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A SHORT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN

BY

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" THE STORY OF KING ROBERT THE BRUCE " ETC.

THIRD EDITION
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PREFACE

A BRIEF explanation of the principles which have determined the selection and arrangement of material in this book may be of use to the teacher.

The book is designed for use in the new Modern and Senior Schools and in the lower forms of secondary schools. It is meant to be an introduction to British history, to show the lines along which the peoples in these islands have developed, and to indicate the most significant events in that development; in a.word* to do for the schoolboy of twelve what Professor A. F. Pollard in his brilliant little *History of England* has already done for the general reader.

It is assumed that the children for whom this volume is intended have already read at least one book like Miss E. W. Miller's *The Beginner's History of England,* where the emphasis is laid, not on the vital movements in the history of the nation, but on picturesque personages and episodes. Striking personalities and romantic episodes have not been banished from this book—the author who tries to eliminate them from a book meant for boys of twelve does not know the rudiments of his business—but they are not chosen simply for their romantic quality. For example, detailed accounts of the battles of Hastings, Bannockburn, Crecy, Marston Moor, Blenheim, and Waterloo are given, not only because they are thrilling stories of adventure, but because they illustrate the development of the art of war in the course of eight centuries.

In the second place, it seemed to the writer that a departure from the strict chronological order would often result in a gain in clearness. To take one example, the awful tale of Ireland in the seventeenth century gains immensely in coherence and dramatic effect by being concentrated in one chapter instead of being scattered piecemeal over the four chapters dealing with seventeenth-century England. Similarly, it seemed expedient to

weave the accounts of the various wars with France between 1689 and 1815 into a continuous narrative, and to postpone the treatment of the Industrial Revolution to the chapter following that on the struggle with Napoleon.

A serious attempt has been made, without converting the book into a social and economic history pure and simple, to build up the historical background appropriate to each period. Descriptions of Roman Britain, of England under the Anglo-Saxon kings and after the Norman Conquest, of the ecclesiastical system in the twelfth century, of town life in the thirteenth century, and of the condition of the country in each succeeding century, have been given in some detail. In short, the book is to tell not only of

> The great and well-bespoke,
> But the mere uncounted folk.[1]

Finally, the author has tried to make the book a helpful introduction to the serious study of history; a book that may, and indeed must be supplemented, but that need not be unlearned. If he dared, he would call it " A Philosophical History of Britain for Schools." He has tried to leave nothing unexplained that can be explained, knowing full well that uncomprehended facts are dead facts.

Such aims cannot be achieved in a book of this size without the omission of much matter usually deemed essential. The reader will find little here of the matrimonial vagaries of Henry VIII, but an attempt instead to explain what the Reformation was really about; scarcely a word about Monmouth's Rebellion, but an explanation of what the English Parliament actually did gain in 1689.

R. L. M.

[1] Kipling, *Rewards and Fairies.*

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

IT is hoped that the usefulness of this work will be increased by the alterations and additions that have been made to it. The whole book has been carefully revised, and much more space has been given to the history of Britain in the twentieth century—the history which, after all, matters most to the future voters in our classrooms. It is strange to think that the first edition contains no mention of the Labour Party, of the League of Nations, or of the Irish Free State. Those omissions have been repaired: the sections dealing with the situation at home and abroad in the ten or fifteen years before the Great War have been rewritten and contain much new matter, and a completely new chapter has been added telling the story of the ten years following the Armistice.

Some minor alterations will be noticed. The synopsis at the end of the book has been omitted. Most teachers, it is felt, will agree that while a synopsis is useful on occasion, the most useful synopsis is the one which the pupil makes for himself. On the other hand, at the head of each chapter are now put the dates of the period covered in that chapter, and of the sovereigns whose reigns fell within it. These, it is hoped, with the chronological table at the end of the book, should be sufficient to let the most bewildered reader know at what point in time he has arrived. The chronological table, of course, is meant to be a guide to the text, not something to be learned by heart apart from it.

More important are the changes in the illustrations. The first edition contained 189 illustrations; this contains 232. This does not mean simply that 43 new illustrations have been added: most of the line drawings in the first edition have been replaced by the more accurate and more pleasing half-tone reproductions. All merely fanciful pictures have been excluded; the illustrations can

be accepted as genuine historical documents. It is hoped that the teacher will not dismiss them as mere marginal embellishments, but will recognize that they form an integral part of the book, to be studied as carefully as the text.

R. L. M.

NOTE TO THE THIRD EDITION

EXCEPT for a few minor alterations, the greater part of the book remains substantially the same as in the Revised Edition of 1929. Mindful, however, of the principle enunciated in that edition, that the history which matters most to the future voters in our classrooms is the history of their own times, the author has rewritten, in the light of our present-day knowledge, the history of the ten years following the Armistice, and has brought the narrative down to the accession of King George VI. While it has been judged unwise to present youthful readers with a ready-made synopsis, they have been provided with fresh aids to study in the shape of an index and of sets of questions and exercises, which, it is hoped, will be specially useful in schools which follow the Dalton Plan or one of its modifications.

R. L. M.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF BRITAIN

CHAPTER I

BRITAIN LONG AGO

LATE STONE AGE	began about	4,000 B.C.
BRONZE AGE	M „	2,000 B.C.
IRON AGE	„ „	500 B.C.

The Early Stone Age. The hot sun beats down on a dense tangled forest, but beneath the trees it is almost dark, and the air is heavy with vapour and with the perfume of strange flowers. No sound is heard but the drone of innumerable insects; no movement is seen but a flicker of colour as a gorgeous bird flits from the sunlight to the gloom. But wait till the sun sinks below that endless sea of foliage: then the silence of the forest will be broken by fearsome cries, and great elephants, hyenas, bears, and tigers with teeth like sabres will crash through the undergrowth.

This is no forest near the equator: the broad river that gleams through the trees is not the Congo or the Amazon; it is our own Thames. We have been transported, not to other lands, but to another age, for this is how England appeared long ago, centuries and centuries before the oldest of the Pyramids had been built, or the Tower of Babel had risen from the plain of Shinar.

Let us look again. A man with tangled hair and skin burned almost black by the sun is creeping about the boles of the great trees, searching the undergrowth for nuts and berries. As the leaves rusde behind him he looks nervously over his shoulder and fingers his only weapon, a piece of hard stone, rounded at one end and sharpened at the other. It is only adeer which his movements have startled, but though he is hungry he lets it leap past him without raising a hand, for he has no bow and arrow, not even a javelin. But the fright has disturbed him; the next animal he arouses may be a sabre-toothed tiger, so he hurries on.

He sees a cave with a fire smouldering in front of it and one or two swarthy figures lying at the entrance. His face brightens, for these are his kinsfolk and the cave is his home.

Such were the earliest inhabitants of England. They had no houses, no clothes, no weapons except these sharpened pieces of stone. They could not weave or make pottery. Their choice of food was limited, since they did not know how to grow corn or to tame animals, and without bow and spear they could not be good hunters. But the climate was kindly: they had little need of shelter and clothing and little to fear except the wild beasts.

Generation after generation passed, century after century. Slowly the summers grew shorter, the winter cold more intense, but so slowly that an old man would mark no difference since the days of his childhood. The tiger and rhinoceros, the elephant and hyena fled southward over plains now sunk under the English Channel, leaving their haunts to the bear and woolly mammoth, the great musk-ox and the reindeer. Some men no doubt followed their flight, but some remained, for they had learned new arts that for a time enabled them to endure their new hardships. They need no longer live only upon roots and berries when their spears tipped with sharpened bone could bring down even the mightiest beasts; if they wanted clothes they cleaned the hide of the slain deer or ox with stone scrapers, cut it into shape with knives of roughly hewn flint, and sewed the pieces together with bone needles and thread made of gut. What these people thought of the world around them, what they said to each other in the winter nights when they huddled round the lire in their cave, even the wisest man to-day cannot tell.

FIG. I. FLINT IMPLEMENT

Found in Gray's Inn Lane, London, in 1690.

The Late Stone Age. The air grew colder and colder, the snow lay longer and longer on the ground in summer, till at last a terrible winter set in that seemed as if it were to have no ending, and the whole of our country lay buried under a sheet of snow and ice. What became of the people no one knows; perhaps the land lay desolate for centuries, perhaps a handful of fishermen

dragged out a precarious existence in caves round the coast and thought themselves lucky when they speared a whale with their harpoons of reindeer horn. But when the age-long winter came to an end, when the soft winds of spring blew over a land that we could recognize as our own, it was occupied by a people who differed in many things from those who had gone before. Somehow they had discovered that the best way to give a sharp edge to a stone knife or axe was not to chip it, but to grind another stone against it, so they made most of their tools and weapons of stone that had been beautifully ground and polished. Their stone axes they bound to wooden helves with thongs of leather; their spears and arrows—they had discovered the use of the bow—were headed with leaf-shap^ flakes of flint. They had learned how to grow corn and

FIG. 2. AXE-HEAD OF THE LATE STONE AGE

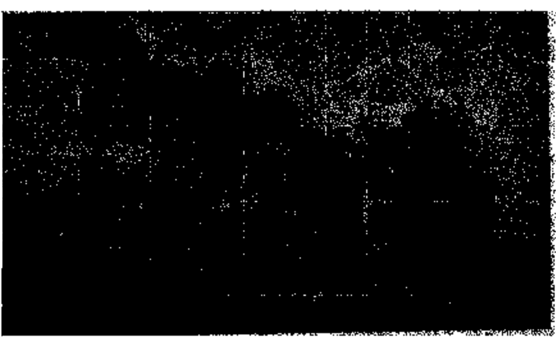


FIG. 3. A MONUMENT OF THE BRONZE AGE I STONEHENGE IN 1909

to tame animals, how to spin and weave the wool from their sheep, and how to make earthenware dishes. They no longer dwelt only in caves, for they could make houses of a kind —shallow round holes dug in the ground and thatched over. Sometimes, too, they would try to make themselves safe from their enemies by placing their dwellings on an island in a lake,

or even by making an artificial island on which they built a village of wattled huts daubed with clay. They must have had some faint glimmerings of religious belief, for it was they who built the great circle of stones at Stonehenge (Fig. 3), almost seventeen centuries before the birth of Christ, and they buried their dead carefully under oblong mounds of earth, placing weapons and dishes beside the bodies, as if there might be need of such things in some future life.

The Bronze Age. Altogether these people of the Late Stone Age had advanced far beyond the men of the Early Stone Age,

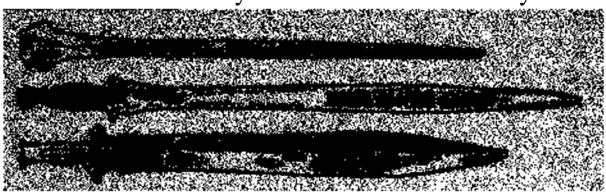


FIG. 4. BRONZE SWORDS

those who used weapons of unpolished stone, but they had not yet discovered the use of metal. Then somehow or other swords —such as you see in Fig. 4—spear-heads, and other implements of bronze made their appearance in Britain. When they came or where they came from no one knows; perhaps some forgotten genius discovered that if he melted nine parts of copper with one part of tin he could make with the alloy an instrument sharper than the sharpest stone and capable of keeping its cutting edge far longer. Perhaps traders brought them from overseas; perhaps they were brought by some invading race, for there must have been many invasions, peaceful and warlike, of this island of which all memory has perished.

FIG. 5. BRITISH HORNED HELMET

The Iron Age. We would give much to know about one big invasion. We know that it did happen: we can only guess when or how it happened. Some centuries before the birth of Christ there seems to have been a movement of people from Asia Minor

to Western Europe. These people who drifted slowly across the Continent were Celts, they spoke a language akin to modern Welsh, and they knew how to fashion tools and weapons of iron. Some of them, the Gauls, settled in France; others, the Britons, crossed the Channel and brought Britain under their sway. Bronze had been pitted against iron, and iron had prevailed.

The natives learned from their new masters both their language and the art of working in iron. But they did not abandon the use of bronze, nor did their skill in handling it decrease.

FIG. 6. ROMAN WAR-GALLEY

The People of Britain. We must remember that no hard and fast line can be drawn between those periods. The man of the Neolithic Age often used weapons that were neither ground nor polished. In the Bronze Age the hunter still used arrows that were tipped with flint. And so the craftsman of the Iron Age showed even greater skill in the fashioning of bronze than the craftsman of the Bronze Age had done.

Nor did these changes affect every part of the island to the same extent; it would take a long time for the new devices to reach the remoter parts of the country, and even when these discoveries became known old-fashioned people would refuse to adopt them. The people in Scotland, for example, were slow to learn the use of iron. The people of the south and south-east coasts were the most civilized: they used money, bars of iron, and coins of gold, and the fact that money was used shows that there must have been trade; there was a fair amount of traffic between Britain and the coasts of Northern Gaul, which shows that they must have been able to make sea-going ships and were not content with the hollowed tree-trunks or coracles of wicker and skin which satisfied the inhabitants of remoter places. They had tamed the horse, and used him to draw their terrible

war-chariot; though they did not use stone for building, the great circular mounds or barrows which they heaped over their dead and the ramparts and trenches which they made can still be traced on many a hill-top.

We must remember, too, that the inhabitants of Britain did not think of themselves as belonging to one nation; they were grouped into separate tribes, each under its own chief, separated often by differences of race and language and always by tribal jealousy. Only when some great danger threatened would the tribes of one part of the country join together and place themselves under the leadership of a chief who was specially renowned in war. Such a danger was near at hand. One autumn morning in the year 55 B.C. watchers on the shores of Kent saw a great fleet approaching. The ships were like the one shown in Fig. 6; they had beaks of metal, and were driven by oars as well as sails. As they came nearer the watchers on shore saw that they were crowded from end to end with armed men.

CHAPTER II

THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN

55 B.C.-A.D. 407

Julius Cæsar. Far away from the shores of Britain, beside the sluggish yellow waters of an Italian river, rose the palaces and temples of the great city of Rome. Once it had been only a nest of outlaws, but that was long ago; not only had its inhabitants brought the whole of Italy under their rule, but by the middle of the first century before Christ all the lands round the Mediterranean had acknowledged the authority of the Roman Senate. Of the many brilliant generals in the service of the Roman Republic none had distinguished himself more than Julius Caesar; in fact, some people whispered that such a man would not long be content to remain the servant of the Republic, but would soon try to be king. There seemed to be nothing that he could not do: in a few campaigns he had conquered the whole of Gaul, as France was then called, and reached the Straits of Dover. Here he heard tales of a great island in the west, shaped like a triangle, and as he knew that its inhabitants had already tried to help the Gauls in their hopeless struggle he resolved to cross the Channel and show them the folly of attempting to thwart his schemes of conquest. Thus it came about that a fleet of Roman war-galleys appeared for the first time off the British coast.

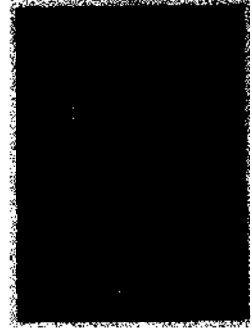
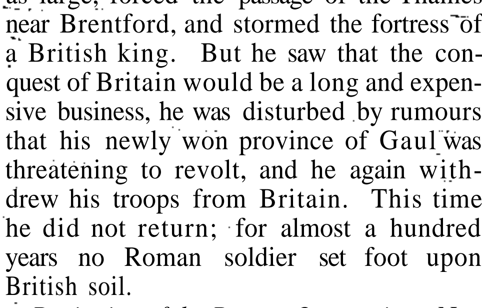


FIG. 7. JULIUS CÆSAR

First Roman Invasions of Britain. But his invasion was a failure. It was only with the greatest difficulty that his troops were able to fight their way through the surf; the ships containing the cavalry never reached Britain at all; though he drew

up his galleys on the beach a storm washed some away and damaged others; and though his heavily armoured infantrymen —you see one of them in Fig. 8—could beat off the attacks of the lightly clad Britons he was afraid to venture far among the forests and marshes of that unknown land. He knew, too, that the equinoctial gales would soon be upon him, and he withdrew his battered ships across the Channel.



Next year he returned with an army twice as large, forced the passage of the Thames near Brentford, and stormed the fortress of a British king. But he saw that the conquest of Britain would be a long and expensive business, he was disturbed by rumours that his newly won province of Gaul was threatening to revolt, and he again withdrew his troops from Britain. This time he did not return; for almost a hundred years no Roman soldier set foot upon British soil.

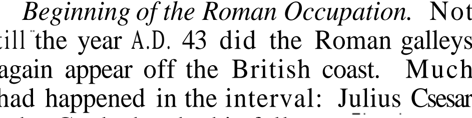


FIG. 8. ROMAN LEGIONARY IN MARCHING ORDER

Beginning of the Roman Occupation. Not till the year A.D. 43 did the Roman galleys again appear off the British coast. Much had happened in the interval: Julius Csesar had been slain, not by the Gauls, but by his fellow-countrymen; a few years after his death Rome had ceased to be a republic, and it was now ruled by Claudius, the fourth of the Roman emperors. This time nothing could stay the advance of the legions; when Aulus Plautius, their first commander-in-chief, returned to Rome four years later they had subdued practically the whole of Britain as far north as the Humber and as far west as the Welsh marches and the borders of Devon. Here the conquerors had to halt for a time; though a Roman army penetrated to the heart of Wales in the year 51 and defeated and captured Caratacus, the most dreaded of the British leaders, other chieftains continued the struggle, and though eight years later Suetonius reached Anglesea he was recalled at once by the news that the Iceni or Britons of Norfolk had risen in revolt under their queen, Boadicea.

Boadicea had good reason for her action. Before he died her

husband had bequeathed his land and people to the Roman Empire, hoping that thus the Iceni would escape the fate which had befallen other tribes. The Roman officials, far from showing any gratitude, plundered the dead king's palace, scourged his queen, and allowed his daughters to be cruelly treated. If Boadicea's wrongs were great her revenge was terrible; she stormed and sacked first Colchester, the chief Roman town in the island, then St Albans, and finally London. In each of these places every Roman and every Briton who remained obedient to Rome was put to the sword. The Ninth Legion marched from Lincoln to stamp out the rebellion and was all but cut to pieces. Suetonius himself hurried south, and a fierce battle took place, but the frenzied valour of the Britons could not prevail against the superior equipment and discipline of the Romans; they were completely defeated, and the great-hearted queen took poison rather than become a Roman captive.

Agricola. No great addition was made to the Roman territories in Britain till the time of Julius Agricola, who was commander-in-chief from A.D. 78 to A.D. 85. In successive campaigns he pacified Wales and the North of England; then he advanced into Scodand, built a line of forts between the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde, penetrated into the unknown lands beyond, and somewhere north of the Tay defeated the fierce Caledonians. But the commanders who followed him were unable to hold all his conquests; after his departure the forts which he had built beyond the Cheviots had to be abandoned; in the early years of the second century a terrible rebellion broke out in the North of England, in the course of which the luckless Ninth Legion was completely wiped out.

The Roman Walls. The Emperor Hadrian saw that if the northern frontier of the province were not strengthened the whole of Roman Britain might be lost to the Empire. In 122 he crossed to Britain himself, subjugated the rebellious North, and built a great rampart of stone between the Tyne and the Solway. Twenty years later Lollius Urbicus forced his way across the desolate moorlands of Southern Scotland, discovered Agricola's deserted forts, and built a wall of turf across the Forth and Clyde isthmus.

A Romano-British Town. Here the tide of Roman conquest stopped: before it begins to ebb let us see what changes a hundred

years of Roman rule have made on the island. South and east of a line drawn through the three great fortresses, York, Chester, and Caerleon-on-Usk, we are in a tranquil, settled country,

FIG. *g*. ROMAN SLAB FROM BRIDGENESS, SCOTLAND

On the left a Roman soldier is galloping over two dead and two living Caledonians. On the right is a scene of sacrifice. The inscription states that 4652 ' paces ' (about 4½ miles) of the wall were constructed by the Second Legion for the Emperor Antoninus Pius.

dotted with farms and little towns and intersected with broad, well-paved roads. Let us glance at one of these towns; the plan in Fig. II will give us a good general idea of its arrangement. It covers an area of about six hundred acres and is surrounded by a rampart of turf. The streets are broad and straight and intersect one another at right angles; the houses are solidly built of stone and roofed with tiles. Within there is nothing to remind you of the wattled hut of a century ago: little pieces of coloured stone have been cemented together to form a mosaic floor ; pictures have been painted on the surface of the walls, on the tables are vessels of glass and dishes of beautiful red earthenware from the famous potteries of Gaul or of a coarser grey ware from the British factories. By a clever device the rooms are kept warm even in the depths of winter; in some parts of the house the walls have been left hollow; the shafts thus created lead to a long low cellar with a furnace in one corner. When the furnace is heated the warm air

FIG. 10. A SAMIAN BOWL

fills the cellar and circulates through the hollow walls. In **the** middle of the town is the forum, a square surrounded by a pillared arcade; on one side rises a big hall, something like a church; it is not a church, but a basilica, where justice is administered and where the most important business connected with the town is transacted. Not far off we see a temple,

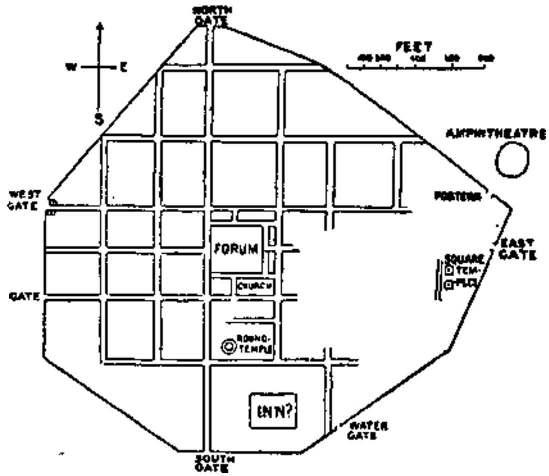


FIG. I I . PLAN OF SILCHESTER
A Romano-British town.
From the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* by permission.

dedicated perhaps to Mars or Jupiter, and the elaborate baths, finer than one will see in many a modern English town. One notices, too, that the people who bargain in the market-place or lounge in the basilica are dressed like Romans, those of higher rank muffled in the ample folds of their woollen togas, the workmen in short tunics, and that high and low alike speak nothing but Latin. Yet with one or two exceptions they are natives of .Britain; perhaps their grandfathers stood beside Caratacus when the Roman soldiers, locking their shields into one solid wall of metal, advanced unhurt to storm his hill-fortress.

Even in the country districts Latin was spoken. Here the

land was divided into estates or 'villas,' cultivated by peasants who were more or less bound to the soil and who lived in little groups of huts near the comfortable stone-built house of their landlord or his overseer.

The Frontiers of Roman Britain. But if you went a few miles north of York or a few miles west of Chester or Caerleon-on-Usk you were in another world. There were no towns, no 'villas'; only the same broad road stretched ahead over the solitary moorland. Few civilians were to be seen; only now and then a group

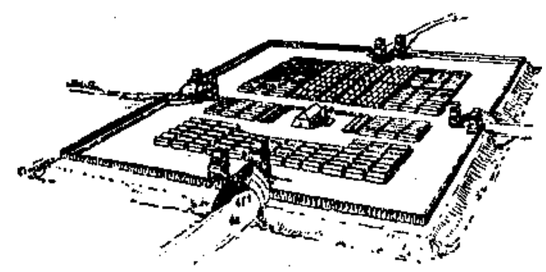


FIG. 12. A ROMAN CAMP

of adventurous merchants would pass by; a more frequent sight was a cohort of infantry in glittering helmets or a long string of provision wagons with its military escort, bringing corn and jars of wine to some fort on Hadrian's Wall. Here, it is evident, the natives had not been reconciled to Roman rule. Let us follow these wagons. They bring us to the far-stretching rampart of stone, a stouter defence than the wall of turf which Hadrian first erected here, and to a rectangular fort, about six acres in extent. If you look at Fig. 12 you will see what the fort is like. It is surrounded by a rampart of turf and by a ditch; at each of the four gateways is a tower where a sentinel is posted; in the centre is a stone building—the *principia.* In one of the rooms the pay-chest of the cohort is kept; in another we see the standard of the cohort—not a flag, but a bronze eagle; and the others are the officers' quarters. All round rise the long wooden huts where the soldiers live, intersected by straight streets like those of a Roman town. The other stone building is the granary, which is kept dry by the heating apparatus we have already

described. Outside the fort—but the artist has not shown it in the picture—is a group of houses surrounded by a low wall: here live the wives and children of the soldiers, here are the inevitable baths and the temple of Fortune, where the more foolish soldiers squander their pay, and here the travelling merchants display their wares.

Fighting in the North. But life on the frontiers was never very peaceful, especially in the North; often the blare of the trumpet

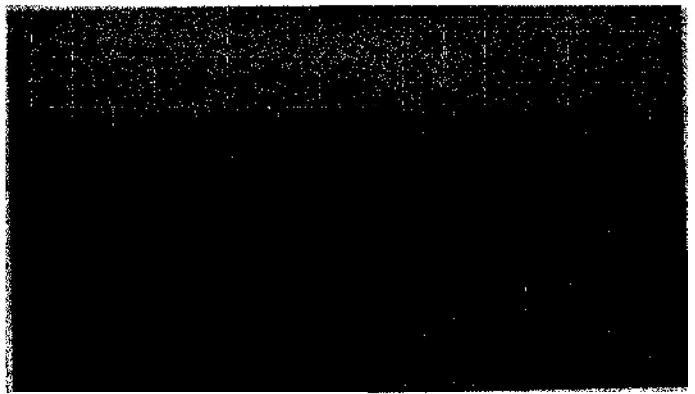


FIG. 13. HADRIAN'S WALL TO-DAY

would send the soldiers to their posts on the ramparts and make the women and children seek refuge in the fort; often the gleam of a beacon-fire would show them that a neighbouring garrison had been attacked and was calling for reinforcements. The northern wall was lost barely twenty years after it had been built; it was regained and held for another twenty years, but in 180 it was finally abandoned.

Hadrian's Wall had now become the northern limit of the province, but at the end of the second century it too was stormed by the barbarians.

The grim old Emperor Septimius Severus took upon himself the task of saving the province. Between 208 and 211 he drove the barbarians north of the Wall, repaired it, and advanced far into Caledonia. But his northern expedition, which cost him fifty thousand men, left the barbarians unsubdued, and when

he died it was recognized that the territory north of the Wall must be given up.

Separation of Britain from the Roman Empire. But if the Britons north of the Wall were not conquered they had at least been badly frightened, and for a long time they refrained from disturbing their formidable neighbours. So in spite of this loss of territory, Britain south of the Wall remained a Roman province for another two centuries. Skirmishes along the Wall, encounters

FIG. 14. ROMAN BASTION OF PEVENSEY
Photo by Cecily Hughes

with Saxon pirates in the Channel, did not interrupt the quiet of Bath or Silchester, where a Christian church now rose beside the heathen temples. But the danger was there, though the trader or farmer shut his eyes to it: at the beginning of the fourth century the Channel and the North Sea were so infested with Saxon pirates that fortresses were erected along the coast from the Wash to the Isle of Wight, and before another fifty years had passed Picts from Scotland, Scots from Ireland, and Saxons from Germany broke through the Wall and ravaged the north of the province. Again and again they were driven out; again and again they returned. In 383, at a time when every soldier was needed for the defence of Britain, one of the officers, Magnus Maximus, proclaimed himself Emperor of Rome and crossed to the Continent, taking with him a great part of the Roman garrison. The troops that were left had a hopeless task; a year or two later the Wall was finally abandoned. Appeals to Rome were useless;

for Rome itself, the very heart of the great Empire, was threatened by barbarians. On the last night of 410 Rome itself was invaded by the Goths. With the general disruption of that world-empire darkness descends on the history of our island; we can dimly see the last of the Roman garrison crossing to the Continent in the wake of a low-born adventurer, and we know that some time about 407 Britain ceased to be a Roman province.

CHAPTER III

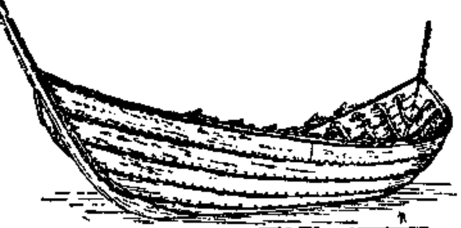
THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH
407-829

ASCENDANCY OF NORTHUMBRIA, 617-680
ASCENDANCY OF MERCIA, 685-829

Calm before the Storm. For a little time after the departure of the Romans life went on much as usual over the greater part of Britain. British magistrates sat in the basilicas which the Romans had built and, speaking in Latin, gave judgment according to Roman law; the villa lands were ploughed and reaped in the accustomed way, but the Roman landowner had probably been succeeded by his British overseer; and British troops, armed like Roman soldiers and drilled after the Roman fashion, kept guard on the east coast or along the threatened northern frontier. It was the calm before a storm fated to rage for centuries; at the end of another fifty years the Britons were fighting for their lives against a more dangerous enemy than either the Pict or the Scot.

The Home of the English. At the beginning of the fifth century there were neither Englishmen in England nor Scots in Scotland. If you wanted to find the home of the English you would have to look to the forests and marshes and sandy coasts of North Germany, where tribes of fair-haired people, Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, cultivated clearings in the forest, or steered their ships through the shallow waters of the Baltic. We have said that there were three peoples; but as they spoke the same language, and as their laws, customs, and religion were the same, we can treat them as one and give them the general name of Anglo-Saxons or English. But you must not think that the Anglo-Saxons considered themselves as belonging to one nation, ruled by one king: on the contrary, they were divided into dozens of little tribes, and only in the utmost extremity would several tribes place themselves under the leadership of some chief especially renowned in war.

The English Invasions. Even before the end of the third century, you will remember, some of these people had harassed the coast of Britain. For a long time they were content merely to capture merchant ships passing between Britain and Gaul, or at most to raid undefended districts; but about the year 449 they came seeking, not plunder only, but a home. Fear drove them forth, the fear of an invader from the East. First from one district, then from another, bands of warriors set out in their undecked ships, shaped like the one in Fig. 15, and sailed westward till they came to a haven on the coast of Britain. There they landed, stormed any fortress that resisted, and established a little kingdom. When their hold over the conquered territory seemed secure they summoned their wives and children to join them.



PIG. 15. ANCIENT JUTISH BOAT
Discovered in a peat-bog in Southern Jutland.

The first invaders were Jutes, who settled in Kent. They were followed by another and still another band of settlers, till ofie could travel for league after league through Northern Germany and see nothing but deserted clearings in the forest and villages tumbling into ruin.

We shall never know the full story of this invasion; the men who took part in it left no record of their deeds; but we do know that the struggle was long and bitter, and that the Britons fought with desperate courage. The invaders found it fairly easy to overrun the open country in the Midlands and the South-east, but when they attempted to push farther west they found themselves in more difficult country and confronted by a stouter foe, for the unconquered remnant of the Romanized Britons had joined themselves to those fierce Britons of the West whom the Romans had never been able to subdue completely. In the year 516 the English suffered such a crushing defeat at Mount Badon that they left the Britons in peace for forty years. Not till a century after their first landing did they gain control of the

whole coast from the Tweed to the Exe. Even then the western half of England was still in the hands of the Britons. But in 577 Ceawlin of Wessex gained a victory at Deorham, near Bristol, which not only gave him the three great cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, but enabled him to drive a wedge between the Britons of Wales and the Britons of Cornwall. A second disaster befell the Britons in 613, when Ethelfrith of Northumbria stormed the fortress of Chester and cut off the Britons of Cumbria from their kinsfolk in Wales.

Downfall of the Britons. Thus it is clear that at the beginning of the seventh century the most important stage in the struggle between Celt and Saxon was over, and that the English were destined to be the masters of Southern Britain. It is true that the Britons still held Cornwall, Wales, and Cumbria, a kingdom stretching from the south of Lancashire to the Firth of Clyde, but each province was isolated and had to fight its own battles. And though something was saved, more was lost; the richest part of the island, the part containing all the towns, most of the arable land, and the whole of that splendid system of roads, had passed into the hands of barbarians who did not understand the value of their prize. Nor was that all; these Britons, who had once counted themselves all but Romans, cut off from all contact with Continental civilization, driven from their long-settled towns, soon forgot the arts they had learned from the Romans, forgot even the Latin speech, and sank to the level of their semi-barbaric kinsfolk. These were the most fortunate; some crossed to a part of Northern France which they called Brittany, where the ancient Celtic speech may be heard to this day; those who could not escape to the West or overseas were enslaved, and some of the women became the unwilling wives of the conquerors.

Northumbrian Mercia, and Wessex. But though the English had prevailed, we must not think that anything like a united English kingdom had been established; on the contrary, the eastern half of England was divided into a dozen little kingdoms, most of them no larger than a modern county. Kent, for example, once had a king of its own. These kingdoms made war not only on the Britons, but on one another, and as a result of their endless strife the weaker ones were absorbed in the stronger, till only Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex were left. Still there was

no King of England: though at the beginning of the seventh century Edwin of Northumbria was hailed as Bretwalda, or ruler of the Britons, his title meant only that he was the foremost of several kings, not sole ruler of England. However, till King Ecgfrith's death in battle against the Picts at Nechtansmere in 685 it seemed as if Northumbria would be the greatest kingdom in England. The great midland kingdom, Mercia, came to the front in the eighth century, but in the ninth century the title of Bretwalda was gained by Ecgbert of Wessex.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND

597-790

The Triumph of Paganism. You will remember that before the Romans left Britain Christian churches had appeared in some of the towns. How the story of the life and death of Christ first reached this country we do not know; perhaps some soldier or trader brought it, but we do know that before the coming of the English it had spread to both Scotland and Ireland, Then the light faded; the very name of Christian was forgotten in the greater part of England, for the invaders believed in gods who were fierce fighters and feasters like themselves. Though their strange religion has long since disappeared, the words Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday still commemorate Woden or Odin, whom they thought to be the king of the gods, Thor, the god of thunder, and the goddess Freya. Nor was that all: the British Christians, shut up in the remote West, could know nothing of what was happening in the rest of Europe, of changes in doctrine or ceremonies, and so they drifted apart from their brethren on the Continent.

The Mission of St Augustine. In a truly strange fashion was the Gospel again brought to Britain. A monk named Gregory was passing through the great market-place of Rome, when his attention was attracted by a group of fair-haired, clear-skinned boys. They were English slaves. He approached the group and was told by the slave-merchant that for all their beauty they were heathen. He asked whence they came. " They are called Angles," was the answer. " They are well named," said Gregory, " for they have the faces of angels." But it grieved him to think that though their faces were bright their minds were in darkness, and he resolved that he would carry the Gospel to Britain. Years passed, but every year seemed to make the fulfilment of his purpose more difficult. At length the monk

rose **to be** Pope; and though it was now quite impossible for him to go to Britain he sent his friend Augustine to the Court of the Kentish king Ethelbert, who had wedded a Christian princess from Gaul. Augustine landed in Kent in 597. Though the King asked for time to ponder over his message, he received Augustine courteously, and allowed him to make his home in the town of Canterbury. Here a few weeks later a procession of forty monks might have been seen marching to a half-ruined church, built while Britain was still part of the Roman Empire. At their head glittered a silver cross, one of the monks bore a banner on which the figure of the Saviour had been painted, and as they marched they chanted a Latin hymn. Well might they sing, for the long night had come to an end at last. England was no longer an outlaw among the peoples of Europe, her people were no longer shut out from the learning, the civilization, and the religion of the Continent. Within a short time both king and people became Christians, and Augustine was recognized by the Pope as archbishop or head of the English Church.

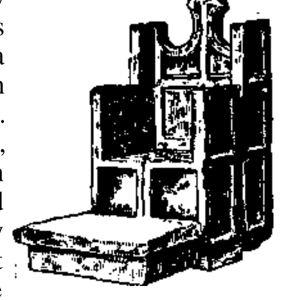


FIG. 16. ST AUGUSTINE'S CHAIR, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

Paulinus in Northumbria. But Augustine had done little more than make a beginning: his influence did not extend beyond the boundaries of Kent and Essex, and when he died the task of carrying the Gospel into other parts of England had to be taken up by missionaries like Birinus, who converted the people of Wessex. For a long time progress was slow; people who had declared themselves Christians because their king told them to went back to their old gods when pestilence brought the fear of death upon them; even the son of King Ethelbert lapsed into paganism. The Mercians followed the example of Penda, their king, the most vigorous ruler of his day, and shut their ears to the message of the monks. In Northumbria all went well at first; when Edwin of Northumbria married a Kentish princess she brought in her train the Roman monk Paulinus. Again and again Paulinus urged Edwin to become a Christian, till the

King, moved by his appeals, summoned his council to debate on the strange new message. Before this assembly of warriors and priests of the old religion Paulinus unfolded the story of the Crucifixion and Resurrection and the hope which it brings to men of a life beyond the grave. Even the heathen priests were moved; a warrior rose from his seat and said: " The life of man, O King, is like a sparrow flitting through your hall when we are seated round the fire at supper-time, while the winds are howling and the snow is drifting without. It passes swiftly in at one door and out at another, feeling for the moment the warmth and shelter of your palace, but it flies from winter to winter and swiftly escapes from our sight. Even such is our life here, and if anyone can tell us certainly what lies beyond it we shall do wisely to follow his teaching." After this speech there was no hesitation; warrior and priest alike declared that they accepted the new religion, and on Easter Eve 627 King Edwin was baptized in a little wooden church beside the ruined walls of York, on the very spot where the great minster now stands.

Six years later the King lay dead on the field of battle. Penda of Mercia had joined with the British king Cadwallon and routed the Northumbrian forces at Heathfield, near Doncaster. Briton and Mercian worked their will on the defenceless kingdom, till in 634 Oswald defeated Cadwallon at Heavenfield, beside Hadrian's Wall, and became King of Northumbria.

The Monks of Iona. So far the only missionaries who had appeared in England had come from Rome, and in the doctrines which they taught and the way in which they worshipped they did not differ at all from the Roman Catholic Church on the continent of Europe. But with Oswald's accession there came a change.

Oswald was the son, not of Edwin, but of King Ethelfrith of Northumbria, who had been slain by Edwin's men in battle. On the death of his father he fled to the island of Iona, on the west coast of Scotland. Here there was a monastery, and here the monks received him kindly and instructed him in the Christian faith.

Now these monks did not come from Rome. At the beginning of the fifth century, after the Romans had left, but before the invasion of the English had begun, a British missionary named

Patrick crossed to Ireland. As the light of Christianity died down in England it seemed to burn more brightly in the West: monasteries sprang into existence all over the country, filled by men who were eaten up with zeal for religion and learning. They were not content to keep their treasure to themselves: in 563 Columba sailed to Scotland and founded a monastery on Iona, the first of many similar monasteries founded by himself and his followers on the islands and mainland of Scotland.

In his hour of triumph Oswald did not forget his duty to his people: he sent to Iona for a missionary who should teach his subjects what he had learned in exile. A Scottish monk came in answer to his request, but he soon returned to Iona in disgust, for the Northumbrians would not listen to his denunciations of their sins. When the monks of Iona assembled to hear his report, one of them, Aidan by name, said gently: " I think you have been too hard on these people. They are ignorant: feed them with milk before you give them stronger food." So impressed were the brethren by the wisdom of his words that they resolved to send him to King Oswald. The King gave him the island of Lindisfarne as his headquarters, and here he built a monastery like the one he had left—a tiny rectangular church of wood covered with reeds, and a group of huts made either of wood or of wattles daubed with mud. Everything was as simple as possible, for Aidan and the monks who came with him cared nothing for display. Few could resist the appeals of a man who never sought to gain authority or wealth or royal favour, and when he died his name was revered throughout Northumbria.

The Synod of Whitby. In spite of all their virtues, the Scottish monks were censured by some because they shaved the top of the head, while the Roman clergy shaved the crown, and because they celebrated Easter on a day different from that fixed throughout the rest of Christendom. So long as Aidan was alive none dared to say a word against him, but in 664, when Colman the Scot was Bishop of Lindisfarne, the party which favoured the Roman usage persuaded King Oswy to allow the matter to be discussed in a synod at Whitby. The chief opponent of Colman in the debate was the masterful, ambitious Abbot Wilfrid, afterward Archbishop of York. Wilfrid claimed that he had behind him the authority of St Peter, to whom the keys of heaven had been

entrusted; reluctantly Colman admitted that to St Columba, whose example he followed, no such privilege had been granted. Then said King Oswy, " I will obey the ordinances of St Peter, lest when I arrive at the doors of the kingdom there shall be none to open them to me." Thus the division between the Northumbrians and the Roman Church was settled. To us the quarrel may seem a trivial one, but we must remember that so

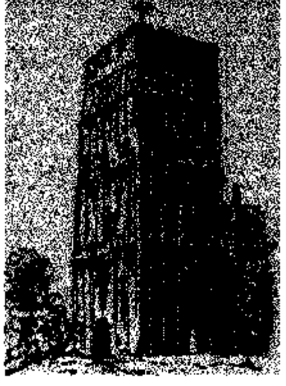
FIG. 17. WHITBY ABBEY FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

The original seventh-century abbey was burned by the Danes in 867. It was refounded in the eleventh century as a Benedictine monastery. The oldest part of the existing ruins dates from the twelfth century.

long as the Northumbrian Church differed from the other English Churches it was impossible that the Northumbrian kingdom should form a part of a united English nation.

