir Richard Nanfan, deputy-governor of Calais. By him he was recommended to Henry VII., and became a royal chaplain about 1506. At court Wolsey attached himself to Fox, possibly as his secretary, and was employed on several diplomatic missions for the king. The accession of Henry viii. was favourable to his advancement, for Wolsey was full of energy and had ideas that suited the young king much better than the wary maxims and cautious traditions of the statesmen of Henry VII. It was not, however, till the preparations were begun for the French war that Wolsey was able to find an adequate field for his energies, but he then threw himself heart and soul into the task of providing an efficient force, and this brought him to the notice of Henry himself.

The campaign which followed was on the whole successful; Admiral Sir Edward Howard attacked the French fleet with such violence in open boats that, though he lost his own life, and his men were beaten off, the French did not venture to impede the passage of the English fleet to Calais. From Calais Henry, with Wolsey in his train, advanced to the siege of Therouenne, and, while before it, was joined by Maximilian as a volunteer. During the siege an action was fought at Guinegaste with a French relieving force which attempted to throw supplies into the town. It was a mere cavalry affair, and the French fled so soon that the fight was jocularly known as the Battle of the Spurs. Therouenne surrendered, and soon afterwards the important town of Tournai; but Henry did not pursue his advantage further, for he found that both Ferdinand and Maximilian expected him to encounter the dangers while they reaped the profits of the war, and he made the excuse of being wanted at home to return to England.

There, in his absence, great events had happened. Contrary to the expectations which had been founded on the marriage of Margaret and James iv., the hereditary friendship of the Scots for France had proved too much for the honour of James, and when Henry crossed to France he invaded Northumberland with a large army. Henry had left Katharine in charge at home, and she, perhaps remembering Philippa of Hainault and Neville's Cross, threw herself most energetically into the work of defence, attended council meetings, prepared banners with her own hand, and addressed the leaders who were setting out for the north. The chief command was entrusted to the earl of Surrey and his son, Sir Thomas Howard, who had succeeded his brother as admiral. They mustered their forces at

Newcastle, and, marching north, learned that James had taken up a strong position on Flodden Edge, a spur of the Cheviots lying at right angles to the river Till, a tributary of the Tweed, which there forms the boundary between England and Scotland. On Sunday, September 4, Surrey, after the fashion of chivalry, sent a challenge to James to fight a pitched battle on the following Friday. This James accepted; but when Surrey suggested that he should leave his strong post and fight on even ground, James politely but firmly declined



THE FLODDEN DISTRICT

In these circumstances, Surrey adopted the advice of his son to turn James' position by blocking his retreat to Scotland; and, accordingly, on Thursday he crossed the Till at Wooler, and, marching parallel to the river but at such a distance from it as to be concealed by the rising ground, made his way to Twisel Mill close to the junction of the Till and Tweed. There he stayed till Thursday night, and at daybreak on Friday recrossed the Till and marched straight to Coldstream as though about to invade Scotland. The ruse was completely successful. When James, from Flodden Edge, saw Surrey making for Scotland he broke up his camp, burnt his tents, and hurried off in hot pursuit. On this, Surrey returned to meet him; and the two armies, concealed from each other by the smoke of the blazing tents, met one another on Brankston Moor, the Scots still having the advantage of being on higher ground. The Scottish forces, who are thought to have numbered 30,000, were drawn up in dense masses. On the right were the Highlanders, with target and claymore; next the king, at the head of a mass of 7000 spearmen; on the left, the Borderers under Huntly and Home. With the Scots were seventeen pieces of artillery. The

English also arranged their forces in three divisions—Sir Edward Stanley led the left, Surrey the centre, and the admiral and Sir Edmund Howard the right. The chief reliance of the English soldiers, who were gathered from all parts of the northern counties, was placed in their long-bows ; but for close quarters they used a most formidable weapon, the bill, which consisted of a double-headed hatchet with a six-inch spike projecting between the blades and wielded with both arms at the end of a stout handle nearly six feet long, so that it could be used either for hacking or thrusting. Surrey, too, had artillery.

When the fight began the English guns soon silenced those of the Scots, and did so much execution among the spearmen that James hurried to get to close quarters, and ordered a general charge. On his left the earls of Huntly and Home beat Sir Edmund Howard on the extreme right; but the English right centre, under Sir Thomas Howard, though hard pressed, held its own ; Surrey presented a stout front to the king, and the Lancashire men, under Sir Edward Stanley, not only foiled every attempt of the fierce Highlanders to break their ranks, but even advanced in their turn and drove the clansmen off the field. By this time Sir Thomas Howard, to whose aid the reserve had been sent, had also routed the Scots opposed to him, and so he and Stanley, wheeling inwards, were able to charge the king's forces in flank and rear, while they were engaged with Surrey in front. This manoeuvre was decisive. James himself was transfixed by an arrow, and received a deadly blow on the head from an English bill; but his countrymen fought furiously round his corpse, and only the fall of night separated the maddened combatants. James' body, found among a heap of slain, was fully identified ; and his blood-stained plaid was sent over by Katharine as a trophy to her husband. With James perished the flower of Scottish chivalry. No less than twelve Scottish earls lay dead on the field ; and there were few noble families in Scotland which had not to mourn the loss of some of their members.

The political results of Flodden were as decisive as its circumstances were dramatic. It showed Europe that England could not be intimidated by an attack on her borders; and so far as Scotland was concerned it removed all danger of trouble for many years. James¹ successor was his posthumous son James v., and the government of the country fell into the hands of his widow Margaret. Within a few months, however, she made the mistake of marrying the earl of Angus, and this alliance, by introducing a new element of discord among the Scottish lords, served still further to weaken the country.

In spite, however, of his successes at Therouenne and Flodden, Henry

had no mind to carry on the war as the cat's-paw of Maximilian and Ferdinand; and in this he was ably seconded by Wolsey, whose paramount influence seems to date from Henry's return from France. Wolsey's great gift was for diplomacy, for which Fox had no liking, and was glad to leave it in his hands. He held also most patriotic ideas as to the real place which England ought to hold in continental affairs, and was as eager as Henry to see her secure an independent position. To effect this Henry and Wolsey determined to make an alliance with France, a combination which would be most dangerous to the schemes of Maximilian and Ferdinand, and would show them that England must be treated at its proper value. Accordingly, with great secrecy negotiations were opened, and it was arranged that Henry's sister Mary, a beautiful girl of seventeen, should repudiate her engagement to Charles of Burgundy, and marry Louis XII., aged fifty-two, who had lately become a widower through the death of Anne of Brittany. For the moment this alliance effected all that Henry and Wolsey expected from it; but unluckily, at the beginning of 1516, Louis died. His successor was Francis I. of Angoulême, who married Louis¹ daughter Claude, the heiress of Brittany. Mary of England immediately married Henry's favourite comrade, Charles Brandon, created duke of Suffolk. She was the grandmother of Lady Jane Grey.

To Wolsey Henry's gratitude knew no bounds. For his services in France he made him bishop of Tournai, and in 1514 bishop of Lincoln. In 1515 he was further promoted to be archbishop of York, and to hold the secular office of chancellor. Henry would have been glad to see Wolsey a cardinal, but Pope Leo x. objected, and it was not till 1517 that Henry found himself sufficiently influential with the pope to secure his wish, and also to have Wolsey appointed papal legate in England. This plan of paying his secular officials by clerical preferments was cheap for the king, but was most injurious to the Church; for by making its nominal leaders into mere statesmen the whole institution tended to be demoralised, and in few of the leading bishops of this time can any traces of religious feeling be discovered.

Wolsey, however, himself was far from being a mere official. So keen-sighted and practical a man as he was could not fail to be struck with many disorders in the Church, and to see that the stir which the Renaissance was creating in men's minds necessitated reform either from within or without. Of these the most crying was the condition of the monasteries. Since the coming of the friars at the beginning of the thirteenth century few monasteries had been founded in England. Their number,

Peace with
France.

Wolsey's
Promotion.

Wolsey's
Policy.

The Monas-
teries.

however, had Dot diminished, and they had been growing more and more out of accord with the spirit of the age. The cessation of civil wars had deprived them of their claim to be the sole places where men of peace could live secure. The printing of manuscripts had taken the place of copying by hand. The rise of the universities had taken from them their at one time well-founded boast that they were the guardians of learning. Above all, the new learning, which was attracting the attention of scholars and directing into new channels the thoughts of Europe, had found no welcome within monastic walls. In these circumstances it was difficult to see on what general grounds the monasteries could justify their existence. They had come to be merely bodies of wealthy landed proprietors, reaping the harvests which their predecessors had created, and no doubt doing charitable deeds among their poorer neighbours, but in few if any cases living up to the standard of life prescribed by their early founders. Scandal, too, declared that this was not by any means the whole case against the monks; and the condition of the smaller monasteries, as proved by an inquiry held under Henry VII. and other episcopal visitations, left much to be desired.

Wolsey, however, proposed to remove the evil by a method at once practical and judicious—namely, by dissolving such of the monasteries as were shown to be disorderly, and devoting their wealth to the creation of foundations like that of William of Wyke-^{Foundation of Colleges.}ham, consisting of a school or college in the country which sent on its best scholars to a college at the university. He himself set the example by obtaining leave to dissolve certain small and unsatisfactory foundations and establish a school at Ipswich and a college at Oxford, which he called Cardinal College, and which still flourishes under the name of Christ Church. It is also certain that Wolsey had at one time an idea that he might have been made pope, in which case it is possible that he might have carried out his reforms on a more extended scale; but his scheme was never realised, for his laborious life as a diplomatist left him little time for anything else.

The new king of France was as ambitious as his predecessor, and being a young man of twenty-one, he was far more energetic in carrying out his plans. At his accession he found the French entirely driven from Italy, and his first exploit was to reconquer the duchy of Milan.^{Policy of Francis I.} Ferdinand and Maximilian had trusted that the Swiss, who had been hired by the duke, would have been strong enough to repel the French; but at Marignano, in September 1515, they were completely routed by the gallantry of the French horsemen in a battle which deserves to be remembered as the last triumph of mediæval chivalry. This victory

gave Francis a European reputation ; and the diplomacy of Europe was at once called into action to neutralise the new danger, and in this Wolsey took his full share. However, in 1516 Ferdinand died, and this event, by uniting under Charles of Burgundy Spain, the Indies, Sicily, Naples, and the Netherlands, with reversion of the duchy of Austria and of Austrian influence in Germany, created an entirely new situation. Again Wolsey found the best solution of the European problem in an alliance between England and France ; and accordingly it was arranged that Henry's only daughter Mary should marry the baby Dauphin, and that Tournai should be restored for a sum of 600,000 crowns. Scotland also was included in the peace ; and great was Wolsey's triumph when the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain also agreed to join, so that England appeared as the negotiator of a universal peace, in which the pope and the emperor, who had long been the heads of all European combinations, appeared in a secondary position.

The scheme, however well planned, did not last long, for in January 1519 the situation was again changed by the death of Maximilian, and the necessity for electing a new emperor. Three not unlikely candidates presented themselves. First, the Elector of Saxony, who represented the idea of Germany for the Germans, but who was too weak to give the military aid necessary in defending the empire against the Turks. Second, Charles of Spain, who was already lord of the Netherlands and king of Naples and Sicily, whose elevation would be disliked both by Francis and the pope, but who had strong claims as head of the house of Austria and as an efficient aid against the Turks. Third, Francis, who, though he had no real claim, put himself forward on the plea that Germany might as well be connected with France as with the Netherlands and Spain. Between these candidates Wolsey wished England to be neutral, and to affect to further the cause of everybody. But the vanity of Henry VIII. prompted him to become a candidate, though his chance of election was of course infinitesimal. Ultimately the matter was settled by the election of Charles, who became emperor as Charles v. The emperor was elected by seven persons—the archbishops of Mainz, Koln, and Trier ;¹ by the Electors of Bohemia, Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate. These chose a king of Germany who had a right to demand coronation at the hands of the pope; and when he had received this he was looked on as the successor of the Roman emperor of the West.

Wolsey had now to deal with two forces, viz. Charles and Francis,

¹ The French spelling of these towns is Mayence, Cologne, and Treves,

instead of with three as heretofore ; and between the two he determined on a policy of neutrality, friendly to each, but committed to neither. With this view he negotiated interviews between Henry and each of the others. In May, Charles visited Henry informally at Canterbury. On his departure Henry crossed to Calais, and held a conference with Francis in such formal state that the site of their interview was known as the Field of Cloth of Gold. At Calais, however, on the road home, he had another interview with Charles, so that England was flattered by seeing the two greatest potentates on the continent vieing with each other for the friendship of Henry. It was impossible, however, even for Wolsey's ingenuity to maintain this position long. War between Charles and Francis was inevitable, and England was soon drawn to take a part. At first, Henry's relationship to Charles, and the commercial connection between the English and the Flemings, inclined him to the side of Charles, and Wolsey had perforce to carry out his wishes. Two abortive campaigns, however, served to disillusion the English, and Wolsey was again able to return to diplomatic methods. It was during this alliance with Charles that the possibility of Wolsey being made pope seemed for a short time real. Years before, both Francis and Charles had sought to win his friendship by promising their influence with the cardinals. Wolsey, however, was too great a man to swerve from his duty for any such personal considerations. His primary idea was to serve Henry and England, and if he could do so more effectively as pope, he was willing to do so ; but he placed himself quite in the hands of Henry, and Charles had no serious intention of securing his election. After the expedition of 1523 England withdrew from active operations ; but it was not till 1525, when Francis had been defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia, that Wolsey was able to make much progress towards a third alliance with France, which he regarded as the best policy for the country. Independently, moreover, of English interest, Wolsey thoroughly appreciated the danger of allowing such a sovereign as Charles v. to acquire a dominant power in Europe, and with some difficulty he persuaded Henry to agree to his views, and enter into a treaty with Francis. In 1527 Charles allowed his troops, under the renegade duke of Bourbon, to storm Rome and imprison the pope, an act of lawlessness that shocked Europe, and confirmed Henry, who was still a pious son of the Church, in the new alliance.

Wolsey, however, was perfectly aware that his policy of peace, with France was a very dangerous one for himself. From the very beginning of

his career he had had to face the hatred with which the old nobility had from time immemorial regarded all upstart advisers of the king. His

Unpopu-
larity of
Wolsey's
Peace
Policy.

policy, too, was itself distasteful to the nobility, who were the strongest exponents of the ancient feeling of hostility to France, and who also saw in Wolsey a check on the warlike activity of the king. The late expeditions, useless and expensive, also had made him unpopular with the commons, for though undertaken contrary to his policy, Wolsey had to bear all the odium of trying to raise money to pay the debts incurred, and in 1523 he had given mortal offence both to the House of Commons and the citizens of London by the haughtiness of his demands. His magnificence and display, though perhaps due in his opinion to his high office, had also tended to give offence. Altogether, he was well aware that a crowd of enemies were ready to fall on him the moment the king's favour was withdrawn,

It was in this state of affairs that a new problem arose calculated to try Wolsey's skill to the uttermost. Henry and Katharine had been married eighteen years, but all their sons and daughters had died in infancy except Mary, a delicate girl, who, by the last treaty with France, had been affianced to the duke of Orleans. The state of the succession, therefore, gave rise to very serious apprehensions. If Henry died without children, the crown would go, first, to Margaret's son, James of Scotland, then a lad of thirteen, and next, to her daughter by Angus, and it was doubtful if either of these would be accepted in England without dispute. The children of his other sister, Mary, were all daughters. On the question of the succession, Henry was as apprehensive as his father had been. In 1513 he had put to death the duke of Suffolk, and in 1521 he had had the duke of Buckingham beheaded. The duke was the only son of that earl of Buckingham who had perished under Richard in., and his direct descent from Edward III., through Thomas duke of Gloucester, made him a possible claimant for the throne. The duke seems to have talked incautiously of his royal descent, and Henry instantly had him tried for treason and put to death. In 1525, at the battle of Pavia, fell Richard, the last male representative of the do la Poles ; so that as far as claimants outside the Tudor family were concerned Henry might feel secure; but it was impossible to doubt that if the legality of his own marriage were disputed, very difficult times would follow. At the time of his marriage, every precaution had been taken to procure a Papal Bull providing for every eventuality; but Henry now began to profess to have doubts in his own mind. Undoubtedly his apprehensions had been excited by the deaths of his sons; but the actual cause which moved him, in 1527, was a passion he had conceived for a

The Divorce
Question.

young lady, named Anne Boleyn, a granddaughter on the mother's side of that earl of Surrey who had defeated the Scots at Flodden, whom, as she refused to be his mistress, he determined to make his wife. With this view he broached the matter to Wolsey, who saw no other course open but to further his master's views to the best of his ability. (See page 422.)

In such matters the popes had long established their authority, and of late years had granted divorces to several sovereigns for purely dynastic reasons : as, for example, to Louis XII, in order that he might marry Anne of Brittany, the widow of Charles VIII. Since the ill-omened precedent of the divorce of John from Avise of Gloucester, England had seen no case of the kind in the royal family, and it was not likely that such a divorce and re-marriage could be carried out without a decided shock to the moral sense of Englishmen. In ordinary circumstances, however, it is not likely that much difficulty would have been raised by the pope; but at the moment the raising of the question placed the pope in a position of great embarrassment. The reigning pope, Clement VII., was Giulio de Medici, nephew of Leo x., and his interests were divided between those of the papacy and those of his own family. Ever since Wolsey had adopted the system of creating alliances, into which the pope entered not as a principal but as a subordinate, the papal power had seriously diminished, and it had also been subjected to a rude shock by the preaching of Luther in Germany, which had led to a virtual schism in some districts of that country, and was spreading also to Denmark and Scandinavia. In these circumstances the pope was bound to walk warily, especially as Katharine was the aunt of the emperor, who might easily take mortal offence at any slight put upon his relative. Henry, however, was determined to push on. His passion for Anne Boleyn grew by being thwarted. Moreover, his relations with Katharine had become more strained since the negotiation of the French alliance, for she had always been an ardent supporter of her nephew Charles.

Various embassies were despatched to the pope to entreat him to let the case be tried in Wolsey's legatine court, and to confirm beforehand the decision there come to ; but Clement refused to let his hand be forced, and in 1528 sent over Cardinal Campeggio, an Italian well known to the English court, and bishop of Salisbury, to act as Wolsey's colleague. Campeggio's movements, however, were slow ; and it was not till July 1529 that the court sat, and Englishmen beheld for the first time the extraordinary spectacle of their king and queen cited by name to appear before a pair of

The Pope
and the
Divorce.

Campeggio's
Mission.

cardinals, nominated by a pope whom of late years they had been learning to despise. Katharine appealed directly to Rome ; but the court overruled her plea, and was beginning to take evidence, when Campeggio announced that, following the practice of the Roman law courts, the court would adjourn till October.

**Katharine's
appeal to
Rome.**

This delay was more than Henry could bear, for it meant, of course, indefinite delay; and his wrath vented itself upon Wolsey, who was in no way responsible for what had happened. Accordingly, in October 1529 Henry directed his attorney to sue for a writ of *Præmunire* (see page 268) against Wolsey, on the ground that he had violated that statute by acting as papal legate. Such an act was most unfair, for Wolsey had obtained his legatine authority by Henry's special request; but Henry was now determined to quarrel with the pope, and struck his first blow at the papacy through the person of its legate. Wolsey well knew that he was ruined, and determined as far as possible to propitiate his master by submission. He therefore signed a document confessing his guilt in acting as legate, and declaring all his goods forfeited to the king, and himself liable to perpetual imprisonment. By this obsequiousness Henry was somewhat mollified, and Wolsey soon received assurance of pardon. His two best servants, Stephen Gardiner, who had acted as his messenger to the pope, and Thomas Cromwell, who had given Wolsey valuable if not disinterested assistance since his fall, passed into the service of the king.

**Pall of
Wolsey.**

After his fall, Wolsey's career was not prolonged. On February 12 1530 he received a full pardon from the king, but was compelled to resign the bishopric of Winchester and the abbey of St. Albans, and to live within the archbishopric of York, at a distance from the court. There for a few months he occupied himself with his ordinary episcopal duties and with dispensing hospitality. Nevertheless it is not easy for one who had so long played a great part in the world's affairs to quit the stage, and he still continued a clandestine correspondence with Francis, which he conducted through his physician, a certain Doctor Augustine, who revealed all the letters to Wolsey's enemy, the duke of Norfolk, and Norfolk laid the matter before the king. The result was Wolsey's arrest on November 4, 1530 ; and he was being conveyed to London under the charge of the earl of Northumberland, when he died at Leicester Abbey on November 30. **Had** he lived to reach London a trial for high treason awaited him.

**Wolsey's
Arrest and
Death.**

With the fall of Wolsey, the government of England by clerics comes practically to an end. Since the institution of the office, the chancellor*

ship had been held, with but few exceptions, by a bishop. Since 1529 it has been held by fire ecclesiastics only. This change marks one of the most striking results of the revolution carried out by Henry VIII., and gives a key to the meaning of one side of the Reformation movement, namely, that it was an uprising of the laity against the over-interference of the clergy in civil affairs.

The new chancellor was a layman, Sir Thomas More, one of the most typical men of his time. Son of one of the judges, and born in 1478, he made the acquaintance at Oxford of Oolet and Erasmus, ^{Sir Thomas More.} and drank deeply of the critical spirit of the English Renaissance. Refined, witty, and humorous, he had a keen eye for detecting the abuses of the time, and holding them up to censure in a literary form. In modern times his reputation rests chiefly upon his *Utopia*, a Latin work consisting of two parts—the first an exposition of the evils of the time, and the second a description of an ideal commonwealth. The book illustrates the strength and weakness of More's character. In the first part he showed clearly that competition and extravagance were at the bottom of much of the evil of the time; in the second his proposed reformation was based upon the extirpation of both, which meant a complete revolution in human nature. To his contemporaries he also became known as an excellent lawyer, who had shown great boldness by confronting Wolsey as Speaker of the House of Commons. As a practical politician More showed to much less advantage, and a speech which he delivered at the opening of parliament, in which he attacked Wolsey, is a lasting monument of the errors in taste into which a literary man may fall when he tries to adapt his language to the standard of politics.