Organization of the English Church. Now that every Church in England had owned the authority of Rome, the Pope hastened to ordain a Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, and send him to carry out some much-needed reforms. It was impossible for one or two bishops to attend to the religious needs of a great country; Theodore therefore increased the number of bishops and diminished the size of their

dioceses. He saw, too, that the Church would be rent asunder if there were two archbishops, one at Canterbury and one at York, each claiming equal powers, and in the teeth of Wilfrid's opposition he insisted that the Archbishop of Canterbury, and no other, should be the head of the English Church. In the eighth century a beginning was made of the subdivision of dioceses into parishes, each with its church and parish priest.



Stone churches were beginning to take the place of the humble wooden buildings that had contented an earlier' generation, though from the ornamentation in such stone churches as that of Earl's Barton (Fig. 18) we can see that the architect still designed his churches as if they were to be built of FigSAXON TOWER OF timber. *In* the monastery of Jarrow Bede, the first great English writer, was poring over his books or instructing his scholars. Though there were still wars between kingdom and kingdom, England had become far more peaceful

FIG. 19. ST LAWRENCE, BRADFORD-ON-AVON
Founded by St Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, A.D. 700. This building however, was possibly a restoration by St Dunstan in 975.

and civilized than it had been before the landing of St Augustine. And then a great disaster befell the English, the same disaster that had befallen the Britons three hundred and fifty years before

CHAPTER V

ENGLAND BEFORE THE DANISH INVASIONS

790-871

The Coming of the Danes. It chanced that one day, when the eighth century was almost at an end, the reeve of the King of Wessex saw three ships, like those in Fig. 20, making for the land. They were low, narrow vessels, about sixty feet long, hung with round shields. In each ship a dozen rowers bent over their long oars, while over their heads a single square sail flapped and bellied. A helmsman guided the ship with a broad-bladed oar, which could be used at either end of the vessel. The reeve did not know what we know now, that they were manned by vikings, seafarers from the coasts of Norway or Denmark, in search of trade or plunder. When the strangers landed he attempted to drive them to the nearest royal stronghold, whereupon the sea-rovers set upon him and slew him. A year or two later, in 793, came another warning of disaster: the vikings burned the cathedral at Lindisfarne and slew the monks. Then for over forty years nothing more was heard of the invaders.

The English people failed to take advantage of this respite: they did not know that every spring fleet after fleet of these terrible war-vessels sailed southward for the coasts of France and Spain, that they even passed Gibraltar and pillaged the shores of the Mediterranean, and that wherever they went they left behind them a trail of dead bodies and sacked and ruined buildings.

In the three hundred years that had passed since the English had first come to these shores their character had changed. Once they had been fierce sea-rovers like the vikings themselves; now their old skill in seamanship was almost completely forgotten. Before the storm breaks let us see what kind of men these threatened Englishmen were, and how they lived in the early years of the ninth century.

The English Village. For the most part they did not live in

towns, but in villages, usually placed beside a stream. The houses were made of wattles daubed with mud, and roofed with thatch; they stood in the midst of three great fields, each of which was divided into innumerable one-acre portions, separated from one another by strips of turf. Beyond these fields lay meadows, in which cattle were grazing, and beyond the meadows again rose shadowy forests, where herds of pigs hunted for acorns and beech-mast. If you want to see what this arrangement of ploughed fields, pasture, and woodland really looked like, examine the plan (Fig. 36) in Chapter IX.

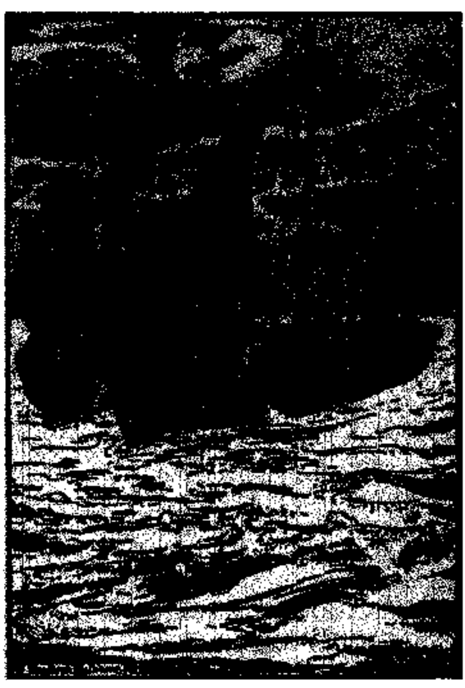


FIG. 20. DANISH SHIPS

How the Land was Divided. All this land belonged to the village: the pigs in the forest, like the cattle in the meadows, were the property of different villagers, who entrusted them to a swine-herd and a cowherd. The arable land was divided into three great fields. Each of these fields was again divided into smaller portions called shots or furlongs, and these were sub-divided into smaller strips, each an acre in extent, separated from each other by borders of turf. To each householder was assigned an equal number—usually thirty—of these one-acre strips, distributed in such a way that each man had only a third of his total holding in any one of the three great fields, and no two

strips belonging to the same person lay side by side. This was done so that one man might not get all the best ground. On the first field wheat was sown early in the winter, on the second barley or oats were sown in the following spring, while the third was allowed to lie fallow. In the autumn the wheat and barley were reaped, but when the time for sowing came round the field that had lain fallow was sown with wheat, the wheat field was sown with barley, while the field that had been covered with barley or oats was allowed to rest for a year. In this way the same land could be used for growing corn year after year without becoming

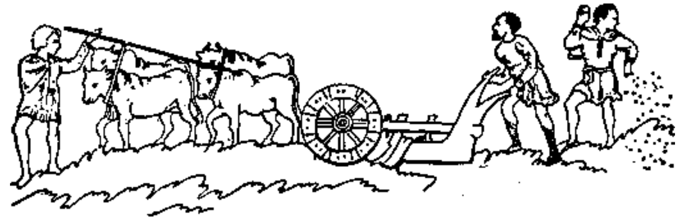


FIG. 21. PLOUGHING IN ANGLO-SAXON TIMES
From an eleventh-century manuscript.

exhausted. One can see now why it was to the villager's advantage that he should have the same amount of land in each of the three fields; but it is still hard to see how any one villager would have the patience to plough thirty different strips of land, especially as the heavy wooden plough of those days usually required eight oxen, while few of the villagers had more than two.

How the Villagers worked together. We have to remember, however, that the villagers worked together as much as possible. If any difficult task had to be undertaken they met together and discussed how it could best be done. Thus, when seed-time drew near the villagers would decide whether oats or barley would be sown in the wheat field, the village smith would be ordered to get the ploughs ready, and certain parts of the fields would be assigned to certain groups of men. For example, four men, each of whom had two oxen, could between them provide a complete plough-team. (If you look at Fig. 21 you will see how these villagers were dressed, and how they did their work.)

Similarly in the autumn, the villager did not confine his attention to his own acres, but helped his neighbours as a matter of course. Then, when the corn was heaped up in the barns, certain portions

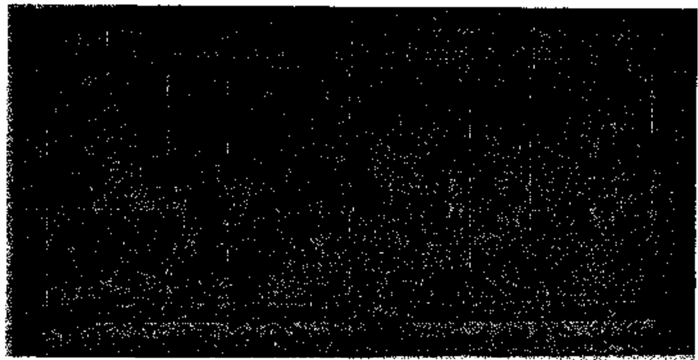


FIG. 22. ANGLO-SAXONS IN BATTLE

were set aside for the swineherd, the cowherd, the bee-keeper, and the smith. If a villager wanted his corn to be ground he either ground it himself in a stone hand-mill or took it to the mill beside the stream, where he paid the miller not in money, but by giving him some of the corn.

The Isolation of the Village, Thus we see that at this time, and for centuries afterward, every village was a little kingdom in itself. Almost everything that the villager might require could be found within the boundaries of the village: his wife and daughters spun the wool of his sheep into yarn, wove it into cloth, and fashioned the cloth into the tight-sleeved tunic, reaching as far as the knees, which was his main garment. His furniture he made himself; he got all the food he required from the village fields; should he want to sweeten a dish he used

FIG. 23. ANGLO-SAXON BROOCH
Of gilt bronze.

not sugar but honey. The only article of food which had to be brought from the outside world was salt.

We can understand now why there was little traffic between the villages and the towns, and why the towns themselves, even those that had been busy trading-centres in Roman times, were little more than villages where almost every man worked in the fields. For the same reason, because the country could supply all the ordinary needs of its inhabitants, there was very little to tempt an English trader to visit the Continent, and so even the coast-dwelling Englishman lost his former love for the sea.

Hundred Courts and Shire Courts. But the villages were not completely isolated from each other. A group of villages, with their common lands, formed a district called a hundred; the hundred court, which met twelve times a year, dealt with all crimes and disputes within the district. Several hundreds, again, formed a shire. If a suitor found that the hundred court refused to listen to his complaint he laid it before the shire court, which met twice a year, when it was presided over by the ealdorman or earl of the shire, who left his home—you can see what it was like in Fig. 24—to clothe himself with majesty borrowed from the king. Beside him on the bench sat the sheriff, who often acted as his deputy, and the bishop. Trials were conducted in a curious way. If a man was accused of any serious crime, such as murder, he could clear himself only if he produced twelve kinsmen or neighbours who were willing to swear that he was innocent. If, however, his accuser produced another twelve who swore that he was guilty, another way of arriving at the truth was tried. The accused might be flung into a pool; if he sank he was judged to be innocent; or he might be asked to grasp a bar of red-hot iron; if his wound did not heal within three days he was supposed to be guilty. Even though he were found guilty he was not put to death if he and his neighbours agreed to pay a fine—two hundred shillings if he had killed a churl or ordinary villager, twelve hundred shillings if he had killed a thane or nobleman. Nor was it necessary that the fine should be paid in money: on the contrary, it was usually paid in cattle.

The King and his Army. Above the ealdorman came the king, who ruled by the advice of a council called the Witan, which was attended by his ealdormen, bishops, and thanes. The thanes

were warriors who held large stretches of land, not less than a square mile in extent, on condition that they were always ready to draw their swords in the king's service. In times of danger the king commanded the ealdorman and sheriff of each shire to call out the fyrd, or militia, in which most of the villagers had to serve. But the men of the fyrd were untrained; in most cases their only protection was a shield of linden-wood, such as the

FIG. 24. HOUSE OF AN ANGLO-SAXON NOBLEMAN

Notice that the house is really a collection of little buildings added one to another without any regular plan.

warriors in Fig. 22 are carrying, though a few had iron helmets and shirts of mail, and their only weapons were a sword and a spear. Then, because they were not professional soldiers, but farmers, they were slow to leave their fields, and they grew too soon tired of military service, and wanted to return to their homes before the danger was really over.

The Danish Conquests. Now, if troops like these had to meet men whose only occupation from their youth had been war, who were armed not only with swords and spears, but with great battle-axes that smashed through the wooden shields, who were well protected with shirts of mail and well horsed, who were swift when the fyrd was slow, who even when they were defeated had no thought of surrender, there could be little doubt of the result. Such were the Danes, or Norsemen, and in 834 the Danes

returned to England. At first they came only for plunder, and left at the end of each summer. But each spring brought more and more of the pirates, and in the autumn of 851 some of them resolved not to return whence they had come, but to make their homes in England. This was the beginning of a second and more serious stage of the struggle, a struggle in which it seemed that the Danes were to wrest the control of the island from the English, as the English had taken it from the Britons. By the year 871 both Northumbria and Mercia had been overwhelmed by the invaders, and it seemed certain that Wessex would share the fate of the northern kingdoms.

CHAPTER VI

DANES AND ENGLISH

871-1066

***See genealogical tables, p.* 49**

Alfred's Struggle with the Danes. In this dark hour a deliverer appeared: in 871 Alfred became King of Wessex. He handled the Danes so severely that in 872 they were glad to ask for a truce, and in 877, when the truce had expired, he drove an invading army out of Wessex. But at the beginning of the following year a disaster befell him that would have broken a smaller man: the Danes surprised his stronghold at Chippenham, and he escaped with difficulty at the head of a few followers. For a few months he led the life of a hunted wanderer, while the Danes overran almost the whole of Wessex, but he gradually gathered together a band of warriors and built a stronghold where the island of Athelney rose above the surrounding marshes. Early in the summer he issued from this retreat, called the men of Somerset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire to his standard, fell on the Danes at Ethandune in Wiltshire, and pursued them to their stronghold at Chippenham. After a siege of a fortnight the Danish leader Guthrum offered to withdraw his men from Wessex, to become a Christian, and to live at peace with Alfred. His offer was accepted, and by the Peace of Wedmore Alfred's jurisdiction over the whole of Wessex was admitted by the Danes. A few years later the boundaries of Alfred's kingdom were pushed forward to Watling Street, the old Roman road joining London and Chester, so that it now included the southern half of Mercia and the greatest English port.

Alfred strengthens his Kingdom. Thus, in spite of Alfred's victories, half of England, the Danelaw, as it was called, remained in the hands of the Danes. Nor did Alfred overestimate the extent of his victories; he knew that Guthrum could bind only himself and his followers, and that a second war with the Danes

was always possible. So in the fourteen quiet years that followed the Treaty of Wedmore he did his best to make his realm secure against invasion. Those towns that occupied positions of strategic importance he surrounded with stout palisades, thus converting them into burhs. One can understand how in unsettled times people would crowd within the wooden walls of the new strongholds. But Alfred did not depend entirely on his burhs; he caused great war-boats to be built, twice as long as the Danish ships (see Fig. 26), and driven by sixty oars. He reorganized the fyrd, too; it was arranged that while half of the men fit to bear arms took the field, the others should stay at home till they were summoned to relieve their comrades.

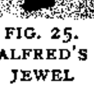


FIG. 25. ALFRED'S JEWEL

Alfred's Final Victory. England had need of all Alfred's forethought: in 892 a great Danish army that had been ravaging France crossed the Channel, joined the men of the Danelaw, and attacked the kingdom of Wessex. Five years of desperate fighting followed, and without Alfred's resource and determination the English would have fared ill. Once, for example, a Danish fleet sailed up the river Lea and spread terror throughout Essex. Alfred saved Essex without a battle; he built a dam across the river above the Danish position. When the flow of water stopped the ships stuck fast. The invaders, perceiving their danger, left their ships to be captured by the men of London and fled northward. Peace came at last in 897, when the shattered bands of Northmen returned to the Continent or to their settlements in the Danelaw.

FIG. 26. A DANish SHIP OF THE TIME OF KING ALFRED

Alfred as Teacher. Had Alfred done nothing more than save Wessex from the Danes, we should still look on him as one of the greatest of English kings. But he was much more than a

skilful soldier: he saw that without law, learning, and religion security would be of no value to his people. He gained renown as a maker of laws, but he resolved to persuade and instruct as well as to command. He knew that in half a century of warfare most of the monasteries, the schools and universities of that age, had been destroyed, and that only a handful of his subjects

FIG. 27. PART OF THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE "ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE"

could understand Latin, at that time the language in which all books of importance were written. His people needed a teacher: he resolved to teach them himself. He translated books of devotion, the *Ecclesiastical History* which Bede had written in his Northumbrian monastery, and a history of the world, to which he added a chapter on geography. He also ordered a record of the most important events in English history to be kept, and this *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*—a page of which is shown in Fig. 27—was continued by other scribes for centuries after his death.

In 901 his life of toil and struggle—struggle not only against the Danes, but against incessant bodily pain—came to an end, and the great king was laid to rest at Winchester, the capital of

his realm. His daring, his endurance, his great powers of mind, were equalled by few of his successors: rarer still was his single-hearted, unselfish devotion to the welfare of his people.

England united under English Kings. Alfred was succeeded by a line of able kings,, who completed the work which he had begun, and brought the whole of England under their sway. The re-conquest of Mercia was begun by Edward the Elder, Alfred's successor. Athelstan, who followed him, routed a great host of Danes and Scots at Brunnanburh, beyond the yellow sands of the Solway. In the reign of Edmund (940-946) Mercia was finally conquered, and the cession of Cumbria to the King of Scotland, which prevented the Danish settlers in Ireland from sending help to their kinsmen on the north-eastern coast of England, threatened the stability of the Danish kingdom of Northumbria. In 954 Eric, the Danish ruler of Northumbria, was slain, and Edred became king of the whole of England.

Thus a hundred years of warfare had welded the three kingdoms into one. But though an English prince became ruler of the whole of England, the Danes were not driven out: they remained in their settlements, married English wives, adopted Christianity, and learned the English speech, which was almost the same as their own. Other changes took place. Before the Danish wars the great majority of the villagers had been freemeia: in these years of terror many of them lost their independence; they bound themselves to make certain payments to some powerful thane, and to help him in the cultivation of his own lands if he would take them under his protection.

The Danish Conquest. In the reigns of these short-lived kings, Edward, Athelstan, Edgar, and the rest, it seemed as if a strong and united England were being built up. But in 978 Ethelred reached the throne over the body of his murdered half-brother, and another season of disaster began. Four years later began a second series of invasions by the Danes—not the half-Anglicized Danes of Northern England, but a new set of invaders from overseas. Ethelred the Redeless—"the man without common sense "—bribed them to stay away, and was surprised when they returned in greater numbers after each fresh payment of tribute. In 1002 he ordered a general massacre of the Danes in his kingdom, but this crime did not scare the raiders from the English

coast, and in 1013 he had to deal with an invasion by no less a person than Sweyn, the King of Denmark, who came accompanied by his son Canute. The undisciplined fyrd, with its incompetent or treacherous leaders, could not stop the invaders. Ethelred fled to Normandy, where he probably did less harm than he would have done had he stayed to lead his armies, and Sweyn became King of England, only to die a few weeks later. Ethelred returned and attempted in vain to drive Canute out of the country: on Ethelred's death in 1016 the struggle was continued by his son Edmund Ironside, who succeeded in making a treaty with Canute which gave him Alfred's old kingdom of Wessex, leaving Mercia and Northumbria to the Dane. But Edmund died soon after the compact had been made, and so a foreign prince became king of the whole of England. And this foreigner made one of the best kings that England has ever had.

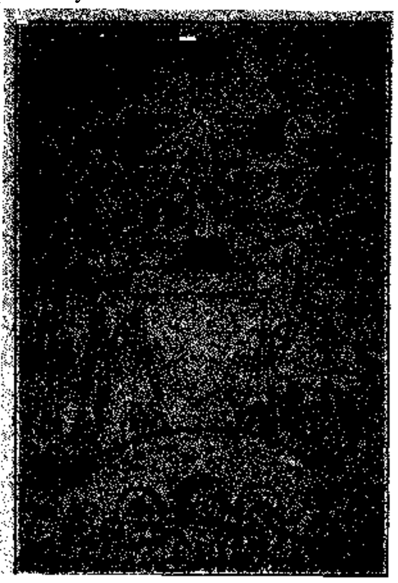


FIG. 28. CANUTE AND HIS QUEEN
They are placing a cross on the High Altar at Winchester.

Edward the Confessor. But after Canute's death in 1035 the misdeeds of his sons, Harold and Hardicanute, almost blotted out the memory of his reign of order and justice, and when the swinish Hardicanute died in 1042 as the result of a drinking bout people rejoiced that the new king was to be Edward, called for his piety the Confessor, a son of Ethelred the Redeless. But Edward was almost as much a foreigner as Canute; his mother was a Norman lady, and he had spent most of his life in Normandy; when he returned to England he liked to see Norman clerics and Norman officials about him, and he is even said to have promised his crown to Duke William of Normandy. Nor

was his gentle piety sufficient equipment for a ruler: far from guiding and controlling his kingdom, he allowed the three great earls, Siward of Northumbria, Leofric of Mercia, and the half-Danish Godwine of Wessex, to rule almost as independent princes; in other words, it seemed as if the kingdom which had

FIG. 29. DEATH OF EDWARD

been so painfully built up was to fall to pieces again. No fear of this seems to have troubled the King's mind as he knelt in the church of his new abbey at Westminster; he saw no vision of an English king lying on the battlefield with an arrow through his head, or of a foreign conqueror being crowned within the walls of that very church. Only when he lay on his deathbed did he seem to become aware of the jeopardy in which his country stood, and strive to warn his friends against some disaster which he could not describe.

THE DESCENDANTS OF ALFRED THE GREAT

(Kings of England in small capitals)

ALFRED
871-901

EDWARD THE ELDER
901-925

ATHELSTAN
925-940

EDMUND
940-946

EDRED
946-955

EDWY
955-959

EDGAR
959-975

EDWARD THE MARTYR
975-978

ETHELRED THE REDELESS
978-1016
m. (1) unknown lady
(2) Emma of Normandy

EDMUND IRONSIDE
1016
(son of unknown lady)

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR
1042-66
(son of Emma of Normandy)

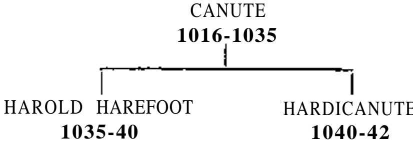
Edward
d. 1057

Edgar Atheling

Margaret *m.* Malcolm Canmore

Matilda *m.* HENRY I

DANISH KINGS OF ENGLAND



CHAPTER VII

WALES, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND
407-1066

IN the next chapter you will be told of the disaster which befell the English after the death of the gentle King Edward: in this chapter we must go back for some centuries and see what had been happening in other parts of the British Isles.

Cornwall. You will remember that in the year 577 the Britons of Wales were separated from the Britons of Cornwall and the South-west, and that in 613 the English gained Chester and cut off Wales from the northern British kingdom of Cumbria or Strathclyde. The Britons never recovered from these reverses: in the South-west they were pushed back steadily, till at the beginning of the tenth century their chiefs held only the land west of the Tamar, and acknowledged the King of England as their overlord.

Cumbria. Cumbria, which stretched from the Clyde to the Mersey, had a different fate. As it lay across the direct route between Ireland and Northumbria, it became a highway between Dublin and the other Danish colonies in Ireland and the Danish settlements on the Northumbrian coast. King Edmund of England decided to block this road: in 945 he conquered Cumbria, but as he found he could not hold it he gave it to his old enemy Constantine of Scotland, on condition that the Scot should become his ally. But Cumbria did not at once become part of Scotland; for another seventy years it kept its own kings, who, however, were Scottish princes who looked on the King of Scotland as their master.

Wales. At the time oF Edward the Confessor's death Wales was still unsubdued. As far back as the end of the eighth century King Offa of Mercia had driven back the Welsh from the Severn to the Wye, and built a great wall of earth to defend the new frontier. Then came the Norse invasions to delay for

centuries the English conquest of Wales. But though Wales remained independent, the rivalry of the Welsh of the South and the Welsh of the North prevented the country from developing into a strong and united nation. Only occasionally did a prince like Llewellyn, or his son Griffith, succeed in quieting the hatred of Welshmen for Welshmen and ruling over the whole of Wales. How dangerous an enemy a united Wales could be was shown in the days of Edward, when Griffith joined forces with an outlawed English earl, sacked Hereford, and began a war which dragged on for eight years. Even Earl Harold, Edward's ablest general, could do little to stop the Welsh invasions: the war came to an end in 1063, not because Griffith had been defeated in battle, but because he had been slain by his own men.

Scotland: A Confusion of Races. In Scotland, on the other hand, we can watch the gradual building up of a united kingdom. We have seen that when the Romans occupied Britain the country north of the Cheviots was inhabited by people speaking a language like modern Gaelic, whom the Romans called Caledonians or Picts. Like the Britons of the South they were divided into tribes which occasionally in the hour of danger united themselves under one trusted leader. At the end of the fifth century Scots from Ireland settled in Argyllshire, where they founded the kingdom of Dalriata. Some time in the sixth century the shifting of population farther south began to make itself felt in Scotland: some of the defeated Britons occupied the valley of the Clyde, driving the southern Picts into Galloway, seized the rock fortress of Dumbarton, and made it the capital of the British kingdom of Strathclyde or Cumbria; while parties of English invaders settled in Lothian between the Firth of Forth and the Cheviots. To add to the confusion of races, the Danes or Norsemen in the ninth century began to settle in the North and in the Western Isles.

The Beginning of Unification. It is hard to trace the fortunes of that endless war that went on between Northumbrian and Briton, Scot and Pict, or Pict and Norseman, in these dark centuries. At one time it seemed as if the kings of Northumbria might become lords not only of Lothian, but of the whole of Scotland: we have seen how the might of Northumbria was

shattered by the Picts at the field of Nechtansmere. In the eighth century the Picts became masters of Dalriata; any chance of a Pictish prince becoming king of all Scotland vanished when the Norse invasions began. Of all the Scottish kingdoms Pictland was most exposed to attack from Scandinavia, and before the middle of the ninth century the Picts were so weakened by the incessant, fruitless struggle with the Norsemen that the conquered Scots were able first of all to liberate themselves and then to master Pictland. Thus in 843 Kenneth MacAlpin, a Scottish prince, became king of both the Picts and the Scots, and the building up of a united Scotland began. As yet the new kingdom included only a small part of modern Scotland: it stretched no farther south than the isthmus between the Forth and Clyde, and in the North the Norsemen were steadily encroaching upon the territories of the Scottish king, till at the end of the tenth century the Norse earl Sigurd ruled not only over the Orkneys and Shetlands and all the Western Isles, but also over the mainland as far as the great province of Moray, to the south of the Moray Firth.

Scotland reaches its Modern Boundaries. In the reign of Malcolm II came a series of events which in a year or two brought Scotland almost to its modern boundaries. First of all, in 1014 Earl Sigurd was slain at the battle of Clontarf in Ireland, and though Malcolm allowed his son to succeed to the greater part of his territories, it was on the understanding that he would recognize Malcolm as his overlord. The rule of the Norsemen was shaken, though centuries were to pass before it was completely broken.

In 1018 King Malcolm forced the Earl of Northumbria to hand over Lothian to him, and secured his conquest by defeating, at the battle of Carham, the army which Canute sent north to regain it. In the same year died Owen, the last of the kings of Cumbria. Cumbria now became a Scottish province, and was entrusted by Malcolm to Duncan, his grandson. Thus at the end of 1018 Scotland extended to the Tweed in the south-east and far into Lancashire in the south-west. But to guide this mixed team of Scots and Britons, of English and Norsemen, was none too safe a task. In 1040 Duncan, King Malcolm's successor, was slain by Macbeth, who had the Norse Earl Thorfinn and

the half-Norse inhabitants of Moray at his back. Seventeen years later Macbeth himself was slain while fighting against Malcolm Canmore, the son of the slaughtered Duncan. So at the time of King Edward's death the King of Scotland was Malcolm of the Big Head, a Celt who yet had spent many years at the English Court and learned the English language and English ways.

Ireland: The Coming of Christianity. Ireland, like Britain, had been occupied by the Celts, but unlike Britain it had not been invaded by either the Romans or the English. Its position in the remote Western seas, on the very edge of the known world, brought it both gain and loss: between the departure of the Romans and the coming of the English, St Patrick, a British missionary, had converted the Irish to Christianity, and in the sixth century, when England had become the battle-ground of fierce Saxon and desperate Celt, the light of religion and learning burned all the more brightly in Ireland. All over the island monasteries sprang up which became the homes of scholars and of monkish artists, like the one shown in Fig. 30, who wrought the most beautiful jewellery and ornamented the books which they copied out with quaint designs in gold and bright colours. We have seen how missionaries left these monasteries to preach the Gospel to the Picts and Scots: some of them went much farther afield, to France and even to Switzerland.

FIG. 30. IRISH MONK AT WORK ON A MANUSCRIPT

Disunion. But while England grew from a loose collection of tribes often at war with one another into a united nation, while even Scotland had been hammered into a rough sort of unity, Ireland, like Wales, stood still. As early as the end of the fourth century, Niall of the Nine Hostages, who ruled a central Irish state from his palace on the Hill of Tara, was recognized by the kings of the other parts of Ireland as lord of the whole island, but he had gained only an empty honour: neither he nor the kings of Tara who ruled after him could win more than lip-service from the other kings of Ireland.

The Danes in Ireland. Ireland had escaped from the Roman and the Saxon: she did not escape from the Dane. The great defenceless monasteries were the first to suffer from the fury of the plunderers: we can still see the lofty round towers which the monks built in the vain hope that they would be a secure store for their treasures (Fig. 31). One monastery was rebuilt ten times within a few years. Many of the monks lost heart and fled to the Continent, taking with them their illuminated books in their gilded and jewelled caskets. But even this peril could not make the Irish combine. Before the middle of the ninth century a Danish kinglet, Thorkills, built the town of Dublin, and made it the capital of a Danish kingdom: other bands of Danes founded the towns of Waterford and Wexford—like Dublin, groups of huts surrounded by a palisade and built beside a convenient harbour. For a century and a half the strife between the Irish King of Tara and the Danish King of Dublin went on, till, at the beginning of the eleventh century, Brian Boroimha, a southern kinglet, defeated the King of Tara, and was recognized by him as chief King of Ireland. The first use King Brian made of his new-won authority was to lead an army against the Danes of Dublin, who had been reinforced by Earl Sigurd and the men of Orkney and Northern Scotland. The two armies met at Clontarf in 1014. The Danes were completely defeated, but King Brian was killed in the battle. His death made the victory of little value to his countrymen: they had conquered the Danes, they could not conquer themselves and submit to accept any one man as king of all Ireland. The strife of various claimants for the shadowy power wielded by the kings of Tara distracted and weakened the unhappy country, and put it at the mercy of invaders more dangerous than the Norsemen.

FIG. 31. A ROUND TOWER

At Brechin, in Scotland; identical in design with those in Ireland,

CHAPTER VIII

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

1066-69

Kings of England

HAROLD, 1066
WILLIAM I, 1066-87

King Harold. When Edward the Confessor died in the early days of 1066 the Witan decided that he should be succeeded, not by his grand-nephew, young Edgar Atheling, but by the most powerful noble, the wisest statesman, the most skilful soldier in England, Harold, the son of Earl Godwine. No man in England seemed fitter to be a king, but his reign was short and disastrous. Danger threatened him in his own family. With Harold's approval his brother Tostig had been stripped of his earldom of Northumbria and driven into banishment, and he was now no farther off than Flanders, plotting to regain the lost province. But even more dangerous than Tostig's desire for revenge was the wrath of Duke William of Normandy.

William of Normandy prepares to invade England. Only a year or two before, Harold had been shipwrecked on the French coast and had been brought before Duke William. He was treated kindly enough, but before he departed he was forced to promise that when Edward died he would help William to become King of England. It was no ordinary promise: to make it specially binding Harold had to swear by the bones of those saints whom the Normans most revered that he would abide by his word. But when Edward died Harold chose to forget the promise that he had been compelled to give. William did not forget: all through that summer great trees were crashing down in the woods of Normandy, every little seaport town resounded to the blows of the shipwright's axe and hammer, the armourers toiled through the long summer day fashioning the coats of chain mail and the peaked helmets with the steel nosebar thai" were worn

by the knights (see Figs. 32, 33). Not from Normandy only, but from all parts of France, men flocked to join William's army; for his cause had been blessed by the Pope, and English lands and treasure would be the prize of the victor.

Meantime in England men feared that they were threatened by some great disaster. All through the spring a strange new star had flamed in the sky, filling the minds of the beholders with thoughts of war and pestilence. Harold knew whence the danger would come: in summer he collected a great army in the Isle of Wight, and saw that the Channel was patrolled by a powerful fleet. September came without a sign from Duke William: contrary winds had been blowing for weeks, and men began to hope that they need fear no invasion that year. Besides, the English army had exhausted its provisions, and reluctantly Harold ordered it to disperse.

FIG. 32. NORMAN ARCHER

Copied from the Bayeux Tapestry, made soon after the Conquest.

The Battle of Stamford Bridge. But the wind that kept back William brought Tostig. Scarcely had Harold's army broken up when news was brought to him that Tostig and King Harold of Norway had appeared in the Humber with a fleet of three hundred ships, and that York had been captured by the invaders. Harold at once hurried northward, collecting an army as he went, and came upon the enemy at Stamford Bridge. But Harold was none too anxious to fight with his brother, and offered him a third of his kingdom for the sake of peace. " If I accept," asked Tostig, " what shall Harold of Norway have for his reward? " " Seven feet of earth," was the proud answer of the English King. Then began a long and hard-fought battle. The invaders were completely defeated: when night came the Norwegian King lay in the seven feet of English earth which Harold had promised, with Tostig beside him.

The Battle of Hastings. A harder task awaited the victor. The wind had shifted at last: three days after the battle of Stamford Bridge William of Normandy landed at Pevensey on the Sussex coast. As he leaped from the ship he fell all his length on the

shore, and clutched at the sand with both hands. "An evil omen!" shouted his superstitious followers. "No!" cried

FIG. 33. NORMAN HORSEMEN AT HASTINGS
Part of Bayeux Tapestry.

William. "I have taken possession of this land with my two hands. All that is here is ours."

So it proved, but first he had to fight for what he claimed.

FIG. 34. NORMAN SHIPS
Part of Bayeux Tapestry. The end ship on the right is William's ship, the *Mora.*

As soon as Harold heard of William's landing he hurried his weary troops south to a hill near Hastings, where the Norman army was encamped. On the morning of October 14 William led **out** his men against the English position. At their head

rode a minstrel, singing an **old** heroic song, while he tossed his lance into the air, caught it, and tossed it up again; then came **the** archers, then the spearmen with their coffin-shaped shields, then the horsemen in their coats of mail and peaked helmets, brandishing sword and lance. And soon the battle began.

For long the Norman archers shot in vain; neither on the wings of the English army, where the half-trained, half-equipped men of the fyrd were drawn up, nor on the centre, where Harold's bodyguard of veterans stood firm behind a veritable wall of

FIG. 35. THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS
Part of Bayeux Tapestry (Normans on left, English on right).

shields, did they make any impression. The spearmen and cavalry toiled uphill only to fall beneath the terrible English axes. At last the Normans were seen to be fleeing in disorder, whereupon the men of the fyrd left their impregnable position and streamed down to the plain. This was precisely what William had intended, for the apparent flight was only a trick; his mail-clad knights turned about, charged the scattered bands of Englishmen, and drove them from the field. But victory still seemed far off, for the stratagem had not deceived Harold's veterans, and as yet the shield-wall remained unbroken. Again William's quick wit came to his aid, and he bade his archers shoot high into the air so that their arrows might fall straight down upon the devoted band of warriors fighting round their King. The device succeeded, for one of the shafts pierced Harold's right eye and entered his brain. Left without a leader, the English stood firm against the hail of arrows for a time, then rushed from their position to seek for death among the Norman spears.

William's victory was complete; he encountered little opposition as he advanced slowly on London, and when he had got within sight of the city he was met by the greatest men of the kingdom, including Edgar Atheling, the rightful king, who offered him the crown. William was by no means unwilling to accept their offer, and on Christmas Day he was crowned in Westminster Abbey, where Harold had been crowned a few months before.

The Conquest completed. At first England submitted sullenly to the Conqueror; but in the three or four years after the battle of Hastings first one district, then another, flamed into rebellion. But the irresolute English leaders could do little against the ablest general in Europe; everywhere the rebels were defeated, the lands of their leaders confiscated, and strong castles built and filled with Norman troops. The rebels of Yorkshire had been specially obstinate, and for them a terrible punishment was reserved: man and beast were slaughtered without distinction, and the whole country was laid waste so thoroughly that for generations it was a desert.

Thus it came about that a man who knew no English became King of England. Of the changes which his conquest wrought in England we shall read in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IX

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

1066-1135

Kings of England

WILLIAM I, 1066-87
WILLIAM II (RUFUS), 1087-1100
HENRY I, 1100-35

The Normans. They were no common men who mastered England after such a brief struggle, and William was no common leader. Though the Normans spoke French, they were not really Frenchmen; they were the descendants of Norsemen who had settled in Northern France at the beginning of the tenth century, learned the French language, and adopted French ways. They soon learned all that France had to teach them, for they were keen, ambitious, masterful men—a complete contrast to the slow-witted, slow-moving, easy-going Englishmen. The Duke of Normandy was a vassal of the King of France; in other words, he recognized the king as his master: but the master usually found that the man was at least as powerful as himself.

King and Tenants-in-chief. Such were the men who came over to England—skilful soldiers, good men of business, clever builders and craftsmen. Within a short time all the English nobles, all the bishops and abbots, almost all the sheriffs, most of the land-owners, had been replaced by Normans. If an English noble had fought against William his estates were taken from him: sometimes the king kept them, usually he granted them to one of his followers. But the king still remained in a sense the owner of the estate. Before the new tenant could enter into possession of his estate he had to do homage—to kneel before the king, put his clasped hands within the king's hands and promise to be his man. Next he took the oath of fealty—he vowed to be a faithful vassal to his overlord. Only then did the king hand to him a piece of turf cut from his land as a token that the whole estate had been transferred to him. And being a faithful vassal implied

the performance of certain definite services. If the vassal were summoned he must follow the king to battle with a certain number of knights, fully provisioned and equipped, and remain with the army for forty days. If the king were captured the tenant had to help to pay his ransom; if the king's son were knighted, or his eldest daughter married, the tenant had again to pay a sum of money. When the tenant died the estate was supposed to revert to the king; his son could gain possession of the estate only by paying a sum equal to the revenue from the estate for one year. If the tenant left an heir who was under age the king became his guardian and collected the revenues from the estate: if the child was a girl she could marry only the man whom the king chose for her.

Tenants-in-chief and Sub-tenants. Tenants who held their land by a grant from the king were called tenants-in-chief. But just as the king granted lands to these vassals, so these vassals granted lands to sub-tenants. The king, for example, might grant an estate to one of his barons, on condition that he provided ten knights whenever he was required. But how was the baron to make sure that the necessary number of knights would always be available? He did what the king had done: kept a portion of his estate—the demesne—to himself, and subdivided the remainder into portions called knights' fees which he bestowed upon knights who promised to follow him to battle and to render to him the other services which he rendered to the king. But there was some land which was not held on this tenure of military service: if, for example, a baron granted a manor on his estate to a neighbouring monastery he did not expect the Abbot to put on helmet and coat of mail and follow him to the wars. He might require the Abbot to hire a knight, usually he demanded no services or payments and allowed the monastery to keep the land on condition that they prayed for the welfare of his soul.