Henry was now committed to a contest with the papacy, not, however, purposely sought by him. He had two objects in view : first, to be legally married to Anne Boleyn ; second, to get a decision from the pope which would enable him to be so ; and when ^{The Divorce pressed forward.} to his surprise the two objects became incompatible, he pursued the first at the cost of a break with the papal power. To do so was a bold step; and it is not likely that Henry would have ventured upon it had not Wolsey taught him to regard England as a first-rate power whose importance was at least as great as the antiquated pretensions of the empire and the papacy. Henry, however, was well aware that in order to successfully defy the pope, he must carry the nation with him. One of his first acts, therefore, after the dismissal of Wolsey, was to summon a great council of the nobility and citizens of London, and to explain to them the reasons of his conduct with regard

to the divorce. Having thus appealed to public opinion, he summoned a parliament to meet on November 3, 1529. _

This parliament, which in some respects may be regarded as the first modern parliament of England, sat, not like most of its predecessors for a single session of a few weeks, but for repeated sessions The Reform Parliament. extending over seven years. This tended to give it a corporate feeling, and it carried out by legislative means what amounted to a religious revolution. The Houses were composed as follows : for the upper the lay peers numbered about forty, the spiritual peers forty-eight, so that the laity were always liable to be outvoted by the clergy, a circumstance which had hitherto been greatly to the advantage of the king. The lower house was composed of about three hundred members, of whom seventy-four sat for counties, and the remainder for cities and boroughs, most of which were situated in the south of England; Wales, Chester, and Durham being as yet unrepresented. The mass of the members were gentry, citizens, and lawyers, and though the methods by which they were chosen were, doubtless, by no means regular, it is unquestionable that the two houses represented between them a very fair picture of the political life of England, and of the ideas of all those classes who presumed to have a voice in the affairs of the country. In appealing to such a body as this for support in his quarrel with the pope, Henry knew that he had nothing to fear. The average English layman cared little or nothing for papal authority, and, indeed, regarded it with aversion; while he eagerly welcomed an opportunity of attacking the clerical abuses and cutting down ecclesiastical revenues, which he would have done any time since the days of Wyclif and Chaucer, had it not been for the circumstance that the alliance between the king and the upper clergy had formed a protection for the Church.

In using the word Reformation it is extremely important to realise the many-sidedness of the movement, and not to use it in too narrow a sense. Roughly speaking, the English ecclesiastical reformation of the sixteenth century proceeded along three lines. Meaning of the term Reformation. (1) The separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome. This was mainly Henry's affair, and arose out of the divorce, and involved a reconstitution of the church government to suit the new state of affairs. (2) The reform of abuses in the English Church, mainly as they affected the laity, and including the dissolution of the monasteries. (3) The changes in doctrine which ultimately distinguished the reformed Church of England from the Church of Rome. Of these, during the reign of Henry VIII., the first and second engrossed the attention of the nation, the third was

hardly dealt with at all; but, on the other hand, it forms the principal object of interest during the reigns of Edward vi. and Elizabeth.

The Church of southern England had been connected with the Church of Borne since the landing of St. Augustine in 697, and of northern England since the Synod of Whitby in 664; and in course of time this connection had taken an organised form. ^{Connection with Rome.} First, the pope was universally acknowledged as the head of the Western Church, of which the English Church was a branch. Second, there had grown up a system of appeals from the ecclesiastical courts of England to the papal court at Rome. The monks were great litigants, and although of late years the system had been disliked because it took money out of the country for no return, and had been strictly prohibited by the parliaments of Edward in. and Richard II. in the Acts of Praemunire, the practice had still gone on. Third, a By stem of taxation had also grown up. A hearth tax of a penny, known as Peter's Pence, had been paid almost from time immemorial; and, since the time of Henry III., the clergy had had to pay to the pope the first year's income of all ecclesiastical preferments, and an income tax of two shillings in the pound afterwards. The income, however, had been valued once for all in 1291, and so was often below the real value of the living. Fourth, the pope had acquired for himself since 1215 a most unpopular influence in the disposal of bishoprics and other preferments, in spite of the Act of Provisory. Fifth, almost the whole of the monastic orders were directly under the authority of the pope, and owed no obedience to the bishop of the diocese. Sixth, the authority of the pope was represented by a legate, sometimes sent over for a special purpose, but usually one of the English bishops like Morton or Wolsey. All these links Henry gradually swept away, but without in the least intending to deviate from the principles of the Catholic Church.

In 1528 Wolsey had been compelled to confess that he had incurred the penalties of the Act of Praemunire by accepting and exercising the legatine authority. Directly after Wolsey's death Henry determined to exact from the clergy who had acknowledged Wolsey's authority a similar confession. Accordingly he compelled the convocations of Canterbury and York not only to admit that their goods were forfeited to the king but that they themselves were liable to be imprisoned at the king's pleasure. He then exacted from them a fine of £118,000—considerably over a million of our money—and compelled them to address him as 'supreme head of the church and clergy so far as the law of Christ would allow.' After obtaining this concession

Henry enforces Praemunire.

The convocations acknowledge Henry as head of the Church.

from the clergy, Henry took no further steps for some time in the direction of separation, and, indeed, continued his negotiations with the pope for several years longer.

Meanwhile, parliament was engaged in reforming the discipline of the Church, and removing those abuses which pressed most heavily on the laity. In a petition presented to the king at the meeting of parliament in 1529, these had been defined as the

Reform of
Church
discipline.

obligation of the laity to obey the canon law, the hardships

caused by ecclesiastical summonses, especially to the poor, the cost of

Ecclesiastical
courts.

obtaining probate of wills, and excessive fees, and the presentation of minors to livings. Accordingly in the first session

the fines and fees connected with the probate of wills were regulated, the practice of seizing as a 'mortuary' the best chattel of a dead

Mortuaries.

man, and the 'upmost cloth' which covered his body, was

abolished; and, by another act, no clergyman was allowed to buy and sell

Pluralities.

for profit, or to hold more than four benefices, and these of small value. In the session of 1532, benefit of clergy was

abolished for all under the rank of deacons, and the fees of the archbishop's

Benefit of
clergy.

court of arches were reduced. Lands could no longer be saddled with the obligation of paying for masses for the dead

for more than twenty years; and at the same time the clergy were com-

pelled to submit the existing canon law to a mixed commission of laymen

and ecclesiastics, and to make no new canons without the king's consent.

In carrying these reforms the House of Commons had been practically

unanimous, but they were only agreed to with reluctance by the clerical

majority in the House of Lords.

During these series of reforms, the chancellorship had been held by

Sir Thomas More, whose tenure of office is chiefly notable for his per-

secution of the reformers. It is one of the problems of

The religious
Reformation
begun.

the Reformation period how far any connection can be traced between the Lollards of the fifteenth century and the

Protestants of the sixteenth; but it is generally considered

that the connection, if any, was slight, and that the origin of the English

movement must be looked for in Germany.

Of its leaders the most notable was William Tyndal, born in 1484,

who, after studying at Oxford and Cambridge, conceived the idea of

translating the New Testament, and made a proposal to

Tyndal.

do so to the bishop of London, Tunstall. Meeting no en-

couragement, however, he went to the continent and joined Luther, and

under his direction translated the epistles and gospels, printed 3000

copies of his work, and sent them over to England. There they seem

to bare been received by an ' association of Christian brothers,' formed in London the same year, who distributed them and other religious works about the country, sowing everywhere the seeds of the Reformation. The bishops were seriously alarmed ; they disapproved of Tyndal's translation, but so long as Wolsey continued in power, no personal ill usage was inflicted on the * Christian brothers.' Wolsey himself was not inclined to severity, and under him the most serious punishment for heresy consisted in carrying a fagot in procession, and in aiding to burn heretical books. But after his fall, Sir Thomas More took up the business of extirpating heresy with vigour, perhaps with the idea of showing that the reform of church discipline was perfectly consistent with an unflinching persecution of heresy.v' More, before becoming chancellor, had taken part in a controversy with some of the new thinkers, and had answered a tract called * The Supplication of Beggars/ in which the doctrine of purgatory was ridiculed, by another called ' The Supplication of Souls,' and had also engaged in disputes with Tyndal and other Protestants. He now brought the full force of the law to bear upon his old antagonists, and burnings of heretics at Smith* field became numerous. For some time, however, More had been dissatisfied with the way in which events were tending, and particularly with the proposed divorce, and in May 1532 he resigned his post as chancellor.

More's
Persecution.

While parliament had been reforming the abuses of the Church, and More had been burning the heretics, Henry had never ceased to negotiate with the pope on the subject of his divorce, and had brought The Divorce every means to bear to influence the papal decision in his negotiations, favour. Among these was a plan devised by Thomas Cranmer, a Cambridge scholar. Cranmer was the son of a Nottinghamshire gentleman, born in 1484. He had been a fellow of Jesus College, and afterwards chaplain to Lord Kochfort and tutor to Anne Boleyn. Chancing to meet Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, he suggested that the king should take the opinion of the universities. ' This man has got the right sow by the ear/ said Henry when he heard of the plan ; and commissioners were immediately Bent to all the universities of Europe to obtain their opinion on the question, Whether the pope was competent to allow a man to marry his deceased brother's widow ? The opinions might have been of some value if there had been any pretence of freedom ; but as each sovereign used all his influence to control the decision of the universities under his power, they were quite valueless, and merely added to the difficulties of the situation. In this way 'the king's matter' dragged on for three

Cranmer
suggests an
appeal to
the Univer-
sities.

years without any sign of being nearer conclusion. It had now been in agitation at least six years, and neither Henry nor England was prepared to wait indefinitely. Accordingly in 1532, Henry, in order to show the pope the pecuniary effect of a breach with England, allowed parliament to pass an act suspending the payment of annates, firstfruits, and Peter's Pence, but giving Henry the power to put the act into operation when he saw fit. This was the first step taken by parliament towards the separation from Rome. The same year Henry, accompanied by Anne Boleyn, paid a visit to Francis, who probably advised him to cut the diplomatic knot by marrying Anne, and leaving the pope to do his worst. This advice Henry took; and though the actual day of the marriage is not known, it is certain that some time between November 1532 and January 1533, the marriage was privately celebrated. Fortunately for Henry, Archbishop Warham had died during the year, and Henry replaced him by Thomas Oranmer, on whose goodwill he could rely. Accordingly, at the beginning of 1533, parliament passed an act abolishing appeals to Rome in all questions of marriage or other subjects that came before the ecclesiastical courts. This made the archbishop's court supreme, and Cranmer was immediately directed to try the question of the legality of the king's first marriage. This was done at a court held at Dunstable early in 1533. Katharine refused to plead, and Cranmer thereupon, basing his decision on the opinion of the universities, declared the marriage illegal. Henry's marriage with Anne was immediately made public, and on Whitsunday she was crowned at Westminster with the utmost magnificence. When she became queen, Anne was twenty-six years of age. Her portraits differ very much, but leave the impression that she was of dark complexion, with eyes of wonderful meaning and vivacity, and she had long black hair of exquisite softness. In character Anne must have been greatly wanting in refinement. The position she had occupied for years with regard to the late queen was most offensive, and her bearing to others besides Katharine clearly shows an insolence of behaviour which ultimately raised up bitter enemies against her. The magnificent ceremony of the coronation was well designed to enlist the feelings of the people in favour of the new queen.

Suspension
of Annates,
Firstfruits,
and Peter's
Pence.

Appeal to
Rome
abolished.

Cranmer
declares
Henry's
marriage
illegal.

In September the queen bore a child, afterwards the great Elizabeth, and an Act of Succession was then passed settling the crown on the children of Henry and Anne. The Succession Act was carefully worded, so as to offend as little as possible the friends

of Queen Katharine ; but Sir Thomas More and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, refused to take an oath to abide by it, and were both sent to the Tower. The coronation of the queen, the birth of Elizabeth, and the Act of Succession naturally compelled the pope to act. Henry was threatened with excommunication, and probably nothing but the distracted condition of his own affairs prevented the emperor from undertaking a crusade on behalf of his aunt. All hope of reconciliation rapidly vanished, and in 1534 Henry had the Act of Supremacy passed. This Act dropped the reservations made by convocation in 1530, but at the same time declared that the king and parliament did not intend by it ' to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in any thing concerning the very articles of the Catholic faith of Christendom, and in any other things declared by Scripture, and the word of God.' After this Act the king was spoken of as ' supreme head on earth, under God, of the Church of England.'

The Succession Act.

The Act of Supremacy.

The famous Act of Supremacy brought to a close the series of measures which separated the Church of England from the Church of Rome. By the rigid enforcement of the Act of Praemunire the pope had been deprived, since Wolsey's fall, of his power of interfering in the internal affairs of the English Church ; by the Act of 1532 all payments to Rome had been stopped; in 1533 appeals had been prohibited, and the Act of 1534 completed the series. Some regulations, however, were necessary for the new order of things. The authority of the pope was divided between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1535 a proclamation was issued naming Cromwell vicar-general. Meanwhile, the annates and firstfruits of the clergy were collected as usual, but the king reserved them for his own use, possibly at first with the idea of the payment being resumed, but afterwards as a regular source of income. The pope was also excluded from all voice in the election of bishops (see page 268). Since the beginning of the fifteenth century the wishes of both king and pope had guided the election, sometimes one sometimes the other being the more influential; but henceforward the king's will alone was law, and the penalties of *Praemunire* were denounced against the whole chapter unless a majority of the members voted for the king's nominee. There has never yet been an instance of refusal. In 1535 all the bishops were suspended and restored by Henry, so that the real meaning of his supremacy might be clear to everybody.

Separation from Rome completed.

The election of Bishops.

As the Act of Supremacy formed the central part of one side of the Reformation, the reception it received formed a test by which Henry

could judge of the loyalty of his subjects. While it was under consideration he had taken great pains to influence public opinion. Bishops and friars were compelled to preach the view, 'that the Reception of the Act. bishop of Home hath no more power in England than any other foreign bishop.' Mayors and others in authority were ordered to express the same sentiments at table, and on all public occasions. A circular was even sent to the justices of the peace ordering them to see that the clergy eradicated 'the memory of the pope,' 'not coldly or feignedly.' On the whole, the reception of the Act was favourable. Indeed, it seems to have met with remarkably little opposition ; to the average Englishman it mattered little whether the officials of the church looked to the king or to Rome for their head, and even the bishops and abbots accepted the change for the most part without opposition,

Three notable exceptions, however, demanded the attention of the government. The monks of the London Charter House, Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More were known to be hostile to the supremacy, and as they represented respectively the most pious of the monastic orders, the most upright and God-fearing of the existing prelates, and the spirit of lay culture, it was impossible for the government to ignore an opposition that was certain to be contagious. Fisher had been confessor to Lady Margaret, the mother of Henry VII., and had incited her to found St. John's and Christ's Colleges at Cambridge, and the Lady Margaret professorships of divinity. He was in high favour at Rome, and when the news of his arrest reached the pope, a cardinal's hat was foolishly bestowed upon him to the great indignation of Henry. Ostensibly Fisher's only fault was his reluctance to accept the supremacy, but it is certain that he had written to the pope advising an armed invasion of England—an act of undoubted treason. In the case of ail these malcontents Henry would certainly have been glad to find a means of mercy, but their firmness was inexhaustible, and eventually ten of the Charter House monks were hanged. Fisher was beheaded on the 22nd June 1535, and More on July 6 of the same year.

In all these proceedings Henry's right-hand man had been Wolsey*6 old servant, Cromwell. Thomas Cromwell, the first great English secretary of state, is believed to have been born about 1485, and was the son of a small ironmaster at Putney. He was brought up as an attorney and an accountant, but left England in 1504, and for some time took part In the wars in Italy. After engaging in business in Antwerp he returned to England and went

The Car.
thusiana.

Fisher.

More.

Thomas
Cromwell.

into business in London, combining attorney's work with money-lending and speculation in wool. There he attracted the attention of Wolsey, and was appointed by him to act as collector of revenues in the diocese of York, and was also employed in the dissolution of those monasteries whose property was transferred to Cardinal College. He also made his mark in the parliament of 1523. After Wolsey's fall, he attached himself to Henry, who thoroughly appreciated his ability, and for ten years he was the most influential layman in England in everything that concerned ecclesiastical matters.

Side by side with Cromwell stood Hugh Latimer, the son of a yeoman farmer of Leicestershire who fought at Blackheath. At fourteen Latimer went to Cambridge, and at nineteen became fellow of Clare Hall, and began his controversial life by writing against Melancthon. In 1520, however, he began to attack the abuses of the Church as he saw them in England, and as he was an able and fearless preacher he soon began to attract attention. The bishop of Ely tried to silence him; but Wolsey, liking Latimer's boldness, gave him full licence to preach. After Wolsey's fall, Latimer was fortunate in securing a patron in Henry who, appreciating the humour and boldness of his sermons, made him his chaplain, protected him in 1532 when the bishops tried to entrap him into a confession of heresy, and in 1535 made him bishop of Worcester.

The king's second marriage did not turn out well. The birth of an heir was anxiously looked for, and, unfortunately, of Anne's three children the two boys were born dead. The last died on the 29th of January 1536, and Henry was bitterly disappointed. Meanwhile, a strong party against Anne had been growing up; she was disliked by the old nobility because of her insolence, and by the Spanish party as representing the alliance with France. Her friendliness to the Protestants secured her the hatred of the orthodox; and when Queen Katharine died in January 1536, it was seriously asserted that Anne had procured her removal by poison. Suddenly, however, in April 1536, it was rumoured that she had been accused of adultery, and she and five gentlemen were arrested. Anne was tried by her peers, the gentlemen by various juries, but all were found guilty and put to death. The whole affair remains a mystery, and it is impossible to say whether Anne was guilty of the most abominable conduct, or whether she was the victim of a conspiracy; it is, however, certain that Henry believed the evidence against her. Anne's tragic death only made the succession question more complicated still; but now that she and Katharine were both dead, Henry was free to contract a marriage of undoubted legality,

and accordingly within a few days he married Jane Seymour, by whom in 1537 he had a son, Edward. Unluckily the queen died within a few days of his birth, and Henry remained unmarried for more than two years.

We saw that Wolsey had appreciated the necessity of reforming the monasteries. The abolition of the papal authority in England had

The Monasteries. brought the monks under the direct jurisdiction of the king, and probably no class resented the change which had

taken place more than the religious orders, or were more willing to engage in seditious resistance. Besides this, the necessity for monastic reform had been recognised for years. Morton, Warham, and Wolsey had each carried out visitations which revealed widespread corruption, but had been unable to cope with it effectively. Accordingly, in 1535,

Commission of inspection. Henry through Cromwell issued a commission to Legh, Leyton, and Ap Rice to inspect the monasteries. The commissioners were young and energetic men, with few scruple?

and they did their work thoroughly ; and when parliament met in 1536, their report, known as the Black Book of the Monasteries, was laid on the table of the House of Commons. As all procurable copies of this were destroyed under Queen Mary, the report itself has not come down to us; but the letters of the commissioners have been preserved, and these, coupled with the reports of previous visitations, leave no room for doubt as to the condition of the religious houses. The larger seem as a whole to have been fairly well conducted, though, usually, their financial condition was very bad; but some of the smaller houses were in a terrible state, and, undoubtedly, were the abodes of abominable vices. The commissioners themselves had done a good deal by way of reform; they had allowed all monks under twenty-four, and nuns under twenty-one, who wished to leave the abbey to do so, and they had everywhere insisted that those who remained should confine themselves to their monasteries and should obey the strict rules of their order. However, when the full report was laid before parliament, and the widespread nature of the evil appeared, the members concluded that in the case of the smaller monasteries reform was hopeless, and with the exception of about thirty abbey, which had been reported free from stain, all the religious houses having

Lesser monasteries dissolved. an income less than £200 a year—to the number of 376—were dissolved, and their incomes given to the king. The inmates were allowed either to migrate to a larger monastery or to go free, with a pension about equivalent to the income of an ordinary parish priest. At that date there was no idea of touching the greater monasteries, though Stokesley, bishop of London, remarked that 'the putrified

old oaks must soon follow.¹ The houses affected by this change were chiefly Benedictine, Cluniac, and Cistercian. The Friaries also were included.

It was not to be expected that Henry's proceedings would fail to rouse a strong opposition. The old Spanish party, attached to Katharine and the imperial alliance, were naturally aggrieved. The ecclesiastical changes had aroused a very bitter feeling among the lower clergy, while the dissolution of the monasteries produced a fresh crop of malcontents. The first open attempt at spreading disaffection was connected with the celebrated Nun of Kent Elizabeth Barton was a servant girl, subject to fits, who on the strength of some religious ravings had been made a sort of oracle and admitted into a monastery. Her prophecies had been sent to Wolsey, and she had been seriously examined, at one time or another, by Fisher and Sir Thomas More. At length it became clear that she was being used as the tool of some priests, who taught her to denounce the divorce and the separation from Borne. On being examined by Cromwell she made a confession of imposture, and she and her confederates were put to death in 1634. Throughout 1535 a large amount of intrigue was going on, connected with a proposed invasion of England by the emperor, to which no less than fifteen noblemen were said to have given their consent. The death of Katharine, in January 1636, put a stop to this ; but the spirit of disaffection was still widespread, and wanted nothing but a spark to cause a considerable conflagration.

Discontent was particularly strong in the northern counties of England. In those days the difference between the England north of the Trent and south of it was so marked as to constitute them almost two different countries. The northerners, hardened by the savage experiences of the Scottish wars and closely attached to the great baronial families, regarded the southerners with aversion, and were as ready for invasion and pillage as they had been in the Wars of the Roses. They had, moreover, special causes of grievance. The monasteries were much more popular in the north, where they were less out of date than in the south. Much annoyance had lately been caused by the hearing in London of suits which used to be settled in their own country. The Statute of Uses had caused serious inconvenience by practically making it impossible for landowners to make charges upon their estates for the benefit of their younger sons and daughters. To the nobles it seemed disgraceful that an upstart like Cromwell should be called to sit among the ancient barons of the realm. Lastly, the substitution of sheep-farming for agriculture, due to the great rise in the price of wool, had caused much

hardship among the poorer classes by diminishing the demand for labour and by stimulating the enclosure of commons. Nobles, gentry, and commonalty, therefore, had each their special grievance, and it was a question whether they could be brought to act in common against the government. Besides these real grievances all sorts of rumours were afloat. Cromwell's excellent plan of parish registers was represented as the design for levying taxation on weddings and christenings, and it was said that no man would be allowed to eat meat in his house without paying a duty to the king. The result of all these causes of sedition was a series of outbreaks which, beginning in Lincolnshire, spread thence through Yorkshire to Cumberland, and kept the north in commotion from the beginning of October 1536 till February 1537.

In Lincolnshire the outbreak was almost confined to the clergy and commons. It had no organisation; and though at one time many thousand men were in arms, the rebel host melted away before the advance of the duke of Suffolk. In Yorkshire it was much more formidable, and took the name of the Pilgrimage of Grace. The leaders were men of good family. Robert Aske, its chief organiser, was a cousin of the earl of Cumberland, and his chief supporters were Lord Darcy, an excellent soldier, and Sir John Constable, and they were supported by most of the best families of the north. Their plans were well laid, and they advanced with a picked force to Doncaster, demanding that the religious houses should be restored, that villein blood should be removed from the privy council, and that heretic bishops should be deprived and punished. There they found the river Don guarded by the duke of Norfolk, with a much inferior force. Aske, however, wished, if possible, to avoid bloodshed; and Henry, finding it necessary to temporise, authorised Norfolk to grant a full pardon to the rebels, and to promise a parliament at York. The armies then disbanded, and Henry used all his influence to regain the goodwill of the gentry, so as to divide his opponents. Meanwhile, a new insurrection had broken out in Cumberland and Westmorland, where the rebels attacked Carlisle; and in Yorkshire the spread of the belief that, after all, the king had deceived them, caused fresh trouble. Of this Henry took advantage to arrest Aske and the other leaders. At their trial it was shown that they still had in their hands artillery which belonged to the king, and accordingly they were convicted of treason. Aske, Darcy, Constable, four abbots—those of Fountains, Jervaulx, Barlings, and Sawley—and a few of the other leaders suffered death, but except in Cumberland and Westmorland the rebels were treated with lenity. The crisis was a most severe one,

Outbreak
in Lincoln
shire.