The Manor. In the last paragraph we have come across the new word 'manor,' but the new manor is practically nothing but the old village that was described in Chapter V, with its ploughland, pasture, and forest. Look at Fig. 36 and you will see it. We have seen that even before the Norman Conquest many villages had come under the control of great landowners, on whom the villagers were becoming more and more dependent. William carried the process to completion: every village now belonged to a lord of the manor. Part of the village lands,

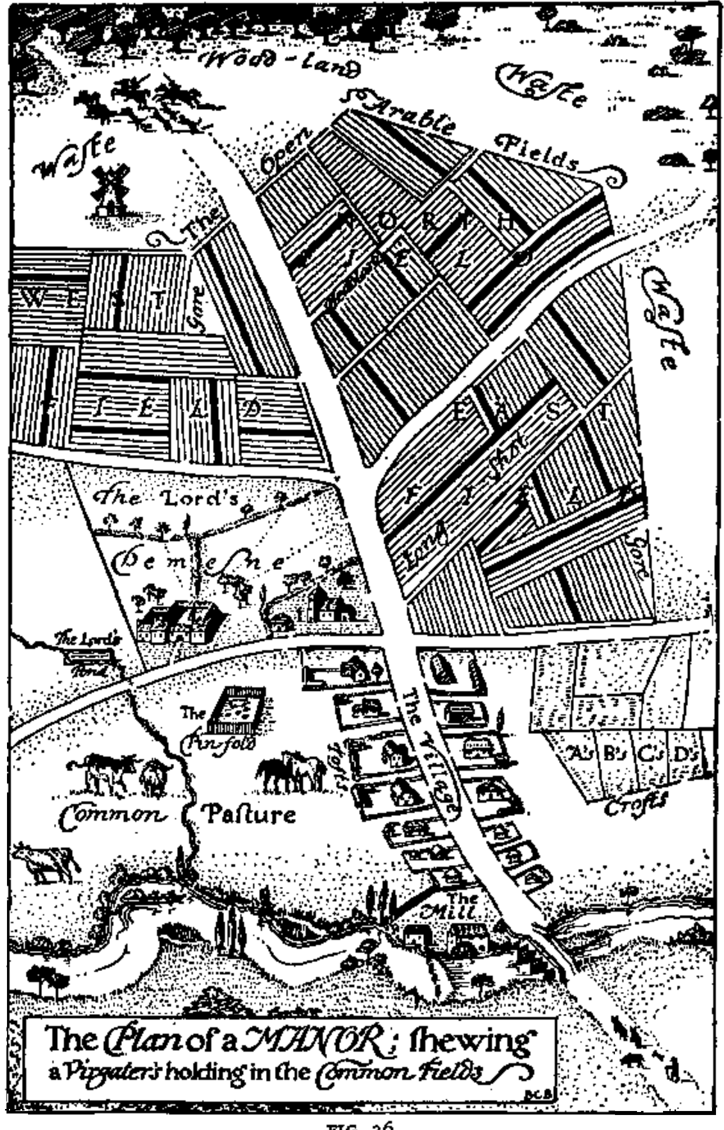


FIG. 36

From Hone's *The Manor and Manorial Records*, by permission of Messrs Methuen and Co., Ltd.

including some of the strips in the three big fields, the lord kept to himself—these formed his demesne; part remained in the hands of the villagers, who still worked them according to the method that has been explained in Chapter V. But though they were allowed to keep their lands they had to pay a rent to their lord, not in money, but in service. All were required to work on their lord's demesne at seed-time and harvest; in addition, most of them had to work for him three days a week all the year round. A few of the villagers were freemen, but they too had to work on the demesne; most of them were

FIG. 37' NORMAN MANOR-HOUSE

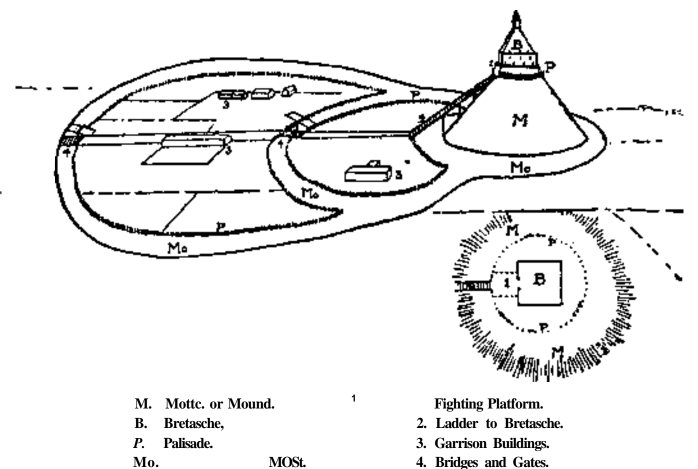


FIG. 38. AN EARLY NORMAN FORTRESS
Reproduced from the key plan of the wall-picture reconstruction of Ongar Castle by C. H. Ashdown, *British Feudal Castles* (Harrap).

villeins, bound to their lord's estate for life, forbidden even to marry without their lord's consent. All disputes between one villager and another, all questions about the allocation of the strips of arable land, or about the division of labour at seed-time

and harvest, had to be taken to the manorial court, which was presided over by an official representing the lord of the manor.

Usually an earl or baron had a large number of manors—the Earl of Cornwall had six hundred—some of them situated close together, others distributed over various parts of the country. Each manor was managed by a reeve, who represented the villagers, and by the lord's bailiff, while the steward paid visits at intervals to see that no one had dared to cheat his master. At certain times, however, the lord of the manor would come in person, with a great crowd of retainers, and lodge at the manor-house (Fig. 37). His visit was celebrated by a great grinding of corn and baking of bread, brewing of ale, and slaughter of oxen and sheep, for he and his retainers had come for the purpose of consuming the provisions that had accumulated on the demesne. As it was almost impossible for provisions to be conveyed any distance in these days of bad roads and clumsily constructed carts, the great baron and his retainers were forced to journey from one manor to another in search of food.

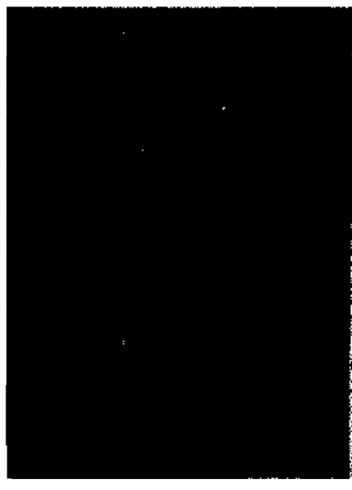
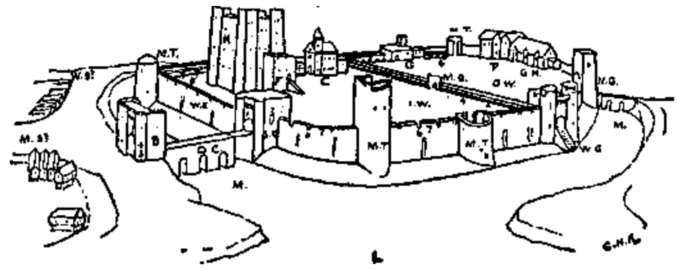


FIG. 39. THE WHITE TOWER
Louis Weirter

The Norman Castle. This is enough to show that a great baron of King William's day possessed an enormous power. In addition, we must also remember that he had at least one castle, and that his vassals were forced not only to follow him to battle whenever the summons went forth, but also to do some weeks of garrison duty in his castle. The first castles that the Normans built in England were great mounds of earth surmounted by a wooden tower and surrounded by a wooden palisade and a ditch —as in Fig. 38—but in a very short time they began to build

those grim, massive fortresses, with walls ten or twelve feet thick, like the White Tower in the Tower of London (Fig. 39), or the 'new castle '—now eight hundred years old—at Newcasde-on-Tyne. These fortresses—as you will see if you look at the restoration of Bristol Castle, Fig. 40—consisted not only of the lofty square tower—the donjon or keep—but also of a range of walls surrounding a great courtyard where the horses were



K. Keep, built c. 1120.
P. Forebuilding of Keep.
C. Chapel of St. Martin. Norman.
G. Garrison BuildingS„ with Observation Tower.
M.T. Mural Tower.
P. Palace, with
C.H. Great Hall.
N.G. Nether Gate.
W.G. Water Gate.
K.G. Middle Gate.

O.W. Outer Ward.
I.W. Inner Ward.
G.G. Great Gateway*
B. Barbican.
M. Moat connecting River Avon and River FroMe.
L. Loop of River Avon.
M.St. Entrance to Maryport Street.
W.St. Entrance to Wine -Street.
D.C. Drawbridge and Causeway.
W.E. Wall of Enceinte.

1. Machicoulis over Drawbridge and Portcullis.
2. Garderobe or Lavatory.
3. Cross Loop. Arbalesteria, or Ballisteria.
4. Fighting Platform of Masonry.
5. Fighting Platform of Wood.
6. Embrasure or Crenelle.
7. Merlon between Embrasure*.

FIG. 40. A LATE NORMAN CASTLE

Reproduced from the key plan of the wall-picture reconstruction of Bristol Castle by C. H. Ashdown, *British Feudal Castles* (Harrap).

stabled, where cooks, smiths, and armourers had their sheds, and where cattle could be driven from the surrounding country in time of stress. The keep was the most important part of the castle: no artillery existed that was capable of battering it down: only the most skilful archer could send an arrow through the slits that served as windows. Within the keep the most important room was the hall, where the baron, his wife (Fig. 41), his family, and his retainers had their meals together at a table that was made up of boards laid on trestles. For all his power the baron

could not command much comfort: his floor was covered with rushes, the wind whistled through his unglazed windows, one would look in vain en his table for common articles of diet like sugar or potatoes, ordinary beverages like tea or coffee. In the whole castle there was probably not a single book, though the wandering minstrel with his store of tales and songs acted as a human circulating library. When supper was over, when the minstrel had twanged his harp and told his stories, when the baron had climbed the winding stone stair that led to his room, his retainers dismantled the boards from the trestles, lay down in the straw, wound their cloaks about them, and slept as peacefully as we do, for they knew no more comfortable bed. Those who had the luck to be near the fire were as comfortable as their master, for his bedroom was a chilly stone cell, cut into the thickness of the wall.

FIG. 41. ENGLISH LADY OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

But the King himself had no better. And the King knew that barons such as these might some day become as powerful as he, just as he had become more powerful than the King of France. They had their armed vassals who had sworn to obey them, they held their own courts of justice, in which a man who displeased them could be condemned to death, and their castles could defy any army that the King might bring against them. But William had no mind to be like the King of France: at Salisbury he made the vassals of his tenants-in-chief swear fealty not only to their immediate superiors, as they did in France and other Continental countries, but to himself, and he maintained and strengthened the old English shire courts and hundred courts that they might counterbalance the private courts of the great barons. To the shire court or to the royal court, presided over by the King himself, all serious cases like murder or robbery had to be brought. And William succeeded; he mastered England as no king had mastered it before. Within his kingdom he was more powerful than any Continental monarch; the vassals of even the mightiest barons understood that their oath to their lord would not excuse

them if they followed their lord against the king. The English-man might grumble at the sound of the new-fangled curfew bell that drove him indoors whenever darkness had fallen, he might

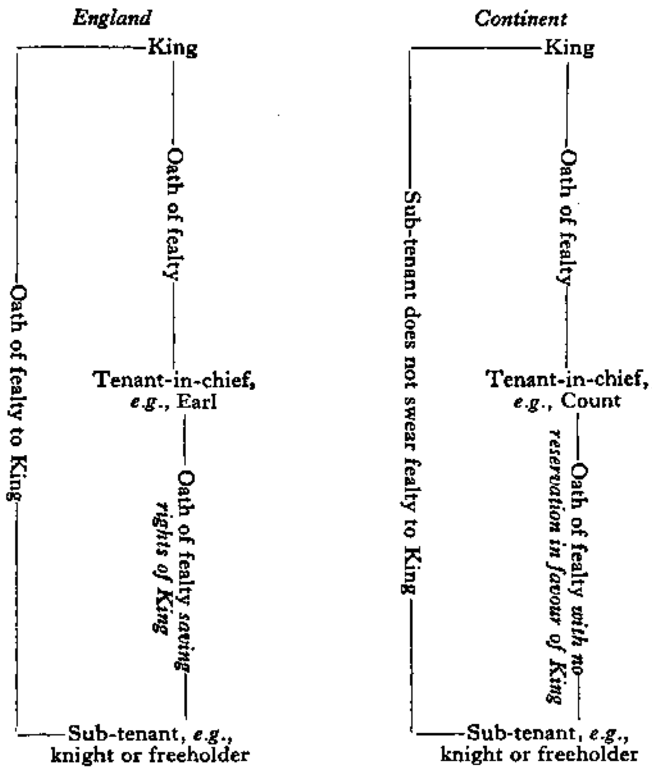


DIAGRAM TO SHOW DIFFERENCE IN RELATION BETWEEN KING AND SUB-TENANT IN ENGLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT

curse the Norman forest-laws that forbade him to send an arrow after a deer under pain of death: he knew that if the king's hand was heavy on the Saxon it fell with as much weight on the rebellious Norman.

William saw that his own vassals did as they were told, but he himself was none too obedient a vassal to the King of France.

and in 1087 war broke out between him and his lord. William's troops captured the town of Mantes and set fire to it: as the Conqueror rode into the burning city his horse trod on an ember and plunged wildly, injuring its rider so much that he died a few hours later.

William Rufus. William's eldest son Robert succeeded to Normandy: England went to his second son, William Rufus. Soon every one was tired of the greed and cruelty and faithlessness of the Red King. Many stories are told of his knavery: in 1092, for example, he seized Carlisle, thus depriving the Scottish King not only of one of his chief towns, but also of the southern half of his province of Cumbria. Next year he fell ill, so ill that he thought he was going to die. He knew that a scamp like himself would probably fare badly in the next world, and resolved to dodge the wrath of Heaven by making up for the wrongs he had committed. Accordingly he invited Malcolm Canmore to come to Gloucester to receive back the province that had been filched from him. Malcolm came, but was astounded when the King refused to see him.

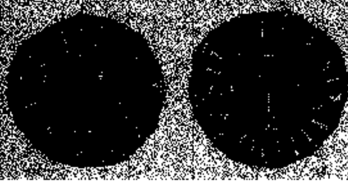


FIG. 42. SILVER PENNY OF WILLIAM I

When the Devil was ill, the Devil a monk would be:
When the Devil was well, the Devil a monk was he.

William had recovered and forgotten all his fine promises. Malcolm was furious: he went home at once to gather an army, and was killed a few weeks later while invading Northumberland.

Henry I and his Reforms. No one was sorry when in 1100 the body of William was found in the New Forest, pierced by an arrow. He was followed by a man of a very different stamp, Henry Beauclerc, or the Scholar, the third son of William the Conqueror. Henry proved to be more than a scholar; he was a resolute, far-seeing prince, who knew what England needed, and had enough strength to apply the remedy. His very first act as king was to grant his people a charter, in which he promised to stamp out the evil customs that had grown up in the reign of

Rufus. He saw that England could never be happy as long as Norman and Saxon hated each other, so he tried to bridge the gulf between the two races by marrying Princess Matilda, the niece of Edgar Atheling, and a descendant of the old English kings. He saw, too, that it could not be properly governed as long as the only body of counsellors that he had to help him was the King's Court, consisting of all the tenants-in-chief of the realm. As a court like this took a long time to assemble, and a long time to do its work when it had assembled, he formed a few of its cleverest members into a smaller King's Court, which sat all the year round to deal with important business. Sometimes its members were kept busy checking the royal accounts, sometimes they had to act as judges. But Henry knew that some of his barons had little respect either for the local sheriff or for this distant court at Westminster, and resolved to show them that if they would not come to his court his court would come to them. He therefore ordered some of the members of the King's Court to tour the country at stated seasons, that they might hear complaints from the sheriffs and try offenders.

FIG. 43. WOMEN'S DRESS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

From *A History of Costume,* by Carl Köhler (Harrap).

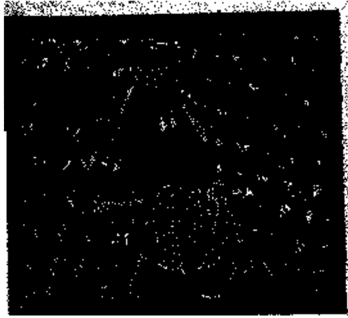


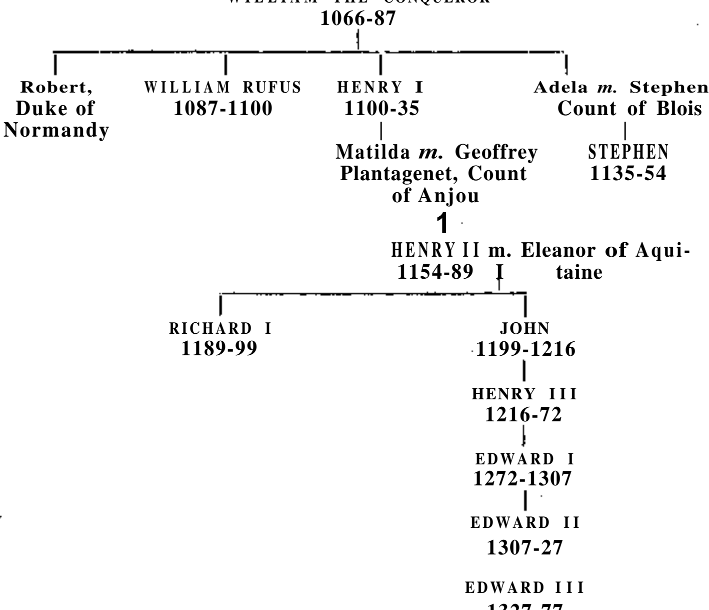
FIG. 44. HENRY MOURNING THE DEATH OF HIS SON

Henry's policy was successful: he gave his country over thirty years of unbroken peace. Abroad, too, his affairs prospered, for in 1106 he defeated his elder brother at the battle of Tenchebrai, and wrested Normandy from him. But misfortunes darkened

the second part of his reign; his only son was drowned in the wreck of the *White Ship*, and though he made his barons promise that they would obey his daughter Matilda after his death, he must have known that no woman could control that turbulent crew.

KINGS OF ENGLAND FROM 1066 TO 1377

(Kings in small capitals)



CHAPTER X

KING LOG AND KING STORK

1135-89

STEPHEN, 1135-54
HENRY II, 1154-89

King Stephen. King Henry's death in 1135 begins a dreary chapter in English history. Scarcely was the breath out of the King's body when Matilda's right to the throne was challenged by her cousin Stephen, the son of William the Conqueror's daughter Adela. Stephen hurried over to London and was crowned, but Matilda's supporters rose in revolt, and in 1138 a civil war broke out which dragged on for fifteen years. To tell the truth, the barons did not care whether Stephen or Matilda was monarch, so long as they were not ruled by a king like Henry I, with his tiresome notions about order and justice. It was a glorious time for them, but let us see what one unknown Englishman had to say of their doings: " When the traitors saw that Stephen was a mild man and soft and good, they did all sorts of queer things. Every rich man made a castle and held it against the King, and when the castles were built they filled them with devils and evil men. Thither by day and night they took those

FIG. 45. ROCHESTER CASTLE

that they thought had any goods and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with untellable tortures. They hung them up by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke. They hung them up by the thumbs or by the head. They tied knotted strings about their heads, and twisted the strings till they reached the brain. They put them in prisons where there were adders, snakes, and toads, and killed them so.

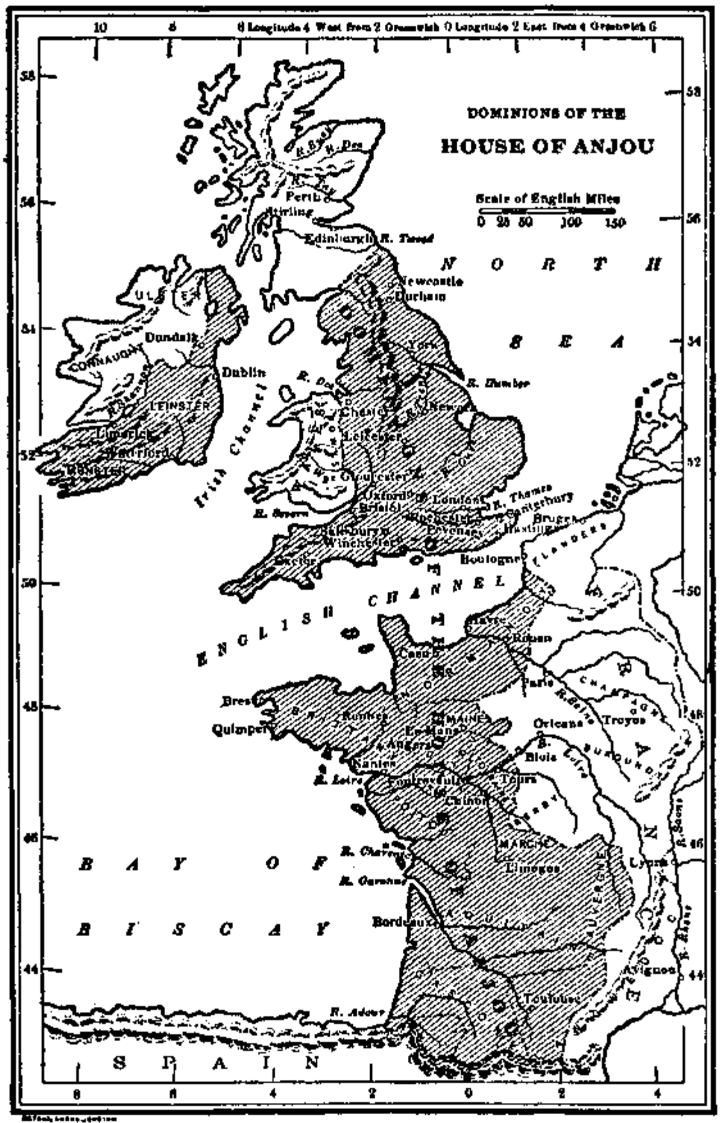
" You might go for a whole day's journey and never find a house inhabited or a field ploughed. The earth bore no corn, for the land was quite exhausted with such deeds. Men said openly that Christ and his saints slept.'*

FIG. 46. ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE

The Empire of Henry II. The long nightmare came to an end in 1153, when Henry of Anjou, the son of Matilda, defeated Stephen, and forced the King to acknowledge him as his heir. In the following year Stephen died, and King Stork succeeded King Log.

Even if we judge him only by the extent of territory which he ruled Henry II was no common prince. He possessed more land in France than the King of France himself: Normandy he had won froM Stephen, Anjou and Maine he inherited from his father, Geoffrey of Anjou; his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine (Fig. 46), brought him the whole of South-western France, while at the very end of his reign Brittany came under his control through the death of his son Geoffrey. He encouraged adventurous nobles like Richard, Earl of Pembroke, the famous' Strongbow,' to plant colonies in Ireland; when in 1171 he visited Ireland himself he received the homage of most of the Irish chiefs. Three years later a lucky accident put the King of Scots into his power: Henry refused to release him till he had done homage for the whole of his kingdom. Centuries have to pass before we find another English king ruling over such an enormous stretch of territory.

Henry II and his Reforms. But Henry's unflagging energy, his stubborn will, his genius for government, would have made him



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remarkable even if he had not been a great prince. He saw that since his grandfather's death everything had gone wrong: he therefore aimed at governing England as Henry I had done. All castles erected since Stephen's accession had to be demolished: after an interval of twenty years the itinerant justices again took the road, and by reviving and extending the payment of scutage, another of his grandfather's devices, Henry got rid of the turbulent, undisciplined feudal army. Hitherto the king's army had been composed mainly of vassals who, by the conditions on which they held their estates, were bound to serve for forty days at their own expense. They did not like this, especially when they had to follow the king overseas, but by accepting a money payment from them instead of service Henry was enabled to hire professional soldiers who did not try to go home at the end of forty days, but stayed with him as long as they got their wages. At the same time Henry made it plain that the defence of the kingdom should not be left to a small band of mercenaries, but was the business of every Englishman, and he drew up regulations to show the armour and weapons with which his subjects of various ranks had to provide themselves.

FIG. 47. GROUP OF PEASANTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY
From Chartres Cathedral.

Justice. Henry went farther than his grandfather in his judicial reforms. We have seen that in each county the king appointed a sheriff, who was his special representative: this official collected all the money due to the king and sent it to Westminster, he haled criminals before the travelling justices, and tried less serious cases in his own shire court. So the sheriff held a very important post, which brought him hard and often dangerous work. But as

Henry found that the sheriffs were shirking their duties he turned them out wholesale and put better men in their places. The sheriff is a purely ornamental personage in England now, but trial by jury is as important as ever it was, and this institution we owe to Henry. You will remember the absurd methods of proving innocence or guilt that were used before the Conquest. The Normans introduced a new method of proof: but it was worse than any of the old ones. A man accused of a crime was required to fight a duel with his accuser in presence of the judge: if he was defeated he was held to be guilty. In Henry's time the practice of submitting certain disputed cases to the judgment of twelve persons was introduced into the royal courts. This method was soon found to be far superior to any other; people learned that it paid them to take their complaints to the royal court instead of trusting to the uncertain luck of the ordeal, and the fame and power of the King increased in consequence.

FIG. 48. NORTH DOOR OF ST JOSEPH'S CHAPEL, GLASTONBURY, SHOWING THE CHARACTERISTIC ROUND NORMAN ARCHES

The Clergy. Henry had broken the power of the barons, he dealt even-handed justice to his subjects, but he found that one very important class of men refused to submit themselves to his jurisdiction. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the clergy became more enthusiastic, more hard-working, and the Church began to have a greater hold over the minds of men. All over England great Norman churches, with massive pillars and ponderous round arches, remain as a sign of this wave of religious

zeal (see Fig. 48). Not only were cathedrals and parish churches rebuilt in a nobler style; on all sides rose monasteries, inhabited by these new orders of monks like the Cistercians who desired to live a purer and harder life than had hitherto been the custom.

A Monastery. Let us glance at one of these monasteries. We have a choice of two: Fig. 49 is a plan of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall, in Yorkshire; Fig. 50 is a reproduction of a curious

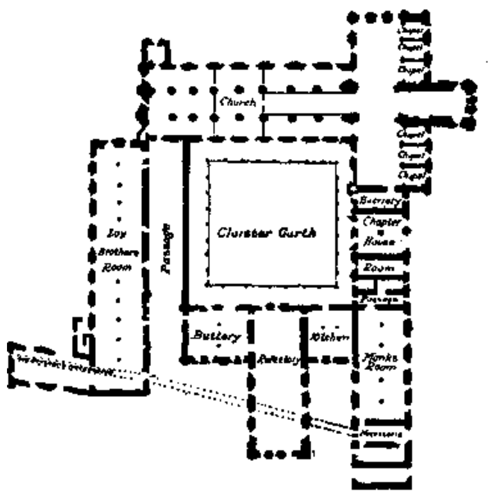


FIG. 49. PLAN OF KIRKSTALL ABBEY, YORKSHIRE
(The building in the bottom left-hand corner of the plan is the guest-house.)

old drawing, half plan and half picture, of Canterbury Cathedral and of the Priory of Benedictine monks which was attached to it. Let us take Fig. 50, and try to imagine the scene which the medieval draughtsman had before him. The Priory is like a small town: a massive wall encloses group after group of stately stone buildings, above which towers the great bulk of the Cathedral. It is a busy place; at a side gate the Almoner is distributing food to a crowd of clamorous beggars; through the great central gateway a company of pilgrims is riding. Since they are respectable people, fairly well off, they will be directed to the Cellarer's quarters, which are much more comfortable than those which

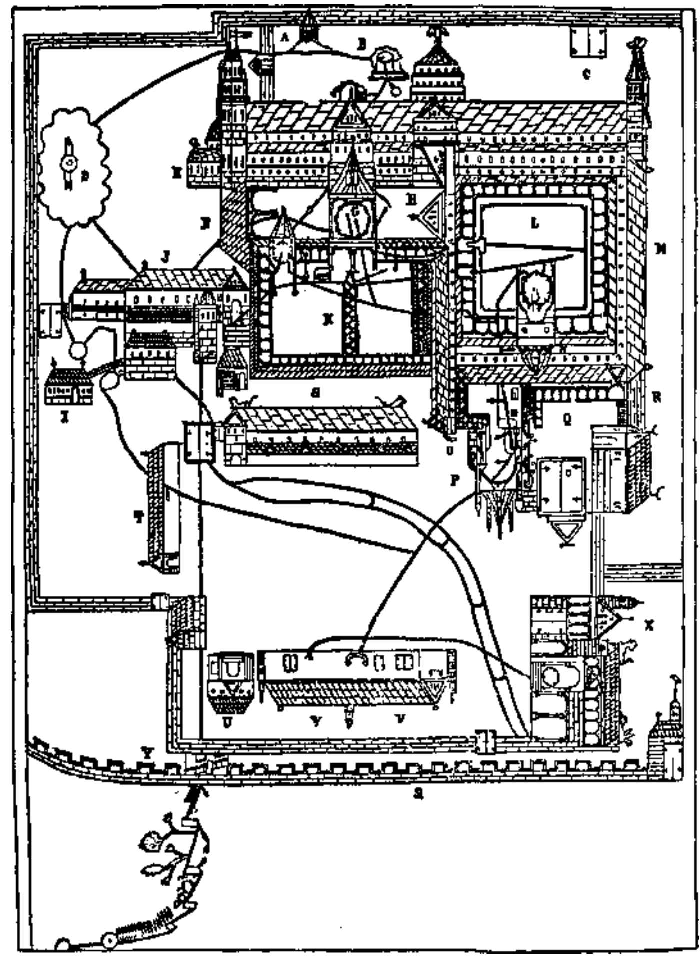


FIG. 50. PRIORY OF THE BENEDICTINES AT CANTERBURY

(The plan has been inverted, so that the north is at the foot.)

A, belfry ; B, fountain; C, cemetery; D, reservoir with conduit pipes; E, cathedral J F, sacristy ; G, crypt; H, chapter-house; 1, prior's house ; J, infirmary and annexes ; K, herbarium, or infirmary cloister: L, cloisters ; M, Cellarer's quarters; N, refectory • O, dormitory, monks* parlour underneath; P, kitchen; QR, storehouses, etc.; S, latrines ; T, baths ; U, granary; V, bakehouse and brewery : X, chief entrance; YZ, fortified wall of Priory and city. The monastic buildings were usually placed on the south, the sunny side, of the church (see *Fig.* 49), At Canterbury, howevei, and in some other monasteries, they were placed on the north.

the Almoner puts at the disposal of the poorer guests. The King's Justiciar has arrived at the Priory, too, but he will be lodged in a guest-house near the east end of the Cathedral, which the Prior reserves for visitors of the highest rank.

Close to the Cathedral, arranged round a grass-covered square, are the buildings reserved for the monks: the refectory where they have their meals; the cosy monks' room or parlour with its great fireplaces; the chapter-house with its stone seats where the prior and monks meet every day to discuss matters affecting the monastery, and the cloisters, a covered walk surrounding the cloister garth, as the grass-covered square is called. In the cloisters sit the scribes with their quills, brushes, and colours, and spend laborious hours over these books which no modern printer can hope to excel. Nine times in the twenty-four hours the bell of the monastery tolls and the monks troop into the church, by day through a door opening from the sacristy, at night by a stair leading from their dormitory down to the church.

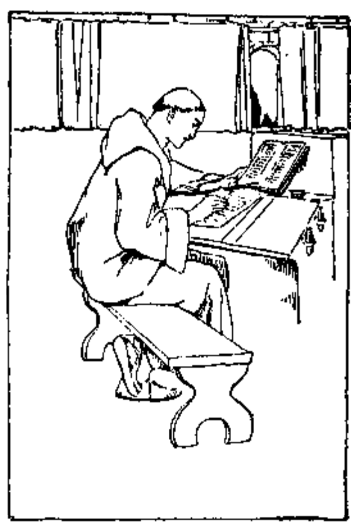


FIG. 51. MONK WRITING

For the monks of the twelfth century one can have little but admiration. We may think it was foolish of them to shut themselves off from the world, but their lives were by no means empty. They lived plainly and worked hard, they were skilful farmers and good men of business, and by their manner of life they set a good example to the people around them.

Struggle between Henry and the Clergy. But with this growth of zeal among the clergy came a growth of pride, pride not in themselves, but in their position. Just as the Pope claimed to be higher than the most powerful kings, so the humblest priest asserted that he could not be tried in a king's court for even the

most serious of crimes. If a priest committed a murder he was taken before the Church courts. His clerical judges could only excommunicate him and expel him from the priesthood; they could not order him to be executed. Only if he committed a second murder could the royal judges intervene and punish him as he deserved.

Henry determined, however, that no man, be he baron or priest, should remain without the law. In the Constitutions of Clarendon which he submitted to his Council in 1164, he laid down the rule that a cleric who was found guilty of a serious crime by the Church courts should at once be handed over to the royal courts for punishment. Most of the bishops agreed, but Henry met with opposition from a quarter whence he had little reason to expect it. Two years before he had made his Chancellor, the gay, chivalrous Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Becket seemed more fitted to be a knight and courtier than the head of the English Church, but no sooner was the archbishop's cross put in his hands than the man seemed to undergo a complete change; he scorned all pleasures and comforts and devoted himself completely to furthering the cause of the Church. Becket refused to consent to Henry's proposal: the King stripped him of his goods and banished him; it made no difference; nothing could prevail against Becket's obstinate zeal. For six years the struggle continued, till at the end of 1170 an agreement was patched up, and Becket returned to Canterbury. He did not long enjoy the dignity which he had regained; a few days later four knights, encouraged by some words that Henry had let slip in a moment of anger, set on

FIG. 52. HENRY AND BECKET DISPUTING

the Archbishop in his own cathedral and brutally murdered him.

The murder of Becket spelt defeat for Henry: in face of the universal burst of indignation he could do nothing but ask the Pope to accept his protestations of innocence, and abandon his plans for bringing churchmen within the law.

This was Henry's most serious failure. During the latter half of his reign he was harassed by the treachery of his sons, and by the war which he had to wage against the King of France for his possessions beyond the Channel, but when he died in 1189 his great empire was still intact.

CHAPTER XI

THE CHARTER AND THE PARLIAMENT

1189-1295

Kings of England

RICHARD I, 1189-99 | HENRY III, 1216-72
JOHN, 1199-1216 | EDWARD I, 1272-1307

Growth of the Royal Power. We have seen that in the reign of Henry II more and more power had passed into the hands of the King. At the same time the great barons were becoming less important; the King let them see that they were not indispensable in either peace or war. He preferred to entrust the government of the country and the administration of justice, not to the great nobles, but to men whom he chose simply for their ability and their readiness to carry out his wishes, just as in time of war he preferred a willing hired knight to a sulky vassal.

There is no doubt that this increase in the power of the King was a good thing for the country. But it was a good thing only because Henry happened to be a king who loved justice; in the hands of a tyrant like William Rufus this new power would mean fresh opportunity for working evil. Very soon men's eyes were opened to this danger, and attempts were made to limit the royal authority. But what was the use of weakening the power of the king if you brought back the days of the helpless Stephen, when any baron with a stout castle and a few score retainers could terrorize a whole county? Was it not possible to gather together a body of counsellors strong enough to resist an evil king, and unselfish enough to put the good of the whole country before their own ambitions? These were the questions that puzzled the brains of the wisest Englishmen in the thirteenth century.

Richard the Knight-errant. Henry's successor, Richard, threw away many of the advantages which his father had gained. One

kingly merit he possessed; he was a fearless and skilful soldier; but he could not be content with the drudgery of kingship; he preferred to seek adventures in foreign lands. At the time of his accession a Crusade had been proclaimed; the princes of Europe had vowed to lead their armies to Palestine and wrest Jerusalem from the Saracens. Richard was eager to join the Crusaders, but he needed money. To raise it he crossed to England and sold everything that could be put up for sale. He

FIG. 53. CHÂTEAU GAILLARD

There were three series of fortifications ; also the keep, which was only a strong tower.

declared that he would have sold London could he have found a bidder; as it was he sold his supremacy over Scotland for 10,000 marks; sheriffdoms and other offices were sold by the score, and even his justiciar was forced to resign his place and buy it back again for 15,000 marks. Then Richard disappeared from his kingdom, not to return till five years had passed, and then only for a few months. The Crusade was unsuccessful: twice Richard got within ten miles of Jerusalem, and twice he had to retreat. There was nothing for it but to make a truce with the Saracens and return to England. On his way home he was imprisoned in Germany, and released only after his subjects had paid a huge ransom. Scarcely had he reached home when he went off again, this time to France, where King Philip Augustus was threatening

Normandy. He prepared for the coming attack by building Château Gaillard, the mightiest fortress of its day, on the borders of his duchy. You see it in Fig. 53, perched on a rocky height at a bend of the river Seine. There seemed little chance that the clumsy catapults, like those which you can see in Fig. *66,* would make any impression on these massive stone walls. Then, at a moment when his great empire needed all his care, Richard went off on another adventure, and in 1199 was slain by an arrow shot from the castle of Châlus.

John the Tyrant. After the reckless knight-errant came the cruel, evil-hearted tyrant. Disaster after disaster marked the early years of the reign of John: Château Gaillard failed to protect Normandy from the attacks of King Philip, and with Normandy John lost Brittany and the greater part of the dominions of the house of Anjou. Of his vast oversea dominions only Aquitaine remained in his hands at the end of 1204.!

FIG. 54. JOHN HUNTING
From a manuscript.

But the loss of Normandy was not altogether a disaster. As long as the great English barons spent half their lives on their French estates, so long was it difficult for them to look on themselves as ordinary Englishmen, or to take a great deal of interest in English affairs, but with the loss of these estates they came to regard England as their real home, and to treat other Englishmen as their fellow-countrymen.

John marched from one trouble to another: his next exploit was to defy the Pope. The Pope wished Stephen Langton, the wisest statesman of his day, to be Archbishop of Canterbury. John refused to accept him: the Pope retaliated by laying the whole kingdom under an interdict. The churches were closed.

the bells ceased to ring, even the dead were put without a prayer into unhallowed ground. As the interdict had no effect, the Pope next excommunicated the King. He declared him to be cut off from the Christian Church for ever, told his subjects that they could obey him only at the peril of their own souls, and announced that any prince who attacked him would be performing a Christian duty. John cared nothing for the danger to his soul; only when he heard that King Philip was ready to respond to the Pope's hint and invade England did he turn completely round and lay both himself and his kingdom at the feet of the Pope.

The Great Charter. John next fell foul of his barons. He tried to make them follow him to France that they might help him to win back the provinces which his carelessness had lost, and demanded large sums of money in support of this enterprise. They liked still less his habit of impounding as a hostage the son of any baron whom he suspected of treachery: they could not forget that in 1202 the King had gained possession of his nephew Arthur, and that soon afterward Arthur had disappeared. The barons saw clearly that they would not be safe under a king who believed that his power was absolutely unlimited, and they determined to make John recognize that there was a law for kings as well as for subjects. In 1215 they banded themselves together, assembled their vassals, and by threats of war forced the King to put his seal to the Great Charter. The Charter contained a long list of reforms which the King pledged himself to carry out, and of abuses from which he promised to abstain. The King was made to promise, for example, that no freeman should be punished in any way except after judgment passed by a court of his equals or by the law of the land, and that to none of his subjects would he sell or refuse justice. The privileges enjoyed by the barons and by the towns were to be left untouched by the King. The barons, you will notice, were concerned only for themselves and for other freemen; they did not bother about the villeins, who at this time formed the great mass of the population. Still, they built better than they knew: once and for all they had laid down the rule that no king can be a law to himself, and had stated fully and clearly the laws which every king of England must obey.

But it was hard to bind a slippery scamp like John. The excommunicate King was a vassal of the Pope now, a faithful

vassal too, who was overwhelmed with regret because he had signed an important document without the Pope's consent. So John hastened to confess his indiscretion to the Pope, and was not surprised when Innocent III declared the charter to be null and void. The barons saw through the trick, declared war on the King, and invited Louis, the eldest son of Philip Augustus, to take the crown of England. A few months later John died, and was buried in Worcester Cathedral, where the effigy on his

FIG. 55. FACSIMILE OF TOP LEFT-HAND CORNER OF THE GREAT CHARTER

Showing the beginning of the first seven lines. The Charter, like all important documents for centuries to come, was written in Latin, with numerous contractions. In its uncontracted form the first line would read : "*Johannes Dex Gratid Rex Anglicé, Dominus Hybernicc, Dux [Normanniæ]* " or in English: " John, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke [of Normandy]."

tomb can still be seen. The charter which he had repudiated was confirmed by his son Henry III.

Henry III and the Great Council. Thus one great problem had been solved, but another remained. If the king gave up some of his power, with whom was he to share it? Down to the middle of the thirteenth century the king usually asked his Great Council to give its advice and consent when he made any new law or transacted any important business. What the king lost in 1215 the Great Council gained, but this assembly had one serious defect; it represented only a very small section of the nation. It consisted only of the archbishops and bishops, a few abbots, the earls and barons, and the most important royal officials. It is true that any tenant-in-chief, whether he possessed thirty or three thousand acres, was free to attend, but in practice

only the wealthy freeholders could afford the expense of the long journey to Westminster. The poorer freemen from the country had no one to say a word for them in the Council and what was as strange, the towns, even London itself, had no representative. We can easily see the faults of this arrangement; one could not expect the barons, even if they were unselfish, to understand the wants and needs of the peasant and the city merchant.

In258 the aimless, thriftless Henry III found himself at loggerheads with his Great Council. He had married a wife from Savoy, who came to England accompanied by seven needy uncles, all determined to make their fortune at the expense of their hosts. The favours Henry showered upon these Savoyards and other foreigners made him almost as unpopular as his father had been, and the Great Council forced the King to accept the Provisions of Oxford, which made him expel all foreign favourites from the realm, and placed him under the supervision of a committee of fifteen prelates and barons. This was a big change: o n l the name of king remained to Henry; the real monarch was the committee of fifteen; but we can scarcely call it a change for the better.

FIG. 56. CROSSBOWMAN

Simon de Montfort and his Parliament. Among the barons, however, one man stood conspicuous for his political wisdom and for his unselfishness: this was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, lately governor in Henry's French province of Gascony. When Henry repudiated the Provisions of Oxford, and the barons began to slip over to his side, de Montfort declared war on the King, and in 1264 captured both him and his son Prince Edward at the battle of Lewes. This stroke of luck made Earl Simon master of England, and in his brief hour of triumph he ordered a Council to meet in London to which he summoned not only the barons and prelates, but two knights from every county and two burghers from every city or town. But Simon's luck turned: the Prince escaped from his careless guards, his most powerful followers deserted him. On a tempestuous August morning in

1265 he found himself in Evesham at the head of a wearied army. On three sides was the river Avon; on the fourth Edward, to whom de Montfort had taught the art of war, had drawn up his victorious troops. Earl Simon knew that he was trapped; but he could not refrain from admiring the skill with which the Prince had learned his lesson. "They have learned that order of battle from me," he cried. "Now God have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are theirs."

The Model Parliament. Though the great Earl fell in the battle that followed, his work did not perish with him; it has endured to this day. Edward had learned more than soldierly skill from de Montfort: ten years later he summoned a parliament which, like Earl Simon's, was to include not only barons and prelates, but two knights from each county and two burghers from each town. In 1295 he went a step further: hitherto he had simply ordered his sheriffs to see that the proper number of knights and burgesses came to Parliament, now he ordered the sheriffs to see that these members were elected. On this Parliament of 1295 was modelled every succeeding Parliament. For this reason it is called the Model Parliament, but we must not forget that it was really modelled upon the Parliament of the luckless Earl Simon.

Thus the second great problem was solved by the creation of a Parliament, representing every section of the nation, in place of the Great Council, which included only the highest clergy and the great landowners.

We notice, too, that King Edward had hit upon the principle of representative government. It was possible to make every bishop and baron in England attend the Great Council, but it was impossible to make every free tenant and every burgher in the country come to Westminster. Even if they came, no hall could be built big enough to hold them. So when a Parliament was summoned the sheriff of each county ordered all the free tenants to come to the county town on a certain day, and there appoint two knights to represent them in Parliament. Similarly, the mayor of each important town summoned the freemen to appoint two burgesses. But even now Parliament did not represent all the people: the villeins were shut out from any share in the government of their country.

CHAPTER XII

THE TOWNS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Growth of Trade and of the Towns. The appearance of burgesses in Parliament at the end of the thirteenth century was a sign that the English towns were growing in numbers and importance. In the two hundred years before the accession of Edward I the burhs of pre-Conquest times had changed from mere fortified villages into wealthy and powerful communities of traders.

The first big change came soon after the Conquest. In the wake of William and his armed knights came more peaceful invaders—French and Norman craftsmen. It was they who raised the great new stone churches and castles, buildings more ambitious and splendid than any that the native craftsmen had hitherto tried to construct. Some of these foreign craftsmen settled in the old burhs or boroughs, others grouped themselves in new communities beside one of the great Norman casdes. The presence of the foreign craftsmen meant that the town had now more to give the country; the country man could exchange the produce of his fields, the wool of his sheep, for goods that hitherto he had been unable to procure.

While trade within the country increased, foreign trade also developed. Since the same sovereign ruled over both England and Normandy, since many of his barons had estates on either side of the Channel, ships—like that shown in Fig. 57—were crossing continually between the two countries, and so after a time we find the foreign merchant displaying his wares in our English towns. He, however, was a bird of passage: he came with spices and silks, which he had bought from a Venetian trader at Rouen, who had seen them unloaded in Venice from a galley newly come from Constantinople, where, after long bargaining, they had been sold by a wild-eyed Arab to the merchants from the West. A few weeks later he went off, taking with him

bales of wool to be made into cloth on the looms of Rouen or Ypres.

The Winning of the Charter. The older boroughs, those which had not sprung up round the new Norman castles, were at the same time forced into the feudal system. The townsmen became the vassals of a lord, usually the king, sometimes a baron or prelate, who built a castle beside it, appointed a bailiff to govern it, and exacted from it payments, varying in amount from year to year. On the other hand, the overlord took the trade of the town under his protection.

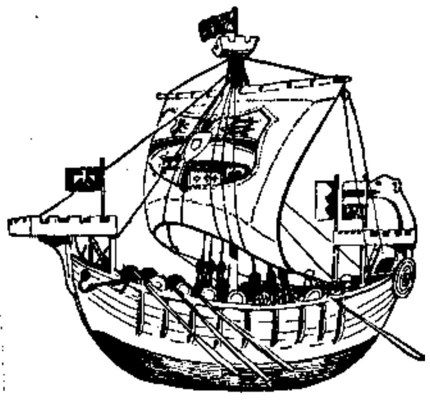


FIG. 57. MODEL OF AN EARLY ANGLO-NORMAN SHIP

But as the towns, new and old, grew larger and more prosperous, the townspeople became discontented with their position, and asked their lord to grant them certain privileges'. Usually he was unwilling to do so, but sooner or later there came a time when, like Richard I, he needed money badly, and that was the townsmen's opportunity. They agreed to present him with the money he required if they received from him in return a charter granting them permission to manage the town in their own way through officials appointed by themselves, and changing the old uncertain payments into a fixed annual rent.

How the Towns controlled Trade. At the end of the thirteenth century almost every town of any size had gained its charter. Most boroughs were governed by a mayor and aldermen, as at the present day; they had their own courts, where disputes between one townsman and another were tried. The burgesses were very jealous of the privileges they had gained: no stranger was allowed to sell goods within the town except in the market-place and on the fixed market day, and then only after he had paid a fee to the borough officials. If two or three strangers,

tired of paying out money for what the burgesses got for nothing, laid their heads together and displayed their wares at a village outside the town, the borough officials descended on them again and told them that no market could be held except in a town where a market was allowed by charter. And just as the townspeople as a whole kept strangers at arm's length, so there was usually within the town another little community directed by its own alderman, with privileges peculiar to itself. This merchant gild, as it was called, controlled the trade of the town. While an ordinary burgess could traffic in foodstuffs, only the members of the gild had the right to trade in other wares. With privileges like these, it is little wonder that the members of the merchant gild usually controlled the policy of the town.

FIG. 58. MERCHANT, THIRTEENTH CENTURY

One may laugh at these old burgesses, so blind with pride and selfishness that they could not see beyond the walls of their own little town. Edward I saw their faults: not content with granting charters to separate towns, he issued trading regulations like the Statute of Merchants, which applied to every town in the kingdom. These laws made the burgesses understand, almost for the first time, that their town was not a little world by itself, but that it had something in common with every other town in England. But in some things these old burgesses were ahead of us: they dealt most severely with the craftsmen who made goods of inferior quality and with the traders who sold them, and regarded the merchant who demanded too high a price for his wares as no better than the cheat who used false measures.

Markets and Fairs, To the weekly market the country people within a radius of three or four miles brought articles like corn, eggs, cheese, sheep and cattle, hides and raw wool, and took away with them cloth, tanned leather, shoes, harness, ploughshares, and other articles manufactured by the town craftsmen. So in these days each district was almost self-supporting. But even the necessaries of life were more plentiful in some districts than in others: the inland districts, for example, were hard put to it

for salt; most of the iron in the country came from one or two places like the Weald or the Forest of Dean, while all articles of luxury had to be imported from abroad. The English weavers could make serviceable woollen cloth: the lady who wanted finely woven and beautifully dyed stuffs had to get them from Flanders, whence her lord got the new-fashioned plate armour and his keenly tempered sword. Every housewife could brew good ale: the wine on my lord bishop's table, like the silver-gilt cup in which it sparkled, came from "France. Spices such as ginger and pepper were brought from lands in which no Englishman had ever set foot.

FIG. 59
COSTUME OF A LADY OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

So in most parts of England special markets called fairs, lasting for two or three days, were held at longer intervals. In these fairs any merchant could set up his booth so long as he paid the regular toll to the owner of the fair. Special measures were taken to protect both merchants and their goods, and any travel-stained trader who thought that he had been cheated had only to hale his opponent before the Court of the Dusty Feet, which met within the fair itself, if he wanted to get instant justice. To such fairs came not only merchants from every part of England, but foreigners, eager to exchange their wines and spices and dyed cloths for the famous English wool.

Appearance of a Thirteenth-century Town. Even in an old city like London, little is left that can help us to imagine what a town of the days of Edward I was like. The Tower, St Bartholomew's Church, and one or two other buildings familiar to the thirteenth-century citizen still remain, but everything else has utterly changed. Perhaps we shall find it easier to bring back the past if we go to York, where from the broad streets and factories and trim villas of the new town the grim old walls built in King Edward's day still rise four-square. For in the thirteenth century every town of importance was surrounded by walls, strengthened by great towers, and pierced by gateways like Micklegate Bar, which were closed as soon as night had fallen. Imagine that as we pass under one of these gateways time rolls back for six hundred and twenty years.

We enter a town of narrow, unclean streets, paved by cobblestones, if they are paved at all. A stream of foul water oozes down the middle of the street; it is all the drain that the inhabitants have. Gone are the substantial houses of brick or stone; all the houses we can see are built of wood or of plaster with a timber framework, and roofed with thatch.

Thirteenth-century Houses. To our modern eyes even the best

FIG. 60. MICKLEGATE BAR, YORK

of these houses seem comfortless. Let us look at one: there is no glass in the windows—if you want to be warm in winter you must close the shutters—no comfortable chairs, only hard wooden benches; no carpets or floorcloth underfoot, only rushes; no water supply in the house—if you want water you must go with your bucket to the well in the next street. We feel, too, that the place is far too crowded: at dinner-time, when the housewife has ranged wooden bowls and plates on the uncovered table and set down a great platter of salt fish beside a flagon of home-brewed ale, upstairs from the workshop below come tumbling not only her husband, but his two journeymen and two apprentices. The master, since he is an alderman and a person of consequence, wears a long, close-fitting gown: his workmen are dressed in short

tunics and in tight breeches reaching almost to their feet, which are thrust into stout cloth shoes. The good man must be content with ancient salt fish because it is Friday, and he never dreams of asking for pudding or tart, because even the king's cook does not know how to make such dainties. While the meal is in progress, he talks of a new manor-house—probably something like Fig. 62

FIG. 61. A DOCTOR AND SERVANT OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

—that has been built within a mile or two of the city. "Such extravagance I never saw in all my life," he growls. "The young knight isn't content with what was good enough for his father; he has built not only a hall, but a room almost as big that he calls a 'solar.' It has one of these new-fangled things they call carpets on the floor, instead of good honest straw; the walls are painted with little gilt stars, and there is glass in the top part of the windows, as if it were a church. There my lord and his friends shut themselves up after dinner, instead of sitting at the big hall board, like his father, till it was time to go to bed. That isn't all: I have heard that there is a room with a bath in it, another of these mad inventions that our Spanish queen has brought us." The good

CHAPTER XIII

EDWARD I IN WALES AND SCOTLAND

1066-1307

Kings of Scotland

MALCOLM III (CANMORE), 1058-93	WILLIAM THE LION, 1165-1214
EDGAR, 1097-1107	ALEXANDER II, 1214-49
ALEXANDER I, 1107-24	ALEXANDER III, 1249-86
DAVID I, 1124-53	MARGARET, 1286-90
MALCOLM IV, 1153-65	JOHN (BALLIOL), 1292-96
	ROBERT I (BRUCE), 1306-29

The Policy of Edward I. From the glimpses you nave had of Edward I in the last two chapters you may have guessed that he was no common king. He had a passion for law and well-ordered government: he hated exceptions to rules; if a law was just it should be obeyed in every part of the country. For this reason, in the year 1278 he made the barons who had the right to hold private courts of justice show him how and when they had been granted that privilege. Many of them could not: one earl, instead of a charter, produced a rusty sword and said that with this weapon his ancestor had won the privileges which the King now doubted. Edward knew that he could not take away privileges which had been in the possession of the same family for over a hundred years: he was content to make his barons understand that thenceforth no more private courts that might compete with the royal courts were to be established. For the same cause he objected to the Church lands being free from some of the burdens attached to land held by lay owners. If a layman died his heir had to pay the king a relief equal to a year's revenue from the estate before he could gain possession of his inheritance. But from land belonging to a monastery no reliefs might be exacted, because a monastery never died. So in 1279 he issued the Statute of Mortmain, forbidding laymen to bequeath their lands to the Church.

Just as it seemed wrong to him that in England there should be persons or communities who were free from the obligations laid

upon their fellow-subjects, so he could not understand why within the island of Britain there should be two great territories which lay without his jurisdiction. Surely it would be better for every one concerned if Scotland and Wales were joined to England, and if one code of law and one system of government were adopted for the whole island.

Edward and Wales: Rise of Llewellyn. So far as Wales was concerned it seemed that if Edward did not interfere with the Welsh they would interfere with him. Nominally the Welsh chieftains were vassals of the English King: in reality they showed no regard for their overlord, save when he sent a powerful army west of the Severn. No English king could keep an army in the field long enough to ensure the complete conquest of Wales; on the other hand, jealousy kept the Welsh princes apart and prevented the formation of a powerful nation. But in the earlier part of the thirteenth century Llewellyn, the son of Jorwerth, Prince of North Wales, brought the whole of Wales under his sway. After his death in 1240 his successors let much of his territory slip from them, but his grandson Llewellyn, the son of Griffith, took advantage of the civil strife in England to regain all the lands that had been lost. He allied himself with Simon de Montfort, who shortly before his final defeat made the captive king recognize Llewellyn as Prince of All Wales. Even after the battle of Evesham Llewellyn was too powerful to be meddled with, and in 1267, by the Treaty of Shrewsbury, Henry again agreed to recognize him as Prince of Wales on condition that he remained a vassal of the English Crown.

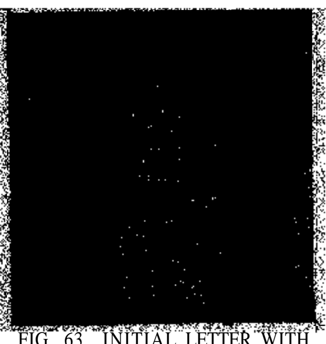
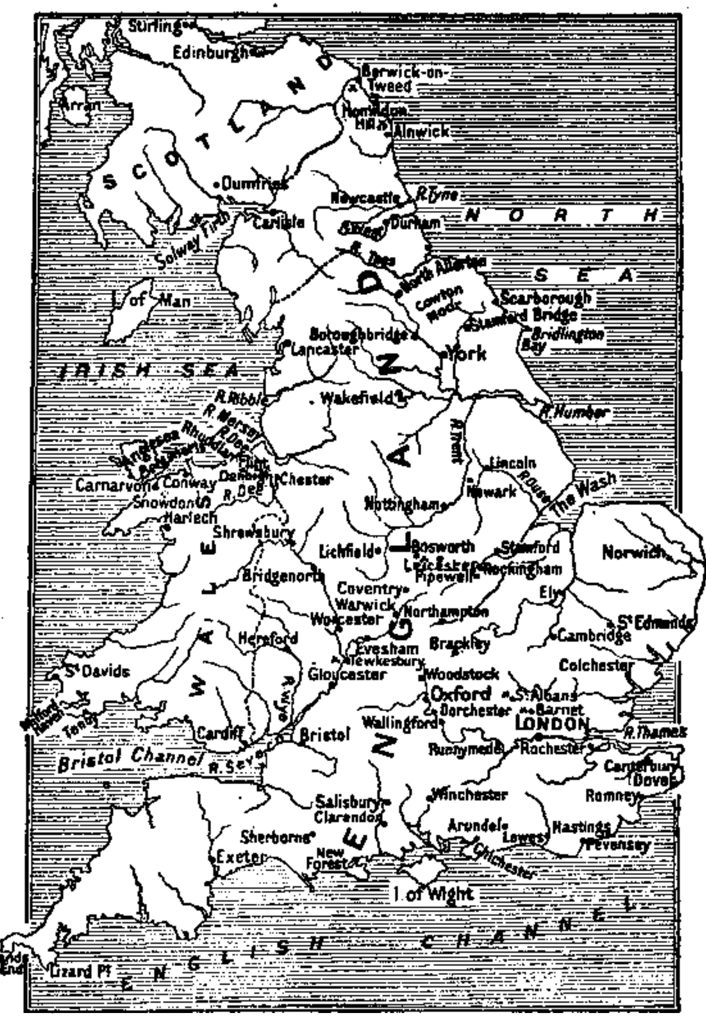


FIG. 63. INITIAL LETTER WITH HEADS OF EDWARD I AND HIS QUEEN

The First Conquest of Wales. Llewellyn was already more powerful than any Welsh prince before him had been, but he determined to go still farther and repudiate altogether the authority of a distant king. After the accession of Edward I in 1272 he treated with contempt every summons to do homage. Edward



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE EDWARD I's WELSH CAMPAIGNS AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES

waited for five years; then in the autumn of 1277 he invaded Wales. Llewellyn withdrew his main army to the inaccessible country at the foot of Snowdon. He could see no reason for anxiety: Edward had attempted an almost impossible route through the dense forests of Flint and Denbigh; the farther he advanced from his base at Chester, the more difficult would it be to find food for his men, while the Welsh could draw ample supplies from the cornfields of Anglesea. The Welsh leader did not know that he had to deal with the ablest general of his age: hundreds of engineers cleared a road through the forest for Edward's army; landing-parties from the English fleet occupied Anglesea; the corn destined for Llewellyn's army was eaten by his opponents, and at the beginning of winter Llewellyn found that he must surrender or starve. He threw himself on Edward's mercy; the King made him do homage, but allowed him to keep Anglesea and the north-west corner of Wales.

FIG. 64
KNIGHT WEARING THE CYCLAS AND HOOD OF CHAIN-MAIL

Rebellion and Death of Llewellyn. For all his nobility of character Edward had one or two serious faults. He had no patience with people whose views were different from his own: he firmly believed that English law was the best in the world, and thought that a Welshman who preferred his own Welsh laws must be either a fool or a knave. So he proceeded to make Wales as like England as he could: he divided the conquered lands into counties, placed a sheriff over each of them, and ordered all cases that came before the new shire courts to be decided by English law. Every Welshman detested innovations which he thought were designed to turn him into an Englishman against his will; complaints came to Llewellyn from all parts of Wales, and in 1282 he again took the field. Again Edward invaded North Wales, and again Llewellyn was hemmed in among the desolate regions round Snowdon. Both combatants had decided that this time there must be neither truce nor surrender: Llewellyn broke through the English lines and placed himself at the head of a Welsh army guarding Orewyn Bridge near the river Wye. But his army was surprised and routed, and he

himself was slain while attempting to rally his beaten men. All through the winter the war went on—winter campaigns were almost unknown in those days—but in 1283 the betrayal and death of Llewellyn's brother David ended the struggle.

Edward refused to leave the country till order was completely restored. A Parliament meeting at Rhuddlan in 1284 passed the

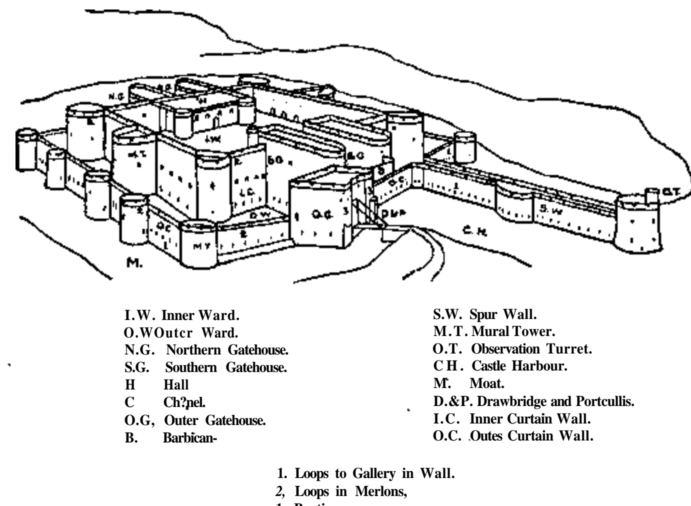


FIG. 65. BEAUMARIS CASTLE

Reproduced from the key plan of the wall-picture reconstruction of Beaumaris Castle by C. H. Ashdown, *British Feudal Castles* (Harrap).

Statute of Wales, which made Wales not simply a vassal state but an actual part of Edward's kingdom, governed in the same way and according to the same laws. But Edward knew full well that something more effective than an Act of Parliament was needed to keep the Welsh in subjection: all over the country he caused great fortresses to be built.

Edward's Castles in Wales. Until the use of cannon became general these Welsh castles, planned by the greatest military genius of his day, were regarded as models of everything that a fortress ought to be. Where it was possible, the castle was built on a height; if the surrounding country was level, then a moat had to

be constructed. The moat, as you will see if you look at the diagram of Beaumaris Castle, Fig. 65, was spanned by a drawbridge, which could be pulled up by men stationed in the outer gatehouse whenever an enemy approached. On the other side of the moat rose the first line of defences, a wall strengthened at intervals by round towers and pierced by a gateway, which could be closed in a moment by a portcullis. This was heavy metal grating bristling with iron spikes, which was lowered by a pulley from a little room in the upper part of the outer gatehouse. When one passed the outer gate and reached the outer ward one was confronted by a second range of walls, higher than the first, and by a second series of projecting towers. Within was the inner ward, a courtyard where the castle well was usually to be found.

How a Castle was Defended. The more carefully we examine these old castles the more we are impressed by Edward's skill as an engineer. He seems to have thought of every possible risk. The walls of the castle were so thick that the feeble siege artillery of the day, monster catapults called trebuchets and mangonels, could make no impression upon them. If the besiegers wanted to break down the walls they must undermine them. To do this they had to get over the moat: this was usually done by throwing in great bundles of brushwood till a fairly firm footway had been made. The chances were, however, that they would be shot down by archers posted on the walls while they were putting the brushwood in position. Suppose they succeeded and advanced to the base of the wall: they would at once become a target for arrows shot from the flanking towers to right and left of them. They might then bring up a sow, a movable wooden shed hung with skins, and pick away at the wall under the cover of this thirteenth-century tank. It was not for nothing that Edward had capped his wall with projecting stone galleries, pierced below with big holes. Through these, without being exposed to the arrows of the besiegers, the garrison could pour down molten lead and flaming oil, and in a few minutes the sow would burst into flame. Should the besiegers break through the first ring of defences, a second fortress, stronger than the first, had to be taken; even if they forced the inner gate and gained the central courtyard they would find their ranks thinned by galling flights of arrows shot down from the great towers. Little wonder it is that such castles

FIG. 66. SIEGE OPERATIONS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The besiegers have filled up part of the moat with brushwood, and over the roadway **thus** made have dragged a siege tower—a large ' belfry'—up to the walls of the castle. A drawbridge has been lowered from the topmost gallery of the siege tower, over which the besiegers scramble to the enemy's battlements. Meantime a mangonel—bottom right-hand corner—and other engines of war are dashing stones at **the** soldiers who **show** themselves on the battlements.

Redrawn from Viollet-lc-Duc's " L'Architecture Militaire " in *A History of Everyday Things in England,* by M. and C. H. B. Quennell (Batsford).

were seldom taken save by surprise or blockade. (Examine carefully Figs. 65 and *66* in connexion with this paragraph.)

Scotland. So Edward forced the Welsh to become his subjects, and though ten years later they again rose in rebellion, he was able to stamp out the revolt. A different fortune awaited his policy in Scotland. Edward must have known that Scotland, unlike Wales and Ireland, had become a united nation even before the Norman Conquest, and that though the Scottish kings had at various times done homage to English kings, the ceremony, except on one occasion, had been little more than an empty form. And that exception proved the rule, for whatever advantage Henry II gained by the capture of William the Lion in 1174 was surrendered, by his son in 1189. On the other hand, ever since the reign of Malcolm Canmore, Scotland had been growing more and more like England. Malcolm Canmore himself had spent many years at the Court of Edward the Confessor, and he married the English Princess Margaret, who did her best to introduce English customs into her husband's realm.

Spread of Norman and English Influence. In the reign of their youngest son, David I (1124-53), came a peaceful Norman conquest of Scotland. When his sister Matilda married Henry I of England David accompanied her to England, and learned statecraft from the ablest of the Norman kings. After he became king he granted large tracts of land to Norman barons, and built many cathedrals and monasteries, which he filled with Norman clerics. The Gaelic tongue disappeared alike from castle and church; Norman-French became the language of the nobles as in England, while only Latin was used in the services of the Church.

If French was driving Gaelic from the castle, English was driving it from the market-place. The Norman Conquest brought a host of English refugees to Scotland, who settled not only in the late-won province of Lothian, but in many a town and village on the east coast. Lothian, too, bade fair to become the most important part of the kingdom: from the sheep that grazed upon its rounded hills came the wool that was shipped in enormous quantities from Berwick, and caused that town to be regarded as one of the greatest ports in Western Europe. The English merchant who visited Edinburgh, Dundee, or even places as far north as

Elgin, or as far inland as Stirling, would hear and see little to indicate that he was in a foreign town.

Cumbria as a Bone of Contention. Only the vexatious question of Cumbria caused occasional breaches of the peace between the two nations. You will remember that it was an attempt to wrest Cumbria which brought about the death of Malcolm Canmore: in 1139 his son David invaded Northern England and forced the distracted Stephen to surrender the province. In 1157, however, it was wheedled from his successor, Malcolm IV, by Henry II: William the Lion's efforts to win it back resulted in his captivity and humiliation, and when Alexander II supported the English barons against King John he looked for Cumbria as a reward. But Alexander burned his fingers badly when he stuck them into his neighbour's pie, and a few years later he announced that he abandoned all his claims to the disputed province. Then followed fifty years of unbroken peace: the next king, Alexander III, married King Edward's sister, and lived on the most friendly terms with his royal brother-in-law.

Conquest of Scotland by Edward I. When Alexander was killed in 1286, leaving a granddaughter barely four years old to succeed him, Edward thought that it would be foolish to lose such an opportunity of uniting two friendly countries. With the consent of the Scottish nobles he arranged that his son Edward should marry the young Queen of Scots. But in an evil hour for both countries the child died. No one knew who should succeed her; a dozen men claimed the crown, and civil war seemed certain when one of the regents of Scotland asked Edward to intervene and award the crown to the candidate whom he thought to have the best claim.

It seemed that luck had favoured Edward: he could now revive the project for the union of the two kingdoms which the death of the young queen had forced him to abandon. He agreed to act as judge on condition that the successful candidate should do homage to him for the whole of Scotland, and in 1292 he awarded the crown to John Balliol. It was an absolutely fair decision, but it was soon evident that Edward meant Balliol to be king only in name, while he was the real ruler of Scotland. He let slip no chance of making Balliol feel that he was simply a puppet prince who had to dance whenever his master pulled the strings, but

when he forbade Balliol to make an alliance with France his long-suffering vassal rebelled and flatly refused.

Edward's vengeance was not long delayed: within six months he sacked Berwick, routed the main Scottish army at Dunbar, captured Balliol and forced him to abdicate, and led his victorious army as far north as Elgin. Thence in the autumn of 1296 he returned to Berwick, where he received the homage of every man of consequence in Scotland. He resolved to treat Scotland as he had treated Wales: he made the English Earl de Warenne Lieutenant of the country, appointed English officials to help him, and filled every Scottish fortress with English troops. Even the Stone of Destiny, on which every King of Scotland within human memory had been crowned, was carried off to Westminster Abbey, where it may still be seen. The union of England and Scotland was accomplished.

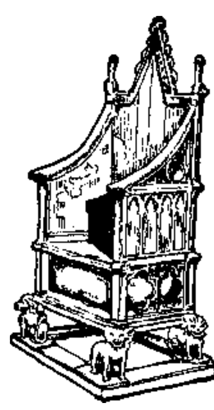


FIG. 67. CORONATION CHAIR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

The Stone of Destiny rests on the shelf under the seat.

Wallace's Attempt to liberate Scotland. Edward's apparent triumph was really a grave blunder. He had paid too much attention to the points wherein the Scots resembled the English, forgetting that in many parts of the country the people had changed little since the days of Malcolm Canmore. He did not understand that even in Lothian and the English-speaking towns the inhabitants had for generations looked on themselves as Scots, and that though all the great landowners had sworn fealty to him they would not consider themselves bound by an oath which had been extorted from them by force. Before a twelvemonth had elapsed the inevitable rebellion took place: the Scottish patriots rallied round William Wallace, who led them to the capture of one castle after another in the North. The news from beyond the Forth aroused the sluggish de Warenne: he advanced as far as Stirling, to find Wallace's men posted on the farther bank of the Forth, which could be reached only by a narrow wooden bridge. Wallace allowed half of the English troops to cross, then he charged down upon them and cut them to pieces.

Their comrades on the southern bank fled without striking a blow; before the sleepy de Warenne had properly awakened Scotland was again free.

All this time Edward was absent in Flanders, but the army

which Wallace faced at Falkirk in the following year was marshalled by the King himself. Wallace had arranged his men skilfully; circles of spearmen alternated with lines of archers, while a small body of cavalry hovered on his flank. A morass lay between the two armies and hindered the English advance, but after a time squadrons of heavy cavalry worked their way round the right and left of the marshy ground and hurled themselves

upon the Scots. The Scottish cavalry fled, the archers were soon trampled underfoot, but the spearmen stood firm. Again and again the English cavalry charged, only to recoil in confusion. At last the archers struggled into the morass and sent flight after flight of arrows into clumps of Scottish spearmen till great gaps appeared in their ranks. The English cavalry advanced again, charged the wavering Scots, and drove them headlong from the field.

The battle of Falkirk showed plainly that the mail-clad cavalry (Fig. 68) no longer formed the most dangerous part of an army: they could be beaten off by spearmen drawn up in close formation. But it also showed that spearmen unsupported by archers could not stand up to a combined attack by archers and cavalry. The lesson was not lost on English generals; in every one of their numerous victories in the next century and a half archers co-operated either with cavalry or with dismounted men-at-arms, while in their few defeats the archers either were not used at all or came into action too late.

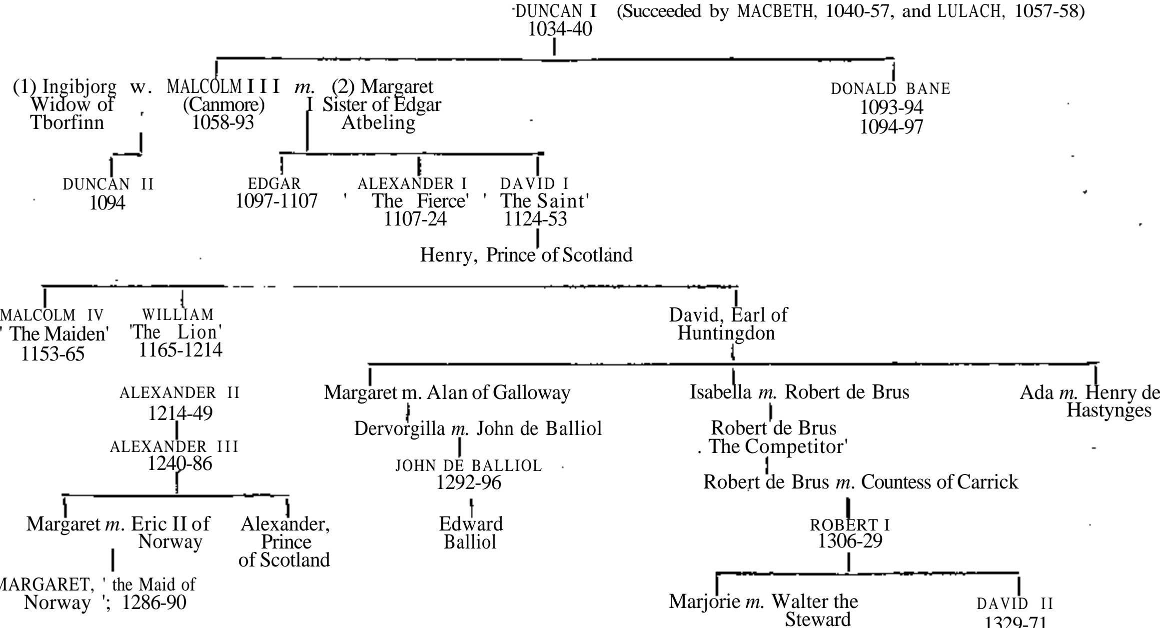
FIG. 68
SIR JOHN D'AUBERNOUN THE ELDER, 1277
The oldest remaining English brass.

Though Falkirk ended Wallace's career as a general it brought the final conquest of Scotland no nearer. A Scottish rebellion became an annual event; not till the autumn of 1305, when every castle was again manned by English troops, when every rebel had surrendered, and when Wallace himself had been hanged for treason to a king whom he never acknowledged as master, could Edward breathe freely. He might congratulate himself that the history of his dealings with Wales had been repeated in Scotland, that the man who opposes firmness to pig-headed obstinacy is sure to triumph. Edward never stopped to ask if the pig-headedness might not be on his own side.

King Robert the Bruce. At the beginning of 1306 his dreams were shattered by the news that Robert the Bruce, after stabbing a Scottish noble who had tried to thwart his schemes, had been

crowned at Scone as King of Scotland. Bruce, like Balliol, was descended from the younger brother of William the Lion. At first there seemed little cause for alarm: the friends of the murdered man sided with Edward. When the Pope heard that the crime had been committed in a church he launched the sentence of excommunication at the head of Bruce, and Aymer de Valence, the English Guardian of Scodand, did not find it difficult to scatter Bruce's army and to drive the new King out of the country altogether. But in the spring of 1307 King Robert returned, and with a handful of spearmen defeated a large body of cavalry commanded by de Valence himself. Edward, now an old man, had spent the winter at the monastery of Lanercost, near Carlisle. When news of the defeat was brought he forgot the sickness which weighed upon him, mounted his horse, and made for the border. But the Hammer of the Scots was shattered at last; four days later died the greatest king who had ruled over England since the days of Alfred.

KINGS OF SCOTLAND FROM 1034 TO 1371



CHAPTER XIV

SCOTLAND AND FRANCE

1307-75

Kings of England
EDWARD II, 1307-27
EDWARD III, 1327-77

Edward II. Edward II, for all his good looks, affable manners, and skill in manly exercises, was a complete failure as a king. Every enterprise he undertook ended in disaster; he could not command the respect of his subjects, and no sword was unsheathed in his defence when, after he had reigned twenty years, his own wife and her vile favourite Mortimer forced him to give up the crown to his young son. A few months after his abdication he was cruelly murdered.

Bruce's Policy. Nothing in his disastrous reign brought him more discredit than his feeble handling of the Scottish War. At the time of the old King's death Bruce had indeed defeated one body of English cavalry, but his scanty band of spearmen could hardly hope to prevail against a great and well-equipped force of cavalry and archers like that which overwhelmed Wallace at Falkirk, nor could he call himself master of Scotland so long as every castle of importance was held by an English garrison.

But Bruce was a leader of extraordinary insight and originality. If an English army invaded the country he defeated it by refusing to fight. At the first sign of invasion he laid waste the country through which he judged the southern host would pass, and drove off the sheep and cattle to the hills. As no army in those days could carry with it provisions sufficient for a long campaign, lack of food sooner or later caused the invaders to retreat. He knew that the Scottish castles, strengthened as they had been by the engineers of Edward I, could defy the biggest catapult he might bring against them—and he had none to bring. But he got the

castles all the same. Sometimes he succeeded by a trick, as when he attacked Perth, feigned to abandon the siege, came back under cover of night, plunged into the moat at a place where it could be crossed on foot, and led his troops over the wall into the sleeping town. Sometimes he was content to cut off supplies. Again and again complaints from those beleaguered castles were sent to Edward: the heedless King did nothing, and castle after castle was starved into surrender.

FIG. 69. EFFIGY OF EDWARD II

The Battle of Bannockburn. But the folly of Bruce's own brother threatened King Robert's plans with ruin. In 1313 Edward Bruce was besieging the castle of Stirling, a fortress which commanded the only landward route to the north of Scotland. Edward grew weary of the siege and marched off, after arranging with the governor that if the castle were not relieved by an English army before 24th June, 1314, it should be handed over to the Scots. Bruce was furious: he knew that the fortress must be mastered before he could call Scotland his own, but he did not want to risk all his seven years' gains in one battle under the walls of Stirling Castle. However, the bargain had been made and he must abide by it: a year later he drew up his troops two miles to the south of Stirling and awaited the coming of the English. His army was composed almost entirely of spearmen, but he had chosen its position with his usual skill: his front was protected by a stream called the Bannock Burn, his right by a wood, and his left by a stretch of marshy ground where the Bannock Burn joined the Forth. But he had need of all his skill, for the army which Edward II led against him on the 23rd of June was three times as big as his own, and was composed mainly of archers and heavy cavalry. At first it seemed as if the story of Falkirk was to be repeated; the English crossed the Bannock Burn without difficulty, and took up their position on the left flank of the Scots. But they were crowded together in a narrow tongue of marshy land between

the Forth and the Bannock Burn where the cavalry had no room to manoeuvre. Next day Bruce hurled his spearmen against the English cavalry before they could get to the open country, and held them; no sooner did the English archers force their way past their own cavalry and begin to shoot into the serried ranks of the Scots than they were scattered by the charge of a small body of Scottish horsemen; finally, when the issue of the battle was still uncertain, a body of men was seen advancing with banners as if to reinforce the Scots, and the English broke and fled, not knowing that the newcomers were simply camp-followers.

The war dragged on for another fourteen years, though now the Scots were the aggressors. Again and again Bruce or his generals laid waste the northern English counties, till the wretched inhabitants were glad to pay tribute for the sake of peace. At last in 1328 the advisers of the young Edward III concluded the Treaty of Northampton, by which the complete independence of Scotland was recognized.

FIG. 70. EDWARD III
From the effigy on his monument in Westminster Abbey.
National Portrait Gallery.

Edward III attempts to Conquer Scotland. But Edward III soon showed that if he lacked some of his grandfather's finer qualities he had a full share of his ambition and his delight in warfare. Encouraged by the death of Bruce in 1329, he refused to admit that he was bound by the Treaty of Northampton, and supported Edward Balliol in an attempt to win back the kingdom which his father had lost in 1296. In 1332 Balliol landed on the Fifeshire coast and pushed on to Perth, but he found his way barred at Dupplin Moor by a large army under the young Regent Mar. He ordered his knights and men-at-arms to dismount, and drew them up in close formation; then on either flank, and a little in advance of his heavily armoured spearmen, he placed his archers. The Scots attempted to repeat the tactics of Bannockburn and rushed headlong against the English centre, but this time they were exposed to a pitiless hail of arrows as thev advanced, and

though they crossed spears with the English men-at-arms, they could not break the ranks of their adversaries. Meantime the rain of death continued; they recoiled and wavered; the English men-at-arms, seeing their opportunity, leaped to their horses and swept their disordered ranks from the field.

The same thing happened at Halidon Hill a year later, when a Scottish army, advancing to the relief of Berwick, was riddled by the arrows of the English archers. The days of Edward I seemed to have returned; not only Berwick, but every stronghold of importance fell into the hands of the English, an English monarch again ruled Scotland through a vassal king, and the richest provinces of Southern Scotland were handed to him by the grateful Balliol as a reward for his support. But, as Edward was to discover later in France, it is one thing to defeat an army in battle, it is quite another to conquer a people that has no mind to be conquered. The Scottish leaders tried Bruce's policy of avoiding battles and letting starvation and weariness turn back invaders and win castles. It was completely successful; at the end of 1341 Berwick was the only town north of the Tweed that remained in the hands of the English. Thus ended a struggle which had lasted for almost fifty years: there were numerous raids and battles during the next two centuries, but till the closing years of the reign of Henry VIII no serious*attempt was made to unite Scotland to England by force.

Causes of the Hundred Years War. It was not only the difficulty of subduing the country that made Edward abandon his Scottish schemes: after 1337 he had set his heart on gaining a more splendid prize than a country devastated and impoverished by half a century of warfare. You will remember that at the beginning of the thirteenth century King John lost all his possessions in France except the great Duchy of Aquitaine. But just as the kings of England were unwilling that any part of Britain should be free from their control, so the French kings did not relish the idea of any part of France belonging to a foreign king, even though that king was nominally their vassal. They therefore nibbled and nibbled at the boundaries of the Duchy till at the beginning of Edward's reign only Gascony, a narrow strip of land between the estuary of the Gironde and the Pyrenees, remained in the obedience of the English King. If the English possessions in France

continued to dwindle as they had done during the reign of Edward II, his successor would soon find that he held not an inch of French soil. This was not the only source of trouble; in 1328 Charles IV of France died without leaving a son to succeed him. All his brothers had died before him, but his elder sister, Queen Isabella, the mother of Edward III, was still alive. The French nobles, however, refused to have either Queen Isabella or her son as their ruler, and chose Philip of Valois, a cousin of the late King.

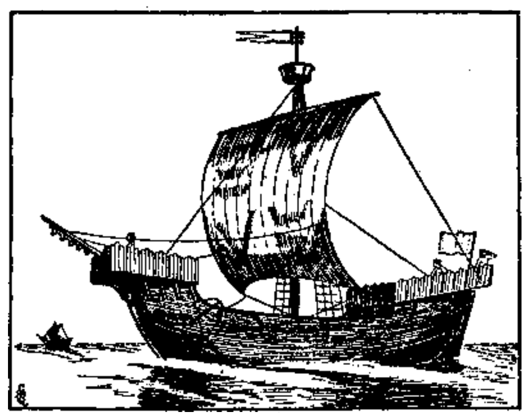


FIG. 71. A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SHIP
From *A History of Everyday Things in England*, by M. and C. H. B. Quennell (Batsford).