The Pil-
grimage of
Grace.

and had the rebels been supported by the emperor, or had they been able to put at their head a plausible claimant to the crown, the result might have been very different. As it was, little or nothing was effected; no parliament was held at York, and the chief permanent result was the establishment of the council of the north, which was a committee of the privy council, and sat for four months of the year at York, Hull, Newcastle, and Durham for the purpose of trying cases which would otherwise have been taken to London. The president of the court acted as the king's representative in the north, and had a general responsibility for its government. The Statute of Uses was still nominally enforced, but in practice the court of chancery found means to recognise the duties of trustees, and so removed the grievance complained of.

The council of the north.

Statute of Uses.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, as the rebels called their movement, served rather to accelerate than retard the dissolution of the monasteries. Consciousness of treason made many of the inmates anxious to conciliate the king; the irksomeness of the stricter life which the commissioners had enforced made their condition distasteful, and probably with the superior monks the liberal provision made by the king may have had its influence. At any rate, in 1536 the larger abbeys began, one after another, to surrender their property to the king. The first large house to surrender was Furness. Other monasteries were cajoled into making what they believed to be merely a formal surrender of their property. In some cases the property of a monastery was most tyrannically forfeited on account of the treason of the abbot; but in one way or another, before 1539, all had put themselves at the king's disposal. The monks were treated with great liberality. At Tewkesbury the abbot received over £250 a year, the prior £16, and the monks variable amounts ranging from £13 to £6, 13s. 4d., which may be reckoned at about fifteen times the amount in modern coinage. The goods and chattels of the abbeys were sold, but, except the lead, produced very little; the lands passed into the hands of the king.

Surrender of the greater monasteries.

The acquisition of such an enormous amount of property—for the monastic revenues were worth in our money £6,500,000—gave an immense opportunity. Some wished to use it for the purpose of increasing the number of bishoprics and the foundation of colleges and schools; others, for the reduction of taxation and the fortification of the coast. Henry, however, saw that the most practical use to make of it was to use it as a fund for securing a party for the Reformation; and the main part of the land was sold at a low price either to the neighbouring proprietors or to Henry's friends at

Disposal of the Abbey lands.

court. Six new bishoprics were created—those of Westminster, Oxford, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Peterborough ; and six great Benedictine monasteries were refounded as secular chapters for these sees. The old cathedral monasteries, such as Christ Church, Canterbury, were turned into secular foundations with a dean and canons. Some money was spent on the fortification of the coast. The vast majority, however, of the land passed into the hands of individuals—some of it in huge estates with which Henry and his successors rewarded the services of the Russells, Seymours, Dudleys, Cavendishes, and Cecils, but most of it in smaller portions—so that within twenty years it was stated that forty thousand families were interested in the retention of the abbey lands. The effect of this policy was to identify the Reformation with the material interests of an important section of the community, and to erect a most formidable barrier against any return to the old ways. The results of the dissolution of the monasteries were many and various; the removal of the abbots

Some results
of the Dis-
solution.

from the House of Lords had the effect of placing the spiritual peers in a permanent minority, and so of increasing the relative importance of that house. The distribution of the monastic property to laymen created a set of landlords more grasping if more active than their predecessors, and increased the evils of pasturage and enclosure. At the same time, the abolition of the monasteries deprived the poor and sick of the neighbourhood of a charity to which they had grown accustomed, so aggravating an evil which had already assumed serious proportions. To the reformers, however, the fall of the monasteries appeared an unmixed blessing ; as Spenser, the Puritan poet of the century, wrote: ' The thirsty land drank up his blood, his corse lay on the strand.'¹

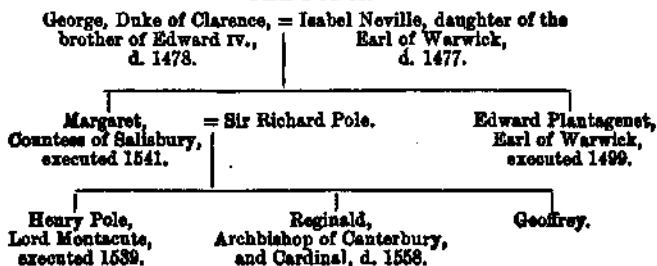
Though Charles had given no assistance to the Pilgrimage of Grace, the fear of an invasion from the Netherlands had been by no means removed, and in 1538 the government became aware of a most formidable conspiracy. The centre of this movement was Reginald Pole, the second son of Margaret, countess of Salisbury and daughter of the duke of Clarence, who had married Sir R. Pole. Reginald Pole had been a great favourite of Henry VIII., and had received a deanery and several canonries before he was nineteen. At first he favoured the divorce, but afterwards wrote a pamphlet against it, and a Latin treatise on ecclesiastical unity; for which the pope made him a cardinal and Henry had him attainted. In 1536 Pole was sent to the Netherlands with a commission from the pope calling on Charles to invade England. The natural result of Pole's conduct was to throw

Conspiracy
of the Poles.

suspicion upon his relations. His elder brother, Henry, Lord Montague, had married a daughter of Lord Abergavenny, a member of the Neville family, and was on terms of close intimacy with Henry Courtenay, marquis of Exeter, the son of Katharine, daughter of Edward iv. The power of the marquis of Exeter in the west was as great as that of the Howards in Norfolk, or the Percies in Northumberland, and this attempt to bring together the Nevilles, the Courtenays, and the line of Edward IV., pointed to a very real danger in case of invasion. Cromwell, however, was well prepared ; Geoffrey Pole, Reginald's younger brother, turned traitor, and on his evidence the marquis of Exeter and Lord Montague were found guilty of treason and beheaded in 1539. The countess of Salisbury also was implicated and sent to the Tower, but was not tried and put to death till 1541.¹

Meanwhile, as might have been expected, the ecclesiastical changes which had been made, and the religious ferment on the continent, were rapidly dividing England into two sections — those who, while gladly accepting the separation from Rome, were determined to preserve the orthodox belief, and those who were prepared to go further in the direction of reform. At the head of the former party were Norfolk, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, bishop of London ; while the other was led by Cranmer and Latimer. Henry was in favour of the former so far as doctrine was concerned, but agreed with the latter in pushing forward a translation of the Bible, and Cromwell took much the same line. All copies of Tyndal's Bible had been as far as possible destroyed ; but in 1534 Cranmer persuaded convocation to authorise a revision of it. Little progress, however, was made ; so Cromwell employed Miles Coverdale, who was then residing in Germany, to make a new translation, which he completed in 1535, with the advice and approval of Tyndal. In 1536 Tyndal fell into the hands of the Inquisition and was burnt, but in 1537 John Rogers

1 THE POLES.



pat together all Tyndal's work, which included the whole of the New Testament, and the Old Testament from Genesis to the Second Book of Chronicles, giving the remainder in Coverdale's translation. This ha published under the assumed name of Matthew, and Cromwell persuaded the king to give it his licence. Cranmer wrote a preface for it, and in 1539 it was placed in churches as 'The Great Bible'.¹ In the same year Henry allowed private persons to have Bibles, and new editions were quickly sold.

If the translation of the Bible was a success for the reforming party, the Act of the Six Articles was a triumph for their opponents. In 1539 a new parliament met, and at once took into consideration the condition of religious belief. The laity at this date were extremely sensitive to any imputation of heresy, and, led by the duke of Norfolk, the lords, in spite of some opposition from Cranmer and Latimer, agreed upon an Act which imposed upon the nation the belief and practice of Six Articles of Catholic doctrine, and it passed the lower house by acclamation. The Act asserted (1) truth of Transubstantiation ; (2) that communion in both kinds was not necessary; (3) that priests might not marry; (4) that vows of chastity ought to be observed; (5) that private masses ought to be continued; (6) that auricular confession must be retained. The penalty for denying the first was death; for the rest, forfeiture of property for the first offence, death for the second. Henry had suggested that in every case a written statement of his heresy should be given to the accused before trial, and that the trial should take place in open court, but these modifications were not accepted. The passing of this Act was a great blow to the advanced party, and Latimer, the most fearless among them, at once resigned his see. There is little doubt, however, that it exactly represented the position of the average Englishman who wished to see the Church of England separa' cd from Borne, but retaining the old faith unaltered. On July 30, 1540, a typical execution took place. Three priests, Abel, Featherstone, and Powel, attainted by parliament as traitors for denying the royal supremacy, and three Protestants, Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome, also attainted by parliament for heresies * too long to be repeated,' were dragged in pairs on hurdles to Smithfield and there put to death.

Execution of
Protestants
and Roman
Catholics.

Ever since the Reformation became the question of the day a division had arisen in foreign politics similar to that which had existed on religious matters. While the advanced reformers wished to connect Foreign Politics. England with the general reforming movement on the continent, their opponents were desirous of holding aloof. In 1530 the German

reformers had formed the League of Schmalkalden for mutual defence; and in 1539 it was hoped that the confederates might form an alliance with Francis. If Henry joined this, all danger of invasion by the emperor would be removed, and Cromwell strongly urged Henry to do so. The king agreed, and it was arranged that the alliance should be cemented by a marriage with Anne of Cleves, the sister of Anne of Cleves.

the duke of Cleves, whose territory occupied a most important position on the lower Rhine, linking the Protestant states of Germany with France and the Netherlands. Unfortunately the negotiations for the marriage had hardly been completed when the scheme for a general alliance broke down. Nevertheless Henry determined to fulfil his engagement; and, as Anne had been represented to him as a beautiful girl, he looked forward to the marriage with pleasure. However, when Anne arrived she turned out to be extraordinarily plain; and though Henry went through the marriage ceremony, he was soon determined on a divorce. This was arranged in a way most disgraceful to the clergy; but Anne herself seems to have readily acquiesced in the loss of her husband in return for a pension, and lived happily afterwards in England for many years.

The failure of the alliance and the king's disgust with his marriage were fatal to Cromwell. For some time his power had been growing more precarious. By the old nobility he was detested with a hatred worse than that with which they had regarded Wolsey; and at the very first symptom of the king's withdrawing his favour, he was attacked on all sides. A short time before, Cromwell had asked the judges whether an act of attainder passed without the accused being heard in his own defence would be good at law; the judges answered in the affirmative, and this opinion was now used against himself. The attack was led by the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner. It was not easy to show that he had committed treason; but a charge that he had exceeded his powers in the execution of his office was stretched to mean that he had encroached on the royal authority, and he was attainted of treason and beheaded in July 1540. Cromwell was undoubtedly an extremely able man and the first of the line of English lay statesmen. During the ten years of his power he had exercised very great influence over Henry, and was rightly regarded by the old nobility as their most formidable opponent. Cromwell's sister's son, Richard Williams, took the name of Cromwell, and was the great-great-grandfather of the Protector.

Cromwell's fall may be regarded as part of the reaction which had produced the passing of the Six Articles. Another symptom of

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it was Henry's marriage to Katharine Howard, niece of the duke of Norfolk, and daughter of Sir Edmund Howard who was killed in 1513.¹ Unluckily, after two years it was indisputably proved that she had behaved badly both before and after her marriage, and she was put to death, and the king soon afterwards married Katharine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer. She was a good and discreet person, and made Henry an excellent wife during his last years.

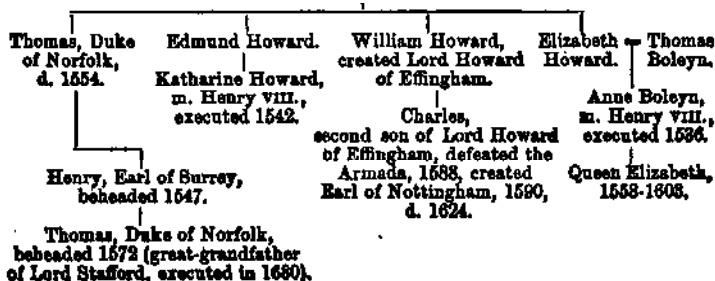
The reign of Henry saw several important changes made in the relations between different portions of the king's dominions. Hitherto Wales and the county palatine of Chester had been unrepresented in the English parliament. In 1536 this distinction was abolished. Twenty-four members for Wales, four for Cheshire, and three for Monmouthshire, took their seats in parliament. The lands of the lords-marcher were abolished. The old Welsh shires were enlarged, and five new shires—Denbigh, Radnor, Montgomery, Brecon, and Monmouth—were established. A council similar to the Council of the North began to sit at Ludlow, under a president; it heard appeals from the Welsh courts, and was generally responsible for the good order of the principality. In Ireland more than one rebellion occurred during the reign, but in 1536 the power of the turbulent Fitz-Geralds was broken by wholesale executions; and, in 1542, Henry brought Ireland a step nearer to the English crown by exchanging the title of lord for that of king of Ireland.

Between the battle of Flodden and 1542 there was no open war

¹ THE HOWARDS.

John Howard,
created Duke of Norfolk, killed at Bosworth, 1485.

Thomas, Earl of Surrey,
won battle of Flodden. 1513, restored to the dukedom. 1514, d. 1514.



between England and Scotland, but the border lords kept up a perpetual strife, and every effort was made to weaken the country by promoting internal dissension. It might have been hoped that the young king, James v., would have been friendly to his uncle; but when he grew up he threw himself into the French alliance, and married successively Magdalen, daughter of the French king, and afterwards Mary of Guise. The result was to accentuate the border quarrels; and, in 1542, James led an army to the border. The occasion, however, was seized by some of the Scottish nobles to show their dislike of James' favourites; and when the English army, composed of border farmers, made its appearance at Sol way Moss, the Scots fled in disgraceful rout. This broke James' heart; and in a few days he died, leaving his crown to his daughter Mary, an infant of a week old. Henry at once took advantage of this turn of affairs to suggest a marriage between his son Edward and the young queen. The proposal was of course viewed with favour by the English party in Scotland, but was disliked by the French, whose traditional policy of playing off Scotland against England would have been destroyed by it. However, in 1543, a treaty for the marriage was completed; but Cardinal Beaton and the French party acting in concert with Mary of Guise, threw every obstacle in the way, and finally getting the upper hand, entered upon an alliance with France. Henry, however, who was now in alliance with the emperor, took the offensive. He invaded France in person, and took the long-coveted town of Boulogne; while he sent an army by sea into Scotland under his brother-in-law Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and John Dudley, Lord Lisle, son of Henry VII.'s old minister. The invaders landed at Leith and burned it and Edinburgh, but effected nothing more. This lesson destroyed for a time the power of the French party, and in 1546 Cardinal Beaton was murdered.

Scotland.

Flight of Solway Moss.

Mary Queen of Scots.

War with France and Scotland.

During the later years of Henry VIII., the financial difficulties of the government drove the king into a great mistake. The possessions of the monasteries had for the most part been disposed of for political purposes at a price much below their value, and the money been spent at once. The expenses of the long preparation for an invasion of the southern coast had been very considerable, and the invasions of Scotland and France had put a further strain upon the resources of the country. In these circumstances the government fell back upon the unfortunate expedient of debasing the coinage. For many years the English coinage had maintained a high reputation; it had been renewed by Henry II., Henry in., Edward L,

Debasing of the Coinage.

and Edward III., and the standard set by the last monarch had been steadily maintained. The rule of the mint was that $\frac{3}{4}$ -oz. of alloy should be mixed with every 12-oz. of silver, in order to give sufficient durability to the coin ; but in 1543 coins were issued in which the proportion was 2-oz. of alloy ; and in 1546 the proportion was 8-oz. of alloy to 12-oz. of silver. The result of this was to relieve Henry by defrauding the government creditors, but its effect on the commercial prosperity of the country was disastrous. Transactions between distant customers became impossible, for no one knew the value of the money to be paid. The good coins were hoarded or sent out of the country, and nothing remained but the bad ones. The social evil which followed was as serious as the commercial. Prices went up, to the distress of the wage-earning classes, while wages, which never rise so rapidly as prices, were little altered. Distress in the towns, and beggary and robbery in the country naturally followed.

In religion, the last few years of Henry VIII. witnessed a constant struggle between the reformers and their opponents, sometimes the one and sometimes the other gaining the advantage. On the one hand, Gardiner's party were able to enforce the Act of Progress of the Reformation. the Six Articles against heretics ; and in 1546, Anne Askew, a well-known lady and friend of the queen, was burnt to death. They were also able, in 1543, to have the reading of the Bible forbidden to husbandmen, artificers, and journeymen, and to all women except gentlewomen. On the other hand, the reformers gained a great step in the direction of an English liturgy. Down to the Reformation there had been no service-book in use throughout the whole country. Various forms were in use in different parts of the country, and the Uses of Sarum, Lincoln, Bangor, and Hereford were most largely employed. As early as 1536, however, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments had been published in England along with some Articles of Belief There; for some time, progress stopped; but in 1544, Henry himself prepared, and possibly translated, our present Litany for processional use, and in 1545 there was issued a service for morning and evening prayer and the burial of the dead, to be used instead of the breviary. After 1545 Henry's health rapidly deteriorated, and all parties began to intrigue for the chief power under the expected minority of Edward, Henry himself was anxious that power should not fall into the hands of the Howards. Howards, who, as the leaders of the old nobility and of the reactionary movement against the Reformation, might be expected to undo much of his work. The duke of Norfolk himself, as an old and faithful servant of the crown, was not likely to commit himself;

but his son, Henry, earl of Surrey, the accomplished poet, was a man of rash and violent temper, and was certainly plotting to secure the ascendancy of his family. Suspicion was first aroused by his moving the arms of Edward the Confessor, which he had a right to bear, to a place on his shield, which meant that he was in direct descent from the throne. Upon this, he and his father were both arrested, and sufficient evidence was found to secure their attainder. Surrey was at once beheaded, but it is uncertain what would have been Norfolk's fate, had not Henry's death occurred in 1547.

The character of Henry VIII. has always had a strong fascination for historians. By some he has been represented as a monster of wickedness, and the slave of his own passions; by others as the able guide of his country through a most difficult time. The strong point of Henry VIII., like that of all men who have successfully led the English nation, was that at any given time his ideas represented the exact length to which the average Englishman was prepared to go. In the reform of church discipline, in the separation from Rome, and in the dissolution of the monasteries, he was certainly not in advance of the wishes of his time. In securing a translation of the Bible, he was supplying a demand which persecution had hardly been able to keep in check; on the other hand, when in fear of the spread of heresy he agreed to the Six Articles and the restriction of the use of the Bible, he accurately represented English fear of recklessly leaving the old paths. In the strength as well as in the weakness of his character, he was a thorough Englishman, and the middle course taken by the English Reformation as compared to its history in Germany, France, or Scotland, must be ascribed to the fact that we had in Henry VIII. a king who was able to guide the movement in accordance with the wishes of the more sober part of the lay population.

Reflections
on his
Character.

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Battle of Hodden, ...	1513
Divorce question raised, ...	1527
Act of Supremacy passed, ...	1534
Dissolution of the smaller Monasteries, .	1536
Incorporation of Wales, ...	1536
Pilgrimage of Grace, ...	1536
Surrender of the larger Monasteries confirmed,	1539
Act of the Six Articles, ...	1539
Fall of Cromwell, ...	1540
Debasement of the Coinage, ...	1548

CHAPTER III

EDWARD VI.: 1547-1553

Born 1637

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES

<i>Emperor.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Charles v., resigned 1556.	Mary, deposed 1567.	Henry ii., d. 1559.

The Arrangements for the Minority—Somerset—Battle of Pinkie, and Rebellions
In Devonshire and Norfolk—Ascendancy of John Dudley—The Reformation
—Unpopularity of the Government—Plot to alter the Succession.

HENRY VIII. left the crown by will to Edward, his son by Jane Seymour, and in event of Edward's death without children, to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth successively. • Failing their issue it was to go to Henry VIII.'s Will. the descendants of his sister Mary, duchess of Suffolk ; the children of Margaret of Scotland being thus omitted from the succession. Edward was only nine years old. He was to come of age at sixteen, and until then the government was to be carried on by a council of executors named in the will. Henry had chosen these with great care, excluding, as he thought, all persons of rash and violent character, and so managing that both the old faith and the new should be represented. By this means he hoped to secure the continuation of his own moderate policy until his son came of age. The chief members of the council were Hertford, Lisle, Cranmer, and Paget, who represented the new ideas ; and Wriothesley the chancellor, Sir Anthony Browne, and Tunstall, bishop of Durham, who inclined to the old order of things. No member of the council was to have precedence over the rest, so that responsibility for its actions might rest upon the whole council. Henry's chief reliance, however, was placed upon Hertford and Paget, and he spent the last two days of his life in earnestly explaining to them his ideas for the future government of the country.

Hardly, however, was Henry dead when Hertford and Paget set to work to upset his scheme. In spite of the chancellor, they persuaded the other executors that the good of the kingdom required a single head, and Hertford accordingly was appointed Protector of the realm, and governor of the king's person. The executors then declared that Henry had intended to raise many of them to higher ranks in the peerage, and to give them grants of church lands. Accordingly, Hertford became duke of Somerset, and his brother, Thomas Seymour, Lord Seymour of Sudeley; Lord Lisle, earl of Warwick; and Wriothesley, earl of Southampton. Two months later, a mistake of Wriothesley's led to his removal from the chancellorship, and then Hertford induced the king to give him a new commission as Protector, not as an executor under Henry VIII.'s will, but as the nominee of Edward himself.

Hertford
becomes
Protector.

The Protector was one of the most remarkable characters of his time. He was a man of undaunted courage and some military ability, of generous disposition, aiming at the accomplishment of great things, and sympathetic towards the grievances of the poor. But his abilities as a statesman were by no means equal to the position to which he had raised himself. He was wanting in caution, and belonged to that class of politician whom Frederick the Great described as 'always taking the second step before they took the first.'

Policy
of the
Protector.