Edward first of all refused to do homage for his French possessions to a king whose title to the crown of France was no better than his own, then he consented; but the two rulers drifted from one quarrel to another, till in 1337 Edward took back the homage that he had given and declared that he was the rightful King of France. Thus began the Hundred Years War, a war which, in spite of its name, did not come to an end till 1453.

The Command of the Sea. Edward had to conquer the English Channel before he could begin to conquer France. Powerful squadrons of French ships, manned by skilful and fearless Norman sailors, patrolled the narrow seas, snapped up English merchantmen, and on one occasion even burned the town of Southampton. Until these were cleared from the Channel an

army of invasion would find it almost impossible to cross to France or to keep itself supplied with provisions and reinforcements once it was across. In 1340, however, a great English fleet, commanded by the King himself, came upon the French fleet in Sluys harbour.

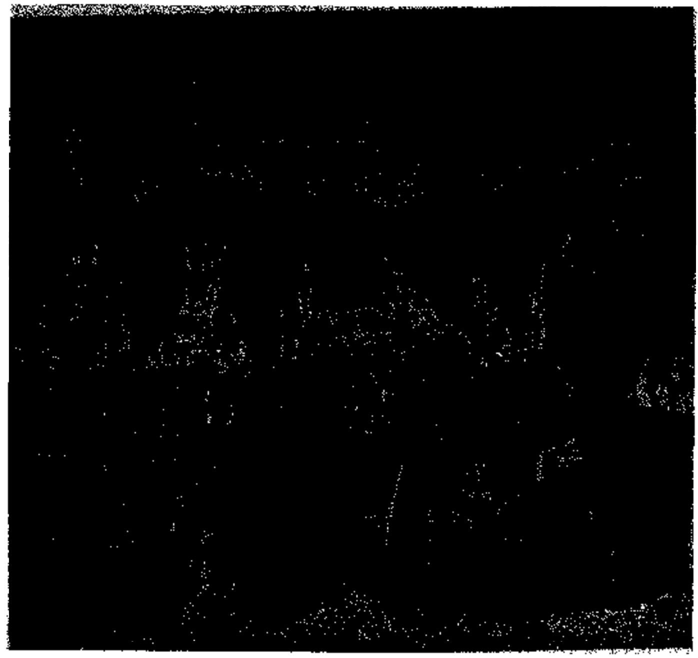


FIG. 72. BATTLE OF SLUYS

Fourteenth-century Ships. They must have made a noble array, these hundreds and hundreds of gaily painted ships, with their streaming pennons and pictured and coloured sails. Though they were still equipped with a single mast and a single square sail as in the days of William the Conqueror, they were no longer propelled by oars. Their shape had altered too; they were broader, they stood higher above the water, they were decked from end to end, and at bow and stern rose little wooden castles, where archers and crossbowmen were stationed when the ship went into action. A

modern sailor might wonder how they could ever succeed in damaging one another, for there was not a gun, large or small, in either fleet. We shall see.

The Battle of Sluys. When the English saw the French fleet drawn up in a solid mass a mile or two out of Sluys harbour they turned about and made for the open sea. The French broke away in pursuit, to find, when they came up to their adversaries, that the English ships had turned about and were waiting for them.

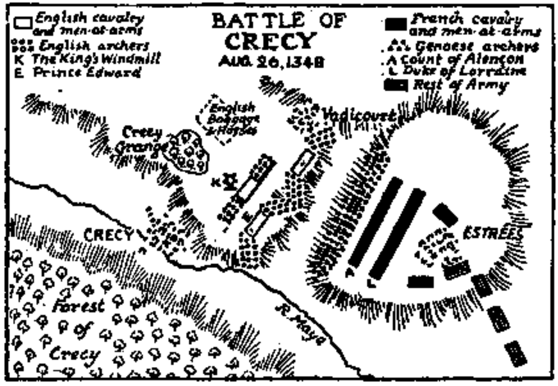


FIG. 73. PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF CRÉCY

The grim fight that followed was astonishingly like a land battle (Fig. 72). Each captain picked out an adversary and tried to bring his ship alongside. When he succeeded a swarm of sailors and men-at-arms leaped to the deck of the enemy's ship and fought there under cover of a hail of arrows from the bowmen on the wooden castles. Sometimes the beleaguered crew was blinded with a cloud of quicklime, sometimes the flash and roar of Greek fire bewildered them, while an occasional stone from a mangonel crashed through the wooden deck, or knocked out the brains of some poor wretch. In the end the French fleet was completely destroyed: Edward could now send to France as many troops and stores as he liked.

The Battle of Crécy. Six years passed, however, before the victory of Sluys was followed by a land battle of any importance. In 1346, while Edward's army was making for the coast after a raid

that had carried it almost to the gates of Paris, it was overtaken at Crécy by a great host under King Philip. Edward, mindful of the lessons of Dupplin and Halidon Hill, made his horsemen dismount and form up in three solid masses, two in front, one in the rear under his own control. (See plan of battle, Fig. 73.) On both flanks of each division, but a little in front of the men-at-arms, the archers took up their position. The battle began with a duel between the English archers and a mass of Genoese crossbowmen that had been sent in advance of the French army, but the Genoese could not shoot as far or send their arrows as fast as the English bowmen, and they lost heavily without inflicting any damage on their adversaries. The French knights, impatient at the delay, rode through their own archers and charged the English men-at-arms, only to be caught and stopped by converging flights of arrows from the archers on the flanks. Again and again they charged; for a time it seemed that they might sweep away the right division, commanded by the young Prince of Wales, but the King sent forward reinforcements and the line held firm. At last, after sixteen or seventeen attacks, the French lost heart, and fled in confusion from the field. The English archers had again won the day.

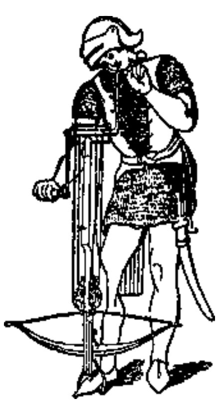


FIG. 74. A GENOESE CROSSBOWMAN

Calais and Poitiers. The victory enabled Edward to continue his march to Calais, which fell into his hands after a siege lasting for a year. The battle of Sluys had given him command of the Channel; now he had gained a great Channel port from which he could advance at any time into the heart of France. In 1356 came a more decisive triumph; as the Prince of Wales was returning to his base at Bordeaux from a raid into the heart of France he was intercepted at Poitiers by an army commanded by the French King. Again the French hurled themselves against the English men-at-arms, again the English archers harassed them as they advanced, but the Black Prince had only a handful of archers with him, and as most of the Frenchmen fought on foot they did not make as conspicuous a target as usual. For a time it seemed as if the

French might prevail, but when a small body of Gascon cavalry dispatched by the Prince fell on the rear of their army they were thrown into hopeless confusion.

Among the prisoners was King John of France himself. There could no longer be any doubt that France was beaten: the Treaty of Calais, drawn up in 1360, confirmed the preliminary Treaty of Brétigny, by which King John surrendered Calais, Ponthieu, and the whole of the great Duchy of Aquitaine to King Edward.

FIG. 75. SIR JOHN HARSYCK AND HIS WIFE

From a brass of 1384. Notice that the mail is now reinforced by plate armour, and that the head is now protected by a steel helmet.

A Period of Defeat. But Edward had still to learn what his Scottish experiences should have taught him, that while it may be easy enough to win a battle, it is impossible to master a whole nation that is determined to resist. " It is not we who abandon the King of France," said the men of Cahors, as they made their forced submission to Edward's representatives. " It is he who, against our wishes, gives us into the hands of the stranger." At the end of nine years the war broke out again. Many of the English leaders were dead; the Black Prince had become a fretful invalid; it would have been better for the fame of the King had he died in 1360, for in his old age he forgot everything in the pursuit of pleasure. The French, on the other hand, adopted the policy which had saved the Scots: they avoided batdes and captured hostile strongholds by blockade. Then in 1372, when a great fleet bound for Gascony was defeated off La Rochelle, England lost the command of the seas. As it was now almost impossible to send men and stores

FIG. 76. CRESTED HEAUME OF THE BLACK PRINCE

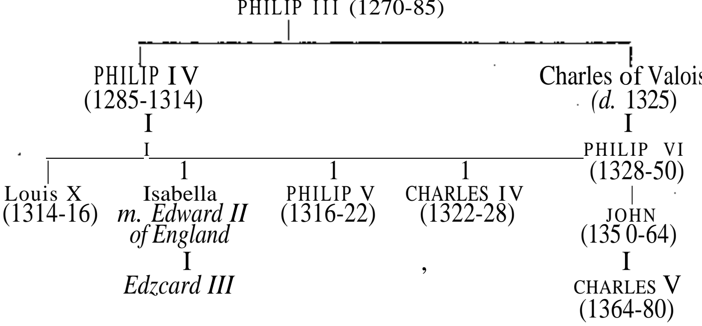
In Canterbury Cathedral.

ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN
FRANCE
After the Treaty of Bretigny, 1360
Scale of English Miles
English Territory
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
Berwick
IRELAND
York
Nottingham
Lincoln
Shrewsbury
Peterborough
Norwich
Kenilworth
Ely
ENGLAND
Northampton
Evesham
Gloucester
Oxford
Bristol
Wallingford
London
Salisbury
Runnymede
Canterbury
Dover
Hastings
Exeter
Bruges
FLANDERS
THE EMPIRE
Boulogne
Agincourt
Crecy
Abbeville
Cherbourg
Harfleur
Rouen
Bayeux
NORMANDY
Rheims
Paris
Brest
BRITTANY
Bretigny
Troyes
ANJOU
Orleans
BURGUNDY
FRANCE
Nantes
R. Loire
Chinon
Poitiers
Limoges
GUIENNE
Bordeaux
R. Dordogne
GASCONY
Avignon
R. Rhone
Bayonne
SPAIN

into France, the English strongholds were forced one by one to surrender, till when the Truce of Bruges was signed in 1375 only Calais, Brest, and the narrow strip of land between the Gironde and the Pyrenees remained in the hands of Edward. Yet the French had not won back everything: only the labour of forty years could restore the wasted cornfields, bring back the slaughtered flocks, and rebuild the shattered and plundered towns, and in forty years a sterner invader than Edward was thundering at the gate.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE EDWARD III'S CLAIM TO THE FRENCH CROWN

KINGS OF FRANCE FROM 1270 TO 1380



CHAPTER XV

CHANGES IN TOWN AND COUNTRY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The Triumph of the English Language. Edward's foreign wars after all added only one or two towns to his oversea dominions, towns that have been lost centuries ago, but during his reign of fifty years changes took place in England the effects of which we feel to this day. For one thing, Norman-French ceased to be spoken, and English became the language of all classes. It forced its way into the schools, where hitherto a boy had to know Norman-French before he could understand the instructions of the master who taught him Latin, and in 1362 its use was made compulsory in the law-courts.

FIG. 77. A SCHOOL OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Town Life: the Craft Gilds. In the towns the merchant gilds disappeared, and their place was taken by the craft gilds, societies composed of all the men within the town who worked at the same trade or profession. The tailors of each town, for example, belonged to the craft or mystery of the tailors. The members elected their own officials, whose chief duty was to see that no tailor deprived the craft of its good name by selling badly made clothes. Each member had to contribute a fixed yearly sum to the common chest, for the craft undertook to grant loans free of interest to tailors who were in difficulties; it helped its members in sickness or old age, and even when they died it did not forget their spiritual needs. If you went to the parish church you would see a little

chapel maintained by the craft, where all the year round a priest sang Masses and said prayers for the souls of departed tailors. But to see the craft gild in its glory you had to visit the town on Corpus Christi Day, when the town pageant took place. Then you would see what is shown in Fig. 78, a dozen members of the craft, richly attired, mounted on a movable stage, where they acted

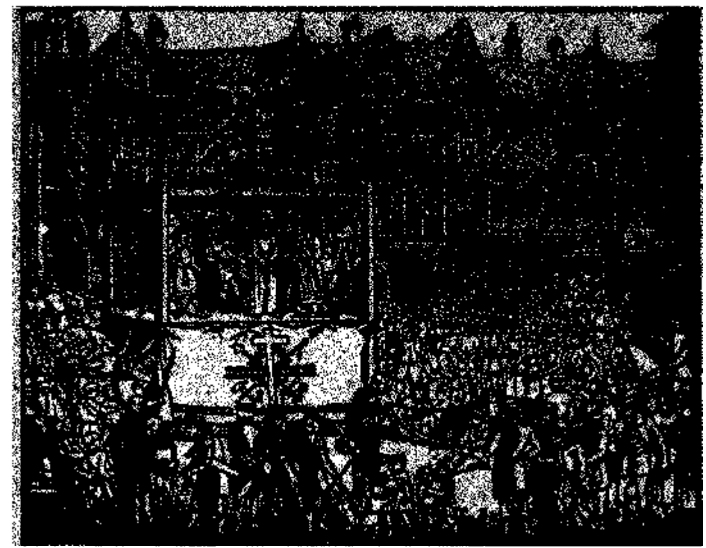


FIG. 78. A MIRACLE PLAY

Here we see the wheeled stag? with a company of players, including millers and rope-makers, acting the trial of Christ by Pilate. The craft of tailors usually appeared later with a representation of the Ascension.

some scene from the Bible story to an admiring crowd. When the little play was finished the stage was wheeled into the next street, which the scriveners or clerks had just vacated, while another stage manned by the mystery of potters rolled up to take its place.

Though the craft gilds often included both masters and workmen, the heavy membership fees and the cost of the gorgeous uniforms that the brethren were expected to wear made it more and more difficult for the ordinary workman to become a gild brother, and in the end he often found himself shut out altogether.

This was unfortunate for him, as the gild decided both how long he should work and how much he should be paid. Nor could every workman now count on becoming a master himself, if only he had ordinary luck; he must expect to be nothing more than a hired servant to the end of his days, especially if he lived in one of the larger towns.

Though in London and one or two other places some of these

FIG. 79

The ordinary dress of doctors, lawyers, and merchants early in the century. Notice that a hood is worn instead of a cap.

FIG. 80. BRASS OF A WOOL MERCHANT IN NORTHLEACH CHURCH

gilds still survive, they are regarded more as interesting relics than as bodies that perform a necessary work. On the other hand, the changes which affected the rural districts in the fourteenth century have had much more lasting results.

Partial Disappearance of Villeinage. Down to the middle of the fourteenth century the ordinary English village remained much as it had been in the days of William the Conqueror. Important changes indeed had taken place: with the increase of the village population the landless man without a holding made his appearance, and on many estates the villagers were freed from their obligation to work on their lord's demesne; instead of doing service they paid a rent in money. This latter change benefited both

parties: the villein could now give all his attention to his thirty acres, while the lord of the manor could dispense with unwilling or unskilful service and pay wages to capable labourers. Thus the villein came to look on himself as a freeman, and chafed at any reminder that his lord still looked on him as a villein, and thus we find free labourers, men who depended mainly on wages for

FIG. 81. HALL OF A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY MANOR-HOUSE

Notice the brazier for the fire in the centre of the floor. At the end are shown the screens, with doors in them giving access to the kitchen and the main entrance. In the gallery over the screens sat the minstrels.

a livelihood, appearing in the English rural districts for the first time.

The Black Death: Scarcity of Labourers. In the middle of the fourteenth century, however, the whole machinery of English rural life was thrown out of gear by a great calamity. In 1348 a terrible pestilence, the Black Death, appeared in the country and ravaged it from end to end. For two years it raged, and when it had exhausted its fury the survivors looked out on a changed England. It was estimated that at least a third of the population had perished; in every part of the country depopulated towns, half-empty monasteries, and untilled and deserted fields were to be seen. While the terror was at its height people had not thought of seed-time or

harvest: now they found that this neglect had caused a great scarcity of provisions, and that prices had shot up to an alarming height. The landowner who had worked his demesne with the forced labour of his own villeins found that half of them had died; he might increase his demesne by adding to it the holdings of those tenants who had left no heirs, but that only increased his difficulties. Land was profitless if there was no one to till or sow it, and sooner or later he had to supplement the labour of his villeins by engaging hired workers. But this was none too easy: as the pestilence had almost halved the number of hired labourers, they were far more difficult to obtain than they had been before 1348. If the landowner tried to engage a labourer the labourer would say something like this: " My old master wants me more than ever he did, for half his workmen are dead: you say you must have me. Well, if that is true, pay me twice what my old master gives me and I will come." Immediately after the Black Death bargains like this were made all over England, with the result that the country labourers had the time of their lives, and many landowners found it almost impossible to meet the new wages bill out of their old revenues.

The Statute of Labourers. There seemed to be one easy way out of the difficulty: persuade Parliament to make a law forbidding any increase in wages. As the prelates, barons, and knights of the shire were all landowners, and as the borough representatives wanted to see wages cut down in town as well as in country, Parliament required little persuasion: in 1351 it passed the Statute of Labourers, which declared that no one, in either town or country, was to give or take more than the wages that had been usual before the Black Death. But the Statute did little beyond annoying the labourer; as the cost of food had risen so much that a workman who accepted the old wages would starve, he naturally chose to serve an employer who winked at the law and offered him a little more, and many employers found that it paid them to disregard the Statute.

Beginning of Tenant-farmers. Others again were not prepared to do this. Sometimes the landowner, despairing of ever getting sufficient workers, handed over a large slice of his demesne, stocked with cattle, farm implements, and seed, to one of his tenants, who agreed to work the land himself for a certain number of years, and

FIG. 82. FARMWORK IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY
Ploughing, Harrowing, Cutting weeds, Reaping.

to pay an annual rent to the real owner. This arrangement worked very well, and became popular; at the present day most of the ploughland and pasture-land in this country is worked by farmers who are not owners of their farms, but tenants, paying a rent to the real owner. The chief difference is that the twentieth-century tenant-farmer has to provide not only labour, like his fourteenth-century predecessor, but cattle, seed, and implements.

Conversion of Corn-land to Pasture. Other landowners tried a plan that was not so popular, at least with their tenants. They knew that wool fetched a bigger price than ever, now that English weavers were trying to rival the products of the looms of Flanders; they knew, too, that an estate which required the services of a few dozen men while it was under cultivation could be managed by one or two shepherds if it were used only for pasture, so they turned their cornfields into sheep-runs. The peasants on the estates where this change was made did not like the innovation: the hired labourer found that the landowner no longer needed his services, and the villein who stuck by his fifteen or thirty acres found his lord ready to make use of any pretext for adding them to his demesne.

Revival of Villeinage. Still less popular was the action of those landowners who attempted to put back the hands of the clock by making tenants who had paid a money rent for years resume the old method of paying rent in service. The villeins knew that they must render the services required of them, but they made up their minds to work as slowly and carelessly as they could.

The Peasants' Revolt. So in the latter half of the fourteenth century landowner and peasant, master craftsman and workman were at strife, and it seemed impossible to find a plan for setding the difficulties that would please all parties. Hired workmen in town and country alike wanted more wages: the villeins did not want to be something between a villein and a freeman; they wanted a guarantee that once they had paid their annual rent their lords could make no other demands on them. In 1381 the trouble came to a head; revolts broke out all over the country; a peasant army led by Wat Tyler plundered London, and forced the young King, Richard II, to grant its demands. But the peasants gained nothing by their revolt: the King's promise was only a device to get

them out of the way till his supporters had rallied; as soon as he had an armed force behind him he stamped out the rebellion with ruthless severity. Villeinage could not be abolished by force in a day: though it almost disappeared from England in the fifty years after the Peasants' Revolt, it lingered on in some parts of the country as late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LANCASTRIAN KINGS: RENEWAL OF THE WAR WITH FRANCE

1327-1422

Kings of England

EDWARD III, *1327-77* | HENRY IV, 1399-1413
RICHARD II, 1377-99 | HENRY V, 1413-22

Parliament in the Fourteenth Century. **You have been told in Chapter XI how the English Parliament came into existence, but you have still to be told how in the fourteenth century its power steadily increased, till at the end of the century it deposed one king and set another in his place. As early as 1297 Edward I was forced to promise that he would levy no new taxes without the consent of his Parliament. This was a very important change. It is true that if the king could make his ordinary revenue suffice he did not need to bother about Parliament, but there were few sovereigns—especially rulers like Edward III, with a weakness for expensive wars—who did not require an additional supply of money at some time or other. At such a time the king explained to Parliament why he wanted more money, and asked it to grant him a certain sum. If Parliament did not believe the king's explanation, or if it disapproved of the purpose for which the money was asked, it refused to give anything. Thus in the fourteenth century, while Parliament could not get along without the king—he could summon and dismiss it whenever he pleased and could refuse his assent to new laws which it proposed—the king could not get along without Parliament. Just because Parliament could cripple his schemes if it liked, the king had to be careful to keep on good terms with it.**

Another important change took place early in the fourteenth century: Parliament was divided into a House of Lords and a House of Commons. To the House of Lords, which met in Westminster Hall, came the great barons, the bishops, and those abbots who held land of the king; to the House of Commons,

which usually met in the chapter-house or refectory of Westminster Abbey, came the knights of the shire and the representatives of the towns. This curious alliance of country gentleman and city merchant made the House of Commons far more powerful than it would otherwise have been; without the knights of the shire the burgesses would always have been easily browbeaten by the King or by the House of Lords. Browbeaten they often were * in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Parliament followed the

FIG. 83. WHERE PARLIAMENT **MET**

After the end of the thirteenth century the Parliament usually assembled in or near the old Palace of Westminster, of which only Westminster Hall now rem tins. Till 1547 the Commons met in the chapterhouse or the refectory of Westminster Abbey : after that date they met in St Stephen's Chape! (the large building on the left). Early meetings of the Great Council were held in Westminster Hall : later on the Lords met in another room of the palace. St Stephen's Chapel was burned down in 1834, and the building of the present Houses of Parliament was begun six years later.

lead of the great barons, or of whatever faction of them happened to be in the ascendant at the time, and often what appeared to be a struggle between the King and Parliament was really a struggle between the King and a group of over-ambitious nobles.

Richard IPs Attempt to be an Absolute King. Throughout Edward III's reign of fifty years the friendly partnership between, King and Parliament continued. As his grandson, Richard II, was only a child of ten when he ascended the throne, it seemed as if the power of Parliament was destined to grow even greater. But Richard grew up to be an ambitious and headstrong king, who refused to believe that any limit whatsoever could be placed on his authority. He could be subject to no law, he declared, for the laws of England were uttered by his mouth alone, or kept

hidden in his breast till he chose to reveal them. If he chose without a trial to put a man to death or seize his property no one could complain; he was a king, and entitled to act as he did. But Richard was not the sort of man who could make such wild dreams come true; he was unstable, easily elated and easily depressed, rash when caution was needed, timorous and hesitating when his only hope lay in vigorous action. Still, he came very near to success: in 1397 he struck down the most formidable of his enemies, forced Parliament to commit suicide by handing over its

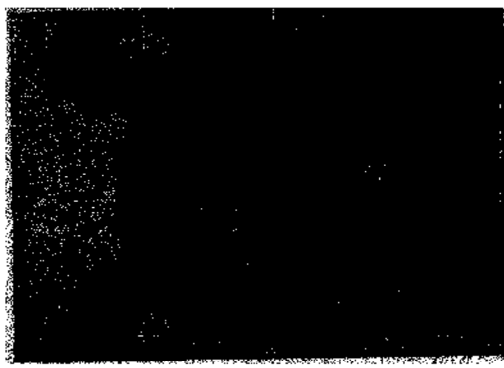


FIG. 84. RICHARD II

duties to a small committee of his own friends, and kept himself supplied with money by levying fines and taxes whenever he pleased. But in the following year he made a grave blunder. His cousin and faithful subject, Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, accused the Duke of Norfolk of plotting against the King. Richard, instead of trying to find out the truth of the story, banished both accuser and accused. No man had done more than Hereford to break the King's enemies, but Richard thought that so powerful a subject was better out of the country. Then in the early summer of 1399, while every one wondered who would be the next victim of the King's capricious temper, Richard went off to Ireland.

The Fall of Richard II. It was a stupid move, for he left a half-rebellious kingdom behind him. A few weeks later he was told that Henry of Lancaster had landed on the Yorkshire coast, and was hailed everywhere as a deliverer. Richard hurried across to

Milford Haven with part of his army, but while the fate of his kingdom was still uncertain he lost his nerve, gave his troops the slip, and surrendered to Hereford, who led him, dressed in mean attire, through the streets of London and lodged him in the Tower. There, in the presence of the man whom he had driven into exile a year before, Richard gave up his crown. On the morrow Parliament accepted Richard's resignation, and declared that Henry of Lancaster was the lawful King of England.

Now though Henry of Lancaster was, like Richard, a grandson of Edward III, and though Richard had no children, Henry would not have been regarded in ordinary times as the heir to the throne. King Richard's father was Edward, the Black Prince, King Edward's eldest son, while Henry's father was John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, King Edward's third son. But Parliament, when it declared Henry to be king, paid no heed to the superior claims of the young Earl of March, the great-grandson of Edward III's second son. Henry became king, not because he was the nearest relative of the deposed sovereign, but because Parliament thought that he was the best man for the job, or, to be accurate, because the barons who dominated Parliament thought that they would be more comfortable under him than under King Richard. He was made king by Parliament; he knew that what Parliament had made it might also unmake, and so he was even more careful than Edward III had been not to go contrary to the will of Parliament in any matter of importance.

The troubled Reign of Henry IV. The crown which fortune placed on the brow of Henry of Lancaster seemed like a fairy gift, beautiful as long as it was only looked at, ugly and heavy as lead whenever it was worn. Henry had few quiet days in the fourteen years of his reign. He could not feel safe as long as Richard was alive, and in 1400 Richard disappeared, done to death in some mysterious fashion at the King's command. Rebellions and invasions distracted him; in 1400 the Welsh rose in revolt under Owen Glendower, and defied all Henry's attempts to reduce them to obedience. In 1402 a Scottish army harried England as far south as the Wear, but as it was returning to Scotland laden with plunder it was completely defeated at Homildon Hill. Even this triumph profited the King little; in the very next year the Earl of Northumberland and his son Henry Percy, the victors

of Homildon Hill, entered into an alliance with Owen Glendower. While Northumberland remained in the North to gather his forces, Henry Percy hurried south with a small army to join Glendower at Shrewsbury. But the King came upon him at Shrewsbury. before Glendower's Welshmen had come up, and in the battle which followed the rebels were defeated and Henry Percy was slain. Even then the King's troubles were not over; Northumberland escaped to lead two other rebellions within the next five years. Not till 1409 did the last stronghold of Owen Glendower fall into the hands of the royal forces, and when at last his realm was at peace Henry found his body tortured with leprosy, and his mind racked with suspicions of his eldest son. Prince Henry had already shown himself to be a brave and skilful leader, but along with his soldierly virtues grave faults were evident. He seemed in his hours of ease to be entirely devoted to pleasure, and he grudged his father the possession of that crown for which he had given health and honour and peace of mind.

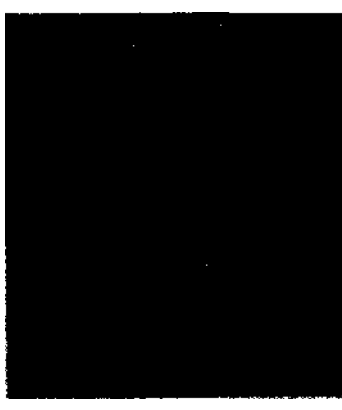


FIG. 85. HENRY V
From the effigy in Westminster Abbey.

Henry V. When Henry IV died in 1413 it was soon evident that a more vigorous hand grasped the sceptre. One side of the new King's nature disappeared; he was no longer the reckless pleasure-seeker, but the patient, wary, and courteous statesman. The possession of royal power, which had seemed to drive Richard II frantic, sobered Henry V, but it did not expel his worst faults, a certain hardness and lack of sympathy, an inability to understand any point of view except his own. This defect, as we shall see, led him on to an apparent triumph which turned out to be the blackest disaster.

Henry read the moral of his father's reign aright. The barons had looked on Henry IV as one of themselves, and they watched jealously any attempt that he made to become more than a nominal

King. Why should not this jealousy of the Crown be diverted to another object? Why should not the different factions in the country be united in hostility to a foreign foe?

FIG. 86. ENGLISH ARCHER

For almost forty years there had been no serious fighting between England and France. But France was not at peace with itself; its king, Charles VI, had gone mad, and the country was torn asunder by the strife of two great princes, the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Orléans. Henry saw its weakened condition and resolved to strike; he revived the old claim to the French crown, refused the generous offers of territory which the French made in the hope of buying him off, and in the autumn of 1415 invaded Normandy at the head of twelve thousand men. As usual his army was composed mainly of archers (see Fig. 86), with a strong body of spearmen arrayed in plate armour (see Fig. 87), but it also included engineers and artillerymen. The day of the lofty stone-walled fortress was almost over; the wide-mouthed, clumsy cannon, made of metal rods bound together by steel hoops, often burst and did as much damage to friend as to foe, but no general who besieged a fortress could afford to do without them.

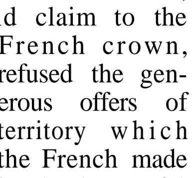


FIG. 87. ENGLISH KNIGHT, TIME OF HENRY V

Notice that the knight is clothed entirely in plate armour. Mail has gone out of use.

The Battle of Agincourt, 1415. Henry's first enterprise was the siege of Harfleur, a walled town at the mouth of the river Seine, but in spite of his great guns three weeks passed before the town surrendered. By this time winter was not far off,

disease had broken out in his army, and Henry recognized that an advance into the heart of France was impossible. Some of his generals wanted him to go back to England at once; though his army had shrunk to little more than half its original size, Henry resolved to make for the town of Calais, which for almost two hundred years had been an English stronghold. Northward he led his wearied soldiers, drenched with continual rains, till at Agincourt he found his way barred by a French army more than three times the size of his own (see plan of battle, Fig. 88). He knew that he must fight, but he had little fear of the result. In front of him a great sodden cornfield, bounded to the right and left by woods, stretched northward to the French camp. Across the southern end of this cornfield he strung out his men in a thin line from wood to wood. As you will see from the plan, he divided his men-at-arms into three divisions; on the flanks of these he placed archers, so that each division was shaped something like a crescent moon, with the archers at the tips. As a protection against cavalry he ordered a fourfold row of pointed stakes to be stuck in the ground in front of his army. He was running a fearful risk; his line was only four deep, and he had no reserves: once let the enemy break through and his army would be destroyed.

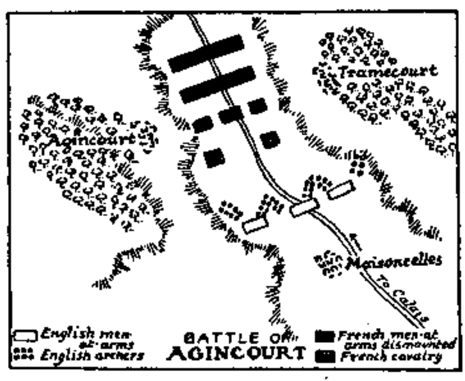


FIG. 88

The French, however, found that to come to close quarters with the English was a much harder task than they had expected. Penned up as they were between two woods in the drowned cornland, they could not bring their whole force into action at once, but were compelled to advance against their enemies in three crowded divisions. Each was composed of knights and men-at-arms completely covered with ponderous plate armour, but while

the two foremost advanced on foot, the rear division was mounted. Two small bodies of cavalry were sent in front, only to be met by a pitiless hail of arrows, which slew or maddened the horses, so that few of their riders even crossed spears with their opponents. The English arrows, however, rattled harmlessly against the heavy armour of the advancing infantry; slowly the foremost French division rolled across the sodden plain, right up to the rows of stakes, and forced the English back for a few yards. The slender

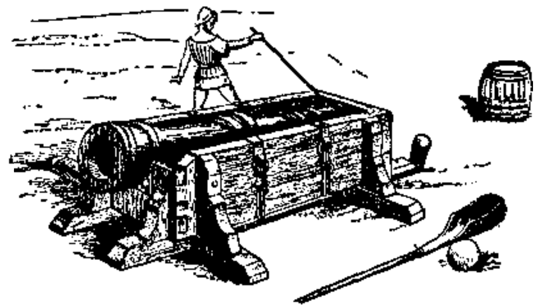


FIG. 89. BOMBARD OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

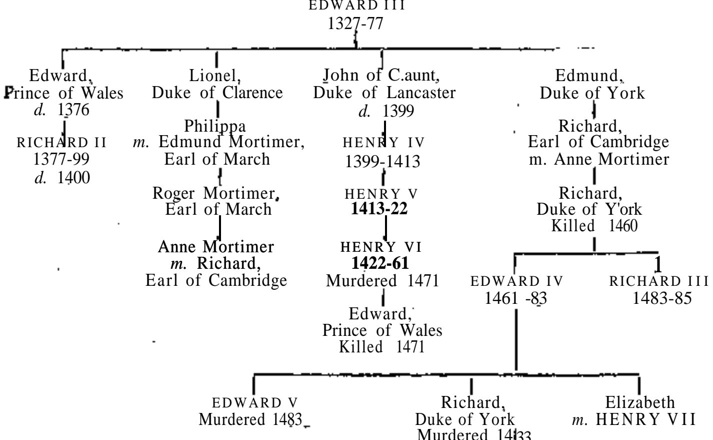
line bent, but it did not break. The French, weighed down by their armour and exhausted by their march over the muddy ground, could hardly lift their arms to strike when the English archers threw aside their bows and battered in their armour of plate with mace and battle-axe. In such a fight success went to the nimbler antagonist; if an armoured knight fell, even though he were unwounded, he could not get up again without help. After a grim struggle the leading division was smashed and driven back; heaps of bodies as high as a man's shoulders lay in front of the English line. The second division moved slowly forward till it crashed against the English front, but it met with no better fortune, while the third division, which itself outnumbered the whole English army, never came into action at all, but fled in panic from the field.

The Treaty of Troyes, 1420. It was a glorious victory, but it came too late in the year for Henry to follow it up; when he reached Calais he could only ship his wearied army over to England. But their defeat at Agincourt made the French feel that it

was hopeless to stand up against English troops, and when Henry returned in 1417 at the head of a greater army fortress after fortress fell before him, till the whole of Normandy was in his hands. Then in this dark hour, when the only hope for France lay in every Frenchman laying aside his private quarrels and working and fighting only for his country, the Dauphin Charles, the heir to the French throne, lured the Duke of Burgundy into his presence and had him assassinated. The deed was as foolish as it was wicked, for the Duke of Burgundy was the mightiest subject of the King of France. His son, the young Duke Philip, moved by nothing except the hunger for revenge, went over to the side of Henry: between them they forced the mad and helpless King to sign the Treaty of Troyes. This treaty gave Henry the substance of what he had striven for; he was to unite the royal families of France and England by marrying the Princess Catherine, the daughter of the French King; he was to be given the title of Heir of France, and on the death of Charles VI he was to succeed to the whole of his possessions. It seemed absolutely certain that in a very few years England and France would be united under one sovereign.

YORK AND LANCASTER

(Kings of England in small capitals)



CHAPTER XVII

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

1422-85

Kings of England

HENRY VI, 1422-61	EDWARD V, 1483
EDWARD IV, 1461-83	RICHARD III, 1483-85

The Death of Henry V. The prize for which Henry V had given so much was snatched away even as his hands were closing upon it. In the autumn of 1422 died the old. mad King of France, but Henry did not succeed him, for at the hour of Charles's death a solemn black-robed procession was moving slowly from Dover to Westminster, bearing in its midst the body of the conqueror. Henry had died two months before, worn out by the labours and anxieties of seven years' almost continuous warfare. He left his work half done, for Central and Southern France were still unsubdued. His infant son Henry VI was proclaimed King of France and England, and under the able leadership of the Duke of Bedford, the dead King's brother, the English pushed south toward the Loire and besieged the great fortress of Orléans.

Jeanne d'Arc. But the English dominion in France rested on rotten foundations. The French people had lost faith in themselves and in their leaders: they were always beaten; their leaders thought too little of France and too much of their own miserable feuds; they did not like a foreign prince as a ruler, but they could not say that any native prince was good enough to be worth much shedding of blood. If only they could regain that lost faith they would sweep the few thousand English troops out of France.

This faith came back to them in a strange fashion. In 1429, when the English were threatening Orléans, a peasant girl from the village of Domrémy, on the eastern frontier of France, appeared at the court of the Dauphin Charles. Her name was Jeanne d'Arc, and she had a strange story to tell. She said that she had seen

visions of angels, and had heard mysterious voices commanding her to go into the once fair land of France, drive out the invader, and have the Dauphin crowned in the cathedral of Rheims. Even the shifty, treacherous Dauphin and his cynical courtiers were won over by the Maid's faith in her mission. She was placed at the head of an army destined for the relief of Orléans. As she rode before her troops, arrayed in white armour, mounted on a white horse, the disheartened soldiers gained confidence and courage from her glance. She succeeded in getting into Orléans, which the English had surrounded with a ring of forts. No sooner had she appeared in the town than the weary garrison clamoured to be led against the foe. She led attack after attack against the encircling forts till the English general was forced to abandon the siege and retreat northward with his shattered army. The tables were turned now: the English went into battle certain that they were to be beaten; the French fought confident of success. But Jeanne could not rest content till she had persuaded the Dauphin to march right across France from Touraine to Rheims, through country occupied by the English troops. Her judgment was not rat fault; castle after castle, town after town fell to the triumphant French army, and soon Jeanne stood beside the Dauphin in the great cathedral and saw her unworthy master crowned as Charles VII of France.

Jeanne felt that her work was done; the strange voices, she said, had ceased to counsel her. Charles no longer listened to her advice, but he kept her with the army, till in 1430 she fell into the hands of the Burgundians as she was leading a sally from the beleaguered town of Compiègne. The Burgundians sold her to the English for ten thousand francs: the Duke of Bedford, to his eternal shame, ordered her to be tried on a charge of sorcery, and in 1431 she was burned as a witch in the market-place at Rouen.

End of the Hundred Years War. But the fire which she had kindled in the hearts of her countrymen did not die out. In 1435 two events took place which made the final triumph of France almost certain; the Duke of Bedford died, and Duke Philip of Burgundy joined forces with the French King. A few thousand English troops, with no very skilful general to lead them, could not hold out indefinitely in a country where no one was their friend. The wonder is that they held out as long as they did: though Paris

was captured in 1436, the English were not driven completely out of Northern France till 1450. A more humiliating defeat was to follow; in 1453 the English army holding the south-western corner of France was cut to pieces at Castillon, and so Guienne, which had been an English dependency since the twelfth century, passed into the hands of the French King. With this disaster the Hundred Years War came to an end: the last fragment of Henry II's French possessions had disappeared; of all the conquests of Edward III and Henry V only Calais remained. In 1453 England seemed no better off than it had been in 1415.

FIG. 90. ROBERT SKERNE AND HIS WIFE
From a brass of 1437, showing the costume of the period.

Evil Plight of England after the Hundred Years War. As a matter of fact it was a great deal worse off. Forty years of warfare had made men of all ranks callous and unscrupulous. The soldier whose only trade was war found his occupation gone in France; he came back to England hoping that he would have a chance to resume it on his native soil. The opportunity soon came. When a baron quarrelled with his neighbour he could easily engage a few score of these down-st-heel soldiers as his servants, clothe them in his liveries, and lead them against his rival. Nor was the fighting done only by his vassals and hired soldiers; neighbouring knights who were not his vassals, even barons less powerful than himself, often found it convenient to fight in his quarrel, and array their own dependents in his liveries. All over the country these little local wars were going on without interference from the King. Poor Henry kept nothing of what he had inherited from his French grandfather, except his disordered wits. He was a timorous, well-meaning soul, mortally afraid of giving

offence, ready to promise the same office to two applicants rather than have one of them go away disappointed. His ministers had lost France for him and caused widespread discontent in England, but he did not dare dismiss them and ask help of wiser men. And though Parliament had grown more powerful than the King, it had become the battle-ground of warring factions; divided against itself, it could not establish order and good government.

FIG. 91. HENRY VI
National Portrait Gallery.

Just as the whole country seemed to be slipping into confusion and civil war, the King went mad altogether. If he had remained mad it would have been well for England, for the Projector who was chosen in his place, Richard, Duke of York, made a far better ruler than the King had done. He drove the King's stupid and selfish counsellors from office, and put down disorder with a firm hand. Then, in an unlucky hour, the King recovered, and the Protector's work was undone. But York had no mind to relinquish his authority; in the summer of 1455 he raised an army, defeated the royal forces in the streets of St Albans, captured the King, and again became the real ruler of England.

The Wars of the Roses. Thus began the Wars of the Roses, so called because the supporters of the Duke of York chose a white rose as their badge, while the Lancastrians, or supporters of King Henry, took a red rose as their device. But the most formidable figure on the Lancastrian side was not the feeble Henry, but his proud, ruthless Queen, Margaret of Anjou; while on the other side Richard, Earl of Warwick, the greatest landowner in England, who could muster thousands of vassals and dependents under his banner, was to be feared at least as much as Richard of York.