The weakness of Somerset's character was at once shown in his treatment of religious matters. Henry VIII. had always aimed at holding the mean between the two opposing religious parties, and had hoped that his executors would follow out his policy when his son came of age. Somerset, on the other hand, over-estimating the ripeness of the country for change, and not understanding that what was popular in London and the seaport towns would probably not commend itself to the slower minds of the country districts, almost immediately sent out a commission to pull down all images in churches, and to whitewash the frescoes on the walls. They also abolished the mass, and ordered the service to be said in English. In London the commissioners were well received, but it was very different in the country; and things were made worse by the gross irreverence with which the commissioners' servants carried out the orders of their masters. They might be seen parading the country, dressed out in religious vestments; and images and pictures, which had received the reverent worship of many generations of parishioners, were dragged down and burnt amidst unseemly revel. Nothing could have been more unwise. Hitherto, so far as the country people had been concerned, the Reformation had been merely a question

of nominal changes ; but the destruction of the images and ornaments, the substitution of English for the chanted Latin services, for which this country was celebrated, brought home to the country people the reality of the change, and caused much excitement.

At the same time, the government foolishly attacked the interests of the artisans of the towns. In the towns the most important institution

Disendow-
ment of the
Guilds.

was that of the guilds, which dated back from before the Conquest, and seem to have been inseparable from English life. They were of many kinds: some, like the guilds merchant, were associations of leading merchants; others, like the craft-guilds of the weavers or dyers, were more like trades unions, except that they included both the masters and the journeymen; others were associations for common purposes, as for the cultivation of music. These guilds, besides regulating trade, performed a variety of useful functions. They acted as insurance or benefit societies, which aided members when they were sick, educated the young, helped workmen who had suffered from accident, provided for the burial of the dead, pensioned widows, and paid for masses for the repose of the souls of their members. Besides this they played a large part in the social life of the people. The feast days of the guilds were festive gatherings for their members, and in many places, as at York, miracle plays and processions formed part of the day's entertainment. In Norfolk there were no less than nine hundred and nine guilds, and in the little town of Bodmin there were forty-eight. In course of time these guilds had accumulated a considerable property, on which was charged the payment for masses for the dead ; and the Protector persuaded the members of parliament, who must have been themselves unconnected with the guilds, to pass an Act confiscating their property. The London trade companies, being too powerful to be touched with impunity, were spared.

In regard to Scotland Somerset pursued an equally reckless policy. Henry Tin. had been well aware that the all-important marriage which had

Scotland. been arranged between Edward and Mary could only be

carried out at the price of much tact, and also that it was necessary at all hazards to support the English faction in Scotland. Somerset neglected both these principles. He allowed the clerical party, with the aid of the French, to capture the castle of St. Andrews, where the murderers of Cardinal Beaton were holding out, and then exasperated the whole country by an invasion. He crossed the border in August, declaring that he came to enforce the treaty of 1543, and took with him 14,000 foot, 4000 horse, and 15 guns, marching along the coast towards Edinburgh supported by his fleet.

He found the Scots, 25,000 strong, posted near Musselburgh, on the Edinburgh side of the river Esk, which here flows into the Forth almost at a right angle. The river was shallow, but the banks were so steep and rugged that it could only be crossed by cavalry and guns at one bridge a quarter of a mile from the mouth. Somerset encamped his men about two miles short of the bridge, and was expecting a doubtful and difficult passage of the river in face of the Scots, when the enemy, mistaking his halt for fear, determined to advance next morning and themselves attack the English camp. Accordingly at daybreak they crossed the river by the bridge, and, turning to then right to avoid the guns of the English fleet, made their way over some marshy and arable land in the direction of Fawside Brae, a piece of rising ground about two miles from the sea. The English, however, divining their intention, were the first to seize the brae, where they planted artillery, and then charged the Scottish right wing with the English horse under Lord Grey. The impenetrable barrier of Scottish spears, however, threw the English horsemen into disorder, and Grey himself was wounded; but the Scots, in the excitement of victory, fell into confusion. In this condition they were charged by the English foot, and so complete a rout followed that it is said that no less than 13,000 Scots were slain. The victory of Pinkie destroyed for a time the Scottish military power, but from a political point of view it was worse than useless. Even Scotsmen who were not unfavourable to the English alliance were repelled by the barbarity of the invasion. The marquis of Huntly's remark that he 'misliked not the match but he hated the manner of wooing,' spoke the general sentiment. The Scots were thrown into the arms of France, and the little queen was at once sent across the water to be brought up at Paris as the future wife of the Dauphin. Next year the Protector sent a force to occupy Haddington, which was held for some years by the English.

The chief event of the session of 1549 was the issue of a new prayer-book, called the First Prayer-book of Edward vi. This was prepared by a committee of divines sitting at Windsor, of whom the best known were Cranmer and Nicolas Ridley, bishop of Rochester. It was approved by convocation, and was then laid before parliament. It received the sanction of both houses, and an Act of Uniformity was passed substituting it for the Uses and other services hitherto employed. This prayer-book was founded upon the old missal and breviary, and the work of translation was mainly done by Archbishop Cranmer. The question of the exact position of the Sacraments was longer debated, and in the end was settled

**Battle of
Pinkie.**

**First
Prayer-
book of
Edward VI.**

by a compromise which left room for some latitude of opinion, neither strictly following the views either of the old Catholics or of those who took their views from the teaching of Calvin at Geneva. This service-book was revised in 1552, 1559, 1603, and 1662. At its introduction, when it had to contend against the popularity of old-established uses, it was little liked, but the beauty of its language and its devotional tone have long endeared it to members of the Church of England.

The same session of parliament had to deal with the treason of Lord Seymour of Sudeley. This man, who was a notorious evil liver, was far

Lord Sey-
mour's
Treason.

inferior to his brother in every way. He was extremely ambitious and intriguing. He first aspired to marry the

Princess Elizabeth, then clandestinely married Henry's widow, Katharine Parr. On her death in 1548 he reverted to his former scheme, and bribed Elizabeth's attendants to influence her in his favour. Besides this, he used his influence as admiral to make friends with the pirates of the Channel; had money coined for him at Bristol; set on foot two cannon foundries; forged twenty-four cannons and thirteen tons of shots; and fortified and provisioned Holt Castle. These things having come to light, their treasonable character was manifest, and Seymour was put to death by an act of attainder. * He was a wicked man,' said Latimer,' and the realm was well rid of him.'

Trouble next arose in the West; the new service-book was read for the first time on Whit Sunday, 1549. It created a storm of indignation;

Rising in
the West

and in one village, at any rate, the congregation compelled the priest to sing mass as usual. The malcontents soon

appeared in arms, and an abortive attempt of Sir Peter Carew to put down the insurrection only added fuel to the flame. The rebels marched on Exeter, 10,000 strong, under Sir T. Pomeroy and Sir Humphrey Arundel, demanding the religious laws of Henry VIII., especially the Six Articles, the restoration of the mass and the elevation of the host, the suppression of the English version of the Bible, and the recall of Cardinal Pole. Had they marched on London at once, the situation would have been extremely serious, for insurrections had also broken out in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and other counties; but time was wasted in an unsuccessful siege of Exeter, and in August, Lord Bussell and Lord Grey de Wilton, aided by a body of German troops whom the government had hired as a standing army, attacked them at St. Mary's Clyst,

Battle of
St Mary's
Clyst

a village about four miles from Exeter. The rebels fought with the utmost determination, and Grey, who had led the cavalry at Pinkie, said he had never seen such steady-

ness; but in the end the German bullets proved too much for the valour

of the brave English peasantry, and, after a second battle at Sampford Courtenay, and the loss altogether of about 4000 men, the rebellion in Devonshire was put down. Arundel and three others were hanged at Tyburn. For his services in the west, Russell was made earl of Bedford.

While this struggle had been going on in the west, another insurrection had broken out in the eastern counties. Devonshire and Norfolk in those days represented almost the two extremes of English life. Norfolk was probably the richest county in ^{Rising in} Norfolk. England, with the largest number of manufactures, and a population more in sympathy with the Reformation than that of any other rural district in England. Devonshire, on the other hand, was far removed from the life and stir of the times, and clung to the old-world tradition. In Norfolk, however, the commons had grievances of their own. No county in England had been more affected by the rise of sheep-farming and the consequent evictions of yeomen tenants, enclosure of commons, and diminution in the demand for agricultural labour. The base coinage, too, had made the small wages even less remunerative than formerly, while the recent disendowment of the guilds had added a further cause of discontent. Accordingly, on July 6, at Wymondham near Norwich, a casual gathering of people resulted in an organised attack upon the enclosures, led by Robert and William Ket. The Kets were tanners of some means, and, under their guidance, the peasantry formed a camp on Mousehold Hill, which overlooks Norwich from the north. There they built log huts, supplied themselves with provisions from the manor-houses of the neighbouring gentry, and called the gentlemen themselves before them to answer for their conduct. Their proceedings were perfectly orderly ; no blood was shed ; the new morning and evening prayers were read daily ; and sermons were preached from a solitary tree, called the Oak of Reformation, among others by Matthew Parker. Somerset was placed in a great difficulty ; he had already expressed dissatisfaction with the enclosures, and appointed a commission to inquire into the subject; he therefore hesitated to use force, and tried to persuade the rebels to go home quietly. His well-meant intentions, however, failed; fighting began, and the council, taking the matter into their own hands, ordered the earl of Warwick, who was on his way to Scotland, to turn his forces against the rebels. This he did; and the peasantry, foolishly leaving the high ground, were ^{Battle of} attacked at great disadvantage in the valley of Duffindale, ^{Mousehold} Hill. and routed with the loss of 3000 men on August 27. It was said that

• silly prophecy, *The country gruffs, Hob, Dick, and Hick, with clubs

and clouded shoon, shall fill up Duffindale with blood of slaughtered bodies soon,' lured them to their destruction. The two Kets were hanged, the rest were not treated with severity. Other smaller movements took place in the other eastern counties, and the widespread cry of 'Kill the gentlemen !' showed what an exceedingly dangerous spirit of class hatred had been aroused by the new landowners.

For this state of things the gentry and nobility threw the blame on Somerset; and there could be no doubt that his rule had been a failure.

Unpopularity of Somerset. The French kings had been allowed, little by little, to make themselves masters of the environs of Boulogne, so that the port was only held with exceeding difficulty and expense.

The alliance with the emperor, so important in any war with France, had been endangered, and war with France was now imminent. The finances of the country were in complete disorder; from the highest to the lowest, the officials were tainted with the vice of peculation. There had been more rioting and rebellion in the last six months than in the whole reign of Henry VIII.; nothing seemed to succeed under the Protector's rule. The other councillors therefore determined to take their stand upon the literal meaning of Henry VIII.'s will, and to oust Somerset from his office of Protector.

The process was by no means easy. The councillors, led by Warwick, assembled in London, and drew up a remonstrance; but Somerset had **Fall of Somerset.** the king with him at Hampton Court, and when he heard of their design he issued a proclamation, calling upon the commons to come to his defence, and sent for Russell from the west to defend the person of the king. The councillors, however, held to their course, and sent letters over the country explaining their position. Their steadiness seems to have unnerved Somerset. He hurried the king, in a wild midnight ride, to Windsor in 1551, and there made a complete submission. He was conveyed to the Tower, and signed a series of charges against himself, based upon the failure of his policy. He was then treated with clemency, and in April next year was restored to his position in the council

After Somerset's fall, no new Protector was appointed, but the chief influence in the council fell into the hands of Warwick. John Dudley,

Rise of Warwick. earl of Warwick, was the son of the old minister of Henry VII. He had been largely employed under Henry VIII., had distinguished himself both as a soldier and as a diplomatist, and had been raised to the peerage in 1542 as Viscount Lisle. In 1544, and again in 1547, he had acted as second in command to Somerset in Scotland, and had maintained his previous character for efficiency. **Hit**

recent victory over the Norfolk insurgents, and the adroitness with which he had carried out the change of government, had made him the most conspicuous man in the state. Warwick was one of those men of the Napoleonic type who always come to the front in revolutionary times; ambitious, able, unscrupulous, indifferent to religious beliefs, singularly cool and calculating, he devoted his entire attention to the advancement of himself and his family.¹

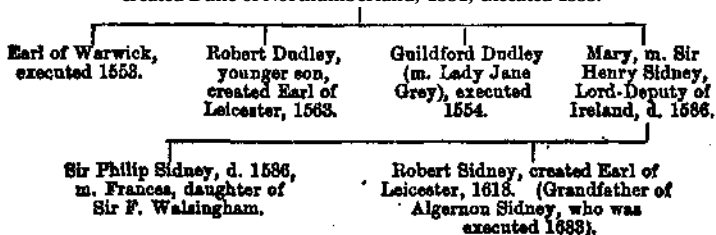
The immediate concern of the council was to remove the ill effects of Somerset's government. Careless, however, of everything but their own selfish interests, they attempted to provide for the debt policy of by borrowing more money, and by coining large sums of the Council. debased metal. They also attempted to check a sudden rise in prices, owing to a deficient harvest, by fixing a maximum price at which corn should be sold—a measure which created so much exasperation among the farming classes that it had to be withdrawn immediately, for fear of an insurrection. A more reasonable action was to make peace with France, which was done at the price of giving up Boulogne.

In religious matters the fall of the Protector made a new starting-point in the Reformation. Warwick was probably aware that a reaction towards the policy of Henry VIII. would have Religion. been popular, but he could hardly attempt this without releasing the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner; and he saw clearly that a restoration of the old nobility to power would be fatal to his own pretensions; he therefore supported the Reformation. Accordingly, Bonner, Gardiner, and other bishops of the old faith were deprived, and their places taken by such men as Ridley, bishop of London, and Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Miles Coverdale, bishop of Exeter. All three were strong Protestants, and Hooper was with difficulty

¹ GENEALOGY OF THE DUDLEYS AND THE SIDNEYS.

Edmund Dudley (minister of Henry VII.) executed 1509.

John Dudley (Viscount Lisle, 1542; Earl of Warwick, 1547),
created Duke of Northumberland, 1551, executed 1553.



induced to wear the Episcopal robes. At the same time, there was no cessation in the prosecution of heretics whose views were more advanced than those of the men in authority. In 1550 Joan Boucher was burnt for heretical views as to the Incarnation ; and in 1551 George van Paris, a Dutch Anabaptist, suffered the same fate. The responsibility for these executions lies mainly with Cranmer, who with great difficulty persuaded Edward to give his consent. Meanwhile, the council were much puzzled as to what should be done about the Princess Mary, who still adhered to the use of the mass. She was ordered to desist but stood firm ; and, the emperor Charles having interested himself in her favour, the council, fearful that he might ally himself with France against England, with* drew their prohibition of its use in her household.

Meanwhile, Somerset had been regaining a good deal of his influence. His personal character gave him an immense advantage over his rival, and his genuine attachment to Protestantism gained him the affectionate support of the earnest believers in the new faith. In the autumn of 1551 it seemed quite possible that a reaction in his favour might again drive Warwick from power, and both statesmen were undoubtedly plotting against one another. Warwick, however, was the more astute, and, taking advantage of information he possessed as to Somerset's schemes, he had him suddenly arrested on a charge of treason. Eventually, however, the charge of treason was dropped, but Somerset was found guilty of a murderous conspiracy against his rival, and was beheaded in January 1552. The scene at his execution proved his extraordinary popularity, and those near the scaffold dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood to keep them as relics ; but Edward coolly noted in his journal, ' the duke of Somerset had his head cut off, upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning.¹ From that day forward Warwick, who shortly before had been made duke of Northumberland, became thoroughly detested.

In 1552 there was an important session of parliament; in which was sanctioned a revised version of the Prayer-book, commonly called the Second prayer-book of Edward vi. The new work was a drastic revision of the old; and the changes made, especially in regard to the Sacrament, being in the Protestant direction, made it less easy for those who believed in Transubstantiation to accept it. With the new prayer-book were published an ordinal abolishing some ceremonies and vestments hitherto allowed, forty-two articles of religion, a set of homilies, and a catechism for the instruction of the young. An act was also passed regulating trials for treason, by which it was enacted

Death of
Somerset

Second
Prayer-
book of
Edward VI

Treason
Trials.

that in fixture no one should be convicted except on the evidence of two witnesses at least.

Another series of acts dealt with the economic difficulties of the time. The abolition of villeinage and the virtual separation of the labourer from the soil had created a class of labourers who were wholly dependent for their livelihood upon the sale of their labour. If they could not sell it they had nothing to fall back upon, and although it had been assumed that there was work for everybody who wanted it, experience showed that this was not true. The Unemployed. Statesmen, in fact, were confronted in the sixteenth century, First Poor Law. for the first time, with the problem of the 'unemployed'.¹ They met it by a Poor Law enacting that in each parish a systematic collection was to be made for the poor, and by appointing a commission to see what could be done for the revival of agriculture. On the other hand, they neglected a practical scheme which was offered to them Usury forbidden. for making dyeing a great English industry, and renewed the old laws against usury, which was declared to be 'odious and detestable'.¹

Nothing could be better calculated to bring about a reaction against the Reformation than the conduct of Northumberland and his friends. Under the new order of things everything seemed to be going from bad to worse. In old time the immorality of the clergy had been a grave cause of complaint; but the Reaction against the Reformation. Reformation, by concentrating men's religious thoughts on points of belief only, had as usual led to neglect of conduct, and now there was complaint of a general relaxation of manners. In the old days, before the disendowment of the guilds, some means had been taken to ensure the quality of goods; now, there was complaint on all hands of adulteration and bad work, and, to the disgrace of the country, English merchandise had been exposed at Antwerp and Venice as of fraudulent manufacture. Before the fall of the monasteries there had been less talk of the rapacity of the landowners, and of the new proprietors who regarded the life of a man less than that of a sheep. In the old days government had contrived to live on its own; now the country was deeply in debt, and that in spite of the confiscation of vast quantities of church property, the sale of the church bells, of the lead from their roofs, even of the copes and surplices of the clergy. For all these things, the Reformation tended to get the blame; and men looked back with regret to the time of Henry VIII., who, though stern and harsh to his opponents, had always been in sympathy with the general body of his subjects.

Much was hoped from Edward's rule. Though delicate, he was a precocious lad, and some of his written papers show a marvellous insight

into the real state of affairs. He was now fifteen years old; he was to come of age at sixteen, and it was hoped that when he could take the

Edward's reins into his own hands an immense improvement would
 Character, be made. Already he had done something to cut down the expenses of the royal household, and had formed a scheme for gradually paying off his debts. Unluckily, in the spring of 1552, Edward began to show unmistakable signs of failing health. As early as the night ride to Windsor in 1551, he had been troubled with a cough which he seemed unable to shake off, and he now grew rapidly worse. His condition filled Northumberland with alarm ; according to Henry VIII.'s will, made with the full sanction of parliament, he was to be succeeded by the

Princess Mary—and the duke could have no doubt that in
 North-berland's Plot. that event his own ruin was certain. He therefore devised an ingenious plan to set aside the succession. After Mary and Elizabeth the crown was to go to the duchess of Suffolk, and then to her daughters Jane and Katharine Grey. Northumberland, therefore, arranged a marriage between Lady Jane and his son Lord Guildford Dudley, and between Katharine Grey and Lord Herbert, the eldest son of his friend the earl of Pembroke. Edward throughout his life had shown himself an ardent Protestant, and the celebrated John Knox and Grindal, afterwards the Puritan archbishop of Canterbury, were among his chaplains. On this Northumberland worked, and persuaded him that, in the interests of Protestantism, Mary must be set aside, nominally on the plea of her illegitimate birth. The same rule applied to Elizabeth. He then induced Edward, without parliamentary authority, to make an illegal will, bequeathing the crown to Lady Jane and her heirs, afterwards to her sister, and then to the heirs of Margaret, daughter of Margaret Tudor, who had married the earl of Lennox. The judges plainly pointed out to Edward the illegality of what he was doing, but the boy persisted, and the will was accepted under compulsion by most of the leading men. After this Edward rapidly grew worse, and on July 6, 1553 he died in his sixteenth year.

CHAPTER IV

MARY: 1553-1558

Born 1516 ; married 1554, Philip of Spain.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
Mary, deposed 1567.	Henry II., d. 1559.	Charles I., resigned 1656. Philip II., d. 1598.
	<i>Emperor.</i>	
	Charles v., d. 1558.	

The Accession—The Spanish Match—Gradual Repeal of the Ecclesiastical Legislation passed since 1529—Persecution of the Protestants—War with France and Loss of Calais—Unpopularity of the Government.

NORTHUMBERLAND had made every preparation to keep Edward's death concealed until Mary had been arrested, but a friend conveyed instant intelligence of it to Hunsdon in Hertfordshire where she was residing. Edward died between eight and nine o'clock on July 7, and before the next morning Mary was on her way to Kenninghall in Norfolk, a castle belonging to the Howards. Norfolk himself, the head of the family, was in the Tower, but the others were keenly in her favour; and Norfolk was a good place, either for a long resistance or for flight to the continent in case it became necessary. Everywhere on her road Mary declared herself queen, and called upon all loyal Englishmen to come to her assistance. Meanwhile, Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards the famous earl of Leicester, had been despatched by his father to Hunsdon to arrest her. He found the bird flown, and it then appeared what a fatal mistake Northumberland had made in not effecting Mary's arrest sooner.

Concealment being no longer possible, Northumberland gathered the council, announced Edward's death, and made preparations for the accession of Lady Jane. On the 9th she was accepted as queen by the lords of his party, and on the 10th took up her residence in the Tower. The same day she was formally proclaimed

in the city. The people listened respectfully, but made no demonstration in her favour; and one lad, Gilbert Potter, boldly exclaimed, 'the Lady Mary has the better title !' Jane herself, who from the accounts retained of her and from her own letters, must have been of a most beautiful character, combining sincere piety with a learning and wisdom far beyond her years, took little pleasure in her new dignity, but showed Northumberland that she was likely to be no puppet in his hands by declining to have her husband Lord Guildford Dudley crowned with her. 'That,' she said, 'could not be done without an act of parliament'

From the country the most serious reports were hourly reaching Northumberland ; his sons, Lord Warwick and Lord Robert, had caught up Mary's escort, but their own followers had refused to

Hopeless-
ness of
Jane's
cause.

fight. Noblemen and gentlemen were flocking into Norfolk from all sides, and the earl of Derby was said to have raised 20,000 Cheshire men to fight for the rightful queen. The

fact was, that, as the case presented itself to all but a small clique, Mary's claim was unanswerable. She was the rightful heir, according to a will made by the authority of an act of parliament, and never set aside. Nothing was known of her character but good; she had won respect by the determined stand she had made on behalf of her own religion, and pity by the long course of ill usage to which she had been subjected. Her accession might be expected to restore the good times of Henry VIII., and to produce such a religious settlement, based upon his policy of separation from Rome but adherence to Catholic doctrine, as the majority of Englishmen undoubtedly desired. Jane's success, on the other hand, meant the continuance in power of Northumberland and his creatures, who were identified in the popular mind with all the mistakes and corruption of the last reign. In these circumstances, therefore, Jane had no chance.