Richard of York claims the Crown. Four years later civil war broke out again: the Yorkist army was scattered; Warwick fled to Calais, and Richard of York had to seek refuge in Ireland. But in 1460 the exiles returned, each with an army at his back. Warwick

marched against the main Lancastrian army, came upon it strongly entrenched near Northampton, stormed its position on a day of pouring rain, and captured the King. For the third time York was Protector of England, but this time he refused to be content with the royal authority; he wanted the name of king as well.

Nor was there any bar to this claim except the decision of Parliament in 1399. It was said in the previous chapter that when Parliament gave the crown to Henry IV it disregarded the superior claims of the Earl of March, who was the great-grandson of Edward III's second son. The Earl of March died in 1424 without leaving any children, but his sister had married the Earl of Cambridge, son of Edward III's fifth son, and Richard of York was their son. Thus on his mother's side Richard was descended from the second son of Edward III, while Henry VI was descended from the third son. But even his own followers were none too eager to let him have the new title, and he thought it best to allow his captive to keep the name of king on condition that he disinherited his son in Richard's favour.

Edward IV. Richard thus became heir to the throne, but he never wore the crown of England. Toward the end of the year Queen Margaret gathered an army in the North: Richard marched against it, but was defeated and slain near Wakefield. The victors struck the head from his dead body, ornamented it with a crown of gilt paper, and placed it over one of the gates of York. The Queen followed up her success by marching south at the beginning of 1461, defeating Warwick at St Albans, and threatening London. But Warwick's beaten troops were reinforced by the army of Edward, Earl of March, Richard's eldest son, fresh from a victory over the Lancastrians of the West, and together they slipped into London while the Lancastrian leaders were debating whether they should occupy the city. A few days later the young Earl of March was crowned as King Edward IV. The Lancastrian army retreated northward: Edward and Warwick followed it up, came upon it at Towton, near York, on a day of blinding snow, and completely scattered it. Henry and his Queen had to take refuge for the time in Scotland. Five years later Henry was captured and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

For almost ten years the distracted country had peace, and then Edward fell out with the man who had made him king. Warwick

thought that the King sliould be guided by him in everything: Edward after a time grew impatient of Warwick's control, and went his own way. In 1470 Warwick was banished. In his exile he met his old enemy, Queen Margaret, became reconciled to her, and arranged to invade England on her behalf. The invasion was successful: Edward was taken by surprise and had to flee to France. But Warwick's triumph did not last long; in 1471 Edward returned and defeated Warwick at Barnet, a few miles north of London. Warwick was slain, but Edward could not count himself secure, for Margaret had followed him to England and raised an army in the North. Edward hurried after it, caught it at Tewkesbury, and destroyed it completely. Though Queen Margaret escaped from the slaughter, she had nothing left to fight for: her only son had been slain in the battle. Soon afterward King Henry perished. He had died of grief, King Edward's friends said, but every one knew that he had met the fate of Richard II.

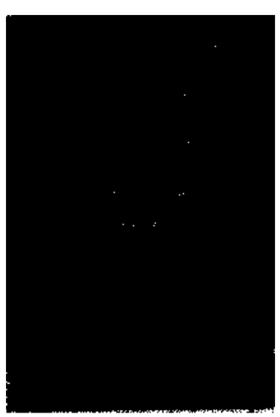


FIG. 92. EDWARD IV
By permission of the Duke of Northumberland.

Effects of the War. With the clever, affable, unscrupulous Edward IV seated firmly on the throne, people breathed freely again. He had his faults, they knew, but they were ready to pardon almost anything to the man who had brought that long nightmare of civil war to an end. For there was nothing noble, nothing romantic about the later stages of the Wars of the Roses. The ordinary chivalrous usages of warfare were forgotten; after every battle the victors butchered their prisoners. Nor was any great cause at stake. The war had from the very first been simply a struggle between two sets of great barons, backed up by their retainers and hired soldiers: neither party cared anything for the welfare of the country, each was anxious only that it should prevail whatever the cost. The townspeople, the peasants and farmers, looked on the struggle as no affair of theirs, and tried to keep out of it: every town that was summoned to surrender opened its gates

at once. But they could not escape the evil effects of the war; the soldiers on both sides took money and food where they could get them, and a farmer who had been plundered once by the Lancastrians would find that his misfortune did not prevent him from being plundered a second time by the Yorkists.

FIG. 93. ARMOUR OF KNIGHT, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The armour is even heavier than that shown in Fig. 87. The reason for the increase in weight is seen in Fig. 94. The armourers were now attempting to make suits of plate strong enough to turn a bullet from a gun.

But though the civil war left England a poorer country, its results were not altogether evil. Most of the great barons had fallen in the struggle. Only a handful of peers was left in the House of Lords, and most of these, like the King's counsellors, were men who had been raised to their high station by the King, and would be slow to incur his displeasure. With no one to oppose him, the King's power was enormous: in fact, Edward IV had succeeded in becoming what Richard II had tried in vain to be, an absolute monarch. But he was a much more astute person than the unfortunate Richard; he made no boast of his achievement, but satisfied himself with maintaining order, amassing money so that he could be independent of Parliament, and making himself popular by showing equal courtesy to high and low.

FIG. 94. HANDGUNMAN, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

His gun is fired by a smouldering fuse or match, and is exceptionally light for the time, so light that he can fire it without placing it in a rest.

*Richard **III.*** On his death in 1483 it seemed as if England were to slide back into civil war. His son Edward succeeded him, but as the new King was only twelve years old, the late King's brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was made Protector. Gloucester's ambition, however, went farther: he caused the young King and his brother to be murdered in the Tower of London, and had himself crowned as Richard III. This was

more than people could tolerate: in 1485 a widespread plot against Richard was formed. Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who had been an exile in France ever since the battle of Tewkesbury, was invited to become king. He landed in Wales, marched eastward with an army that grew greater every day, and came upon Richard at Bosworth, near Leicester. The usurper's men broke and fled, leaving their leader to be slain. His battered crown was found in a hawthorn-bush and placed on the head of Richmond, whose soldiers hailed him as Henry VII of England,

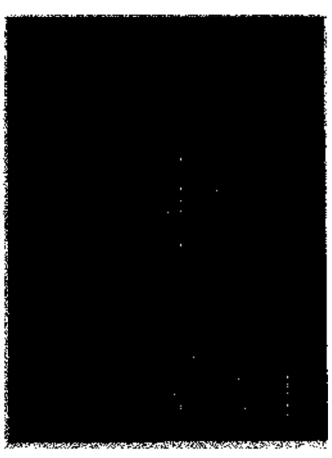


FIG. 95. RICHARD III

CHAPTER XVIII

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION

1485-1347

HENRY VII, 1485-1509
HENRY VIII, 1509-47

Henry VII and the New Monarchy. Henry VII, though but a distant relative of Henry VI, was regarded as the senior representative of the House of Lancaster. His father, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, had married Margaret Beaufort, the granddaughter of John Beaufort, who was the son of John of Gaunt and the half-brother of Henry IV. But as he had no mind to see the strife of Yorkist and Lancastrian revived, he strengthened his claim to the throne by marrying the Lady Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV and the senior representative of the House of York. Henry was a cautious, thrifty, far-sighted ruler, contemptuous of all pomp and parade, but determined that no noble or group of nobles should be able to defy him. In 1487 he created the Court of the Star Chamber, composed of his Chancellor and a few of the other great officials, to deal with crimes which the ordinary courts could not or would not punish. The baron who persisted in enrolling large bodies of armed retainers, or stirring up riot and disorder, found that he met with little mercy in the new court, where the judges knew that they would be dismissed if they gave a verdict displeasing to the King. He saw clearly that if he wanted to be an absolute monarch he must amass

FIG. 96. HENRY VII
From a portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

great hoards of money: money would enable him to hire soldiers if a rebellion broke out, and would free him from the necessity of summoning Parliament frequently, or of deferring to it when it did meet. In his later years his thrift became avarice; if a rich man tried to avoid the attentions of the tax collector by living frugally, he was told that since he was so saving he must have plenty of money to spare: if he spent money lavishly he fared no better, for he was told that when he had so much money to squander he should be able to make a substantial gift to the King.

Henry tried to keep clear of foreign wars, partly because they were expensive, partly because he knew that his country needed rest after the long conflict through which it had passed. He tried to insure against trouble from Scotland by marrying his elder daughter Margaret to King James IV, and to secure the friendship of Spain, now the most powerful country in Europe, by a marriage between his son Henry and Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella.

When Henry died in 1509 the new absolute monarchy had been securely established. People felt that the fewer limits there were on the king's power the better it was for them. They had suffered too much from weak kings; the king they wanted was a man clever enough to know what was best for his country, and strong enough to see that his ideas were carried out. So when the young, gifted, ambitious Henry VIII succeeded his father his subjects gave him a free hand, assured that a strong king, though he might ride roughshod over their feelings at times, could do them far less harm than a good-natured weakling.

The Discovery of America. This change was not confined to England; in France and Spain, the two most prosperous countries on the Continent, a strong monarchy came after a period of weak or divided rule. But at the end of the fifteenth century changes much more important than this were affecting almost every country in Western Europe. The boundaries of the known world suddenly expanded; in 1492 Columbus, a Genoese in the service of the King of Spain, discovered America, and six years later a Portuguese, Vasco da Gama, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached India. The discovery of America was fated to have important consequences for Britain, but for a time the only countries which profited by it were Spain and Portugal. In 1493 the Pope

divided the newly discovered lands between them, and in 1494 they ag;:eed that an imaginary line drawn three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores should separate their colonial possessions . Thus Spain established a claim to the whole of North America and to the whole of South America, except Brazil, and in a few years, enriched by the silver of Peru and Mexico, she became the wealthiest and most formidable state in Western Europe.

FIG. 97. CARAVEL IN WHICH COLUMBUS DISCOVERED AMERICA
The drawing is supposed to have been made by Columbus.

The Renaissance or Revival of Learning, The sailors and traders of Western Europe had taken to the ocean because they were shut off from their old markets in the East. In 1453 Constantinople, the greatest trading city in the Mediterranean, once the capital of a great empire, fell into the hands of the Turks. The inhabitants of Constantinople were Christians; they spoke Greek, and among them were many scholars who had treasured and studied those wonderful books that the poets and sages of Greece had written almost two thousand years before. When the forces of Mohammed closed round the doomed city some of these scholars fled westward, carrying their precious books with them. But these penniless exiles had to earn a livelihood, and the only way in which they could do it was by teaching the Greek language and explaining the meaning of these Greek books. For this and for other reasons many people, especially in Italy, became wildly interested in everything—books, buildings, statues, ses—that the old Greeks and the Romans had left behind the They soon discovered that the Greeks and Romans knew of which they were ignorant; and they resolved to wrest & secrets from them, imitate their work, and if possible excel them. When an architect built a gildhall now, he ornamented it with pillars like those in a Greek or Roman temple; if an artist painted a picture, the chances were

that he would take his subject from some Grecian story, and poets and writers of plays were only too ready to follow his example. If this rediscovery of the art and learning of Greece and Rome had led only to blind imitation its results would have been unfortunate, but it stirred up the minds of men to a new activity: they studied and planned and wrote, they became eager to know all that could be known about themselves, the world in which they lived, and the heaven above them.

FIG. 98. OLDEST KNOWN PICTURE OF A PRINTING-PRESS

The Invention of Printing. Hitherto knowledge had been the possession only of a few: in the last paragraph books have been mentioned, but these books were not printed; each one of them had been copied out slowly by hand. As a result they were exceedingly costly, beyond the reach of any but a wealthy man. Even the library of a college or monastery would have no more than a few score volumes in it, and these were considered to be so precious that they were often fastened to the benches by heavy chains. But a little after the middle of the fifteenth century printed books made their appearance on the Continent, and in 1475 William Caxton, an Englishman who had learned the art of printing in Flanders, set up his printing-press in the precincts of the Abbey of Westminster, and busied himself with the issue of poems, histories, and romances, as beautiful to look at and as clear to read as the old manuscripts, but costing only about a tenth of the price. Rich men, too, who a century or two before would have used their wealth to build monasteries, now used it to found schools and colleges. So in England at the beginning of the sixteenth century the love of learning burned more intensely, and in the

For it ful depe is sonken in my mynde
With pitous herte in englissh for tendyte
This olde storye in latyn that I fynde
Of quene anelida & fals arcyte

FIG. 99. FOUR LINES FROM CAXTON's EDITION OF CHAUCER'S POEMS

minds of a greater number of people, than it had ever done before.

The Reformation. At this time every Christian in Western Europe betonged to the Roman Catholic Church, and acknowledged the Pope as the highest judge in all matters of religion. Now for many centuries the clergy who governed the Roman Catholic Church had not encouraged the layman to read the Bible: in his ignorance, they argued, he was certain to misinterpret what he read: he must therefore be content to accept what the Church told him was the truth contained in the Bible without trying to find it out for himself. And even the most learned theologians among the clergy were handicapped: since they knew no Hebrew or Greek they were unable to study the actual words of the sacred writers; they had to use a translation made centuries after the death of Christ.

But the clergy could no longer claim or enforce a monopoly of learning. This thirst for knowledge led clerical and lay scholars alike to study the New Testament in Greek, the language in which it had first been written. It led some of them further: some of them began to compare their own interpretation of what they had read with the interpretation which hitherto they had been compelled to accept, and to ask if the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church really corresponded to the teachings of Christ and his Apostles. They declared, for example, that they could find nothing in the New Testament to make them accept the doctrine of transubstantiation—to believe that the bread and wine used in the Communion were changed by a miracle into the actual body and blood of Christ—and that the doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope was based on a misunderstanding of a passage in the Gospels.

Nor was this all. At the end of the fifteenth century people were dissatisfied with the Roman Catholic Church for other reasons: kings and princes were annoyed at the frequent interference of the Pope with the affairs of their kingdoms; thoughtful men everywhere wondered if it was right that priests and monks should so often be ignorant, lazy, and greedy, if it was right for a bishop to serve the king so diligently that he had no time to attend to his own diocese, and if it was right that the Pope, the special representative of God upon earth, the head of the Christian Church, should sometimes scheme and intrigue, and set on his mercenaries

to make war, as if he were no better than a secular Italian prince. In 1517 this discontent came to a head: Pope Leo X wanted money to complete the great Cathedral of St Peter in Rome, and had tried to get it by selling Indulgences, which the purchasers supposed would clear them from all the consequences of their sins, whether in this world or the next. This shameless action shocked many people, and when Martin Luther, a German monk, nailed a denunciation of these Indulgences to the church door at Wittenberg his defiance of the Pope gained supporters in every country in Europe. Thus began the movement known as the Reformation; soon in every country in Western Europe there were to be found numerous Reformers, or Protestants, who differed in their attitude to transubstantiation, but agreed in their repudiation of the authority of the Pope, in their opposition to any Roman Catholic doctrine or ceremony, however ancient it might be, for which they could find no warrant in the pages of the Bible, and in their use in church services of the language of the ordinary worshipper, whatever that might be, in place of Latin. The Reformation made its greatest conquests in Northern Europe; Spain and Italy, on the other hand, remained Catholic, and though Protestantism made great advances in France, though at the end of the sixteenth century a Protestant prince actually became king, the Protestants there never formed more than a very powerful minority.

FIG. 100. MARTIN LUTHER
Louis Cranach

These religious changes did not take place without much bitterness of feeling. In those days Catholics believed that it was right to force Protestants by the threat of death to become Catholics; nor were Protestants any more charitable; they believed that it was right to kill not only Catholics, but other Protestants whose opinions differed from their own. A Protestant prince tried to make all his subjects Protestant: a Catholic prince thought he was

justified in trying to stamp out Protestantism with fire and sword. So it is not strange that in France and Germany bitter civil wars between Catholic and Protestant broke out, and that the Pror ttestans of the Netherlands roseiipgyolt against their Spanish masters. What was more, a war against a nation of a different religion was looked on as a holy war, and the English sea-captain who sank a Spanish merchant-ship or plundered a Spanish town looked on himself as a sort of Crusader.

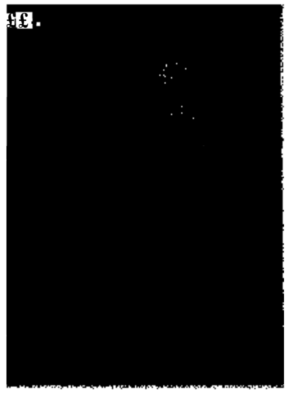


FIG. 101. JOHN WYCLIF

Wyclif and the Lollards. In England the Reformation hung fire for some time. It is true that as far back as the end of the fourteenth century John Wyclif had attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation, denied the supremacy of the Pope, and argued that the clergy would do their work better if they were stripped of most of their wealth. He trained bands of poor preachers and sent them about the country to explain his doctrines, and the first translation of the whole Bible into English was made under his supervision. Even after his death in 1383 his followers, who were called Lollards, or babblers, increased rapidly in numbers. But in 1401 Henry IV, eager to atone for the rather unusual way in which he had succeeded to the crown, persuaded Parliament to pass an Act which ordained that heretics—people like the Lollards who rejected the Roman Catholic doctrines — were to be burned to death. Henry V showed as much zeal for the suppression of heresy as his father, and at the end of his reign most of the bolder Lollards had been burned, and most of the timorous terrified into surrendering their beliefs.

Henry VIII and the Breach with Rome. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Lollardy had become only a memory in England, but many people were talking with approval of the new doctrines of Luther and finding fault with the Roman Catholic Church. So long as Henry VIII championed the old religion, however, it was improbable that any large body of his subjects

would become Protestants. For Henry, learned, quick-witted, determined, and ruthless beyond the custom of kings, was a ruler whom few of his subjects cared to cross, and in 1521 he had actually written a book attacking the Lutheran doctrines, and had obtained from the grateful Pope the title of 'Defender of the Faith.'

But half a dozen years later Henry fell in love with Anne Boleyn, a pretty young lady-in-waiting, and resolved that he would marry her even though his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, was still alive. To do this he had to obtain a dispensation from the Pope, declaring that his marriage with Catherine was no marriage at all. The negotiations for the divorce were entrusted by Henry to the greatest man in the realm, the man who up to this time had advised and guided and sometimes almost ruled the King, his Chancellor, Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal and Archbishop of York. Wolsey failed to obtain the divorce: Henry stripped him of his wealth and offices, and in 1530 he died, a disgraced and broken man. But Henry was as far from obtaining the divorce as ever: the Pope persisted in his refusal to declare that Henry's marriage with Catherine was an unlawful union. There was nothing for it but to defy the Pope: in 1533 Henry married Anne Boleyn.

FIG. 102. HENRY VIII
After Holbein.

Henry knew quite well how serious his action was: he had repudiated the authority of the Pope as unmistakably as Luther, though in a different way. But he had bullied the English clergy into admitting that he was entitled to alter the laws of the Church, and that his marriage with Queen Catherine was unlawful. In 1534 Parliament at his request passed a series of acts which deprived the Pope of all control over English ecclesiastical affairs,

while the Act of Supremacy ordained that the king was to be head of the Church of England.

Other changes followed; certain parts of the Church service had now to be said in English, though the greater part of it was still recited in a language unknown to the ordinary worshipper. In 1537 a translation of the Bible was published by royal authority, and orders were given that a copy should be placed in every parish church.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries. Almost as startling as Henry's breach with the Pope was his dissolution of the monasteries: in 1536 the monks were driven out of the smaller monasteries, and their, buildings and lands confiscated by the King; in 1539 the larger monasteries shared in the same ruin. Much of the confiscated property was given by the King to his advisers and officials; most of it he sold. Though there is no doubt that the monasteries were too wealthy, that some of the monks led lazy, useless lives, and that a few were desperately wicked, yet the disappearance of the monasteries caused a great deal of distress. The penniless wanderer was sure to find food and shelter in the guest-house of the monastery; and if sturdy beggars were often conspicuous in the crowd that clamoured for food at the monastery gates, the aged and the feeble, the widow and the orphan, were not sent away with empty hands. At a time when there were no old age pensions, no insurance against accident or unemployment, no workhouses even, the disappearance of the monasteries spelt disaster to many an unfortunate wretch.

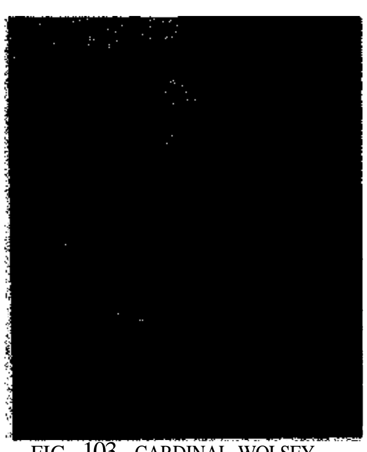


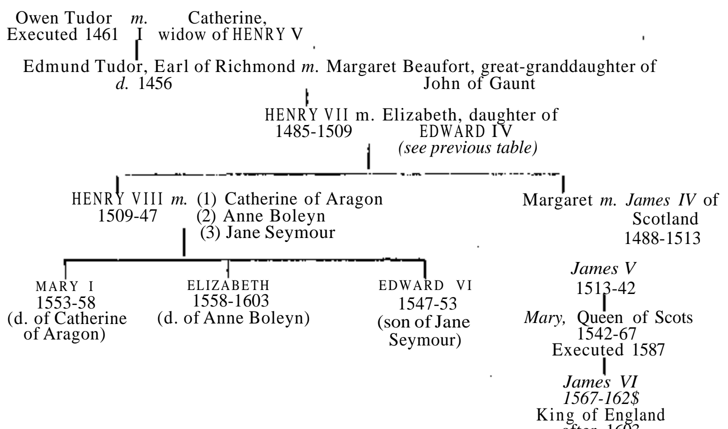
FIG. 103. CARDINAL WOLSEY
After Hoibdn.

When Henry had gone thus far on the road to Protestantism he halted. The enthusiastic Protestant who pressed on farther and attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation shared the fate of the

steadfast Catholic who denied the supremacy of the king: both perished on the scaffold.

THE TUDORS AND THE STEWARTS

(Sovereigns of England in small capitals; Scottish sovereigns in italics)



CHAPTER XIX

SECOND STAGE IN THE REFORMATION: THE FIGHT WITH SPAIN

1547-1603

Sovereigns of England

EDWARD VI, 1547-53 MARY, 1553-58
ELIZABETH, 1558-1603

The Children of Henry VIII. You will not be told here how Henry grew tired of Anne Boleyn just as he had grown tired of Catherine, how he caused her to be beheaded for treason, and how he married no fewer than four times after Anne's death. It is more important to remember that Henry left three children, Mary, the daughter of his first wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of the luckless Anne Boleyn, and Edward, the son of his third wife, Jane Seymour.

Edward VI: The Reformation Completed. When Henry died in 1547 he was succeeded by his youngest child, a boy nine years old. But as Edward VI was too young to rule the country himself, his work was done for him first of all by the Duke of Somerset, and then, after Somerset's office of Protector had been taken from him, by his rival, the Duke of Northumberland. It was soon evident that the Government was eager to go farther than Henry along the road to Protestantism; in 1549 the first Book of Common Prayer was issued. This was a book showing how the Various servicesof the Church were to be conducted, and giving the actual words that were to be used in each service. The services were now to be wholly in English, and the ordinary worshippers were to take a much greater part in them than they had hitherto done. Three years later a second Prayer Book was published, in which the doctrine of transubstantiation was definitely denied. The changes went farther than matters of belief and religious ceremonies. In every parish church were to be found chantries or little private chapels where chantry priests said

prayers and Masses for the souls of the dead. Many of these chantry priests were maintained by the gilds, for you will remember that the members of the gilds thought that one of their most important duties was to care for the souls of departed gild brethren, and many of them tried to earn a little more money by keeping schools. Similarly, when a rich man founded an almshouse, hospital, or school, he usually left his money on condition that prayers should be said for his soul in the chapel of the building which he had founded. So we see that this business of saying prayers for the dead was mixed up with education and other important things: some towns would have had no schools if there had been no chantry priests: if the founder of a school had not been sure that prayers for his soul would always be said in the school chapel he would have been tempted to spend his money on something else. In 1547 Parliament abolished all chantries, and confiscated from gilds, Schools, and hospitals property that had been used for the support of chantry priests or for other religious purposes. The Act had far-reaching effects: as the Government was in desperate straits for money it often did not stop to ask what were religious purposes and what were not; consequently the gilds lost a great part of their revenue and began to go to pieces, schools and hospitals were crippled, and many schools disappeared with the disappearance of the chantry priests.

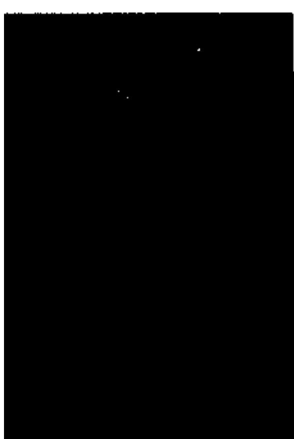


FIG. 104. EDWARD VI

After a portrait by a French painter.

Mary: The Catholic Reaction. Edward VI died in 1553; the attempt of Northumberland to maintain his position by putting his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne resulted in his own execution and that of the unfortunate ' nine-days Queen.' Every one rejoiced when his plot was frustrated and King Henry's elder daughter, Mary, was seated on the throne; but rejoicing soon changed to dismay and terror. In these days of change

Mary had never swerved from the Roman Catholic faith, nor did[1] she ever cease to believe that her duty as Queen was to bring England back to the Roman Catholic Church. She had no more difficulty in persuading Parliament to abolish Protestantism than Henry VIII had experienced in making it abolish Catholicism. But it was one thing to persuade pliant statesmen and timorous members of Parliament to turn their coats: it was quite another thing to force every Englishman to become a Catholic. Many had become Protestants, it is true, because the king told them to, but many because they were really convinced that the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church were false. The revival of the laws against heresy, which had been repealed at the beginning of the previous reign, could not break down the resolution of these more zealous Protestants. The great prelates set a shining example to their humble followers. When the aged Bishop Ridley was led to the stake he turned to his fellow-martyr, Bishop Latimer, and said: " Be of good comfort; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, as I trust shall never be put out." Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, seemed as if he were made of different stuff: with the prospect of death before him, he signed recantation after recantation, denying those doctrines which he had been so eager to spread. But when he was fastened to the stake his courage returned, he proclaimed his faith in the doctrines which he had lately forsaken, and stretched his right hand, the hand that had signed the recantations, to the flames, that it might be consumed first. These were only three out of three hundred men

FIG. 105. QUEEN MARY AT THE TIME OF HER MARRIAGE
From the painting by Antonio Moro in the Prado Museum.

and women who were burned to death between 1555 and 1558. These wholesale burnings made a great impression on the English people. It is true that Henry VIII had sent both Protestants and Catholics to the stake for their religious beliefs, but so seldom that the ordinary man had not troubled his head much about the King's actions: now, as execution followed execution faster and ever faster, each one seemed to hammer home the truth that the rule of Roman Catholicism meant persecution and terror. But so strong had the position of the sovereign become in the last half-century, so firmly convinced were men that disobedience to the monarch was a crime, that the ordinary Englishman did not think of rebellion; he heard Mass as the law ordained, attended secretly a service more after his own heart, and waited patiently for the dawning of a brighter day.

FIG. 106. THOMAS CRANMER
Fliccius

The Elizabethan Settlement. It came in 1558 with the accession of Queen Elizabeth. In 1559 Parliament undid the work of Queen Mary, passed the Act of Supremacy, which declared that the Queen was supreme governor of the Church of England, and the Act of Uniformity, which enforced the use of the Book of Common Prayer in every church, and fixed a scale of penalties for those who refused to attend. Elizabeth, like every other ruler in Europe, was determined to make all her subjects members of one great national church. She might expect to accomplish this, because the church which she had established was not a church of extremes: though many of the old Catholic ceremonies had been abolished, many had been retained; though bishops had disappeared from the reformed churches in Scotland and on the Continent, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, with their subordinates, exercised their old powers in England. Then she refused to make windows into any man's soul: so long as her subjects

went to church regularly she asked no questions about their private beliefs. She did succeed in winning over all but a few of the Puritans, those Protestants who believed that government by bishops and all ceremonies and practices inherited from the Roman Catholic Church should be abolished, but the extreme Puritans and the Roman Catholics alike refused to have anything to do with the new national church.

Hostility between England and Spain, The Reformation completely changed England's attitude both to Scotland and to the greater states on the Continent. In the first half of the sixteenth century the bickering with France had continued. Several English expeditions crossed the Channel, Boulogne was captured in 1544 and lost in 1549, but no serious attempt was made to subjugate the whole of France. It seemed, on the other hand, as if England might become united to Spain, for in 1554 the Spanish King, Philip II, married Queen Mary. But Parliament persisted in its refusal to allow Philip to be crowned as King of England, and when Mary died in 1558 without leaving any children all chance of a union disappeared. The close association with Spain, in fact, made the English like the Spaniards even less than they had done before. While Philip saw to it that Spaniards trading with England had all the privileges of English subjects, he refused to let English merchants trade with the Spanish colonies: while he lured the wretched Queen into war with France, he took no steps to save Calais when it was threatened or to win it back after it had been captured in 1558, and thus a fortress which had been held by the English for more than two centuries slipped back into the hands of France.

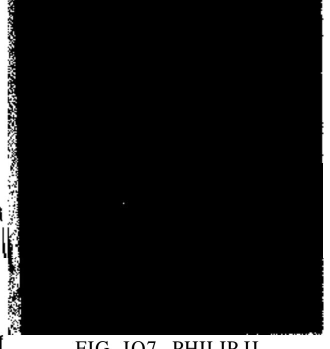


FIG. 107. PHILIP II
Juan Pantoja

Exploits of English Sailors. This was not the weightiest reason for the enduring hostility between England and Spain. England had been outstripped in the race of discovery by Spain and

Portugal. It is true that in 1497 the Venetian Cabot discovered Newfoundland and claimed it for Henry VII; but that fog-bound island revealed no such treasures as the Spaniards had found far to the south. So when the English interest in seafaring revived in the first half of the sixteenth century, when Henry VIII was

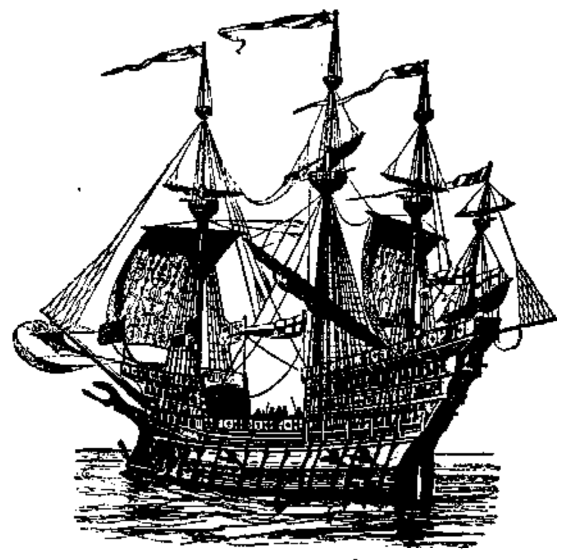


FIG. 108. THE "HENRI GRÂCE A DIEU"
Notice the lofty superstructures, which are a characteristic of the galleon type of ship.

urging on the building of larger and stronger ships like the *Henri Grâce à Dieu,* when there was abundance of vessels in English harbours stout enough to withstand the Atlantic surges and roomy enough to hold provisions for a voyage to America and back, the English sea-captains found that Spain stood in their way. The Pope, you remember, had granted to the King of Spain the whole of America except Brazil: on the strength of this grant the Spaniards claimed that no foreigner could set foot within a Spanish colony: the English captains who sailed to America with woollen goods or other merchandise found every port in that continent shut against them.

English sailors sought trade and treasure in other parts of the globe: in the second half of the century Chancellor and Willoughby lost their lives in the attempt to find a North-east passage to China round the North Cape. Frobisher and Davis sought the same goal, but by another route, the North-west passage round the north of America; Jenkinson penetrated to Moscow, and striking farther east reached Bokhara beyond the Caspian Sea, while Wyndham and other adventurers reached the Guinea coast of Africa. But Spanish America was the lure that drew most of the adventurers.

Underhand War. That the greater part of the New World had been assigned to Spain by the Pope did not deter these Englishmen from smuggling slaves and merchandise into America, plundering Spanish settlements when trade was impossible, or intercepting Spanish merchant ships and robbing them of their cargoes; they rather looked on the Pope's grant as an additional reason for despoiling the Spaniard. It was a grant that should never have been made, and, since England had repudiated the supremacy of the Pope in King Henry's time, it was neither necessary nor right that Englishmen should pay any attention to it. Therefore, argued the doctors of this strange new 'sea divinity,' the man who plundered a Spanish colony or a Spanish treasure-ship was only doing his duty. The strangest thing about this strange war was that Spain and England were supposed to be at peace: if any of these adventurous sea-dogs was caught Elizabeth disowned him, apologized for his misdeeds, and suffered the Spaniards to put him to death as a pirate; if he came home laden with treasure Elizabeth did not hesitate to accept a substantial share of the spoil.

Sir Francis Drake. John Hawkins was the first to break into King Philip's preserves in the New World, and to earn a doubtful fame by smuggling cargoes of slaves from the African coast to the Spanish settlements, but-his fame was soon eclipsed by that of his cousin Francis Drake. At first Drake and Hawkins gave all their attention to the Spanish towns on the eastern coast of America and to the Spanish shipping in the Atlantic. There were inexhaustible mines of silver, wealthy settlements, and great towns on the Pacific coast, but the only road thither for a stranger lay through the dreaded Straits of Magellan. The Spaniards themselves seldom took that route—they preferred the short land journey across the

Isthmus of Panama—and they did not dream that anyone else would dare to follow it.

They reckoned without Drake. At the end of 1577 he left England with three ships, the *Golden Hind,* the *Elizabeth,* and the *Marigold.* He had to fight with almost insuperable difficulties; contrary winds delayed him, his officers plotted against him, and when he had passed through the Straits of Magellan a storm scattered his ships. It was not till a year had passed that the *Golden Hind* appeared off Valparaiso. The Spaniards were astounded; they had made no preparations for such a visitor, and Drake sailed up the Pacific coast without hindrance, plundering whatever ships and towns he pleased. When his ship could hold no more treasure he sailed northward in a vain attempt to find a North-west passage, turned back, touched at California, then held westward across the Pacific to the coast of Asia, was almost shipwrecked off the Moluccas, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and reached Plymouth in the autumn of 1580, almost three years after he had set out.

FIG. 109. SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Open War. This was not Drake's only exploit, nor was he by any means the only English captain who won fame in this irregular warfare with the Spaniards. Gradually Philip came to see that there was no way for it but open war: Elizabeth might deny any responsibility for Drake's exploits, she could not deny that she had knighted him upon the deck of the *Golden Hind.* Wherever Philip turned he found Englishmen in his way; in 1572 the Dutch had been goaded into rebellion by Philip's attempts to stamp out Protestantism by force, and now English money and English troops were pouring into the Netherlands. The execution of the captive Mary, Queen of Scots, whom every Catholic in Europe believed to be the rightful sovereign of England, was the last straw; early in 1587 Philip resolved upon the invasion of England.

The ordinary Englishman's dread of a Roman Catholic king had

grown more bitter, if anjthing, since the death of Mary. He could not forget that Protestantism had been stamped out by main force in Spain and the southern provinces of the Netherlands; that in the northern provinces a desperate religious war was still raging, and that no later than 1572 four thousand Protestants had been massacred in Paris in one week alone. If the Spaniards landed in England it seemed certain that the terrors of Mary's reign would be repeated.

The Spanish Armada. But the English sailors had no fear of the result: in the spring of 1587 Drake sailed right into Cadiz harbour and burned or sank thirty-three great ships, thus delaying the sailing of the Spanish fleet for a whole year. Not till the middle of July 1588 did the great Armada sail from Corunna. It consisted of 130 ships carrying 8000 sailors and 20,000 soldiers, and it was commanded by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman without any experience of sea-warfare. His plan was to sail up the Channel to the Belgian coast, where he expected the Duke of Parma to be waiting for him with 40,000 troops; his duty then would be to protect these troops from the attacks of the English ships while they slipped across the Channel in their transports.

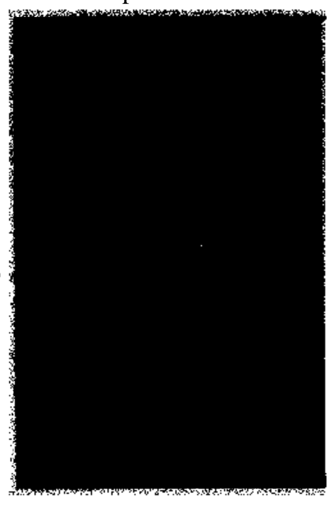


FIG. 110. HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM

Lord High Admiral of England. Showing the costume of a gentleman of the period.

You have already been told that a revolution had taken place in shipbuilding about the end of the fifteenth century. There was now little to distinguish an English ship from the ships with which Nelson won his victories: as you will see if you turn back to Fig. 108, the largest of them had three or four masts; they were very broad in proportion to their length, and their lofty sides and towering poops and forecastles bristled with row upon row of guns. The largest Spanish ships seem to have been more bulky than the largest English ships, but they were much more difficult to manage,

their guns were not so heavy, their crews were not so expert, and they were commanded by an amateur sailor, while Lord Howard of Effingham, the English admiral, was assisted by Drake and by captains only a little less famous than he.

On the 19th of July the Armada was sighted off the Lizard: for nine days it moved slowly up the Channel to Calais, closely pursued by the English fleet. It was soon evident that the English way of fighting was the more effective; if a Spanish ship en-

FIG. III. THE GREAT ARMADA IN THE CHANNEL
From an engraving after a tapestry made for Lord Howard of Effingham.

countered an English ship, the Spaniards attempted to cripple their opponent by bringing down its masts with volleys from their Light guns: if they succeeded, they would lay their ship alongside the disabled vessel and board her, trusting that the number of trained soldiers which they carried would give them the victory. They never succeeded; the English ships used their superior sailing powers to keep out of range of the light Spanish guns, while their heavier guns sent broadside after broadside crashing into the tall hulls of the Spaniard. But although a few of his ships had been severely pounded, Medina Sidonia's fleet reached Calais almost intact. There his troubles began: the Duke of Parma told him that his army was not ready, and that even if it were ready it could do nothing, for the coast was blockaded by the Dutch fleet. Worse was to follow; on the night of the 28th the English filled eight ships with tar and other inflammable materials, set fire to

them, and let them drift toward the Spanish fleet. A sudden panic seized the Spaniards as they saw the eight flaming vessels bearing down upon them; they did not even wait to lift their anchors, but cut their cables and in wild confusion stood out to sea. This was the turning-point of the campaign: next day, while the great fleet was drifting northward in disorder, the English came up to it off Gravelines and began a general attack. They sank and captured a few ships, but their ammunition was spent, the sailors were exhausted, a storm was rising, and the English leaders judged it wise to abandon the pursuit of a beaten foe. But the victory was theirs, though they hardly dared to believe it at the time. The tempest completed what they had begun: many of the shot-riddled galleons with their torn sails and shattered masts could not weather the gale, but were sunk at sea or shattered on the Scottish and Irish coasts. Only about sixty crippled hulks straggled into the Spanish ports, and these were filled with wounded and dying men.

This stunning disaster did not persuade Philip to make peace; in fact, the war outlasted both Elizabeth and himself. But the defeat of the Armada proved that the Spaniards, with the resources of the mightiest empire in the world behind them, could not hope to invade England. On the other hand, Philip discovered that even the greatest port in his empire was not safe from attack; in 1596 the Earl of Essex captured and burned Cadiz. In every sea Spanish ships were attacked and plundered; every Spanish colony was raided at some time or other by English adventurers. Nor did the Spaniards seem able to retaliate: when Sir Richard Grenville allowed his ship, the *Revenge,* to be surrounded by fifteen Spanish galleons fifteen hours of hard fighting were required before the English ship could be overpowered.

It seems strange that the English admirals should have made no attempt to hold these settlements which they raided, but as yet they were looking only for plunder or trade, not for colonies. 1^ is true that Sir Walter Raleigh made repeated attempts to establish a colony, which he called Virginia, on the eastern coast of North America, but at the time of Elizabeth's death his venture seemed to have ended in failure.

CHAPTER XX

THE ELIZABETHAN AGE

1558-1603

ELIZABETH, 1558-1603

MOST English folk, if they were asked to say what period they would prefer to live in, could the hands of the clock be put back for a few centuries, would probably vote for the days of Queen Elizabeth. The men of her own time were certainly quite sure that there was no country like England, no sovereign like Elizabeth, and no people like themselves.

> This other Eden, demi-paradise . . .
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,

Shakespeare called England. Spenser hailed the Queen as

> Goddess heavenly bright !
> Mirror of grace and Majesty divine,
> Great Lady of the greatest Isle, whose light
> Like Phoebus* lamp throughout the world doth shine,

and the modest Elizabethan did not hesitate to describe himself as 'God's Englishman.'