To defeat the forces who were gathering round Mary and to seize her person was Northumberland's one chance, and he therefore hired troops

Collapse of
Northum-
berland's
plans.

by lavish promises of pay, and set out for Norfolk ; while the fleet was sent round to Yarmouth. But the ranks of Northumberland's army had been deliberately filled by the servants and dependents of his bitterest enemies, who were

prepared to turn upon him at the first favourable moment, while, immediately on their arrival at Yarmouth, the sailors declared for Queen Mary. No sooner had Northumberland left London than the lords of his own party headed by Lord Pembroke, the father-in-law of Katharine Grey, declared for Mary, and the news reached Northumberland when a few miles beyond Cambridge. Seeing that the game was up, he

retraced his steps, and on July 20 himself proclaimed Mary at Cambridge. Next day he was arrested by Mary's orders, and with his son the earl of Warwick, and a few others, sent to the Tower. On the 3rd August Mary entered London, riding side by side with the Princess Elizabeth, and her first act was to release from the Tower Norfolk, Gardiner, and Edward Courtenay, son of the marquis of Exeter, who had been executed in 1539. Northumberland could expect no mercy. He was executed at once, and did infinite harm to the cause of the Reformation by a declaration that his Protestantism had been all along a sham. ^{Trial of} Lady Jane Grey and Lord Guildford Dudley were also sent ^{Lady Jane.} the Tower, and in November were tried and convicted of treason, but Mary had no intention at this date of putting their sentences into execution.

At her accession Mary was thirty-six years of age, with a face which, though stern, was not without beauty when animated; and from her picture she must have been extremely like her great-grandmother Margaret Beaufort, from whom perhaps she inherited the strength of her religious convictions. Now that people could show their minds freely, it was clear that Mary's accession was cordially ac- ^{Mary's} cepted by all but a small group of reformers, but her very ^{position.} success was in itself a danger. The English people had accepted Mary as offering the best chance of securing a certain kind of government, rather than from any real knowledge of her character, of which they knew only the best side. She would certainly endanger her popularity either by a foreign marriage, or by any attempt to bring back the country into communion with Rome. Unluckily for her, these were precisely the points on which her mind was already made up; and when she thought any course to be dictated by the interests of religion she had no hesitation in carrying it through, irrespective of policy.

The ablest adviser in her council was Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Wolsey's old pupil, who became lord chancellor. He was thoroughly English in his sympathies, and, though he wished ^{Stephen} to go back to the religious policy of Henry VIII., had no ^{Gardiner.} desire to re-establish the authority of the pope. Instead, however, of listening to his advice, Mary put herself completely in the hands of Renard, the imperial ambassador, whose one wish was to ^{Renard.} promote the interests of his master. She also opened a secret negotiation with the pope and with her enthusiastic cousin, Cardinal Pole, who was appointed papal legate, and who wished to come to England at once. Neither Renard, Pole, nor Mary really understood the English people, and consequently from the very first Mary's popularity began to diminish.

The first question raised, was that of the queen's marriage. Gardiner, and practically the whole English nation, wished that she should marry Edward Court en ay, who had been created earl of Devon, and who was the last representative of the Yorkist line ; and an alliance with him would therefore have strengthened the dynasty, while it would have produced no complication with foreign powers. Mary, on the other hand, had made up her mind to marry Philip, the eldest son of the emperor, and received every encouragement from Renard. He also did all in his power to set her against her sister Elizabeth, and to incite her to the execution of Lady Jane Grey and her husband. Mary herself was quite infatuated upon the subject, and imagined herself deeply enamoured of Philip, whom she had never seen. Nothing could exceed the unpopularity of the match in England. The only thing to be said in its favour was that as the Queen of Scots was married to the Dauphin, England ought to strengthen herself by a connection with Spain ; but this seemed nothing compared to the danger of becoming a mere dependency of the Spanish monarchy, like Naples or the Netherlands, which most Englishmen fully expected. However, the Protestants and the Catholics could not agree to make common cause against it, and the result was that Mary carried the consent of the council by surprise. Nevertheless in drawing up the marriage articles, Charles v. was careful to allow fully for English susceptibilities. He reserved to Mary the sole administration of English affairs and of English revenues, and as Spain would go to Don Carlos, Philip's child by his first wife, he promised Burgundy and the Low Countries to the children of the English marriage. The council also stipulated that no foreigner should have any command in the army or the fleet, and that England should not be involved, directly or indirectly, in the war between France and the empire. The arrangements were concluded before the close of the year, and it was intended that the marriage should take place before Lent 1554, when an outburst of insurrection in England caused it to be postponed.

The leaders of the insurrection were the duke of Suffolk, Courtenay, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Peter Carew, and other persons who had been friends of the duke of Northumberland. Nominally their insurrection was directed against the Spanish marriage; but had they succeeded, Mary would in all probability have been dethroned and Elizabeth set in her place. The insurrection proved a failure. Courtenay was questioned before the council and confined; Carew was arrested in Devonshire; and Suffolk found that his connection with Northumberland prevented the midland counties from rising in his favour. Sir

Thomas Wyatt, however, got together a considerable following in Kent, and being joined at Rochester by a body of Londoners whom the earl of Norfolk had led against him, made his way to Suffolk. Had he been able to cross London Bridge, matters would have been very serious, for Mary's rule was more unpopular in the city than anywhere else. She herself, however, with masculine courage, rode to the Guildhall, and promising that she would not marry till the project had been considered by parliament, succeeded in enlisting the goodwill of the citizens. London Bridge, therefore, was held against Wyatt, and there was nothing for it but to march up the river to the next bridge at Kingston, and cross there. This he did; but his followers melted away, and though Wyatt himself, whom the citizen-soldiers seemed unwilling to slay, made his way to the city, he was there arrested.

This foolish and ill-managed insurrection was not only ruinous to the cause of those who wished to prevent the marriage, but fatal to the friends of those who were concerned in it. Renard seized upon the opportunity to win Mary's consent to the execution of the innocent Lady Jane, and she was put to death with her husband on February 12 ; while Gardiner, flying at higher game still, spared no effort to implicate Elizabeth, who was sent to the Tower. To get evidence against her of complicity in the rebellion, threats and promises were used to the condemned insurgents. Fortunately, however, these failed ; and Wyatt on the scaffold declared that she had had nothing whatever to do with the movement. Courtenay was imprisoned for some time, but ultimately was released. He died unmarried at Venice in 1566. The other insurgents were hanged in scores. After Elizabeth had been kept in the Tower till May 19, she was sent to Woodstock. The marriage arrangements now went on without opposition. In April parliament met and confirmed the marriage treaty ; and in July Philip arrived, and the marriage took place on July 25. At his marriage with Mary, Philip was twenty-seven years of age; he was short, but well proportioned, with a broad forehead, grey eyes, and a flaxen pointed beard, which added length to a face already long by nature. His disposition was cold, and his capacity was of a very moderate order. In religion he was a bigoted Catholic, but was not prepared to allow his religious convictions to interfere either with his political schemes or his private life. He regarded his marriage as one of purely political expediency, designed as a set-off to that between the Dauphin and Mary Queen of Scots. If he* could acquire real power in England, he was prepared to stay ; if not, he would go home as soon as possible*

Death of
Lady Jane.

Danger of
Elizabeth.

Mary
marries
Philip.

Philip's
Character.

It is now time to turn to ecclesiastical matters. On Mary's accession a reaction was so certain that most of the foreign clergy, and a great many of the English divines who had taken a prominent part during the last reign—among others, Peter Martyr and John Knox—immediately left the country. Others like Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, remained at their posts, and Cranmer issued a bold letter in which he declared his adherence to the new views. It was soon seen how far the measures of Edward vi.'s councillors had been in

advance of popular opinion. Without any orders at all, the mass was practically restored, each congregation acting for itself in this matter. When parliament met in October it repealed the religious acts of the parliaments of Edward vi., and restored • Such divine service and administration of the sacraments as were most commonly used in England in the last year of King Henry VIII.'

Meanwhile, the reforming bishops had been deprived of their sees, and their places taken either by their old occupants, such as Gardiner at Winchester, and Bonner at London, or by new men whom the government could trust. Thus strengthened in the House of Lords, Gardiner, in April 1554, introduced bills to restore the Six Articles, the statutes against Lollardy, and the episcopal jurisdiction permitted in the reign of Henry VIII.; but Lord Paget, the old and trusted minister of Henry VIII., successfully opposed their passing. In October a new parliament met. Great pains had been taken to influence the elections, and the result was shown in a House of Commons more friendly to Mary than any of her parliaments. By this time Mary ventured to bring back Cardinal Pole as papal legate, and in November he landed in England. In spite, however, of the members' goodwill to the government, they made the most stringent bargain with Pole, and insisted upon having the whole of it recorded in an act of parliament. On the one hand, they confessed the sin of which they had been guilty in separating from Rome, and begged to be again received into favour, and repealed most of the ecclesiastical legislation of Henry VIII. On the other hand, they insisted that the pope should in the fullest manner guarantee the possession of the abbey and other church lands to their present possessors.

Similarly they bargained that the restoration of the church courts and of the Lollard statutes of Henry iv. and Henry v. should be bought at the price of the clergy declaring that they had no right to the lands they had lost; and they retained in full force the old Statute of Praemunire, and the other anti-papal legislation

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The Mass restored.
Ecclesiastical legislation of Edward VI. repealed.

Ecclesiastical legislation of Henry VIII. repealed.

Lollard Statutes restored

which dated earlier than 1529. Also in repealing Henry VIII.'s legislation they were careful to say, in respect of the acts of succession on which Elizabeth's title depended, that they repealed so much only as affected the see of Rome. In this way a formal reconciliation was effected, and Pole withdrew the interdict.

Elizabeth's
title
preserved.

By the end of the year it was announced that Mary was about to have a child. Provision was therefore made for a regency in case of her death; but parliament, in assigning the post to Philip, enacted that the marriage articles should in that case remain in full force during his term of office. The birth of Mary's child was looked forward to by the English and Spanish courts with the utmost enthusiasm : a boy was confidently predicted, and every preparation was made for the celebration of BO auspicious an event

An heir
expected.

Parliament was dissolved on January 16, and within a fortnight the work of burning the Protestants began. The actual initiative was taken by Gardiner, who, it is not improbable, expected that the terror of the flames would produce recantations similar to that made by Northumberland, and do great discredit to the Protestant cause. But there is little doubt that the real inspirer of the persecution was Mary herself, and after her, Pole. The first victims were selected with care. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, had been conspicuous for his devotion as a prelate ; and Rogers, canon of St. Paul's, was well known as a translator of the Bible ; both were burnt early in February, and before the end of March Ferrar, the well-meaning bishop of St. David's, and thirteen other persons of less note, also suffered. Of seventeen who had been brought to trial, only one recanted; the constancy of the others was received by the spectators with admiring reverence; and it was soon evident to unprejudiced spectators like Benard that the government was defeating its own ends.

Persecution
begun.

Mary's child was expected at the beginning of May, but it did not come ; and Mary in a passion of disappointment, hoping to propitiate heaven, sent a letter to the bishops to enjoin greater activity in persecution, and in three months fifty more victims were sent to the stake. Before the end of summer it was evident to everybody that the unfortunate queen had been deceived

Mary suffering:
from an
incurable
disease.

by the symptoms of an incurable disease, and that not only would she never have a child, but that her own life could not be much prolonged. In August a further blow fell upon her. Charles v. had long been contemplating resignation, and wanted his son at home. Philip, therefore, gladly made this an excuse to leave England. In leaving he strongly urged upon the queen the policy of keeping on good terms with

Elizabeth, whose future accession might now be regarded as certain. In November Mary lost her best English adviser, Gardiner, the last of the statesmen whom Wolsey had trained, and after his death she seems to have acted almost entirely by the advice of Pole.

Hitherto the only bishops who had been put to death were Hooper and Ferrar; Coverdale had been released at the intercession of the Further king of Denmark; and most of the other deposed bishops, Persecution. though married men, had not been remarkable for strong heretical views. Oranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, however, were left; and in September 1555 they were brought up for trial at Oxford. The point upon which stress was laid was their belief with regard to transubstantiation; and upon this all three were condemned as heretical. Cranmer's case, as an archbishop, was reserved for the consideration of

the pope. Latimer and Ridley were burnt together at Oxford on October 16. Both perished at the same stake; and Latimer's last words to his companion were: 'Play the

man, brother Ridley; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.¹ In February authority arrived from Rome for dealing with Cranmer, and on February 14, 1556 he was formally divested of his archiepiscopal robes. On this occasion Oranmer put forward an appeal to a general council. Those wishful to spare him, founded upon this act a hope of recantation. Every effort was, therefore, made to play upon his natural clinging to life. To this he yielded, and signed a series of submissions, finally describing himself as the real cause of all the ills that had taken place. Nevertheless Mary and Pole were determined that he should die; but hoping for a public recantation, which would have been an even greater scandal to Protestantism than that of Northumberland, arranged that he should profess his views publicly in St. Mary's Church at Oxford. But when the time came to speak the archbishop recovered his nerve, withdrew all his recantations, and boldly declared that he would die a Protestant. 'As for the pope I utterly refuse him, as the church's enemy and anti-Christ, with all his false doctrine: and as for the sacraments, I believe, as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester.'¹

Furious with disappointment, his persecutors at once hurried him to the stake, where he showed his constancy to the last by thrusting into the flame the right hand—'that unworthy hand'—with which he had signed his recantations. He was immediately succeeded as archbishop by Pole. After Cranmer's death the persecution of meaner victims went on as before; but it is very remarkable that among all the laity put to death there was no one of distinction*

Cranmer
burnt,
March 31.

Indeed, of the whole total of two hundred and seventy-seven, not more than a dozen could be described as in any way notable. For the most part, indeed, the persecutors shut their eyes to the heresy of the powerful, and laid their hands only on the defenceless. Equally noteworthy is the small area in which persecution was carried out. In the diocese of London, Bonner burnt one hundred and twenty-eight; in that of Canterbury, Pole was responsible for fifty-fire; in Norwich, Hopton for forty-six ; and all the other dioceses together only contributed about fifty, Gardiner seems to have taken no part after he found that persecution would not produce recantation. As a statesman he probably recognised that persecution was defeating its own ends, and that by showing that Protestantism was a faith for which martyrs would die, Mary and her* advisers were doing it the best of services.

It must not be supposed that Mary's proceedings were not viewed with profound disgust by the mass of the nation. To move, however, was extremely difficult. Had English politics been ^{Popular feeling.} isolated from those of the continent, a national rising would certainly have dethroned Mary and placed Elizabeth on the throne. But it was well known that Philip was watching for any excuse to throw Spanish troops into England. In that case it would have been almost necessary to have recourse to France; and no prudent Englishman could wish to see a French army on English soil supporting Elizabeth, confronted by a Spanish force fighting for Mary. In these circumstances the wisest Englishmen decided to bide their time. Mary's life could not be prolonged, and they determined to wait till Elizabeth succeeded in natural course. This prudent resolve, however, was not respected by a number of young Englishmen, some of whom in 1556 ^{Abortive risings.} formed a plan to land French troops in the Isle of Wight; and Thomas Stafford, grandson of the last duke of Buckingham, sailed from France and seized Scarborough Castle in April 1557, but was immediately taken prisoner and put to death.

These ill-judged schemes were only serious because they supplied Philip with an excuse for urging Mary to declare war against France; and accordingly in the summer of 1557 he paid a short visit ^{War against France.} to England, during which he induced her to declare war. For such an undertaking the country was wholly unprepared. Mary had been spending the income of the crown on the restoration of abbeys and churches, while the ships and fortifications had been falling to ruin. The government was extremely unpopular; money could only be collected by forced loans and by levying illegal customs duties; the few councillors who still attended were for the most part as incompetent and

as fanatical as Mary herself, and nothing but disaster could be expected. The war, however, opened with a slight gleam of success. An English contingent was sent to the Netherlands, and though it did not arrive in time to take part in Philip's great victory at St. Quentin, it took its share in the storm and sack of the town itself. Philip's hesitation, however, prevented him from following up his victory; and the French were able to recall the duke of Guise from Italy, and to make preparations for a counter-stroke, at the English expense, by attacking Calais.

At that date the English held within the Pale of Calais two towns, Calais and Guisnes, and the connecting fortress of Hammes. Of these, Calais and Guisnes were both strongly defended. The Calais attacked. governor of Calais was Lord Wentworth, and of Guisnes Lord Grey, the hero of Pinkie, both excellent soldiers. They had long been aware that Calais was likely to be attacked, and had in vain warned the government that the garrison was inadequate to its defence; but the government heeded not. The provisions were allowed to dwindle down to a supply for only three or four weeks; the sluices upon which the water defences of Calais depended were unrepaired. All through the month of December Wentworth wrote again and again urging the necessity of reinforcements. On the 29th he announced that the French might be expected immediately. No effect, however, was produced; and on the 31st Mary wrote that 'she had intelligence that no enterprise was intended against Calais and the Pale, and that the reinforcements had been countermanded.¹ The very next morning the French formed their lines. Wentworth had only five hundred men against some 25,000, but he contrived to hold out till the 6th, when he was forced to surrender. In England the four days thus gained were wasted. Though the sea was calm, no reinforcements were sent over; and when at length on January 10 some ships and men were ready, a south-westerly gale dispersed the transports; and on January 20, Grey too was forced to Calais surrendered. surrender. The loss of Calais came upon the country like a thunder-clap, and completed the unpopularity of a government who were so entirely responsible for the disaster. A French invasion even seemed imminent, and though before summer, the nation plucked up heart, and a fleet was again manned and at sea, and even took an honourable part in a fight between the Spaniards and the French on the sea-coast near Gravelines, the self-respect of the nation suffered a terrible blow.

By no one in the country, however, was the disaster more felt than by the queen. She now knew that she was stricken with a mortal disease,

and that in a few months her sister Elizabeth, whose very beauty was an offence to her, would take her place and reverse her policy. Her husband had again left her, with no probability of return. Her best friend, Cardinal Pole, had been deprived of his ^{Mary's} last days. legatine authority by the pope, and was labouring under a charge of heresy. She knew that she was hated by her subjects, who were waiting with eagerness the hour of Elizabeth's accession. Still she adhered to her old course ; the burnings went on ; the rebuilding of monasteries was continued. When the end came, she faced it boldly, recognised Elizabeth as her successor, and died on the 17th November 1558. The same day died Cardinal Pole. Of Mary's character the most charitable explanation is that her mind was unhinged by the strain which followed upon her accession to the throne. Her relations with Philip show every sign of hysterical mania, and the extraordinary harshness with which she persecuted the Protestants points also to the same conclusion*

CHIEF DATES.

	A.D.
Execution of Lady Jane Grey,	1554
Marriage of Mary and Philip,	1554
Latimer and Ridley burnt,	1555
Cranmer burnt, •	1556
Loss of Calais. . . ,	1558

CHAPTEK V

ELIZABETH: 1558-1603

Born 1533.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
Mary, deposed 1567.	Henry II., d. 1559.	Philip II., d. 1598.
James vi., d. 1625.	Francis II., d. 1560.	Philip III., d. 1621.
	Charles DC, d. 1574.	
	Henry III., d. 1589.	
	Henry iv., d. 1610.	

Elizabeth's Religious Settlement—Foreign Affairs—The Reformation in Scotland—History of Mary Queen of Scots to her Flight into England—The Civil Wars in France—The Revolt of the Netherlands—Improvement in Elizabeth's position—The Rivalry of the English and Spaniards in the South Seas—Danger from Mary Queen of Scots—Her Execution—The Spanish Armada—English Command of the Seas—Irish Affairs—Essex's Career and Execution—The Monopolies.

ELIZABETH was in her twenty-sixth year when she was called to the throne by the acclamation of all Englishmen—Catholic as well as Protestant. Her

only serious rival was Mary Queen of Scots, who, on the sup*
 The Queen's Position and Character. position that Elizabeth was illegitimate, might be regarded as having a better claim. On the other hand, Elizabeth's right rested upon an act of parliament; and she had the further advantage that Mary's position, as a Scot and as wife of the Dauphin, made her cause unpopular. During the last years of her sister's life Elizabeth had lived in retirement at Hatfield. She had carefully made herself acquainted with the problems she would have to encounter ; and when she came to the throne was quite determined on the general line of policy, both foreign and domestic, which she meant to pursue. For details she cared comparatively little—perhaps because being a woman she had no experience of practical work—and left these to her ministers. Her character presents remarkable contrasts, and shows the impress both of her father and

mother. From her father she inherited her masculine will, sound political instincts, and sharp, rude way of expressing herself; from her mother a more than usual thirst for admiration, and a certain freedom in her relations to her admirers which was often little short of scandalous. According to Henry viii.'s will, the next occupant of the throne would be Katharine, the younger sister of Lady Jane Grey.

Elizabeth immediately gave her confidence to William Cecil, whom she reappointed secretary of state. Cecil was born in 1520 at Bourn, in Lincolnshire, and was educated at Cambridge. His father ^{William Cecil.} being an officer about the court, young Cecil was taken into the service of Henry VIII. On the king's death he became private secretary to Somerset; and under Warwick filled the post of secretary of state. Though he had agreed to the accession of Lady Jane, he contrived to make his peace with Mary, and, during her reign, kept in the back* ground, conforming outwardly to the old religion, though in reality a Protestant; and it is probable that Elizabeth's judicious conduct during her sister's lifetime was regulated by his advice. Fortunately Pole's death had rendered the archbishopric of Canterbury vacant, and Elizabeth named to it Matthew Parker. Parker, son of a ^{Matthew Parker.} Norwich tradesman, was born in 1504, and was educated at Cambridge; he became chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and since her death had spent his time at the University, where he was master of Corpus Christi College. He was well known to Cecil, who recommended him for the post. As keeper of the great seal, Elizabeth named Nicholas Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law, and father of the more celebrated Francis. Cecil and Parker were both members of the moderate Protestant party.

England had now had experience of two extremes: under Edward vi. she had seen the methods of the extreme Protestants, and under Mary those of the extreme Catholics, and the persecutions by the latter had left the more vivid impression upon the ^{The Religious Question.} popular mind. What most people would have preferred, therefore, was to have returned to the policy of Henry VIII., but without persecution. A position of absolute neutrality, however, was no longer possible. Elizabeth and her advisers were perfectly aware that she must rest either upon the Roman Catholics or the Protestants. The latter were the less numerous, but, at the same time, the more energetic, and they were also the growing party, and the party most interested in maintaining Elizabeth on the throne. In ecclesiastical matters Elizabeth was no bigot. She had little personal religion, and she was more anxious to find the settlement which would meet with the least resistance, than to force

her own particular views on the nation. Accordingly she at once proclaimed that the epistle and gospel and the ten commandments, with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, might be said in English, and forbade controversial preaching till a settlement had been made by parliament. Meanwhile, Parker, Grindal, and others were appointed to revise the prayer-book. Early in 1559 parliament met, and by May had placed the religious settlement on a permanent basis.

In the first place, the great Act of 1554 was repealed, so that the authority of the pope was again abolished, and the ecclesiastical legislation of Henry VIII. was again brought into force. Secondly, Its Settlement. an Act of Supremacy was passed, by which the queen, instead of being styled the supreme head of the church, was spoken of as being 'over all persons and causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, within these dominions supreme,' and allowing her to exercise her authority through commissioners. Thirdly, an Act of Uniformity was passed, which imposed the second prayer-book of Edward vi., but with some important alterations likely to make it more acceptable to Roman Catholics, and to those Protestants who, like Elizabeth herself, believed in some form of a real presence. For example, a passage in the Litany which spoke of 'the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities' was omitted, and in the words in which the bread and wine are given to communicants at the Sacrament, the phrases from the first and second prayer-books of Edward vi., one of which could be regarded as implying the doctrine of the real presence and the other not, were joined together. As for vestments of the clergy and the ornaments of churches, it was ordered 'that such ornaments of the church and ministers, at all times of their ministration, were to be retained and used, as were' in the Church of England, by the authority of parliament in the second year of King Edward vi.' By this means, Elizabeth and her advisers hoped to devise a liturgy which should meet the views of moderate men of all parties. From the ordinary layman no pledge or declaration of faith was exacted; he was merely required to show his conformity by attendance at church. Office-holders, however, were required to take the Oath of Supremacy, on penalty of losing their places. The fine for non-attendance at church was one shilling, afterwards altered to twenty shillings a month for a man and his household, and those who declined to attend church for conscience' sake were known as Recusants. The forty-two articles of Edward vi.'s reign were reduced to thirty-nine. This arrangement was accepted by the laity without enthusiasm, but without resistance. Probably a majority would have preferred to keep the mass with as many of the old

ceremonies as possible; and as late as 1571, Parker wrote: ' The most part of the subjects of the queen's highness, dislike the common bread for the sacrament.' But as no persecution was attempted, there was little glory to be gained by resistance; and though the mass was undoubtedly celebrated in country-houses over a large part of England—particularly in the north—and most men of the old faith sought the services of a Roman Catholic priest on their death-bed, the bulk of the people attended their parish churches, and by degrees, the new service gained a hold on their affections. Among the clergy, however, there was more resistance, especially among the church dignitaries/ With one exception, the whole of the existing bishops, most of whom had been appointed by Mary, resigned, and about two hundred ecclesiastics, out of a total of nine thousand, threw up their posts, This, however, was rather an advantage to Elizabeth. Their places were taken partly by men like Bishops Coverdale or Barlow, who had been in exile, and partly by new men of Protestant views, who were elected under the revived *conge d'elie*. In this way the upper ranks of the Church of England have always been filled by men who were in sympathy with the government of the time ; and as most of the private patronage of the church is also in lay hands, the influence of the laity on the views of the official clergy has always been much greater in England than in other countries.

From the queen's right to delegate her authority to commissioners there came into being the Court of High Commission. At first, commissions were issued from time to time, but in 1583 the court became permanent. It consisted of forty persons, twelve of whom were bishops, and was empowered to inquire into all offences against the existing ecclesiastical system; to punish persons absenting themselves from church ; to reform all errors, heresies, and schisms which might be reformed according to the laws of the realm; to deprive all beneficed clergy who held opinions contrary to the doctrinal articles ; to punish all immoralities and disorders in marriage, and all grievous offences punishable by the ecclesiastical laws.

Elizabeth's settlement, being a compromise, was liable to be opposed both by those who thought it went too far, and by those who did not think it went far enough; and as time went on the nation divided itself into three distinct bodies. First, the bulk of the nation, who accepted the settlement more and more cordially year by year; second, the Roman Catholics, who clung to the mass, acknowledged the authority of the pope, and whose most extreme members believed that he had a right to depose Elisabeth; and third,

Court of
High Com-
mission.

Opposition
to Elisa-
beth's
Plan.

Puritans-who refused to accept the English Reformation as adequate, and wished to go much further. Most of these men had been absent from England during the reign of Mary, and had imbibed their ideas from Calvin, the Genevan reformer. Though discontented, they remained members of the English Church ; but the unwillingness of some of them to conform to the ceremonies gave them the name of Nonconformists. A few of the extreme men went further. Disregarding Calvin's advice not to secede, they formed congregations of their own, and were therefore called Sectaries or Separatists.

While Elizabeth had been engaged in religious matters, she had been compelled to devote not less attention to foreign affairs. At her accession England was a much weaker power than either France or Spain. She had no standing army, and no fortresses, and her people, though brave to a fault, and sufficiently disciplined to meet the Scots on equal terms, had neither the training nor experience to match themselves with the well-drilled and well-armed ¹ 'regulars' of France and Spain, led by experienced officers, and armed with the newest weapons. On the other hand, Wolsey had shown that in consequence of the rivalry between France and Spain, England was capable of playing a part far beyond her strength; and, fortunately for Elizabeth, the same conditions which made Wolsey successful were still in existence. France and Spain were still at war, and each had a great *Bdeme* in which England was included. On the one side, Henry n. of France hoped to unite on the heads of his son and daughter the crowns of England, Scotland, and France, and, as it were, to cut the Spanish dominions in two; while Philip who since his father's resignation had been ruler of Spain, the Netherlands, and a great part of Italy, wished to defeat this plan, and saw that to do so it would be necessary, at all hazards, to support Elizabeth on the English throne. So confident did Elizabeth therefore feel of his support, that she ventured upon a religious settlement which she knew would be most displeasing to him.

At first Philip's idea was that he should himself marry Elizabeth; and he wrote her a letter to that effect, in which he frankly confessed that he would not be able to spend much time in England, but ^{Philip's Offer of Marriage.} would come over and see her as often as he could. Elizabeth, however, knew that whether she would willingly have married Philip or not, there was an insuperable obstacle to her doing so. Philip could not have married her without a dispensation from the pope; and if the pope could grant a dispensation to a man to marry his deceased wife's sister, it followed that he could also grant one to a woman to marry her deceased husband's brother. This Elizabeth

could not acknowledge without giving up the whole case for Henry VIII.'s divorce, and making herself illegitimate. Elizabeth, therefore, while keeping on good terms with Philip, left his proposal unanswered. Her marriage in fact with anybody was surrounded with the greatest difficulties. If she married a foreigner, she would offend her English subjects. If she took an English nobleman, she would rouse the jealousy of the rest. If she married a Catholic, the Protestant settlement would seem to be endangered ; if a Protestant, she would throw her Catholic subjects into the arms of Mary Queen of Scots. These considerations, in the end, proved fatal to her marrying at all ; but, for many years, no one either in England or out of it doubted that she would ultimately marry. Accordingly, her hand was looked upon as a prize to be won, and of this Elizabeth took full advantage for political purposes. It was long thought that she would personally have wished to marry Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester ; but this is extremely doubtful. She liked Leicester, and believed that his admiration for her would make him a faithful servant ; but she probably, throughout all her life, was never in love with anybody in the ordinary sense of the word.

In March 1559, the long war between France and Spain was concluded by the Treaty of Cateau Cambresis. By this important treaty the wars of mere ambition, inaugurated by Charles VIII.'s expedition to Italy, came to a close, and Europe entered upon a new period, lasting till the peace of Westphalia in 1648, in which religion became the dominant factor in deciding the relations between states. During the festivities to celebrate its conclusion Henry II. was accidentally wounded in a tournament. He died in July, and Mary Queen of Scots and her husband, Francis II., ascended the throne. Francis II., however, died in 1561. As Francis and Mary had no issue, this dissolved the union between the crowns of France and Scotland, and shortly afterwards Mary returned home. The condition of Scotland, as she found it, was very different from what it had been when she left it in 1549, for since that time the Reformation had swept over it, and effected a complete revolution. The Scottish Church was very rich and very corrupt. On the other hand, the Scottish nobles retained all their old feudal rights, and such families as the Hamiltons, the Huntlys, and the Argylls could bring into the field a small army of devoted tenants. In these circumstances the kings had for years relied upon the bishops against the nobles, and, consequently, when the Reformation began, it was taken up by the nobles as being the best method of breaking the power both of the king and of the church. For a long time the clergy fought hard

**Treaty of
Cateau
Cambresis.**

**The Scot-
tish Refor-
mation.**

to stop the spread of Protestant doctrines, and among their victims was the celebrated George Wishart. But on the accession of Queen Elizabeth the Protestants were encouraged to declare themselves; and a body of the nobility, calling themselves the Lords of the Congregation, signed a covenant, and demanded the introduction of the English Book of Common Prayer.

Little progress, however, was made till 1659, when John Knox returned to Scotland. Knox was now fifty-four years of age. Taken prisoner after the capture of St. Andrews Castle (see page 423), he had been sent to the French galleys. He had, however, escaped, and after being chaplain to Edward vi., had taken refuge with Calvin at Geneva. There he adopted Calvin's views, and also made himself notorious by the publication of a book called *The Monstrous Regiment of Women*, directed against Mary of England. Immediately on his arrival in Scotland Knox began to preach against idolatry, and his unrivalled power of exciting enthusiasm roused the people to frenzy. After one of his sermons at Perth, the congregation rose and destroyed all the pictures, coloured glass, and statuary which had adorned the cathedral, and their example was soon followed all over Scotland. This violence resulted in open war between the Lords of the Congregation and the Regent. She appealed to France, and they to England. To Elizabeth they proposed that she should marry the earl of Arran, the eldest son of the duke of Chatelherault, the head of the Hamilton family. Arran stood next in succession to Mary in the Stuart line, and if Elizabeth would have married him an attempt would have been made to depose Mary and crown Arran king. Elizabeth, however, thought the scheme too risky; and, on seeing Arran himself, who was weak both in mind and body, she rejected it entirely. She agreed, however, to aid the Lords to expel the French troops from Leith on condition that they remained loyal to the queen. This accordingly was done. The upshot of the religious changes was that the Scots became almost entirely devoted to Protestantism of an extremexy strict type, Catholicism only maintaining its hold in a few noble families and among the Highlanders. The monasteries were entirely abolished, and their lands appropriated by the Lords of the Congregation. Even the cathedrals and parish churches were, for the most part, dismantled.

On Mary's arrival in Scotland she was a widow of nineteen years of age. Though her pictures differ very much, her contemporaries are unanimous as to her beauty. She had abilities of a very high order, and showed herself a match in political address for most of those with whom she had to deal. For some years it was a question **what**

Mary Queen of Scots.

would be the relations between Elizabeth and Mary. There seemed no overmastering reason why they should not be friendly. Though unmarried herself, Elizabeth strongly urged marriage upon her cousin, and suggested to her that she should marry Leicester. Mary, however, while pretending to consider the proposal, made up her mind to marry Henry Darnley, the son of her father's half-sister, Margaret Douglas and the earl of Lennox, and did so in 1565. Darnley had been born in England during his father's exile, and was well known to Elizabeth. The marriage had the effect of uniting the two lines of succession from Margaret Tudor (see page 374), and therefore strengthened Mary's position. Unfortunately for Mary, Darnley's personal qualifications were of a very low order. He was tall and fairly handsome, but his character was weak and vicious, and he had no capacity for politics. She found, therefore, that she had to rely upon herself as before, and employed the services as secretary of David Rizzio, an Italian singer and musician who had originally come over with the ambassador of Savoy. His knowledge of foreign languages made him useful to her, and he soon became her confidential adviser. To Darnley, on the other hand, she refused even the crown matrimonial, and the foolish youth immediately threw himself into the arms of the Protestant malcontents. With them he entered into a plot to murder Rizzio, and to get the government into his own hands. The first part succeeded. Rizzio was dragged from the room where he was at supper with the queen, and slain in the ante-chamber. In the second, however, he completely failed. Darnley was as supple as wax in his wife's hands, and, with the assistance of James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, she completely out-generalled the conspirators, and forced them to fly for their lives.

On June 19, 1566 was born Mary's son, James. This event added very much to her strength, for the claims of Katharine Grey had been discredited of late. In 1553 she had been married to Lord Herbert, but the marriage had been annulled; and in 1561 she had clandestinely married Lord Hertford, son of the Protector, Somerset. By him she had a son; but the facts of her marriage having been examined, Archbishop Parker declared the union invalid, and the result was to discredit both Katharine's claims and those of her child. In these circumstances, Englishmen began to look more favourably upon the claims of Mary, who had not shown herself unreasonable with regard to Scottish Protestantism. Mary had thus again secured a good position and a strong party when she threw away all her chances by an affair of the heart. Craving for a husband on whom she could lean for support, and completely disillusioned about Darnley

Birth of
James.

Mary and
Bothwell.

she thought she saw everything she wanted in the rude Border swordsman, Bothwell, and she fell passionately in love with him. Bothwell does not appear to have returned her affection, for he had a wife living, to whom he was attached ; but he was prepared to take full advantage of his good fortune, encouraged Mary, and entered into a plot for the murder of Daroley. That unfortunate man, after the birth of his son, had fallen completely into the background. In December 1566 he was attacked with small-pox at Glasgow. From this he recovered, and had been brought by Mary herself to a lonely house, the Kirk o' Field, situated to the south of the old town of Edinburgh, not far from Holyrood Palace—a place selected for the freshness of the air—and was there from time to time visited by Mary. On the night of February 10 a loud explosion was heard, and it was found that the house had been blown up; but the bodies of Darnley and his servant were found untouched by fire, and apparently strangled, lying together in the garden. In a few days Bothwell was universally accused of the murder, and Lennox, Darnley's father, demanded a trial. However, on April 12, the day fixed for the trial, the streets of Edinburgh were crowded with Bothwell's retainers. Lennox asserted that he went in fear of his life, declined to prosecute, and upon this Bothwell was declared to be acquitted. A few days later Bothwell seized Mary as she was returning from a visit to her son, and carried her off to the castle of Dunbar; and on May 15, as soon as Bothwell had secured a divorce from his own wife, they were married.

This marriage was Mary's ruin. Few now doubted that she had been privy to Darnley's murder ; and Bothwell himself was so hated for his overbearing insolence, that by marrying him she set against herself the whole of the Scottish nobility. In face of such a unanimous outbreak of hostility, Bothwell in vain tried to make head. Summoning round him his vassals, Mary and he attempted to reach Edinburgh ; but on June 15 they encountered the forces of the nobility at Carberry Hill, five miles east of Edinburgh. Bothwell's troops began to desert, and, recognising his cause as hopeless, he fled ; and Mary gave herself up to secure his escape, exactly a month after her marriage. From Carberry, Bothwell made his way to Dunbar, and thence to Orkney, and after a wandering life was seized by the Danes as a pirate, and died in prison in 1577. From Carberry Mary was hurried in a disgraceful procession to Edinburgh, where she was received with yells of execration, and banners were displayed on which her infant son was depicted calling for vengeance on the murderers of his father. There she met with no mercy. The Lords, headed by James Douglas, earl of

Morton, placed her in confinement in Lochleven Castle, and compelled her by threats to resign her crown in favour of her infant son, with her half-brother, the earl of Murray, as regent. In prison, however, Mary continued her intrigues, and succeeded in effecting her escape to the Hamiltons, to whom she trusted to raise the Catholics in her favour. She was joined by a considerable force, with whom marched a multitude of deposed bishops, abbots, and priests. Mary hoped to secure the strong fortress of Dumbarton ; but on May 14, 1568, near Glasgow, she was met at Langside by the regent at the head of a small force. In the battle that followed, Mary's motley soldiers ^{Battle of} Langside. were completely routed, and she herself rode sixty miles from the field of battle before she considered herself in safety near the Solway Firth. There, encouraged by some verbal support which Elizabeth had given her in her previous contests with her nobility, she decided to appeal for English assistance, and on May 16 landed at Workington, in Cumberland, with a few followers, and made her way thence to Carlisle.

The arrival of Mary in England was a source of much embarrassment to Elizabeth. She did not come in the least as a dejected fugitive, but as one queen calling on another to aid her against her rebellious subjects, and she fully expected that Elizabeth ^{Marvin} England. would take up her cause at once. It was no easy task for Elizabeth to decide what to do. Probably the best course would have been to hand Mary over to the regent, who would have placed her in a more secure prison. On the other hand, Elizabeth did not wish to appear in league with rebels, and she therefore attempted to gain time by insisting on holding an investigation into Mary's connection with the murder of Darnley. Till this could be held, she removed Mary to Bolton Castle, in Yorkshire, where there would be less danger of escape or rescue than at Carlisle. Accordingly in October, Murray, Morton, and others, on behalf of the Scots, met Elizabeth's representatives, headed by Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, at York. The most important evidence produced by the Scots were some letters, said to be written by Mary to Bothwell, which, it was declared, had been found in a silver casket accidentally left behind by Bothwell at Edinburgh Castle. ^{The Casket} Letters. Whether these were forgeries it is now impossible to say; but at the time of their production they produced a great sensation. It was, however, no part of Elizabeth's plan to have Mary either found guilty of murder or distinctly acquitted ; and as she found that Norfolk was already scheming to marry the fugitive, she found means to break up the conference, and in January 1569 Murray returned home, while Mary was placed in confinement at Tutbury.

During the ten years which had elapsed since Elizabeth ascended the throne, her position both at home and abroad had steadily improved.

Improvement in Elizabeth's position.

At home, her peaceful and economical government had given time for the country to recover itself from the disorders of the previous reigns. The coinage had been renewed, and her financial credit was good. The navy had been refitted and the fortresses properly manned. Moreover, Elizabeth's conciliatory policy towards the Catholic nobility, and the pains she had taken to drive no party to despair, had resulted in the creation of a national party who were prepared to put the interest of the country above that of any section of it. Abroad, it had become increasingly evident that her reliance on the rivalry of France and Spain to prevent either from attacking her was perfectly justified by results; and in addition to this, causes were at work which materially impaired the actual strength both of France and Spain, and, therefore, contributed to make England relatively stronger.

The first of these was the outbreak of the religious wars in France. In that country Protestantism never gained a hold over the mass of the people. It was taken up by the nobility and by the

The Civil Wars in France.

middle classes of the districts south of the Loire, of which Rochelle is a chief town, and still more in Gascony, Bearn, and Languedoc. There the Protestants were probably in a majority, but in other parts of France they were quite exceptional. In dying, Henry II. left four sons, Francis, Charles, Henry, and a second Francis, of whom the eldest was only sixteen. The first three reigned successively as Francis II., Charles ix., and Henry III., but for many years the real power was in the hands of their mother, Katharine de Medici. As her power was disputed by the powerful family of Guise, headed by Duke Francis, conqueror of Calais, Katharine, though a Catholic, was frequently obliged to ally herself with the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, the leaders of whom were Coligny, the admiral, and the Prince of Condé brother of the King of Navarre. In 1562 an attempt of Katharine to give legal toleration to the Huguenots resulted in open war. Condé" was defeated and taken prisoner; Guise was assassinated, and the contest so begun was carried on with great bitterness. For Elizabeth the serious danger was that the Guises, if victorious, might use Mary Queen of Scots against her*. She, therefore, cautiously gave some assistance to the Huguenots, and accepted from them, as security, the town of Havre. Katharine, however, soon patched up a peace, and the English were compelled to evacuate Havre and make peace. Henceforward Elizabeth made the

preservation of peace with the French government a cardinal point in her policy.

At the same time Spain was weakened by Philip's difficulties with the Netherlands. This district consisted of seventeen provinces, each of which had been held on a separate title by the House of Burgundy, and had now descended to Philip II. Generally speaking, they were divided into two parts, between which a line drawn eastward from the estuary of the Scheldt gives a rough boundary. The northern states were Dutch by blood, Protestant in religion, and poor. The southern were Flemish by blood, less Protestant in religion, but richer than the northerners. The north had then no town of importance : the towns of the south, Brussels, Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, were reputed the most opulent in Europe. For many years the Netherlanders had been accustomed to be treated with great deference by their rulers, in recognition of their liberal grants, and to this feeling Charles had always paid due regard. Philip, however, who, unlike his father, stayed in Spain instead of travelling about, and trusted to the reports of his officers instead of seeing with his own eyes, failed to recognise the strength of the Netherlandish independence, and involved himself in a series of disputes which ultimately brought on an armed rebellion. This conferred a double advantage on Elizabeth. First, it weakened Philip in the very part of his dominions from which an attack could most easily be made upon England. Second, the cruelties of Philip's lieutenant Alva drove no less than thirty thousand Protestant weavers from their homes ; and these, settling in the south-eastern counties of England, especially in Norfolk and Suffolk, brought with them their skill in manufactures. Henceforward the English, instead of despatching their raw wool to the Netherlands, began to manufacture it themselves, and the growth of the new industry did much to restore the balance between agriculture, pasturage, and manufacture, which had been endangered by the wholesale enclosures of the preceding years.

Revolt of
the Nether-
lands.

Nevertheless, the presence of Mary Queen of Scots could not fail to give Elisabeth much anxiety. Even during the proceedings at York it had been suggested that she should marry Norfolk. As the duke was the leader of the party of the old religion, such a marriage would have given widespread satisfaction in England. On the other hand, the Protestants would have been driven to despair, so Elizabeth sternly forbade it to be thought of. The result was to cause such dissatisfaction among the great nobles of Norfolk's party that plots were entered into for a rising, assisted by a Spanish force which Alva was

Rebellion
of 1569.

to despatch from the Netherlands. Nothing, however, was to be done by Alva till the English Roman Catholics had shown their power by arresting Cecil. This Norfolk failed to do; and Elizabeth, rightly regarding him as of little danger, left him alone, while she ordered the arrest of Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, earl of Westmorland, who, being each at the head of an army of rude Border tenantry, accustomed to fighting, were far more formidable than the southern nobility. At the order for their arrest Northumberland and Neville flew to arms, seized Durham, had the mass sung for the last time in its glorious cathedral, and then marched south to secure the person of Mary, who was then living in Tutbury Castle. Elizabeth, however, was too quick for them. Thomas Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, a Catholic nobleman on whose loyalty she could rely, was hurried to the front, and Mary was transferred to Coventry, where she would have Sussex's army between her and her Mends. Finding themselves thus out-manoevred, the earls retreated north, and eventually broke up their forces without a battle. Their advance had shown distinctly the line of demarcation between the new faith and the old, for in Yorkshire while the countrymen were almost to a man for the earls, the towns in which a clothing trade was beginning to spring up were for the queen. Leeds Bridge was held against the rebels, and Halifax sent a contingent to join the army of Sussex. This serious rebellion, the first and last in Elizabeth's reign, seemed to the queen to require measures of exceptional severity. Orders were therefore sent north that the captured rebels were to be hanged in batches at every market town and considerable village between the Wharfe and the Tyne, and many a gallows-green marks to this day the memory of this stern severity. Altogether, it is computed that three hundred and fourteen persons thus perished. Northumberland and Westmorland both escaped into Scotland, but Northumberland was captured by the regent, and being handed over to Elizabeth was executed in 1572, while Westmorland, after spending some time in hiding on the Scottish side of the border, escaped to the Netherlands and there died.