Vagrancy and the Poor Laws. But there was a darker side to this bright prospect. The changes in the first half of the century had left a legacy of poverty and confusion. The breaking up of the households of the great barons, with their scores or hundreds of armed retainers, and the conversion of tilled land, often seized from its peasant owners, into sheep farms, helped to create a multitude of homeless beggars. It was the duty of the monasteries to deal with these destitute wanderers, and they did their work well, so well, in fact, that a beggar at the monastery gate often fared better than the poor labourer who stuck to his work; but after 1539 the monks themselves were sent to swell the growing crowd of vagrants. Nor were the craftsmen in the towns without their troubles: after the confiscation of the gild funds in 1547 the

struggling craftsman could no longer hope to be saved from ruin by a loan of money from the gild treasure-chest. The statesmen of Queen Elizabeth's time knew that the country must be in an unhealthy state when this great body of vagrants was preying upon it, but they had some difficulty in discovering a remedy. In 1559 Parliament tried to check the growth of restlessness by ordering employers to engage their workmen for periods of not less than one year, and by insisting that before a youth could be regarded as fit to follow any trade, he must serve a seven years' apprenticeship. In 1572 an Act was passed making any able-bodied vagrant liable to be whipped the first time he was arrested, punished as a felon the second time, and hanged if he were caught a third time. This was only one of numerous poor laws, the last and most complete of which was passed in 1601. The later Acts did not only breathe threats against the sturdy beggar: they made provision for the vagrants who were really unable to work. These were to remain in their own parish, where they would be supported by money collected in the parish church. Overseers were appointed to distribute this money to them, under the supervision of the local magistrates, the justices of the peace. The new poor laws worked well; not till the beginning of the nineteenth century was it thought necessary to amend them.

The Tudor Absolutism. We who know what happened less than half a century after Elizabeth's death wonder at the reverence with which the Tudor sovereigns were regarded. It was carried to extraordinary lengths. Shakespeare showed a preference for golden-haired heroines in his plays, because the Queen's hair was golden—with a tinge of red, her enemies reported. Courtiers shaded their eyes when they were led into the presence of the painted old woman, as if they were dazzled by the splendour of her beauty; a man who had his hand cut off because he had offended Elizabeth waved the bloody stump in the air and shouted " Long live the Queen! " These may seem trifles, but it was not a trifle that Parliament should cast off the Pope when Henry VIII told it to, repudiate the Mass under Edward VI, bring back Pope and Mass because Queen Mary so desired, and repudiate them again at Elizabeth's command. Parliament was completely under the control of the sovereign: before Henry VIII's reign Bills were drawn up and discussed in Parliament before they were submitted to the

King; now the King and his Council prepared the Bills beforehand and presented them to Parliament, confident that they would meet the approval of both Lords and Commons. Should there be any likelihood of a general election resulting in the return of a majority of members hostile to the royal policy, the King instructed the sheriffs of each county to see that only members prepared to support him blindly were elected. Should he judge this precaution insufficient, he granted towns that hitherto had not been represented in Parliament the privilege of returning two members, on condition that they always voted as he told them. Elizabeth did not disdain to use these devices when she thought them necessary, and until almost the last year of her reign she contrived to bend Parliament to her will.

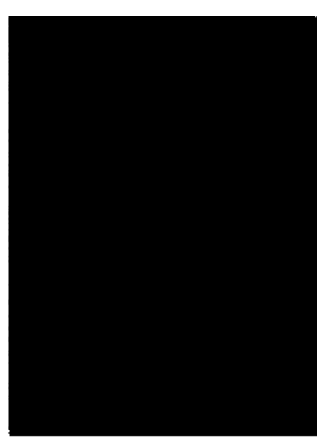


FIG. 112. ELIZABETH
Crispin van de Passe, after Isaac Oliver,

Harmony between Monarch and People. Even if these devices had not been used it is improbable that there would have been any serious dispute between Queen and Parliament, simply because they had nothing to quarrel about. The Queen was thrifty to a fault; when she asked Parliament for money it was for objects of which every member approved. Members might find difficulty in understanding her twisted foreign policy, might even wonder if she understood it herself, but when they found that it invariably came out right they lost all desire to meddle with it. In short, the Queen did not drive her people; she led them along the road by which they themselves wanted to travel. What would happen when the sovereign wanted to go one way and Parliament another was a question no one asked till Elizabeth was in her grave. Meantime her subjects forgave her arrogance, her vanity, her deceit, because she seemed to know what was good for them better than they did themselves. To anyone living in the latter half of her reign, after more than a hundred years of freedom from civil war

and foreign invasion, it must have seemed impossible that army could ever be arrayed against army in these peaceful English meadows, or that these sleepy towns would be girdled by lines of thundering cannon.

New Love of Comfort: Tudor Houses. This belief that rebellion and invasion would never again vex the country had far-reaching results. A weight was lifted from men's minds: they could now plan and work without interruption, and so, though

FIG. 113. COURTYARD OF M· OLD HALL, CONGLETON

An ornate example of Tudor architecture.

Photo Frith

some sections of the people and some of the older towns grew poorer, the country as a whole became much more wealthy. With this increased wealth and new sense of security people began to think more of comfort. The country gentleman whose sheep farms had prospered grew tired of his old castle, with its cramped dark rooms, where everything was sacrificed to strength, and moved into a splendid manor house like Moreton Old Hall, where the buildei\had considered only comfort and beauty. Gone were the narrov windows of an earlier age: so broad and lofty were the windows e the sides of the house seemed to be walls of glass. One looked vain for the twisting stone staircases like those of the

old castle; there was nothing here but broad staircases of polished wood ornamented with beautifully carved posts and balustrades. The rooms were spacious, with panelled walls; the raftered roofs had disappeared; instead there were plaster ceilings ornamented with intricate designs. There were more rooms too: some of the larger country houses, with three or four great courtyards, each surrounded by an unbroken range of buildings, were as big as a small village. Even in the smaller country houses the hall was usually abandoned to the servants, and the family and guests took their meals in a new room, the winter parlour. Though the members of the family spent most of their time in the old-fashioned solar or drawing-room, its splendours were often eclipsed by another new room, the long gallery, where dances were held and masques and other plays performed.

FIG. 114. ELIZABETHAN TOWN HOUSE

It was not every one, of course, who could afford to build these huge mansions, or to maintain the army of indoor servants which they required, to say nothing of the retinue of gardeners, huntsmen, falconers, and grooms, but even the ordinary farmhouse or the dwelling of the prosperous town merchant became roomier, more seemly, and more comfortable. We can see examples of such houses in almost every old town, in almost every country parish. Sometimes they are built wholly of brick, sometimes, as in the old London house shown in Fig. 114, a timber framework is filled up with brick or plaster. Often the second storey projects beyond the first and the third beyond the second; the high-pitched roofs are covered with thatch or tiles, and over them towers a great brick chimney-stack, planned so th ems to be a cluster of graceful pillars. And the craftsman -arved the elaborate balustrades and chimney-pieces did not ain to turn

his hand to more useful work: he made great bedsteads with wooden roofs, supported by four wooden pillars; day-beds or sofas; chairs covered with velvet or leather, and other new-fashioned articles of furniture that a comfort-loving generation demanded.

Studies and Amusements. The opening up of new trade-routefe helped to make life more comfort-table: strange new dainties appeared on the table of the wealthy merchant—figs, dates, and oranges from the Levant, sugar from the West Indies, and potatoes from the continent of America. But you will make a very great mistake if you think that the people of the Elizabethan age cared only for bodily comfort; they probably thought much less of it than we do.. They did care very much for beautiful buildings and gardens, for music and pictures, for books (especially poems and romances), and for stage plays. The country gentleman who built one of these great houses had probably spent a year or two on the Continent learning French and Italian, and many other things, such as the latest tricks in fencing; he probably came home with a passion for pictures and statues, laid out the gardens round his new house so that they would be exactly like these trim, stately gardens he had seen in Italy, collected books, invited poets and musicians to his house, and perhaps himself scribbled a few sonnets or composed one or two tunes for the lute.

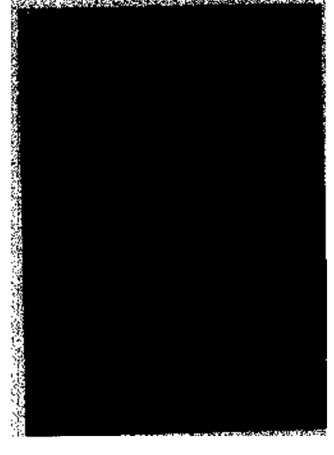


FIG. 115. THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE

Gheeraedts

"'Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother." Showing the costume of a lady of the period.

Altogether, when we read of one of these Elizabethan gentlemeni like Sir Philip Sidney, we think that he must have found life) crammed full of interest and fun. But it seems that poorer peoplef must have had a dull time: the majority of them could not read; there were no public libraries or cheap books for those who could; amusements like cricket and football had not been thought of, and

to travel with comfort and safety was almost impossible. But they were not quite as dull as we think: they had their own amusements, most of which have long since fallen out of use. We need shed no tears over the disappearance of cock-fighting and bear-baiting, but no one would suffer if the houses were again decked with hawthorn, and if boys and girls again danced round the maypoles on the first of May, or if the mummers again went from door to door at Christmas acting the story of St George and the Dragon.

FIG. 116. YARD OF AN ELIZABETHAN INN
Showing the galleries.

Then most people knew something about music, and instead of paying to have it provided for them, as they do nowadays, they made it for themselves. The man who entered a barber's shop, for example, and found that the barber was busy with another customer, did not grumble; he picked up the lute or mandoline which always lay about in such places, and made the strings tinkle out a cheerful air.

The Theatre. But rich and poor, the university wit who knew half a dozen languages and the craftsman who could not sign his own name, were alike passionately fond of the play. To us superior twentieth-century people the Elizabethan theatre seems a very queer place. Sometimes it was only the courtyard of an inn, lent to a company of strolling players for the afternoon. This

made an excellent theatre, as you will understand if you glance at Fig. 116, for round it ran open wooden galleries which communicated with the various bedrooms. The actors played in their everyday clothes, and the audience which crowded the galleries did not worry about the absence of stage or scenery. Even the famous theatres in London, like Shakespeare's Globe, were not

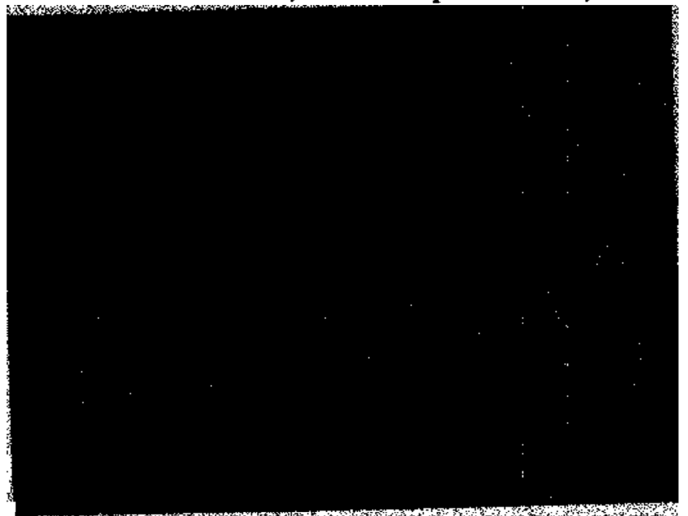


FIG. 117. THE THEATRES AT BANKSIDE

The theatres at Southwark were out of reach of the civic authorities, who would administer the law which decreed that players not in the service of a lord should be treated as rogues and vagabonds. The drawing shows four theatres—the Swan, Hope, Rose, and Globe. They are indicated by the flags.

unlike the inn courtyard. The visitor to the capital in the closing years of the century would see three or four great wooden towers clustered about the southern end of London Bridge. These were the theatres. When he entered he would find himself in a large hall, open to the sky and encircled by two or three galleries, where the wealthier playgoers sat. Fig. 118 is a picture of an Elizabethan playhouse. The stage was a square platform which projected far into the pit, so that spectators could sit on three sides of it. There were no big painted canvas backgrounds, such as one sees in the modern theatre, nor was there any curtain to hide the stage from the audience between acts. At the rear of the stage the spectator

saw a big central opening, across which a curtain was hung, and two smaller doorways on either side; from these his eye travelled upward to a little gallery. The actors were gorgeously arrayed in the height of fashion, even when they were performing a historical play: the male characters in *Julius Cæsar,* for example, would

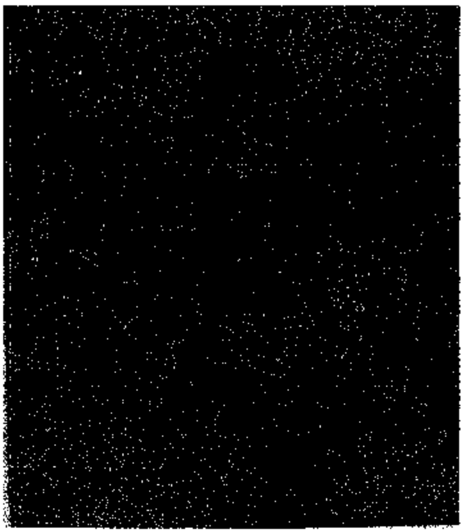


FIG. 118. THE FORTUNE THEATRE

From a reconstruction made by Mr W. H. Godfrey for the *Picture Book of British History* (Cambridge University Press).

wear tall plumed hats, short cloaks, starched ruffs, and close-fitting doublets and hose, while Calpurnia and Portia, who were not played by actresses, but by boys, would be attired in a stiff bodice with puffed-out sleeves, a vast billowing skirt supported by a wire framework, and the inevitable cambric ruff. The audience had to " piece out the imperfections " of the stage with their thoughts; sometimes, as in *The Merchant of Venice,* they had to imagine that the lower stage was a street, that the room behind was a house, and that the little gallery was a window or a balcony. Sometimes, as at the beginning of *The Tempest,* the gallery was transformed into the raised quarterdeck, and the lower stage into

the main deck; later, the curtained recess in the centre became Prospero's cave. The actors used various devices to show where the action was supposed to take place. Sometimes, as in Shakespeare's *Henry V,* an actor took the part of Chorus and explained to the audience that the scene had changed from England to France, or that the five minutes between one act and another must be looked on as five years. Usually the audience were expected to gather from the speech of the actors where they were supposed to be. For example, Rosalind said," Well, this is the forest of Arden," to show the spectators that though they were looking at the same platform and gallery, they were supposed to be gazing into the depths of a shadowy forest. We may think that a play presented in such a fashion must often have come very near to being ridiculous, but the playgoers of these days were not afraid to use their imagination; they saw soldiers keeping watch on the battlements of a castle where we would only see one or two actors strutting up and down in a wooden gallery. And then we must remember that the writers of plays, by the use of vivid and animated descriptions, tried to help out the imaginations of their audience. The man who went to see a play of Shakespeare's found, as he listened to those witching and melodious words, that he had delivered himself inio the power of a magician, that he was no longer sitting in a dingy theatre in Southwark, but wandering spellbound in enchanted countries, Illyria, Bohemia, or that strange island in the ocean

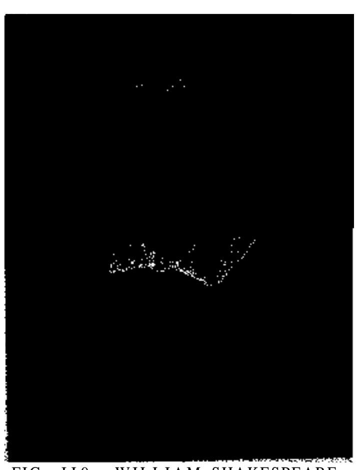


FIG. 119. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
From the painting attributed to Burbage in the National Portrait Gallery.

Full of noises,
Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not.

CHAPTER XXI

WALES AND IRELAND

1171-1603

The Union of England and Wales. For a long time the minds of the English kings had been so much occupied with their designs for the conquest of France or their troubles at home that they had paid little attention to the other parts of the British Isles. But the Tudor sovereigns were not so easily contented; they tried to unite Wales to England, to subjugate Ireland completely, and to make Scotland either a faithful ally or a vassal state. This chapter will show how far this ambitious policy was successful.

It met with no serious obstacle in Wales. Here the difficulty was a twofold one: crime and violence had grown too common in Wales itself, and the lords-marchers, who had been granted sole jurisdiction over far-stretching territories on the Welsh border to make the maintenance of English rule more easy, encouraged the disorder which it was their duty to suppress. Their rights of jurisdiction, in fact, benefited only themselves and the criminals who sought refuge in their territories: a malefactor whose offence deserved imprisonment or hanging usually escaped with the payment of a fine, which went into the purse of the lord-marcher. On the other hand, the Tudor monarchs were of Welsh descent: the people of Wales did not look on Henry VIII as a foreigner like Edward I or Henry IV, but regarded him as one of themselves. In 1536 Parliament passed an Act uniting Wales to England. The territories of the lords-marchers became ordinary English counties, Wales itself was to send members to the English Parliament, and the Act ordained that English should be the language of the law-courts, where justice would be dealt according to English law and to such of the old Welsh laws as met with the King's approval.

Ireland in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. The Welsh soon saw that this closer union benefited themselves as much as it

did England, but in Ireland the activities of the Tudor monarchy produced a far different result.

You may remember that in the second half of the twelfth century some of Henry II's barons began the conquest of Ireland, and that when the King visited the island himself most of the Irish chiefs made their submission to him. So in the closing years of Henry's reign Ireland was divided into two unequal parts, of which the smaller, called the Pale, stretched along the coast from Dundalk to Wexford, and extended about fifty miles inland. This was the part which Henry's barons had conquered and carved into great estates, peopled partly by their Anglo-Norman followers, partly by the native Irish. The other three-quarters of the island was ruled by a multitude of chiefs and petty kings, some of whom occasionally as a matter of form acknowledged the King of England as their overlord. But the King of England was far away: he could not keep the Irish chieftains from making war on each other or from raiding the Pale: he could not even stamp out the smouldering jealousies among the great Anglo-Norman barons, which every few years flamed up into fierce strife.

Ireland in the Fourteenth Century. Such was the condition of Ireland for about a century and a half. Despite the quarrels of the great lords, the English colonists in the South-east held their own; the Irish might wish them away, but would not combine to drive them out. A change for the worse came in 1315, when Edward Bruce, the adventurous brother of King Robert, landed at the head of a Scottish army. He had come to make himself King of Ireland. The Celtic Irish rallied to his standard, and though he was defeated and slain in 1318, he came near to driving the English out of Ireland altogether. Great stretches of territory within the Pale were again occupied by Irish clans; what was more disquieting still, the Pale was fast losing all semblance of an English settlement. The descendants of the original Anglo-Norman settlers were marrying into Irish families, speaking the Irish language, wearing the voluminous saffron-coloured mantle that served the native as greatcoat, bed, or tent, and even dropping their own names for Irish ones—De Burgh became MacWilliam, Fitzurse MacMahon, and Mortimer Macnamara.

Edward III tried to remedy matters by sending his son Lionel to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, and in 1367 the Irish Parliament

was persuaded to pass the Statute of Kilkenny, which made it a crime for any settler of English descent to adopt the Irish language, jjiress, or customs. But Lionel soon returned to England, weary of an impossible task, and the Statute was forgotten. Richard II came nearer to success: in 1394 he landed at Waterford at the head of a large army, marched to Dublin, and received the submission of seventy-five chieftains and petty kings. But his interest in Ireland proved to be his undoing: his second expedition to Ireland in 1399 gave Henry of Lancaster an opportunit to land in England and take his kingdom from him.

FIG. 120. SPEARMAN OF THE EARLY TUDOR PERIOD

Henry VII and Ireland For almost a hundred years the English kings ceased to trouble themselves about Ireland. A Lord Lieutenant was appointed from time to time, but his duties were nominal; he was not even required to live in Ireland unless he had offended the king, and his work was done for him by a Deputy-Lieutenant, usually an Anglo-Irish nobleman of doubtful loyalty, more eager to exalt the honour of his own family than to keep the peace. This policy, or rather lack of policy, saved worry and was cheap, but something happened soon after his accession which made Henry V11 depart from it. A pretender to the English crown, Lambert Simnel, had been welcomed by the inhabitants of the Pale, including the Deputy himself, the Earl of Kildare, head of the great house of Geraldine, and in 1487 he was crowned in Dublin Cathedral as King Edward VI. Not content with this easy triumph he crossed to England at the head of an army, bud was defeated and captured by the King's forces at Stoke. Henry resolved that one such exploit was enough; instead of ordering Simnel to be executed, he covered him with ridicule by giving him the post of scullion in one of the royal kitchens, and in the following year he sent Sir Richard Edgecombe to Ireland to cajole or threaten the Irish lords into submission. Edgecombe's mission was successful. Kildare swore solemnly that he would be faith-

ful to Henry, and his example was followed by the other great lords.

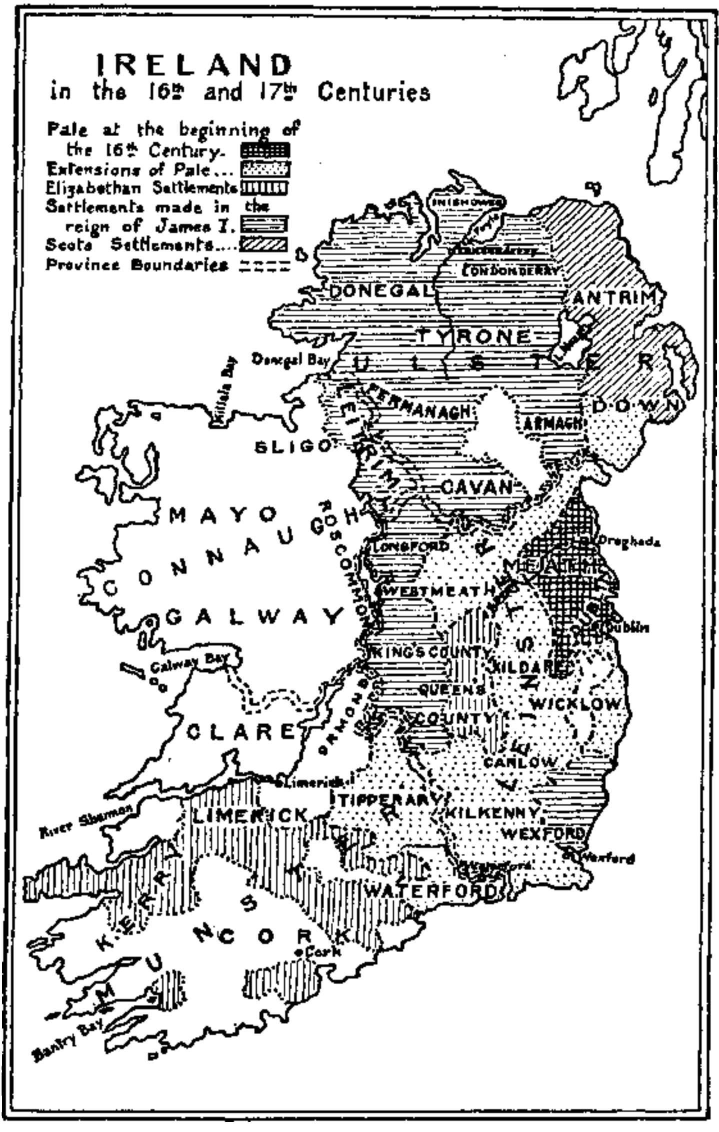
But though Kildare had been pardoned he had lost the confidence of the King: he was deprived of his office of Deputy, and in 1494 Sir Edward Poynings, an Englishman, was appointed in his place. Poynings had very clear ideas about the government of Ireland, and he lost no time in attempting to carry them out. He persuaded an Irish Parliament which met at Drogheda to confirm the Statute of Kilkenny, and to make private war illegal. More important still were the statutes known as Poynings' Laws, which made the Irish Parliament completely dependent on the English Government. Before an Irish Parliament could be summoned, the reasons for calling it and the new laws which it would be called upon to make were laid before the English King: only if the King approved of these could it be allowed to meet, and in addition all laws passed in the English Parliament were to apply to Ireland. Poynings discovered, too, that force failed to make the Irish chieftains beyond the Pale submissive, and he promised them pensions as long as they remained friendly to the English King.

The policy of the new Deputy promised to be successful, but in the eyes of Henry VII it had one fatal defect—it cost too much money. In 1496 Poynings was recalled, and the slippery Kildare put in his place. "All Ireland cannot rule yonder gentleman," complained an Irish bishop to Henry. "Then he is meet to rule all Ireland," was the King's reply. But Henry was simply shutting his eyes to his difficulties; they did not cease to exist because he refused to look at them. A generation later another Earl of Kildare troubled Henry VIII as much as the eighth Earl had troubled his father. He was put in the Tower, whereupon his son, 'Silken Thomas,' rose in rebellion. But the power of the greatest family in Ireland was soon crushed; the old Earl died in prison, Earl Thomas surrendered in 1534 on condition that his life should be spared, but three years later he was executed, along with five of his uncles.

The Reformation and the Jesuits. The humiliation of the great house of Geraldine ended one dreary chapter in the history of Ireland. Henry VIII's breach with the Pope began another that was even more tragic. Hitherto their allegiance to Rome had sat

very lightly on the Irish beyond the Pale, but the Reformation, which made the rest of Northern Europe Protestant, kindled a new zeal for the Roman Catholic Church in the hearts both of the Celtic Irish and the Irish who dwelt within the Pale. Ordinary Irishmen saw in the Reformation no reformation, but only the destruction of monasteries, the spoliation of churches, and the abolition of old familiar ceremonies, carried out at the whim of a foreign king. It was in vain that Henry VIII in 1541 proclaimed himself King of Ireland and head of the Irish Church. In the following year the first Jesuit missionaries landed in Ireland. They belonged to a new organization, the Society of Jesus, which had been lately founded by St Ignatius Loyola. Loyola knew that corruption had crept into the Roman Catholic Church; at the same time he was convinced that it had come, not because the teachings of the Church had been obeyed, but because they had been forgotten. He inspired the members of the Society which he founded with an intense devotion for all the doctrines and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church, and with the conviction that they must sacrifice all desires and pleasures, even life itself, for the sake of their religion and their order. It is little wonder that such missionaries fired the Irish people with their own zeal and did their work so well that to this day Ireland has remained a Roman Catholic country.

But though these Jesuit missionaries softened and purified the characters of their wild converts, their activity had a disastrous effect on the relations between Ireland and England. Hitherto the inhabitants of the Pale had not altogether forgotten their English origin; now the gulf that had opened between them and the Protestant English made them draw nearer to the wild Irish of the West and North till every difference between them and these Celts whom their ancestors had looked on as savages was completely obliterated. It was hard enough for the English kings to deal with an alien race when its strength was wasted by internal strife, and when the religion of the governed did not differ from that of the governor; it became almost impossible when religion united the Irish among themselves and divided them still more from the neighbouring kingdom. Henceforth we shall find the gulf between the two peoples growing broader, and every nation in Europe that has a grudge against England trying to hurt England



After 1653 those parts of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster hitherto unplanted, with large parts of Connaught, were also assigned to English settlers.

by stirring up rebellion in Ireland. We may wonder why the English Government did not recognize that the game was not worth the candle and leave Ireland to the Irish themselves, but English statesmen feared that if they abandoned Ireland it would be immediately occupied by the troops of some hostile Power. This would not have mattered had Ireland been in the middle of the Atlantic, but it was within a few hours' sail of the English coast, and lay right across the English sea-routes to America. If the Spaniards, for example, occupied Ireland, they would launch an attack upon England from the Irish ports, or at the very least prey on the merchant ships making for English harbours.

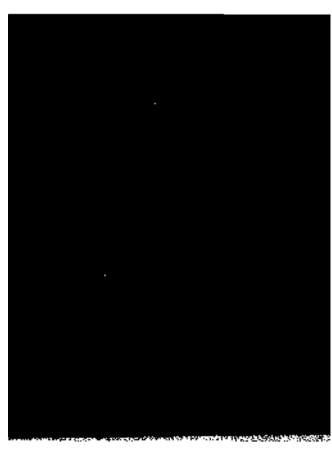


FIG. 121. THE EARL OF ESSEX
Painter unknown.

Tyrone's Rebellion. Such high reasons of State could not be expected to appeal to the Irish; they knew only that their country was governed by aliens who neither understood nor tried to understand them. Rebellion, after rebellion broke out in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. First of all the Irish of Ulster rose under Shane O'Neill, but in 1567 he was defeated and slain; then in 1579 the Earl of Desmond, head of another branch of the great family of Geraldine, organized a rebellion in Munster, which was not suppressed till 1583. The most serious rising came at the very end of Elizabeth's reign, when the Earl of Tyrone, nephew of Shane O'Neill, and head of the great Ulster family of the O'Neills, rose in rebellion. The revolt spread to every part of the island; even the Pale seemed to be slipping from the control of the English Government. In 1599 the Queen's favourite, the young Earl of Essex, was sent over at the head of fifteen thousand men, but did nothing beyond making a treaty with the rebel leader which Tyrone did not mean to keep. In 1600 Tyrone invaded Munster, but though he was driven out by Lord Mountjoy, who succeeded the ill-starred Essex, the arrival of a Spanish fleet in Kinsale.

harbour forced the English general to march south, and left the way open for a second invasion of Munster. Mount joy shut up the Spanish troops in the town of Kinsale, while an English squadron kept watch over the harbour. A second Spanish fleet that tried to break through was completely destroyed; at the end of the year 1601 Tyrone, who had marched through Munster to raise the siege, suffered such a defeat that he had to retreat to Ulster, and on the second day of 1602 the Spanish garrison of Kinsale surrendered. The English armies now closed in upon Tyrone, and in 1603 he surrendered, little knowing that Queen Elizabeth had died a few days before.

The Plantations, Ireland was completely subjugated, but the Irish hatred of the English rule had by no means diminished, and the device of planting settlements, which at first seemed a sure means of pacifying the country, produced a fresh crop of troubles. It was first used in the reign of Queen Mary, when two rebellious districts on the borders of the Pale were given the names of King's County and Queen's County, and divided up among English adventurers, who promised that they would employ only Englishmen to work their lands. The first attempts to plant English settlements in Ulster was made in 1573, and after Desmond's rebellion had been suppressed in 1583 large tracts of land in Munster were divided up into plantations. This policy promised well, for there was little chance of these English Protestant colonists ever making common cause with the Catholic Irish or breaking into rebellion, but as we shall see in a later chapter, it proved to be disastrous in the long run.

CHAPTER XXII

SCOTLAND

1341-1603

For Sovereigns of Scotland in this period see table on p. 192

Scotland after the War of Independence. **The sixteenth century saw a complete change in the relations between England and Scotland. Scotland had emerged from the long struggle with England at the beginning of the fourteenth century free, but sadly weakened. From a prosperous country she had become one of the poorest countries in Europe; her greatest seaport, Berwick, had fallen into the hands of the English, and fifty years of warfare had ruined agriculture and industry, and unsettled the minds of high and low. Now that Scotland was freed from the menace of English invasion, all that she needed to restore her ancient prosperity was a long period of firm rule by a wise and strong king, but this was the very thing that she did not get. Bruce's son, David II, was the first of a series of ineffective kings. He was not only weak, he was treacherous.**

In the year of Crécy he invaded England, but was defeated and captured outside Durham. Eleven years later he returned from captivity burdened with the promise to pay a heavy ransom. He soon saw that he could not collect the money, and arranged to sell the independence of his kingdom instead. Happily the Scottish Parliament refused to listen to the proposal that his successor should be Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the second son of the English king. David was the last of the Bruces: on his death in 1371 he was succeeded by Robert the Steward, the son of Walter the Steward and Robert Bruce's only daughter, Marjorie. Robert II was the first of the ill-starred race of Stewart: of his descendants who wore the Scottish crown, two died of a broken heart, one perished on the scaffold, two died on the field of battle, and two were murdered. Robert II had been a gallant soldier in his

youth, but he was an old, broken man when he became king, and Robert III, though he looked every inch a king, was more fitted to be the abbot of some secluded monastery than the governor of a turbulent kingdom. He lived to see himself a puppet king in the hands of his brother, the Duke of Albany, to see his eldest son, David, Duke of Rothesay, murdered at Albany's command, and his younger son, James, taken prisoner by the English while he was on his way to France. After the unhappy King's death in 1406, Albany ruled the kingdom as guardian till his death in 1420, when he was succeeded by his son Murdach.

The Task of the Scottish Kings. Seldom had a country greater need of strong rulers. It must not be forgotten that down to the middle of the eighteenth century Scotland was really two countries. North of the Highland line, an imaginary line which we may draw from Glasgow, through Stirling to Aberdeen, lived a wild unsettled race of herders and stealers of cattle. They were divided into clans: the members of each clan reverenced their chief more than they did the king, to whom, indeed, they seldom gave a thought; and hated the men of every other clan only a little less than they hated the Lowland Scot. Like the wild Irish, to whom indeed they were near kin, their chief garment was a great chequered mantle or plaid, and they spoke Gaelic, a tongue quite unintelligible to the Lowland Scot. The Lowland Scot, on the other hand, did not differ much in speech or dress from the English; his language, which had originally been derived from Northumbrian English, could still be understood by the average Englishman, though it now included many words with which he would be unfamiliar. Neither king nor Parliament had any control over the Highlands, and it is little wonder, for they had nothing to control them with, no roads, no police, no standing army. The sheriff who pursued a malefactor into these trackless glens and hills would have no desire to repeat the experiment. If he did not lose himself or the criminal, he would find himself fighting for his life with a horde of furious clansmen. Happily the feuds, which divided clan from clan usually prevented them from combining to sweep down on the Lowlands, though in the vicinity of the Highland line barns were often fired and cattle driven away. In 1411, however, a great Highland potentate, the Lord of the Isles, led an army against Aberdeen. Had he been victorious

North-eastern Scotland from the Dee to the Firth of Tay would have been swamped by a wave of barbarism, but the Earl of Mar met him at Harlaw and put his forces to flight.

Nor were the Lowlands free from trouble: great nobles like the Earl of Crawford and the Earl of Douglas had become more powerful than the king. The Earls of Douglas ruled like kings within their own extensive territories; they browbeat the Parliament and defied the king if he tried to bring them to justice. But the kings of Scotland were not all weaklings. James I and all his successors but one were clever and vigorous rulers. But some evil fate seemed to hang over them; every one died in the prime of life before his work was completed, every one was succeeded by a child. In every case one or two ambitious nobles ruled the country for their own ends in the name of their youthful sovereign, till the young king shook them off, and took up his father's work, not where his father left off, but where he had begun. James I saw that the country would never be at rest till the nobles were rendered powerless to do evil. He almost succeeded in breaking the nobles, but they broke him: in 1437 he was assassinated. The next King, James II, was a child of six at the time of his father's death. He killed one Earl of Douglas with his own hand, defeated his followers in battle, and drove them out of the country. But in 1460, when he was barely thirty years old, he was killed by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh Castle. James III resolved to treat the great barons as if they did not exist, and to choose for his advisers men whose qualifications were not high birth, but ability and loyalty to himself. The nobles were too much for him; in 1488 they rebelled and defeated the royal forces at the battle of Sauchieburn. The King was murdered as he fled from the field. The victors placed his eldest soo, James, on the throne, but if they thought that they could bend the young King to their will they soon found out that they were mistaken. James IV was not a child, but a precocious youth of fifteen—generous, affable, and pleasure-loving, but with a courage and strength of will that sometimes became rashness and obstinacy. In his reign of twenty-five years Scotland enjoyed, for the first time since the death of Alexander III, a long period of tranquillity and prosperity. The sudden change from poverty to comparative wealth, the new vigour and enterprise with which the young

King seemed to have inspired his subjects, did not pass unnoticed in other countries: the kings of France and Spain solicited his friendship, and the King of Denmark begged his protection.

After an unsuccessful invasion of northern England on behalf of Perkin Warbeck, another pretender to the English crown, King James began to ask himself if the time had not come for a change in the Scottish attitude to England. It was true that since the early years of Edward III's reign no English king had made a serious attempt to subjugate Scotland; it was also true that for the last century and a half there had been perpetual bickering between the two nations. In the Hundred Years War, for example, Scotland had taken the side of France, and thousands of Scottish troops had crossed the seas to fight the English on French soil. But must friendship with France always involve hostility to England? The cautious Henry VII, for his part, wanted to see the old feud ended: he could not feel secure on his throne so long as there was a hostile nation beyond his northern frontier, so when James offered to marry his elder daughter Margaret he gladly gave his consent. In 1502 a treaty for a perpetual peace between the two countries was signed, and in the following year James IV married the Princess Margaret.

It seemed as if the relations between the two countries were to become happier: if only they could lay aside the memory of their old hostilities there seemed no reason why two neighbouring peoples, so like each other in language, customs, and ways of thinking, should not become firm friends. But the 'perpetual peace' lasted for barely eleven years: when it became evident to James that England was drifting into war with France he sided with his older ally, and in 1513, while Henry was absent in France, he invaded Northumberland at the head of the finest army that a King of Scots had ever commanded. The expedition ended in disaster: in a wild battle fought late on a September afternoon beside Flodden ridge the Scottish King was slain, and his army almost completely destroyed.

Again the miserable story was repeated of a child king, of selfish and ambitious nobles, of a country growing daily more lawless and poverty-stricken. In 1528 James V, then a youth of sixteen, shook himself free from the control of the Earl of Angus, who belonged to another branch of the Douglas family, and took up

the thankless task of restoring order to a distracted country. But he soon came into conflict with his imperious uncle, Henry VIII. Henry insisted that James should break with the Pope and the King of France: James refused to do either, and in 1542 sent an army into Cumberland. But even his soldiers were divided about his policy; when they reached Solway Moss, a mile or two over the border, they fell to disputing, and were surprised and scattered by a small body of English cavalry. The news of this disaster killed James: and Scotland was left in a worse plight than ever, with a queen only seven days old.

FIG. 122. MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS
Francois Clouet

The death of James V gave Henry a chance of uniting the two kingdoms such as no King of England had had since the days of Edward I. Success would be certain if he could avoid the errors of Edward, for the events of the last few years had convinced many of the Scots that fidelity to the French alliance and to the Roman Catholic Church was a mistake. A treaty for a marriage between the young Queen Mary and Prince Edward was signed at Greenwich in 1543; but Henry overreached himself; it very soon became plain that he was aiming not at a union that would preserve the independence of Scotland, but at the complete subjugation of the northern kingdom. Even those Scots who had been most friendly to England saw the danger in which their Country stood; the alliance with France was renewed, and before the end of the year England and Scotland were again at war. Happily, it was fated to be the last war between the two kingdoms. It dragged out its weary course for seven years: though Edinburgh and Leith were burned by Somerset in 1544, and though a Scottish army suffered a crushing defeat at Pinkie in 1547, the conquest of Scotland proved to be a task too great for the English armies.

When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558 nothing seemed more improbable than an alliance between England and Scotland.

A few months before the Queen of Scots had been married to the French Dauphin, and the government of Scotland was in the hands of a Frenchwoman, the Regent Mary of Guise. But appearances were never more deceptive: the Scottish Protestants, who had been growing rapidly in numbers and influence, bitterly resented the Regent's attempts to suppress their religion, and

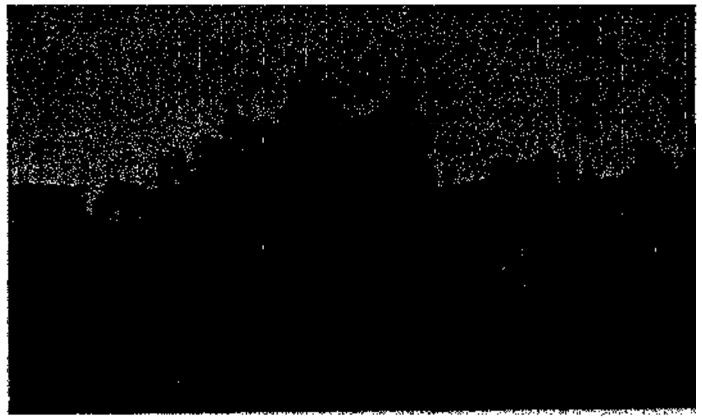


FIG. 123. PALACE OF HOLYROOD HOUSE TO-DAY

On the left can be seen the west front of Holyrood Abbey, founded by David I. The greater part of the existing palace was built in the reign of Charles II; Queen Mary lived in the turreted block shown in the centre of the picture, which had been built by James IV.

many who had hitherto supported the French alliance now saw good reason for believing that Scotiand would soon be degraded to the level of a province of France. In 1559 war broke out between the Lords of the Congregation, as the Protestant nobles were called, and the Regent. The Regent appealed to France for help, and French troops were sent over to Leith: the Lords of the Congregation, alarmed at this combination of French and Scottish Catholic troops on Scottish soil, came to a momentous decision: in 1560 they appealed to the Queen of England for help, and Elizabeth replied by sending a fleet to the Forth. So now Scots and Englishmen were fighting with Scots and Frenchmen about the fort of Leith. The death of the Regent brought the fighting to a close: by the Treaty of Leith all French soldiers and officials were forced to leave the realm, and a few weeks later the Scottish

Parliament declared Protestantism to be the national religion of Scotland. So the Reformation, which had alienated England and Ireland, brought England and Scotland closer together.