Hardly was this formidable rising disposed of, when it was known that a new plot was on foot. Hitherto various reasons had prevented the popes from excommunicating Elizabeth; but in 1570 Pius v. published a bull in which Elizabeth was declared to be excommunicate, and all her subjects released from her allegiance. The natural result was to give a further impetus to plotting, and Norfolk and the southern lords continued their treasonable correspondence with Spain. Their agent was a certain Ridolfi, an Italian banker resident in London, who in the way of his business could easily

The
Ridolfi
Plot.

visit the Netherlands, Spain, or Italy. Cecil, however, was well informed of what was going on, and eventually full proof was obtained of the existence of a conspiracy to bring over a Spanish army, in which, among others, Norfolk, Arundel, and Mary herself were fully implicated. Again Elizabeth felt that severity was needed, and in 1572 Norfolk was beheaded.

Though Elizabeth was troubled by disaffection and indifference among her nobility, she was amply compensated by the growing devotion of the House of Commons. Here, indeed, her chief difficulty ^{Loyalty of} arose from excess of zeal on the part of the members. ^{Parliament.} Since the Oath of Supremacy had been enforced on all office-holders, no honest Roman Catholic could sit in the house, and consequently the members, the vast majority of whom represented south of England boroughs, where Protestantism was strongest, were as a body decidedly Protestant and even Puritan in feeling. This was a great source of strength to the queen; and whenever she wished to show either her own nobles or foreign powers that she led the nation at her back, the simplest plan was to call a meeting of parliament. Thus the parliament of 1572 not only petitioned for the execution of Norfolk, but also passed a Bill of Attainder against the Queen of Scots, which, had the members had their way, would have been carried into instant execution. Elizabeth, however, was quite satisfied with the moral effect of their action, and declined to give her consent to the bill. The only point, indeed, on which Elizabeth and her parliament were at variance was that of her marriage. Reflecting the wishes of the advanced Protestants, the members again and again petitioned Elizabeth to marry, as they looked to the birth of an heir as needful to secure them against the accession of Mary Queen of Scots. Elizabeth, however, had good reasons for her own conduct, and roundly bade them mind their own business.

Indeed, at this very time she was making use of the bait of her hand to secure a great diplomatic triumph. As it became clearer that Spain was the real enemy against whom open war might be anticipated, it became essential to come to terms with ^{French} France, not only for its own sake, but also to avoid ^{Alliance} difficulty with Scotland. ^{proposed.} Accordingly, she expressed herself willing to consider the possibility of a match between herself and Henry of France, duke of Anjou. Probably she never meant anything serious, but the effect was to re-establish cordial relations with the French court; and presently a treaty was made, by which each country bound itself in case either was attacked for any cause to aid the other with 6000 men,

Scotland was included; and it was specially stipulated that, while neither France nor England should interfere in Scottish affairs, no other country should be permitted to do so. Difficulties had been raised about the Anjou marriage as soon as a decision became necessary, but it was suggested that they might be overcome in the case of his younger brother, Francis, duke of Alencon, a lad of seventeen, and for eleven years the possibility of such a match, absurd as it was, was more or less seriously considered. From time to time Alencon visited England, and though he was an ugly little man, with a big head and a repulsive nose, whom Elizabeth jocularly termed 'her frog,' she pretended to fall in love with him. The French alliance formed the keystone of Elizabeth's foreign policy. She maintained it against several rude shocks, chief of which was the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. To keep on friendly terms with a government which had been guilty of such cruelty was a sore trial to English feeling, but Elizabeth was well aware that to take up the opposite policy would drive the French court into alliance with Spain, and persistently held to her course till the danger passed away.

The necessity for thus securing the French alliance at all costs was to be found in the danger to be apprehended from Spain. To crush the Dutch, Philip poured thousands of Spanish troops into the Netherlands under his best generals, and their presence constituted a standing menace of invasion to England. Elizabeth was unwilling openly to recognise rebellious subjects; but, for the sake of adding to Philip's difficulties, she allowed Englishmen to enlist in the Dutch service, and from time to time gave assistance in money. However, in 1577, the skill of Don John of Austria, who had gained a world-wide reputation by defeating the Turks at Lepanto, succeeded in bringing about a temporary cessation of hostilities, and he immediately set himself to arrange an invasion of England, which he hoped would result in the deposition of Elizabeth, and a marriage between himself and Mary Queen of Scots. Philip, however, was too jealous of his half-brother to allow such a scheme to succeed. Escovedo, Don John's agent in Spain, was murdered, and in 1578 Don John also died, not without suspicion of poison. He was succeeded in the Netherlands by Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, probably the best general of his time, who rapidly reduced the southern Netherlands to their allegiance, and seemed likely also to bring the Dutch into submission.

Meanwhile, the condition of home affairs was also undergoing a change. During the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign, she had strengthened herself by her judicious attitude on religious matters; but during the

second ten this policy became increasingly difficult to maintain. The change was due mainly to a change in the character of Roman Catholicism. The Protestant movement for a more spiritual religion and separation from Rome had been followed by a similar movement within the Roman Church which had resulted in what is known as the Counter-Reformation. The effect of this was to purge away most of the scandals for which the Roman Church had been notorious at the beginning of the century, and to replace such popes as Alexander vi. and Leo x by men like Pius v. and Gregory XIII., whose zeal for their religion was undoubted, and whose purity of life quite unquestioned. These popes made use of the new religious order of Jesuits, formed expressly to push forward the Counter-Reformation, for the purpose of attacking Protestantism in Protestant countries. In England the chief advocate of the new propaganda was William Allen, an old Oxford man, who founded for that purpose a college for secular clergy at Douai, in the Netherlands, from which secular priests were sent across the Channel. A college for English Jesuits was set up at St. Omer, also within Philip's dominions, By law the celebration of the mass and speaking against the supremacy were treason ; but the government had hitherto been careful that, while the law was preserved in *terrorem*, it should not be carried into effect. However, in 1581, Campion, one of the purest-minded and enthusiastic of the English Jesuits, was arrested after a protracted visit to England. The government determined to make an example; and he was condemned and executed for treason on the ground that he refused to deny the pope's right to depose princes. From this time forward Roman Catholic priests exercised their functions at the peril of their lives, and frequent executions are recorded down to the outbreak of the Civil War under Charles i. At the same time the fines of the recusants were raised to £20 a month for non-attendance at church. This persecution had the effect of embittering the feeling between the two religions, and did much to check the gradual extinction of Roman Catholicism which Elizabeth's previous policy had been bringing about.

The English
Roman
Catholics.

Execution of
Campion.

Though Elizabeth's settlement had been nominally accepted by the great body of the clergy, Parker found it extremely difficult to establish uniformity of practice. This was due partly to the unwillingness of many of the bishops to enforce practices of which they did not wholly approve themselves, and partly to the difficulty of finding clergy sufficiently well educated to preach. However, Elizabeth insisted that uniformity should be enforced, and in 1566 Parker called

The Extreme
Protestants.

the London clergy before him, and demanded that they should carry out the Act of Uniformity. Over thirty refused to wear the surplice, and were deprived of their livings. On the other hand, in the diocese of Norwich, Bishop Parkhurst made no attempt to enforce uniformity, while Pilkington of Durham reduced even the cathedral service to the Puritan ideal. Beset by these difficulties, Parker was only able very imperfectly to enforce the prescribed ceremonial, while the number of those who, while remaining in the church, refused to conform, steadily increased. Parker died in 1575, and was succeeded by Edward Grindal, archbishop of York, who immediately fell into disagreement with the court on the question of prophesyings. These were meetings of the clergy and laity, held for the purpose of debating some doctrinal point and had been encouraged by the bishops as tending to make the clergy thoughtful and well informed. Elizabeth, however, apparently under the impression that they were conducted by unlearned persons, ordered Grindal to put a stop to them. Grindal would gladly have stopped the laity, but wished to preserve the right for the clergy; and when he refused he was suspended from his office and the prophesyings forbidden by royal proclamation. Grindal died in 1583, and was succeeded by John Whitgift, bishop of Worcester. Whitgift was just the man for Elizabeth's purpose: he loved order for its own sake, and was determined to enforce it with a high hand.

The task, however, had now become very difficult. Originally the quarrel between the bishops and the nonconforming clergy had turned upon ceremonial; it had now come to include church government as well. The Nonconformists also had come to be divided into two bodies—first the sectarians, sectaries or separatists, who had openly left the church; and secondly, those who, while they remained in the church, did their best to get its practices altered. Of the former the most important body were the Brownists, named after Robert Brown, a relation of Cecil. Brown held that each congregation of Christians ought to be self-governing, from which his followers came to be called Independents. In doctrine he was Calvinistic. Another body were Anabaptists or Baptists.

Of those who remained in the church the most distinguished was Thomas Cartwright, who had been deprived of the post of Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. His views were enunciated in the Book of Discipline, which advised the clergy to form themselves into groups for the purpose of self-government, ignoring as far as possible the authority of the bishops. Cartwright's views were widely accepted, and from that time forward there existed within the

Difficulty of
enforcing
Uniformity.

The Puritans.

Church of England a large body, who were in principle Presbyterians. The hope of the Puritans lay in the support of the House of Commons, and they were strongest in the south-eastern counties. Their weak point was the extreme violence of some of their members, some of whom published a series of libellous attacks upon the bishops known as the *Mar-Prelate* tracts. The result was to alienate some of their strongest supporters, and in 1593 parliament passed a severe act against seditious writings, which had the effect of keeping controversy within bounds. On the church side the most remarkable writer was Richard Hooker, whose *Ecclesiastical Polity* was written for the purpose of showing that Episcopalian government could be defended not only as an apostolical institution but on grounds of general utility.

In the course of the quarter of a century during which Elizabeth had now reigned, she had also strengthened herself by using her charms as a woman to attach to her cause the rising generation of Eng-
lishmen. Such men as Sir Philip Sidney, Spenser the poet, ^{Loyalty to Elizabeth.} and Sir Walter Raleigh talked about her as of a mistress to whose service their lives were devoted, and they were merely typical of the young Englishmen of the day, with whom devotion to their virgin queen had come to be almost a principle of life. Throughout her reign Elizabeth had always been surrounded by two classes of courtiers. Men like Cecil, Walsingham, and Bacon, served her in the cabinet, and with them she discussed political affairs on a footing of statesmanlike equality. On the other hand there was her old friend, Leicester, who had loved her for her own sake when she was a girl, and in whom, though not a man of first-rate ability, she could always trust for devoted service. With him were Sir Christopher Hatton, her lively lord chancellor, who was said to have won his position by his skill as a dancer, and a crowd of younger men, some of whom, like Raleigh, were at court; others, like Spenser, merely caught the reflection of court life at a distance, but all of them helped in their several ways to spread the feeling of personal loyalty to the sovereign.

Curiously enough, the policies of Elizabeth and Philip towards each other were for many years practically the same. Neither wished for open war, though both probably regarded it as ultimately ^{Philip and Elisabeth.} inevitable; but each wished to do the other as much harm as possible without an actual declaration of hostilities. Elizabeth encouraged her subjects to aid the Netherlanders; Philip sent Spaniards to assist the rebellious Irish, while each kept an ambassador at the court of the other, and their diplomatic intercourse was conducted with every expression of regard.

In the work of covert hostility Elizabeth had no more useful agents than the mariners of the Devonshire ports. The true descendants of

The Devon-
shire Sea-
men.

Chaucer's shipman, they had always been equally ready for commerce or piracy, and in seamanship they had no rivals.

Nothing could have suited such men better than the discovery of the New World, which came just at the moment when the rise of strong governments made piracy a dangerous trade in European waters. Until the Reformation, however, the English do not seem to have meddled much with the New World, which was regarded as having been lawfully divided by Pope Alexander vi. between the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The renunciation, however, of the papal authority untied their hands, and a series of bold mariners issued forth, some to attempt the discovery of new lands, some to open up legitimate trade, and others for purposes little different from piratical. Such adventurers eared little for the political relations between England and the Spanish and in order to put themselves, as it were, in order, invented the convenient formula—'No Peace beyond the Line.' Of those who sought

new countries, the most notable were Sir Hugh Willoughby, Willoughby.

who perished in 1554 in an attempt to reach China by following the northern coast of Asia ; Martin Frobisher, who, in 1576 and 1577, investigated the coast of Labrador and Newfoundland with a view to a settlement; and John Davis, the first Englishman

Davis. to attempt the north-west passage. Better known than

Hawkins. these is the brave Sir John Hawkins, who first exported negro slaves from Africa to the Spanish settlements in America—a traffic then considered honourable and even praiseworthy, as it brought the negroes under the influence of Christianity ; but above all stands in popular estimation the name of the greatest of Elizabethan seamen, Sir Francis Drake.

This great man was born of undistinguished parents in 1539, and spent almost his whole life at sea. First in the coasting trade, and after-

Sir Francis wards in more distant voyages, he became an admirable Drake. seaman. In 1567 he was chosen by Hawkins, who is said

to have been a relation, to join him in a slave-trading expedition in the West Indies. The adventure, however, proved a failure, as Hawkins rashly involved himself in a fight against a superior force of Spaniards, In 1572 and 1573 Drake was again in the West Indies attacking Spanish vessels, and plundering settlements on the coast Having landed on the Isthmus of Panama, he saw the Pacific Ocean, and conceived the idea of rounding South America and attacking. the Spaniards in their fancied security. Accordingly in November 1577, with five Vessels, the largest

of which was only one hundred tons, and with one hundred and sixty-three men, he sailed from Plymouth, made his way to South America, and passing through the straits of Magelhaen, appeared unexpectedly in the Pacific. Beginning with Valparaiso, the capital of Chili, he called at every important Spanish port on his way north, everywhere helping himself almost without resistance to the silver and gold which had come down from the mines and was waiting to be sent to Europe. Then sailing north, he reached the latitude of California, and after some thoughts of attempting a passage round the north, made his way to Java, and thence by the Cape of Good Hope to Plymouth, arriving there in September 1580, bringing back with him treasure valued at £800,000, and the immortal reputation of being the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe. In 1585 he and Frobisher were together in the West Indies attacking the Spaniards, and on their way home they picked up the survivors of a colony which had been planted in 1585 on the coast of North America.

The year 1584 forms a turning-point in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Hitherto she had been able on the whole to maintain peace, and to avoid committing herself definitely against any foreign power, but a series of events in that year made this policy no longer possible. The first of these events was the death, in June, of Francis, duke of Anjou, formerly duke of Alençon—Elizabeth's absurd suitor—the only surviving brother of Henry in. As Henry in. had no sons, the crown of France would go by inheritance, after his death, to Henry, king of Navarre, a representative of the Bourbon line, and head of the rising party of French Huguenots. This prospect filled the French Catholics, and especially the Parisians, with alarm; and a Catholic league was formed, under the patronage of the Guises, to prevent Henry's accession to the throne. At first Henry in. acknowledged the king of Navarre as his heir, but was afterwards obliged to throw in his lot with the Guises. Civil war immediately broke out, and Elizabeth found she could no longer rely upon the French alliance, or the 6000 troops which were to be sent to her in case of invasion.

Elizabeth's
Position
in 1584.

A month after the death of Alençon, William of Orange was murdered by Balthazar Gerard; and the Dutch, after in vain asking the assistance of Henry in., were advised by him to apply to England. Accordingly they asked Elizabeth to become their protector. This position, however, it was impossible for her to accept, for, in the first place, she would have given her sanction to the lawful subjects of one sovereign transferring their allegiance to another; and, secondly, because she had never wished to set herself

The
Netherlands.

up in any way as the head of a Protestant league. Nevertheless, the loss of her French alliance compelled her to make terms informally with the Dutch; and in 1585 she despatched an English force to the States. At the head of this she placed the earl of Leicester, but he betrayed her confidence by accepting the powers and title of governor-general, by which the States tried to compel Elizabeth to become their over-lord. Elizabeth was extremely angry, and ordered Leicester to resign the post—by which, at the cost of offending the Netherlanders, she maintained her position as friend only. In military matters Leicester proved no match for the duke of Parma. The chief event of the war was the battle of Zutphen, where perished Sir Philip Sidney, author of the *Arcadia*, who, though only thirty-two years of age, had been recognised by his contemporaries as typical of the best English character of the time—a man who already had distinguished himself as a diplomatist, a courtier, a soldier, and an author. After the battle of Zutphen the war languished. Leicester came home in 1586, and Parma's energies were soon turned in another direction.

The year 1584 was also a turning-point in the history of Mary Queen of Scots; up to this time she had been treated more as a guest than as a prisoner, and had been allowed considerable freedom of action. Such treatment had long been thought too lenient by the Commons, who, as early as 1572, had petitioned for her attainder; and when, in 1584, a plot was discovered for the assassination of Elizabeth, contrived between Francis Throgmorton, a Cheshire gentleman, and Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, parliament again took up the question. There was no doubt that, so long as Mary lived, the temptation to assassinate Elizabeth would be very great; and also that, in such an event, it would be extremely difficult for the Protestants to prevent Mary's accession, as they had no candidate immediately available, and no organisation. Accordingly an Act of Parliament was passed, enacting, first, that if the country were invaded, or the queen murdered, or a plot formed for that purpose, with the 'privity'¹ of any one that pretended a title to the realm, such a person could be tried by royal commission; and, secondly, that, if the queen were murdered, the lords of the privy council, with the other magnates, should prosecute such a pretender to the death. At the same time an association was formed, binding the members, in case of the queen's murder, to 'prosecute to death' any person by whom or for whom the deed had been done.

Before long there was ample evidence that Mary had brought herself within the scope of this Act. A plot against Elizabeth's life was formed

by Anthony Babington and a number of young Catholic gentlemen, some of whom were about the court—for Elizabeth made no distinction of religion in her service. Meanwhile, Sir Francis Walsingham had arranged a plan by which all Mary's correspondence passed through his hands, and before long he had intercepted two letters from Mary to Babington, encouraging his scheme. The conspirators were then arrested, convicted, and put to death; and in October, 1586, a special commission, as provided by the Act, sat to try Mary, and found her guilty of complicity. A few days afterwards parliament assembled, and demanded that the sentence should be put into execution, and there can be no question that they spoke the voice of the nation as a whole. On the other hand, Elizabeth was exceedingly averse to act. As in 1568, she probably hoped that the disgrace of exposure would be sufficient; but at length, urged by her ministers, she signed the warrant, and handed it to Davison, Walsingham's co-secretary of state. Probably she hoped that they would put it into execution, but in such a way that they might be disavowed and punished. The secretaries, however, called a meeting of those of the privy council within reach, and ten of them, including Burleigh, Leicester, Lord Howard of Effingham, Walsingham and Davison, signed an order to the earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, directing them to carry out the execution. This was done at Fotheringay Castle on February 8. When the news reached London, Elizabeth found it impossible to punish an act which had been earned out perfectly legally by her leading ministers; but a scapegoat was made of Davison, who was deprived of his secretaryship and fined. By the nation at large the news was accepted as a relief; bonfires were lighted and bells were rung, as for a victory; for men felt that, let the Spaniard come when he would, there was now no chance of a Roman Catholic rebellion to aid the foreign invader.

In dying, Mary left her claims to the throne, not to her son, who had turned out a strong Protestant, but to a daughter of Philip by his third wife, a princess of Portugal, who was a descendant of John of Gaunt. Philip accepted the legacy, and immediately began to prepare for a great invasion of England. From that time, though no open declaration of war took place, England and Spain may be regarded as hostile powers. Drake was at once despatched to the Spanish coast; and in April, with an audacity that astonished Europe, he sailed, with twenty-four ships only, into the harbour of Cadiz, and, in spite of all the Spanish forts and war-galleys could do, destroyed no less than a hundred sail of shipping and vast quantities of

Babington's Plot.

Mary Stuart beheaded.

War with Spain.

harbour of

and vast quantities of

stores, which were being collected for Philip's expedition. Then sailing back, he endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to penetrate into the mouth of the Tagus, where other preparations were going forward. The result of his exploits was to delay the expedition for a year. This, however, was a very serious matter for Philip, because the duke of Parma had collected in the Netherlands an army of thirty thousand men, which, being kept together through the winter, was reduced to seventeen thousand by the time the Armada actually sailed. These exploits Drake called *singeing the king of Spain's beard.'

At last, in the summer of 1588, everything was in readiness, and the Armada, numbering one hundred and thirty-two ships, left the Spanish ports under the command of the duke of Medina Sidonia. The Armada sails. Its orders were, on reaching the English Channel, to keep along the French coast to Dunkirk, and thence to escort the duke of Parma, in a fleet of flat-bottomed transports which had been prepared, to the mouth of the Thames. Meanwhile, the English had been by no means idle. Thirty-four ships of the royal navy, almost all of which had been built by Elizabeth's orders, and one hundred and sixty-four armed merchant vessels, had been divided into two squadrons : one, under Lord" Howard of Effingham, Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, and Martin Frobisher, was at Plymouth ; the other, under Lord Henry Seymour, was blockading the Netherland ports. An army of seventy-three thousand men had been collected at London, most of whom seem to have had firearms, and were led by officers who had had experience in fighting in France and elsewhere, at the head of whom was the earl of Leicester. It was also arranged that, when the beacon-fires showed the arrival of the Armada, every county should call out its militia, and confront the Spaniards with what was practically a *levie en masse*.

Contrary to his orders, Sidonia sailed close to Plymouth, which he passed on the 20th July, and was immediately followed by the English fleet. The English commanders, who had the utmost confidence in the seamanship of their men, and regarded the tonnage of the Spanish fleet, which was twice as large as that of the English, and their superiority in cannon, which was four* fold, as quite compensated by the greater handiness of their own ships, and the much larger proportion of sailors which each contained, had decided to follow close behind. By this means, as the wind was south-west, they had the weather-gauge of the Armada, and were able to approach it or stop at will, while the Spaniards were unable to turn upon their pursuers. In this way the two fleets moved slowly up the

The Fight
in the
Channel.

Channel, and, a week after they passed Plymouth, the Spaniards anchored off Calais. Both sides had expended a great amount of ammunition, of which the English were beginning to run short. The loss, however, was almost entirely on the side of the Spanish; for the Spanish guns, fired from their huge castles, could not touch the small English craft, while the English were able to do terrible execution among the crowded soldiery on the Spanish decks.

On arriving at Calais, Sidonia expected to find Parma at Dunkirk, with his men all ready to embark ; instead of which Parma was still at Bruges, and nothing whatever was ready. The English, ^{The Armada defeated.} however, were determined to bring matters to extremities, as a change in the wind might alter the whole aspect of affairs ; so, on the 29th, they sent fire-ships, full of combustibles, driving among the Spanish ships. Panic-stricken, the crews cut their anchors and fell into confusion, and when morning broke were again attacked by the English fleet. In this day's fighting, victory distinctly declared for the English ; and, when night fell, a strong north-east wind was driving the Spanish vessels on the shoals of Flanders. Had it continued, hardly a ship could have escaped; but, luckily for them, the wind again shifted to the south-west, and enabled them to make their way north into the open sea. Return, however, to the Channel was impossible and there was nothing left for them but to make the best of their way round the north of Scotland. From that moment, however, ill-luck pursued them; a series of gales drove some on the coast of Norway, others on the rock-bound coasts of Scotland and Ireland. No less than two thousand corpses were counted on the beach of Sligo Bay ; and, eventually, only fifty-three vessels made their way back to Spain. Philip met his misfortune with a magnanimity that would have done credit to a better man: ' I sent you out,' he said, ' to war with men, and not with the elements.'¹ Philip, however, was wrong. Up to the fight at Dunkirk, the elements had been all the Spaniards could wish; the north-east gale which blew on the night of that fight was their first piece of misfortune due to the elements. The real causes of the disaster were to be found, partly in the superior seamanship of the English, partly in the fact that, at the critical moment, Parma and his men were not ready. Had Parma effected a landing, it is probable that he might have won a battle : that he would have conquered the country, or even effected a lengthy settlement, is most improbable; and he himself never underrated for a moment the difficulty of the undertaking.

In other respects the defeat of the Armada formed the turning-point

in the reign. Before the close of 1588 Leicester died. In 1590 he was followed by Walsingham; and in 1591 by Christopher Hatton. Sir Nicholas Bacon had died in 1579, so that of the great men who stood round the throne at the accession, Burleigh alone was left, and he was now an old man verging on seventy. New men, therefore, began to come into prominence, of whom the most noticeable were Robert Cecil, Walter Raleigh, and the earl of Essex. Robert Cecil was Burleigh's second son, and had been born in 1563. From his earliest youth he had been trained by his father

Personal
changes
at Court.

Robert
Cecil.

as his successor; he inherited many of his father's qualities, but was not so distinguished a statesman. Nevertheless, his knowledge of business and of his father's secrets made him a most useful minister. Walter Raleigh stood in a very different position.

Walter
Raleigh.

Born in Devonshire in 1553, he soon made his way to court. Being a man of fine presence and good wit, he had early attracted the attention of Queen Elizabeth, who rewarded her favourite with large grants of land and money. She even made him captain of the guard; but he had no place in the privy council, and no influence in political matters. Raleigh was essentially a man of action, but he was extremely deficient in the capacity for dealing either with his equals or his superiors. He had had great experience of affairs, had fought in France, the West Indies, and in Ireland, and had about him a certain genius which has gained for him a much larger recognition in later times than he received in his own.

Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, was born in 1568, and was consequently twenty at the time of the Armada. He was, therefore, fifteen

Robert
Devereux.

years younger than Raleigh, who regarded him as a younger rival in the good graces of the queen. Essex's character seems to have been essentially showy, and, unlike Raleigh, he seems to have acquired a reputation among his contemporaries quite out of proportion to his real capacity. He courted popularity; and Lord Burleigh on one occasion, in advising a young man against either neglecting or over-courting popularity, told him to be 'neither an Essex nor a Raleigh.'

For the next ten years after the Armada, the contest between Elizabeth and Philip was continued in full activity. In 1589 Henry III. of

France.

France was assassinated by Jacques Clement; and consequently, Henry of Navarre became legitimate king of France. He was, however, opposed by the Guises, with the support of Spain; so Elizabeth, how no longer troubled by the thought that she was aiding rebels, was able to throw her whole force into Henry's scale; and a contingent of some six thousand troops, usually under the

command of the earl of Essex, fought regularly under Henry's banner till the conclusion of the war.

Besides thus indirectly aiding to check Philip, a series of expeditions were sent out from England against Spain. In 1589, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris commanded an expedition to Portugal, under the pretext of aiding Don Antonio, one of the Portuguese royal family, to recover the crown of Portugal, which had been worn by Philip, in right of his wife, since 1580. They were, however, able to effect little; for after taking Corunna, and marching from Peniche to Lisbon, they found that the Portuguese would do nothing to aid them. In 1590, Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Richard Grenville, with seven ships, were sent to intercept the Plate fleet off the Azores. There, however, they were attacked by a fleet of fifty Spaniards. Lord Thomas and six ships retreated; but Sir Richard Grenville in the *Revenge*, having waited to bring off some sick men, was attacked by the whole Spanish fleet; and after a desperate combat was forced to surrender. In 1592 another expedition was sent to the Azores under Sir Martin Frobisher. In 1594, Drake and Hawkins sailed to the West Indies; but the expedition was unfortunate. The Spaniards were found prepared, and both commanders perished of sickness at sea. By this time it was rumoured that another Armada was being prepared in Cadiz harbour; so in 1596, Lord Howard of Effingham, the earl of Essex, and Raleigh, repeated Drake's exploit of 1587, Entering the harbour, the fleet destroyed the Spanish ships at their moorings, while the soldiers, under Essex, stormed the town and destroyed the fortifications, bringing away with them much booty. The action excited the admiration of all Europe.

War with Spain naturally led to English schemes of colonisation. As early as 1579 a half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who ought to be regarded as the real founder of our Colonial Empire, obtained a grant from the queen authorising him to make settlements in unoccupied territory. Accordingly in 1583 he attempted to make a colony in Newfoundland; and after landing the settlers, proceeded south to make a further voyage of discovery. Unfortunately on his homeward passage, the crazy vessel of ten tons in which he was crossing the Atlantic foundered near the Azores, and all on board perished. After Gilbert's death, his patent was regranted to Raleigh; and, his brother's colonists having perished, Raleigh decided to make a fresh attempt in a more genial clime. In 1684, an expedition sent out by him explored the coast north of

Florida, and reported so well of the climate that Raleigh decided to choose it for his settlement; while the queen honoured his intention by permitting the country to be called Virginia. Accordingly, in 1585, a body of colonists were sent out under the escort of Sir Richard Grenville. Next year Grenville took out another body, but found that the first batch had just returned home with Drake (see page 467), after a sojourn of ten months. For some unexplained reason, Grenville's new colonists perished—probably from being led away into the interior by the thirst for gold, or through giving insufficient attention to crops. Another body sent out in 1587 shared the same fate.

Raleigh's efforts, therefore, were unsuccessful; and after spending about £40,000 on the enterprise, he handed over his rights to a company of merchants; and nothing more was effected in Raleigh in Guiana. Virginia until the next reign. Raleigh, however, devoted his attention to a new sphere of action. Having heard of the wealth of Guiana, he sent out an expedition in 1594 to explore the coast; and in 1595 followed himself. Having made his way to the mouth of the Orinoco, he ascended the river in small boats for a considerable distance. He was well received by the natives, between whose chief and the queen of England he established a somewhat shadowy treaty, and returned home satisfied as to the wealth of the country, and thoroughly believing in the existence of a gold mine a little farther inland than he had been able to penetrate. Circumstances, however, prevented him from returning; but he sent out two subsequent expeditions under his friend Captain Laurence Keymis.

Besides these attempts at colonisation, the latter years of Queen Elizabeth saw a great extension in our commerce. The practice of fitting out expeditions such as those of Drake and Raleigh at the expense of private individuals, though sometimes with government assistance, had trained Englishmen in one of our most important national characteristics—viz. that of doing by individual effort what elsewhere is done by government alone. Trade with distant countries was then a dangerous and expensive undertaking; and for the purpose of carrying it on, companies were formed exactly analogous to our great railway companies or South African companies of the present day. Such companies received a charter from the government and special privileges, and many such were granted by Queen Elizabeth. Of these, the most famous was the East India Company, incorporated in 1600. For a long time the trade of the East had been carried on by the Portuguese with such secrecy, that it was not till 1587, when Drake on his return from

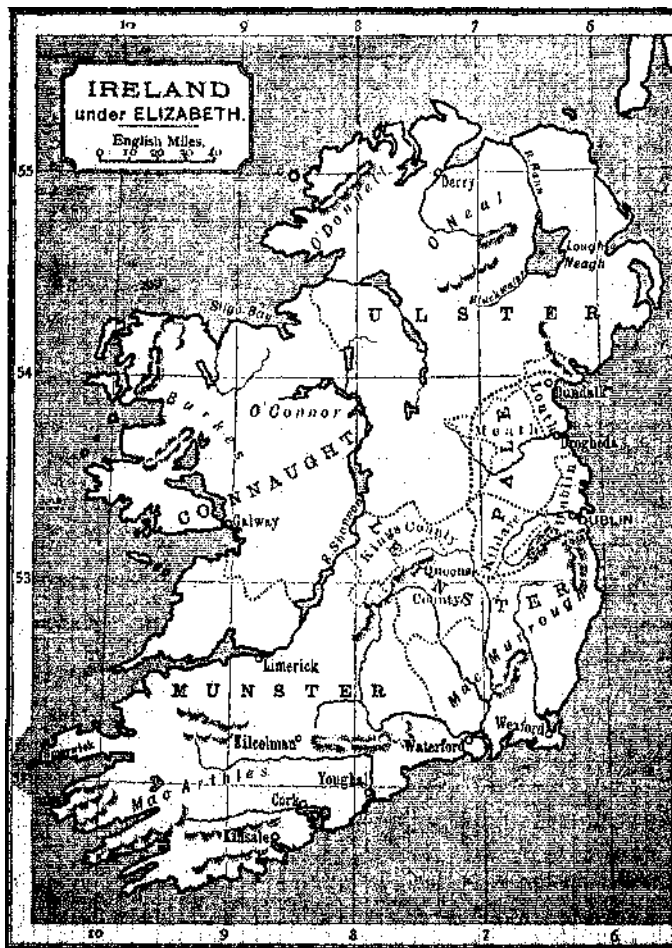
Cadiz captured a Portuguese East Indiaman, that the English realised its value. From that time forward, however, efforts were made both by the English and Dutch to break down the Portuguese monopoly. The first voyage of an English East Indiaman was made in 1601, and in that year an English trading station or factory was established at Calicut. Other companies traded with Russia and the Levant; and the impetus thus given to English commercial enterprise was never lost

After 1596 the war against Spain gradually died out. In France, Philip had completely failed to prevent Henry of Navarre from becoming king. In 1590 Henry defeated the league and their Spanish allies at the battle of Ivry. In 1592 Parma, Philip's best general, died during an attempt to raise the siege of Rouen. Next year Henry made success secure by formally joining the Catholic Church. This step, which he justified on the ground that 'France is worth a mass,' made him king not merely of a faction but of the French nation, and from that time forward resistance gradually died away. In 1598 he put the religious affairs of France on a firm footing by the Edict of Nantes, which granted toleration to the Huguenots. And the same year the Pense of Vervins brought his long struggle with Spain to a close. Within a month or two Philip himself died, and was succeeded by his peaceful son Philip III.

We must now return to events in Ireland. The Tudors had never lost sight of the policy, initiated by Henry VII., of bringing the island completely under English rule; and though the progress made had been fitful, a considerable amount had been accomplished. During the reign of Henry VIII., as in that of his predecessor, the great difficulty had been caused by the overweening power of the earls of Kildare; and when Henry's quarrel with Rome began, this turbulent family, of course, took the opportunity to declare for the pope, and added religious warfare to the horrors of the country. The danger, however, was so serious that the government took most energetic measures to restore peace: every leader who fell into Henry's hands was hanged, and only a single boy remained to represent the Geraldines of Kildare.

The Reformation in Ireland was quite different from that in England. The pre-reformation church of Ireland was in an extremely lax condition: authority was divided among no less than eight archbishops, no one of whom was supreme; and the bishops, instead of having regular spheres of work, were attached to monastic houses. Accordingly, when the religious houses were swept away, the church fell into complete confusion. The Act of Supremacy was passed

by the Irish parliament in 1538 and generally accepted by the chiefs ; and orders were given, though not apparently carried out, for the translation of the English service-book into Irish. The Reformation, how-



ever, on its spiritual side was wholly foreign to the Irish character; the people still clung to the old faith, and to the ministrations of the itinerant friars ; and it is from the friars and their preaching that the

Irish Catholic Church has received the national and popular character which distinguishes it at the present day. At the same time, it must not be supposed that the conduct of the Irish chiefs towards the English government was dictated by religious motives. Mary restored the Roman Catholic religion, but the chiefs rebelled against her just the same; and the names of Queen's County and Maryborough, King's County and Philipstown still remain to show how far English rule was advanced in her time.

The system, however, of annexing the territories of the chiefs and organising them as English shires, brought the government face to face with a new and most serious difficulty. In the history of land-tenure, ownership of land by the nation, the tribe, the family or community, and the individual, mark four successive stages of civilisation. The English had reached the stage of individual ownership before they arrived in Britain; but the Celts were between the tribal and family stages, and their customs appeared, to the English of the sixteenth century, perfectly 'barbarous'. The whole nation was divided into groups, each of whom acknowledged the authority of a chief, who held certain demesne lands in his own hands, and whose household was provided for by contributions due from all the inhabitants. Under him were secondary groups, called *Septs*, all the members of whom had one surname and had a particular chieftain or *Tanist*, who had likewise his demesnes and dues. At the death of a chief or chieftain, his land went as a whole to the next heir; but all other lands, held by the inferior inhabitants, were divided by *gavelkind*, in which all the children, legitimate or illegitimate, shared alike. The consequence was to make agriculture and progress almost impossible, for 'almost every acre of land hath a several owner, which termeth himself a lord, and his portion of land his country.' Moreover, the Irish regarded the lands of the chief or chieftain not as belonging to him, but as belonging to his followers collectively, and therefore looked upon the confiscation of the property of the chief as robbery of themselves. Confronted with this land-system, the English attempted to introduce the English system. They created the chiefs earls, and regarded the dues paid as rents. From this it followed that, when an Irish chief committed treason, his property was confiscated as in England, and probably redivided among English adventurers, without regard to the rights of the chieftains. Thus one rebellion led the way to another.

Early in Elizabeth's reign, her authority was defied by Shan O'Neal, **earl** of Tyrone. Like the other Irish chieftains, **Shan** had made

**The Irish
Land
System.**

an excellent impression at the English court, but immediately on his return he began disturbances ; and he maintained his independence, more

Shan O'Neal. or less, till in 1586 he was assassinated in a fray. Troubles then broke out in the south-west, owing to a quarrel of the queen with the Ormonds and the Desmonds ; but nothing very

The Desmonds. serious happened till 1579, when the Desmonds of Munster broke into rebellion, assisted by a Spanish force. The Irish, however, again proved too weak to resist the English when fairly roused: the Desmonds were routed, and the Spanish and Italian soldiers, sent by the pope, were forced to surrender and then brutally massacred at Smerwick. The most formidable insurrection of all, however, broke out after the Armada. The defeat of the Desmonds was followed by a whole-sale confiscation of their lands, which were divided out among the English colonists. Among others, the poet Spenser, who had acted as secretary to the lord-lieutenant, and whose *View of the Present State of Ireland* is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the time, received Kilcolman Castle ; and another large share was given to Sir Walter Raleigh. Spenser went and resided on his estate, and Sir Walter Raleigh made a genuine effort to people his lands with English settlers ; but, in most cases, the adventurers did little or nothing to make good their hold on their grants. The result was to drive the Irish chieftains to despair. Accordingly, a most formidable insurrection broke out, in which Spenser barely escaped with his life; and the English colonists in Munster were practically swept away. This insurrection, however, though terrible in its immediate consequences, would have been short-lived had not Hugh O'Neal, earl of Tyrone, who was a relative of Shan O'Neal, put himself at the head of the movement. Tyrone was probably the best general the Irish had yet had. He was a master of the art of irregular warfare, and knew exactly how to train his soldiers enough to stand up against regular troops without destroying their aptitude for the irregular forays to which they had been accustomed. He proved himself, therefore, a most formidable antagonist Sir John Norris, one of the best English soldiers of the day, was worn out in pursuing him. His successor, Sir Henry Bagnal, was led into an ambush, by the Blackwater, and slain with most of his soldiers. In these circumstances, the council determined to enlist the services of the earl of Essex.

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Essex was, on the whole, the best man to send. He had **had** much experience in fighting, and was believed to be capable of great deeds. At the same time, the courtiers saw him depart with mixed feelings. He was **hated** by the Cecils, and by his personal rivals, Raleigh **and**

Cobham, to whom his failure, even at the expense of the state, could not fail to be grateful. On the other hand, he received a letter of sound advice from Francis Bacon. Arrived in Ireland, Essex entirely forgot, or was unable to carry out, the policy he had advocated in England. Instead of attacking Tyrone in his Ulster headquarters, he allowed himself to be beguiled into a ruinous campaign in the desolated regions of the south. Here, without any commensurate result, he lost half his forces, and, when he finally confronted Tyrone, found himself too weak to engage him with any prospect of success. In these circumstances, he entered into a treaty by which he agreed that some great lord should be sent as viceroy, and that only Irishmen should be appointed to offices. To such an arrangement Essex must have been perfectly aware that Elizabeth would never agree.

Essex's Expedition.

His failure.

For some time he was at a loss what to do. At one time he thought of bringing his army over to England and dictating his own terms; eventually he left it under the command of Lord Mountjoy, and, without any leave of absence, returned to London. On his arrival, without even waiting to change his travel-stained clothes, he rushed into the queen's apartments, and claimed an audience. Elizabeth indignantly ordered him out; and, though she granted him a private interview, ordered his case to be investigated by the council. The members, however, being unaware of Essex's treasonable designs, merely ordered him to be confined to his house; and, after a short time, even this restriction was removed. Nevertheless, the earl was not permitted to appear at court; and, chafing at the triumph which his own folly had given to his enemies, he entered into a treasonable correspondence with the king of Scots; collected round him soldiers, and desperate men such as Catesby and others, who afterwards took part in the Gunpowder Plot. He had also behind him a number of noblemen, such as Lords Southampton and Monteagle; and, by an expression he had let fall, that, if he were in power, no one should suffer for his religious opinions, had secured some support from both Roman Catholics and Puritans. Such a combination was, obviously, most dangerous to the government, and Elizabeth and her ministers, though they did not know the full extent of Essex's schemes, were aware of their general import. Orders were, therefore, given for his arrest. Essex, however, cleverly evaded the officers, and, after an unsuccessful attempt to raise the Londoners, defended Essex House against the queen's troops. Such conduct was, obviously, intolerable. His conviction for treason followed as a matter of course, and he was beheaded in 1601. His death left Cecil in secure possession of power.

Return to England.

His treason.

Essex's Death.

The last parliamentary event of Elizabeth's reign was the question of monopolies. During the first thirty years of her reign only eight subsidies had been voted. This remarkable economy, which Parliament was of the greatest advantage to the country, was impossible after the Spanish war; and, during the last fifteen years, Elizabeth had had to raise fifteen subsidies and to sell crown lands to the value of more than two more. In spite of this she was in great difficulties for money. During her earlier years she had paid off the debts of her father and her brother and sister, but during the years of war she had great difficulty in providing both for the ordinary expenses of the country, and the extra charges entailed by the war and by her alliances with the Dutch and French. As a means of raising money, therefore, she had used largely her right of granting monopolies, for which an annual charge was made to the state. These created a good deal of discontent; and the parliament of 1601 having raised the question, the queen consented to a revision. On the whole, the relations between Elizabeth and her parliaments were extremely friendly, the only difficulty arising from the fact that the Commons wished to go farther than the queen; and though on several occasions Elizabeth arrested members for their conduct in the house, no serious exception seems to have been taken at the time.

The reign of Elizabeth saw a most marked change in the economical condition of the country. The rise of sheep-farming, the disendowment of the guilds, and the dissolution of the monasteries had proved fatal to the old system of life, both in town and country. That system, which depended upon the organisation of the individual in some recognised community such as the manor or the guild, had been almost replaced by the new system, in which the relation between employer and employed is simply a matter of wages. The introduction of the new system was inevitable, but it brought with it its drawbacks. First, because it substituted for a fixed relation and a fixed remuneration a temporary connection and a fluctuating income; and secondly, because it brought with it the problem of the unemployed. These difficulties were met by statesmen by an attempt to fix wages by law, and by the provision of a regular system of Poor Law relief. The rate of wages was regulated by the *Apprenticeship Act* of 1564, generally known as the Fifth of Queen Elizabeth, Chapter 4. Its scope was twofold. First, it attempted to limit the number of skilled labourers by enacting that each artisan must have served a seven years' apprenticeship in the trade which he followed. Secondly, it empowered the magistrates at quarter sessions to fix the wages payable in their

district. It also placed restrictions on the practice of labourers removing from one district to another in search of higher wages. In the time of Edward vi. the clergy were ordered to exhort their parishioners to provide by their liberality for the maintenance, of their own poor. This not proving efficient, officers were appointed to assess the in- habitants of the parish, and to demand the payment on ^{The Poor LAW.} pain of being censured by the magistrates ; and finally, compulsion being found necessary, the law was consolidated into the great Poor Law of 1601, which provided that in every parish the churchwarden, and from two to four householders should be nominated by the justices of the peace as overseers of the poor. These persons might levy a rate on land and use it: first, to set to work indigent children, and able-bodied men out of work ; second, to relieve people who could not work and had no near relatives to support them; and third, to erect houses of correction for vagabonds, and to put out pauper children as apprentices. This Act formed the basis of the Poor Law till 1834.

The last two years of Elizabeth's life were marked by no political event of first-rate importance. The war with Spain still dragged on, but took mainly the form of privateering. In Ireland Essex's successor, Mountjoy, distinguished himself by defeating ^{Conclusion of the reign.} Tyrone, who was pardoned. At court the chief attention of statesmen was given to securing their own fortunes under Elizabeth's successor. That successor, it was now quite understood, would be James of Scotland, for the claim of the Suffolk family was forgotten, and the advantage of uniting England and Scotland under one crown was obvious to everybody. Until 1602 Elizabeth had preserved her regular health; but during the autumn of that year she failed fast, and in March 1603 her long and successful reign came to a close. In estimating the merits of a [sovereign.it](#) is always difficult to apportion praise and blame between the crown and its ministers ; but in Elizabeth's case it may fairly be said that where she differed from her ministers, events almost invariably showed that she was right, and, what is still more remarkable, she contrived that even the very weaknesses of her character should play their part in the attainment of what she considered the national good.

CHIEF DATES,

	A.D
Treaty of Gateaux Oamhrttla, ...	1559
Many London Clergy leave the Church, .	1561
Mary Queen of Seote oomes to England,.	1662

The Tudors

CHIEF DATES (continued)

	A.D.
Rising: of the North, ...	1509
Massacre of St Bartholomew's Bay,	1569
Execution of Campion the Jesuit, .	1631
High Commission Court put on a permanent basis, ...	1583
Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, .	1687
Defeat of the Spanish Armada,	1088
throne's Rebellion in Ireland, .	1099
Execution of Essex, .	1601
The Great Poor Law,	1601

KND OF PERIOD I.