The return of the widowed Queen Mary to Scotland in 1561 did not cause any change either in the religion of Scotland or in its attitude to the southern kingdom. Mary had no easy part to play as the Catholic monarch of a Protestant country, and to add to her troubles she had incurred the hostility of Elizabeth, because

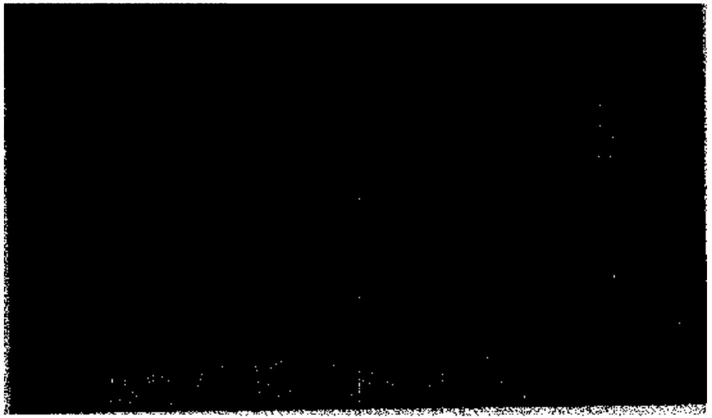


FIG. I24. QUEEN MARY'S AUDIENCE CHAMBER IN HOLYROOD PALACE

in the eyes of every Catholic in Europe Mary was the rightful Queen of England. For four years Mary governed her realm and herself skilfully; then her better judgment seemed to desert her, and she plunged into one folly after another. In 1567 her subjects rose in rebellion, thrust her into Lochleven Castle, and forced her to give up her crown to her infant son James. She escaped in the following year and gathered an army, but she was defeated and forced to flee to England, where she lived in captivity for almost twenty years, the centre of countless Catholic plots.

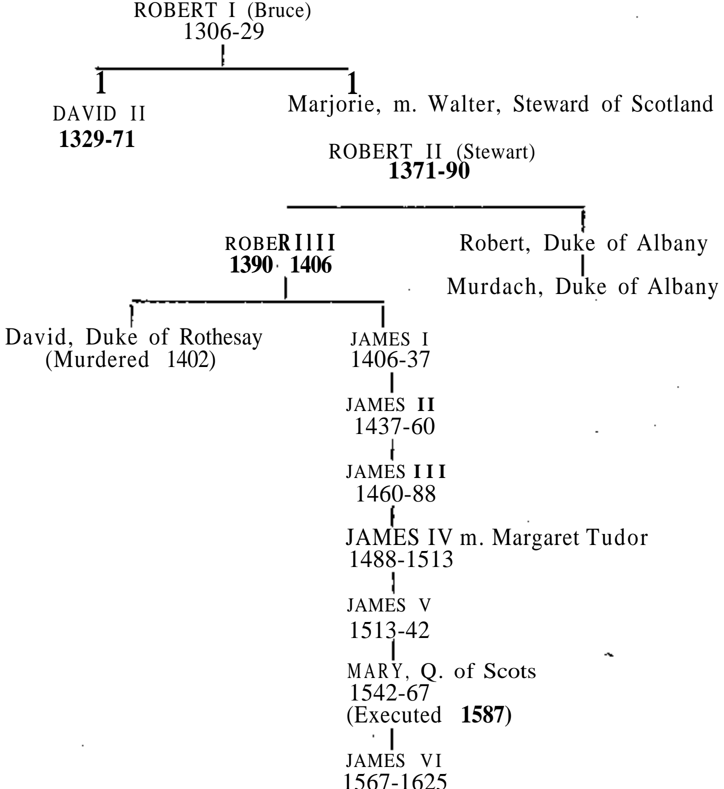
Mary's departure was followed by civil war between her supporters, the Queen's Lords, and the King's Lords, who believed in maintaining the friendship between Scotland and England. The leaders of the Queen's Lords got possession of Edinburgh

Castle, and defied all attempts to dislodge them. Again an appeal was sent to the English Queen; as Elizabeth saw clearly that if thd Queen's Lords were triumphant the new friendship between the two kingdoms would be endangered, she again dispatched troops to Scotland, and the English artillery soon forced Edinburgh Castle to surrender.

Twelve years later, in 1585, an offensive and defensive alliance between the two countries was concluded, and James VI became a pensioner of the English Queen. James had every reason for remaining on good terms with Elizabeth: he knew that, except for his captive mother, he was her nearest relative: he knew that if only he refrained from offending her he was certain to be King of England after her death. The alliance held firm even when Queen Mary was put to death by Elizabeth's order; James disregarded the hint that the most becoming mourning would be a suit of armour, and did nothing beyond sending a half-hearted protest to Elizabeth. Sixteen years later James received his reward: when Queen Elizabeth died in the early spring of 1603 her Council sent.a messenger to Holyrood to hail him as King of England.

KINGS OF SCOTLAND FROM 1306 TO 1625

(Sovereigns in small capitals)



CHAPTER XXIII

KING AND PARLIAMENT

1603-40

JAMES I (JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND), 1603-25
CHARLES I, 1625-49

James I. James the Sixth of Scotiand, the prince who in 1603 became James the First of England, was possessed of abilities above the average. Not only was he learned beyond the custom of kings; his Scottish subjects knew that he was a sagacious ruler, who carried out his schemes by cunning rather than by an open display of force, but who could strike, and strike hard, when he judged it necessary. He had pondered long on many problems of statecraft, and had worked out solutions that to himself, at least, seemed perfectly satisfactory. But his long experience of kingship and his carefully thought-out theories of government really unfitted him for being a worthy successor to Elizabeth. He went to his new kingdom with his mind made up about what he was to discover there: when he did discover some inconvenient fact that did not square with his beautiful theories, he obstinately shut his eyes to it. Thus he not only held that the war with Spain should be brought to an end, as it was in 1604, but, regardless of the fact that every Englishman detested Spain, he strove to bring about an alliance between England and her old enemy. He knew that Parliament had always deferred to the will of the Tudor sovereigns, and concluded that it would always give way to him, forgetting that the Tudors had seldom persisted in a policy to which they saw Parliament was resolutely opposed. Most of his subjects probably believed with him that a strong king was necessary for the maintenance of good government, and that the main business of Parliament was to make laws and grant taxes, but few of them were prepared to accept his theory that a king was appointed by God alone, and that only God could punish him if he ruled badly.

Beginning of Struggle between King and Parliament. The accession of James, in fact, marks the beginning of an eighty years' struggle between the king and the Parliament. James and his successors held that if a king was to be a king at all he must be free to override the wishes of Parliament. Parliament had certain privileges, they admitted, but these privileges were not rights; it could give the king advice, but he was not bound to take it; it could levy certain taxes, but it could not keep the king from levying other taxes if he saw fit. And just as the king could not be thwarted or even criticized, so the ministers whom he appointed could not be removed from their posts or punished in any way for things they had done under his instructions. Parliament, on the other hand, while it admitted that the king's business was to govern, maintained that he must govern according to the rules and within the limits cvhich it had laid down. It held that as far back as 1215, when Magna Charta was signed, it had been laid down that there were certain things which a king could not do; he could not, for example, levy taxes without consent of Parliament. Further, it maintained that if the king's ministers offended Parliament, the plea that they had acted on their master's orders should not save them from punishment. Finally it became more and more strongly convinced that the king should not try to carry out any policy of which it disapproved.

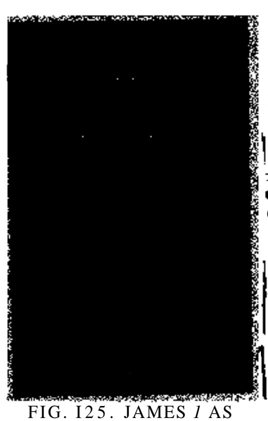


FIG. 125. JAMES I AS A BOY
F. Zuccaro
National Portrait Gallery.

In this contest the king had one great advantage; he alone could summon, adjourn, or dissolve a Parliament. But this did not profit him as much as we might expect. During the sixteenth century the value of silver and gold had fallen to such an extent that a King of England, however thrifty he might be, could not make his regular income do all that it was expected to do. And it was expected to do a great deal: out of an income that was really diminishing rapidly, though its apparent value was the same, the king had to meet the whole cost, not only of maintaining his family and household, but of carrying on the government of the

country. Judges and other officials had to be paid, ships had to be built and kept in repair, and in time of war armies had to be clothed, equipped, and supplied with arms and money. Sooner or later the king would find that he could not make his income stretch to meet all the demands upon it, and that he must summon Parliament, but Parliament would give nothing for nothing; if it granted the king the money for which he asked, it forced him to give up something in return.

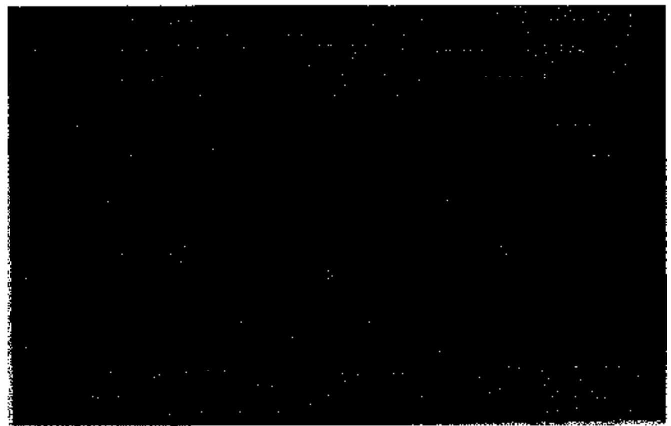


FIG. 126. CATESBY AND HIS FELLOW-CONSTRATORS
From a Dutch engraving.

The Gunpowder Plot. James's difficulties were increased by the religious differences among his people. While the great majority English subjects belonged to the national Church, the Roman Catholics stood aloof, undeterred by the threats of fine and imprisonment. On the other hand, a large minority with in Church of England held that it still resembled the Ron Catholic Church far too closely, and that instead of being governement by bishops appointed by the king, it should be governed by prusbyteries or assemblies of clergy and people. While James had no intention of restoring Roman Catholicism, he was too anxious for friendship with Spain to insist on the laws against Roman Catholics being put into operation. Some of the Catholics did not understand this: in 1605 they resolved to blow up the Parliament House on a day when they knew that the King would

be present. But some suspicion of this Gunpowder Plot had got abroad; on the very eve of the appointed day a search-party discovered twenty barrels of gunpowder in a cellar underneath the House, and a few days later the conspirators were hunted down and executed. This mad conspiracy brought nothing but disaster to the English Catholics: it convinced the ordinary Englishman that every Catholic would be a traitor and a murderer if only he could get the chance, and resulted in the passing of savage and unfair laws. No Catholic, for example, however clever or loyal he might be, could become a doctor, a lawyer, or an officer in the army or navy.

James and the Puritans. The Puritans, as the more extreme Protestants were called, did not get that support from James which they had expected. He did preside over a conference between the leading Puritan divines and their principal opponents, but he made it plain that he had not the slightest sympathy with the Puritans, and that he specially disliked their hostility to bishops. " No bishop, no king," he declared; " presbytery agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil." Yet this ineffectual conference did one piece of work that can never be forgotten: it ordered a new translation of the Bible to be made, and seven years later, in 1611, this took shape as the famous Authorized Version. But in spite of the King's displeasure, Puritanism gained ground, especially among the middle classes in the towns, and did a good deal to stiffen the opposition to the King in the House of Commons. lister's

James's Quarrels with his Parliaments. That oppositioilmish-played itself in James's first Parliament. The King was not more tent that England and Scotland should have the same sovemt any he wanted a union of the English and Scottish Parliament the complete abolition of all restrictions on trade between could. two countries. But the English Parliament did not favolid not scheme, and James was forced to abandon it. Parliaments much more interested in his devices for raising money, sixtens the levying of impositions or taxes to which it had not given ants consent, and the sale of monopolies—the sole right of trading in certain articles. A proposal that the King should be given £200,000 a year if he abandoned his ancient feudal due was almost successful, but each side wanted more than the other was prepared to give; the offer was withdrawn, and in 1611 of nes

dissolved his first Parliament. The same fate befell his second Parliament, which met three years later: it refused to give the King anything unless he abandoned impositions; the King refused to abandon anything, and dissolved this 'Addled Parliament ' before it had passed a single Act. For seven years James; managed to struggle along without a Parliament, but in the interval new difficulties arose to trouble him. In 1618 the Thirty Years War broke out between the Catholic and Protestant princes in Germany. James's son-in-law, the Elector Frederick, claimed the crown of Bohemia, but he was driven out of that country by his overlord, the Emperor, while his own heritage, the Palatinate, was overrun by Spanish troops. James was anxious to save his son-in-law from ruin, but he thought that this could be done most speedily by persuading the King of Spain to use his influence with the Emperor to make him give way. To this end he wanted not only to enter into an alliance with Spain, but to have his son Charles married to a Spanish princess. King Philip's advisers humoured James, but would do nothing to save his son-in-law or to hurry on the marriage.

Parliament assembled in 1621 convinced that the right way to save Frederick and the Protestant cause on the Continent was not to enter into an alliance with Spain, but to declare war upon this ancient enemy. Little sympathy was shown with the King's demands for money: it was believed that if he had not spent vast sums on favourites like the Duke of Buckingham he would have been able to make both ends meet. And this Parliament did what no Parliament had done for more than a century: it declared in an unmistakable way that the king's ministers were responsible to it and not to the king if they did anything wrong. The Lord Chancellor, Bacon, the wisest man in England, if not in all Europe, was suspected of taking bribes: he was impeached or accused by the Commons, tried by the Lords, and sentenced to lose his offices, to pay a fine of £40,000, and to spend a year in prison. Parliament next turned its attention to foreign affairs, and urged the King to make war on Spain. The King was indignant: he declared that no one but himself had a right to handle such matters, and dissolved Parliament.

But Parliament proved to be wiser than the King. It require a journey to Madrid to convince Charles of what most people which long suspected, that the wily Spanish diplomats had fooled

completely. So when the next Parliament assembled in 1624 there was no friction with the King: he consented to the prohibition of fresh monopolies and to the declaration of war on Spain, and was granted substantial sums of money in return.

Charles I and the Petition of Right, The death of James in 1625 ended the first round in the struggle between king and Parliament. Parliament had asserted, without gaining, the right to interfere in foreign affairs and to control taxation; it had made good its claim to try and punish the king's ministers, however lofty their rank might be. The struggle was resumed as soon as Charles I came to the throne: two Parliaments were dismissed in rapid succession because they met the King's demands for money with counter-demands for redress of grievances. Then a third Parliament which met in 1628 drew up a statement of its grievances and laid it before the King. It was well known that the king had got rid of inconvenient persons by throwing them into prison without saying why he did so, thus denying his victims the privilege of a trial, and that he had raised money without asking for the consent of Parliament. Nor was that all: English people were mortally afraid of a regular army—even the Tudors had never had more than a bodyguard of a few hundred men—and when they saw Charles enlisting troops, keeping them in order, not by ordinary law, but by martial law, and finding food and lodging for them by billeting them in private houses, they suspected that he was planning a fresh attack upon their liberties. So the Petition of Right, to which the King reluctantly gave his assent, demanded that no man should be put into prison without the cause being shown, that no tax should be levied without consent of Parliament, that there should be no martial law in 'me of peace, and that the billeting of soldiers in private houses would come to an end.

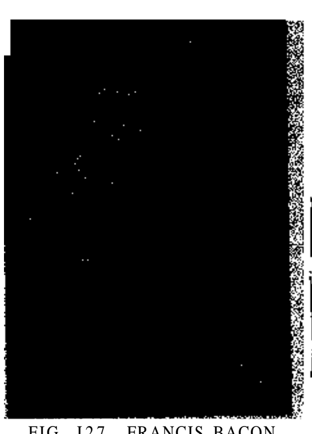


FIG. 127. FRANCIS BACON
Paul van Somer

affairs, so the Court of the Star Chamber was accused of dealing harshly and unfairly with those who criticized the King and his advisers. From attacking the policy of these and similar courts, like the Council of Wales and the Council of the North, people went on to ask if such courts had any right to exist at all, and if they had not been created because tyrannical kings found them more convenient tools than the old-established courts of the realm.

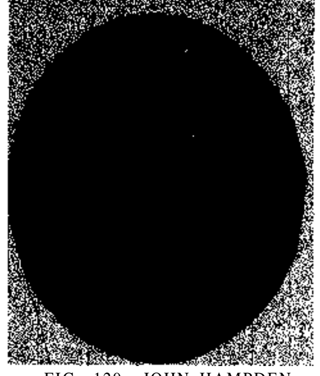


FIG. 129. JOHN HAMPDEN

Devices for obtaining Money. The King's attempts to keep himself supplied with money met with no better success; old, half-forgotten statutes were raked out and put into operation. For example, all persons having land worth more than forty pounds a year were asked to become knights, not because the King wanted to honour them, but because he wanted to pocket the fee which they must pay before they obtained the title. Far greater discontent was caused by Charles's decision to revive the old tax of Ship-money, which long before had been levied in time of war on counties bordering on the coast for the upkeep of the navy. Charles, however, levied it when the nation was at peace, and extended it to inland counties. At first people grumbled, but paid. In 1637, however, a country gentleman called John Hampden declared that Ship-money was an illegal tax, and refused to pay the twenty shillings which was his share of it. He was tried by a court of twelve judges; but though they declared him to be in the wrong, it was by the smallest possible majority; five of them held that the King had no right to impose the tax. The trial had results which Charles did not anticipate: he could force seven judges to say that they agreed with him, but he could not keep the news of Hampden's defiance from spreading through the length and breadth of England, nor make his subjects believe that he was in the right.

War with Scotland: Charles forced to summon Parliament. The discontent might have smouldered for another score of years had

not the King persisted in meddling with the Scottish Church till he goaded the Scots into rebellion. An attempt to invade Scotland with unpaid and badly equipped troops failed ingloriously the King saw that an efficient army could not be got together without money, and that it was impossible to get a penny more without summoning Parliament. His attempt to rule without a Parliament had broken down completely.

It was soon evident that he would find it almost as difficult to rule with a Parliament. The Parliament which assembled in the spring of 1640 obstinately refused to make any money grant until the King had given way to its demands. The King refused, and dissolved Parliament, but his campaign against the Scots in the following summer ended in another humiliating defeat, and he was forced to summon another Parliament. Though he did not know it, he had signed his own death-warrant.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE PROTECTORATE
1640-58

CHARLES I, 1625-49
THE COMMONWEALTH, 1649-53
OLIVER CROMWELL, Protector, 1653-58

The Long Parliament. The Parliament which assembled at the end of 1640 could not foretell any more than the King what the results of its labours were to be—civil war, the death of the King, the establishment of a republic, followed by the rule of a monarch who demanded more of the country than ever Charles had done. The Long Parliament, as it was afterward called, differed little in composition from the other Parliaments of Charles I; the members of the House of Commons were almost without exception country gentlemen, lawyers, or substantial merchants. Many of them were Puritans, but, as it became evident subsequently, the Puritans were not all of one mind. Some would have been content with comparatively slight changes in the Church of England; others, the Presbyterians, wanted the services of the Church to be simplified, and the government of the Church to be taken out of the hands of the bishops and entrusted to presbyteries or elected assemblies of clergy and laymen. Though these Presbyterians were numerous in Parliament, they formed only a small minority of the people of England: this did not deter them, however, from attempting to force their religion on the whole country. A third group—very small as yet—the Independents, could see no good in either bishops or presbyteries, but believed that each little congregation should manage its own affairs. Some of the members of this group were coming slowly and reluctantly to the conclusion that if it was wrong to force people to believe in bishops, it was equally wrong to force people not to believe in bishops. This belief in religious toleration, an idea which seemed strange and wicked to even the best people of that age, had dawned in the mind of one man of whom more will yet be

heard—Oliver Cromwell. But in 1640 Cromwell was an unknown man; the leader who guided and inspired the Commons in their attack on the Fling was the lawyer John Pym. In the House of Lords Charles could count on the support of the bishops, but the other peers, though they did not share the enthusiasm of the Commons for Puritanism, were almost unanimous in their determination that the power of the King should be diminished. Never again must any king attempt to rule without Parliament; never again must his counsellors feel that they were free to act as they liked so long as they kept the confidence of their sovereign.

The Execution of Strafford. Parliament directed its first attack, not against the King, but against his right-hand man, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. Strafford had once sided with the Parliament against the King, but had swung round and, even during the time when he was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, had been Charles's most trusted adviser. The knowledge that he had encouraged Charles to rule as an absolute monarch, joined to the suspicion that he meant to terrify the King's opponents by sending an army of Irish Catholics to England, was enough for the Parliament. Before the end of the year he was arrested and impeached on the charge of treason, but his enemies found it difficult to explain how a man who had done nothing without the King's consent could be a traitor to the King. They therefore dropped the impeachment and used a new weapon: instead of insisting that he should be tried before the House of Lords, the Commons in 1641 passed a Bill of Attainder declaring Strafford to be guilty of treason. The Bill passed the Lords, and was presented to the King, who wavered long, for he had assured Strafford that he was in no danger, but in the end he gave way. " Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation," exclaimed the doomed man when he knew that his master had betrayed him. He was executed four days later, in the early summer of 1641. Thus was asserted once and for all the rule that the king's counsellors are responsible to Parliament for the advice which they give him. It still holds good, though happily we no longer cut off the head of a statesman whose advice to the king does not meet with the approval of Parliament.

The King's Authority Diminished. The attack on the King'

was not long delayed. Before Strafford met his death the King had been forced to give up his most important weapon, his right to summon and dissolve Parliament whenever he pleased. The Triennial Act declared that Parliament must meet at least once every three years, and remain in session for at least fifty days. As there was nothing in this Act to prevent a sudden dissolution of the Parliament which had passed it, it was ordained in another

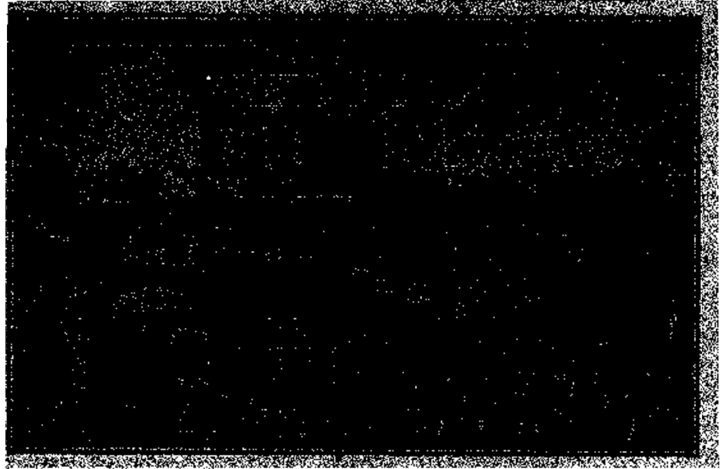


FIG. 130. EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD

Hollar

Act that the Long Parliament could not be dissolved except with its own consent. That was not all; in the same year every one of Charles's devices for raising money, such as compulsory knighthood and the exaction of Ship-money, was declared to be illegal, and the Court of the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, the Council of the North, and the Council of Wales were abolished. Within a few months the Parliament had, as it were, become King of England. The King could not dismiss Parliament nor raise money without its consent, nor keep in his service any counsellor of whom Parliament disapproved. He had still the power of veto, the right to reject any Bill which Parliament presented to him, but now that Parliament could bend him to its will by refusing to grant supplies, this power did not amount to

much. If both sides had stopped here all would have been well, but Parliament pressed on, partly because the Puritan members wanted to abolish government by bishops and to make other changes in the Church; partly because it was suspected that the King did not mean to remain faithful to his promises. There was only too much reason for this suspicion; Charles held that promises made under compulsion were no promises, and that as soon as he got a chance he must again act as the sole ruler of England. He thought that the chance would come soon, for he saw that the differences of opinion about changes in the Church had split the Commons into two nearly equal parties, and that most of the Lords would support him in resisting the demands of the Puritans. On the other hand, if he did not act quickly he ran the risk of losing what little authority was left to him, for his opponents in the Commons were proposing that he should no longer be commander-in-chief of the army and navy.

The Five Members. At the beginning of 1642 he struck: he sent a demand to Parliament that Pym, Hampden, and three other members of the House of Commons should be arrested and impeached before the Lords on the charge of treason. As Parliament refused to consider his request he resolved to arrest the members himself, and marched from his palace of Whitehall to the House at the head of three hundred armed men. He strode into the House of Commons and looked round the benches, but could see nothing of the five members. They had been warned of the King's intentions, and while Charles was approaching Westminster by land, they had got into a boat and slipped down stream to the city. The King's stroke had failed: " I see my birds are flown," he exclaimed, and walked out of the House.

Charles's action was a colossal blunder. Well might the members cry " Privilege! " as he left them: never had the most powerful of the Tudors dared to flout their privileges as Charles had done. That was not all: Charles's clumsy attempt to arrest the five members showed their fellows that all the concessions and promises of the last year were only empty words; that he intended to regain what he had surrendered at the very first opportunity. Clearly ordinary peaceful persuasion was thrown away upon the King: the only appeal to which he would listen was the stern argument of war. Five days later he left London, but seven

months were spent in futile negotiations, and not till August 1642 did he raise his standard at Nottingham.

FIG. 131
A CAVALIER

Outbreak of the Civil War. He could count on being supported by a large part of the nation, and even of the Parliament, for the members were no longer undivided in their opposition to the King; about a third of the Commons and almost all the Lords absented themselves from the Parliament at Westminster and formed, later on, a Royalist Parliament, which met at Oxford. Like many private citizens, these members had been ready to find fault with the King, but they refused to reform him by making war against him. The majority of the King's supporters were to be found in the North and West of England: the majority of those who held by the Parliament were to be found in the South-east, especially in London and the large towns. Again, almost all the great nobles and most of the country gentlemen were to be found in the ranks of the Cavaliers, as the King's supporters were called, while the bulk of the Parliamentarians were small farmers, city merchants, and tradesmen. These were nicknamed Roundheads by their opponents, because many of them wore their hair closely cropped instead of letting it fall over their shoulders, as was the fashion (see Figs. 131 and 132). As in the last great civil war, there were many, in all parts of the country, who cried, " A plague on both your houses! " and did their best to keep clear of the struggle.

FIG. 132
A ROUNDHEAD

Royalist Successes. In the earlier stages of the war it seemed as if victory would rest with the royal armies. For one thing, they were composed of better fighting material—country squires, grooms, and gamekeepers, well accustomed to the use of horses and firearms, made more resolute and skilful soldiers than city craftsmen and apprentices. Then the Parliamentarian generals, men like the Earl of Manchester and the Earl of Essex,

were not remarkably good soldiers, and showed no eagerness to inflict a decisive defeat on the King. " If we beat the King ninety and nine times," grumbled Manchester, " yet he is King still . . . but if the King beat us once we shall all be hanged."

The first big battle of the war took place at Edgehill, where a Parliamentarian army tried in vain to keep the King from advancing upon London. Charles occupied Brentford, and got as far as Turnham Green, when he lost heart and called off his men. He had no difficulty, however, in seizing and fortifying Oxford, which remained his headquarters till the end of the war. In 1643 the Parliamentarian armies were swept out of the North and South-west: a few months more and the King would be triumphant. For a time Pym saved the cause of the Parliament: he hurried on negotiations for a treaty with the Scots, and before the end of the year the Solemn League and Covenant was signed. Early in 1644 an army of 20,000 Scottish soldiers, many of them veterans of the Thirty Years War, led by Alexander Leslie, a general who had won renown in Continental warfare, crossed the Tweed. But this assistance was bought at a heavy price: when it accepted the Soiemn League and Covenant Parliament bound itself to impose Presbyterianism upon England.

The Battle of Marston Moor. The battle of Marston Moor, fought a few miles from the walls of York in the summer of 1644, showed the fighting qualities of the Scots: it also showed that, in the Parliamentary army there was one officer, Oliver Cromwell, for whom the most brilliant of the Royalist generals was no match, and that in the regiment of horse which he commanded, * the Ironsides,' as some one called it, he possessed a perfect fighting machine. The opposing armies were arranged, as was the fashion of the time, in three divisions, infantry in the centre, cavalry on the two wings. The day of heavy armour had passed: the soldiers—like the horseman shown in Fig. 133—were now protected only by a cuirass and helmet of steel. The cavalry carried swords and heavy pistols: the infantry were armed with unwieldy guns called matchlocks, because in them the powder was exploded by coming into contact with a slow-burning fuse or match (see Fig. 134). As there had to be a long pause after each discharge while the musketeer pushed the powder and bullet into the muzzle of his weapon with a ramrod, and as the bayonet had

not yet been invented, an unexpected charge of cavalry, boldly pushed home, often overwhelmed the stoutest infantrymen. To guard against this danger pikemen or spearmen were usually mixed with the musketeers.

FIG. 133. CROMWELLIAN HORSEMAN

Late in the evening, when Prince Rupert, the Royalist general, had ceased to expect that there would be an attack, the fighting began. Cromwell launched his splendid cavalry against the Royalist right and drove it back, till Rupert led forward his cavalry reserves and held up the attack. But only for a moment; as soon as David Leslie had reinforced him with three regiments of Scottish cavalry, Cromwell renewed the attack, and broke and scattered the right wing of the royal army. In other parts of the field things did not go so well for the Parliamentarians : their right wing was overwhelmed by the Royalist cavalry and half of their centre swept away. For a time it looked as if Rupert would be victorious, but the five regiments of Scottish infantry that were left in the centre stood firm, and almost in a moment Cromwell changed defeat to triumph. He made the troops under his command wheel round, and while his infantry attacked the Royalist centre he cut across the rear of the enemy at the head of his cavalry, appeared behind their left flank, and hurled his horsemen against the royal cavalry as they straggled back from their onslaught against the Parliamentarian right. With both its wings smashed, the desperate resistance of the Royalist centre

FIG. 134. INFANTRYMAN

Time of Civil War; carrying matchlock. Notice the smoking fuse and the rest on which the soldier placed his unwieldy weapon when he was taking aim.

availed nothing; it was broken at last and driven from the field.

The New Model Army. The battle of Marston Moor destroyed the King's cause in the North of England: even the disaster at Lostwithiel a few days later, where Essex lost the whole of his army, failed to undo its effects. Still, the end of the war did not seem to be any nearer: as yet the King had no thought of surrender. More determined leaders and a better army must be found if the Parliament was to gain a decisive victory. Accordingly, at the beginning of 1645 Parliament passed the New Model Ordinance, which established a regular army of twenty thousand men of the type of Cromwell's Ironsides, well trained, well equipped, and well paid. Along with this went the Self-denying Ordinance, which forbade any member of either House of Parliament to be an officer in the army. Manchester and Essex lost their positions; Sir Thomas Fairfax became commander-in-chief, and a little later Cromwell was appointed second-in-command.

The New Model Army was destined to be, for its size, the most formidable body of soldiers ever raised in England. The gleam of their scarlet coats and steel helmets was soon to be seen not only on English meadows, not only on the desolate moors of Scotland and Ireland, but on the sand-dunes of Flanders and the rolling plains of Northern France. It was not altogether training and equipment that made them what they became, not even the fact that their leaders were chosen simply for their ability; it was religious fervour that made them believe that the struggle in which they were engaged was a holy war. Men who were convinced that God was fighting on their side, and that they were working out His purposes, were not likely to be daunted by so little a thing as the fear of death.

The Battle of Naseby. At Naseby, in June 1645, the New Model Army first came into action. This time the Cavaliers were commanded by the King himself, with Prince Rupert in charge of the cavalry on the right flank. The battle was almost an exact repetition of Marston Moor: Rupert's cavalry overwhelmed and broke the cavalry opposite them; then, concluding that the battle was won, they fell to plundering the baggage-train of their opponents; the royal infantry drove the Parliamentarian centre back for a space, but Cromwell's cavalry scattered the

Royalist left, then wheeled round and charged into the struggling infantry. That charge decided the battle and the war: when night fell the Royalist army had ceased to exist, and the King himself was little better than a hunted fugitive. For a time Charles thought that his greatest general, Montrose, who was carrying everything before him in Scotland, might succeed in marching south and joining the remnants of the royal armies, but with Montrose's defeat at Philiphaugh in the autumn of 1645 even that hope disappeared. In 1646 the King surrendered to the Scots, who in the following year gave him up to the Parliament and returned home.

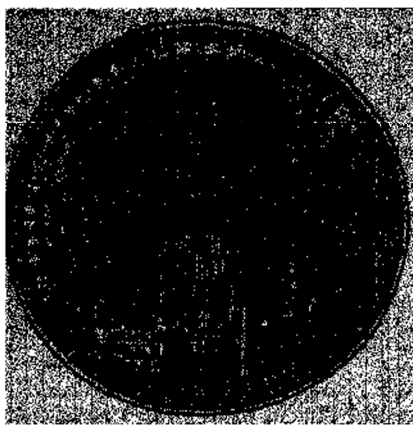


FIG. 135. GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH
Reverse, showing Parliament in session.

Divisions among the King's Opponents. The Parliament was victorious, but it did not know what to do with its victory. For one thing, it was not absolutely free to decide: the Army was rapidly changing from a faithful servant to a tyrannical master. Most of the soldiers were Independents, like Cromwell; most of the members of Parliament were Presbyterians, pledged to impose their system of Church government upon an unwilling country. Religious differences were intensified by differences of opinion about pay: officers and men alike were conscious that the war had been won, not by the merchants and lawyers who argued at Westminster, but by themselves, and they made up their minds that if Parliament resolved on any action of which they disapproved it would soon learn who was master.

Conflict between Parliament and Army. For the moment the inevitable conflict was postponed by the action of the King, who, after negotiating with the Army and the Parliament, made a treaty with the Scots which bound them to invade England on

his behalf. In 1648 the Duke of Hamilton appeared in Lancashire at the head of a large army, but Cromwell hurried north, gathering horse and foot as he went, caught the Scots at Preston strung out along miles of sodden road, pursued them as far as Wigan, fighting fiercely all the time, and routed them completely. Cromwell and the other Army leaders were now convinced that the King must die: Parliament had learned nothing from this second civil war, and was now eager to restore the King if he would consent to establish Presbyterianism. At last the Army leaders took action; they sent Colonel Pride with a body of soldiers to block the approaches to the Houses of Parliament and to turn back all members who were known to be hostile to them. Over a hundred and fifty of those members who still attended Parliament were turned back or arrested; only two or three dozen, known later as 'the Rump,' survived this drastic 'Pride's Purge.

The Rump existed only to do the will of the Army: it declared that Charles, by making war against his own country, had been guilty of treason, and appointed a special court to try the King. In January 1649 fifty-two judges assembled in Westminster Hall to decide whether or not their King was worthy of death.

Execution of the King. Never did Charles Stewart, that creature of shifts and stratagems, behave with more nobility than in the closing days of his life. He showed no fear of the death that menaced him, and refused to say a word in his own defence before a court which, in his eyes, was no court at all. He was found guilty; before the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall he met his death with the same courage and dignity that he had displayed before his judges.

The Commonwealth. England was now a commonwealth or republic: the ruler was no longer one man, but a body of men, which asserted that it had been chosen by the people of England. This was the theory: the facts were different The Rump was only a fragment of the original Long Parliament: it could claim to represent only a section of the nation, and even then that section had had no chance of declaring what it thought of the great changes that had taken place during the last nine years. Abroad no one respected the Commonwealth: its ambassadors in Spain and Holland were murdered: it looked for a time as if the other princes in Europe would fall upon it to avenge the death of the;

King. Nearer home trouble threatened it: the Irish Catholics, who had rebelled in 1641, were still unsubdued, and had entered into an uncertain alliance with the Irish Royalists, while in Scotland even the few who did not condemn the execution of Charles I were ready to welcome his son as king.

Why, then, was this fragment of a Parliament able to maintain

its authority for four years after the death of Charles? Because it had the support of an iavincible army, led by the greatest soldier in Europe. The Army was the master of Parliament, and Cromwell was master of the Army. He marched from one triumph to another: his campaign of 1649 terrified Ireland into a sullen peace; in 1650 he marched against the Scots, who had declared for Charles II, the dead King's eldest son, and routed them at Dunbar. In the following year they raised another army, but Cromwell lured it into the heart of England, assailed it at Worcester, and defeated it completely. The young King, who had marched southward with the invaders, escaped to the Continent with some difficulty. In 1652 war broke out with

Holland, but in Blake the Commonwealth had a leader who was almost as great on sea as Cromwell was on land, and at the end of two years, when their fleets had been shattered and their coasts blockaded, the Dutch sued for peace.

The Protectorate, Meantime the Rump had disappeared: it quarrelled with the Army, and in 1653 Cromwell drove it out. Slowly and reluctantly Cromwell was coming to the conclusion

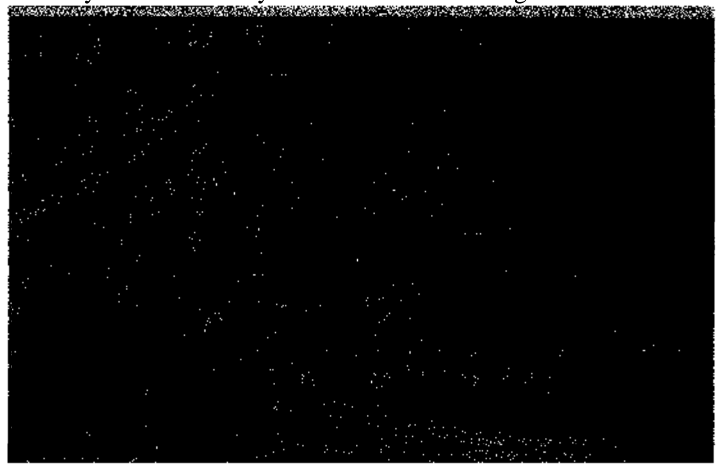


FIG. 137. CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT

that England must again submit to be guided by one man, and that he alone could steer her past the perilous shoals and quicksands that lay in her way. It is true that he and the leading officers of the Army summoned an assembly, the members of which they appointed themselves, but after a few weeks of feverish activity this Little Parliament shared the fate of the Long Parliament. At the end of the year the Army officers presented the Instrument of Government to Cromwell. In this document it was proposed that he should take the title of Lord Protector, with all the powers of a king, and should rule with the help of a council and Parliament. He accepted the Instrument: three years later he agreed to a further enlargement of his powers, laid down in the Humble Petition and Advice, but to the end of his days he refused to take the title of king.

Thus the wheel had come full circle: Cromwell had drawn the sword to limit the power of a king and to exalt the authority of Parliament; now he had risen out of the wreck of the Parliament which he had defended and destroyed, wielding a power as great as Charles had ever dared to claim. Crushing taxes were laid on the people by his sole authority; a great army was maintained though the land was at peace; the country was parcelled out into twelve districts, each of them under the jurisdiction of a major-general who was appointed by the Protector, and was responsible only to him. His two parliaments were carefully chosen: no one who had taken up arms for the King could be an elector; anyone of whom Cromwell disapproved was excluded from the House, but he dissolved them both as soon as they attempted to diminish his powers.

FIG. 138. OLIVER CROMWELL
From the National Portrait Gallery.

We are tempted to say that Cromwell was insincere and ambitious, but nothing could be farther from the truth. He believed that he knew what his countrymen needed better than the majority of them did themselves. Like Henry VII after the Wars of the Roses, he felt that the country must have order and quiet: he felt, too, that the religious freedom which the Independents had won should not be lightly flung away. He was convinced that if he relaxed his hold the country would slip back into disorder and civil war, and he refused to abandon a task which grew heavier and heavier every day.

Cromwell's Foreign Policy. Even those who hated Oliver most could hardly refrain from admiring the glories of his brief reign. It seemed that the great days of Elizabeth had returned; once more the ruler of England was courted and feared by the other princes of Europe. In 1655 he sent one English fleet to the West Indies, where it captured Jamaica from the Spaniards. A second under Blake he dispatched against the pirate strongholds on the North African coast. Tunis was bombarded and the Dey of

Algiers terrified into giving up his English captives. He join France in a war against Spain; in 1657 his red-coated veterans covered themselves with glory in the Spanish Netherlands, and he received the town of Dunkirk from France as a reward for his help. At the same time Blake bottled up the Spanish treasure fleet in the harbour of Vera Cruz in the Canary Islands, silenced the guns of the great fort to which the Spaniards had trusted for protection, and sank or burned every ship.

FIG. 139. A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY WARSHIP

This type of ship, evolved before the middle of the seventeenth century, remained in use, with slight modifications, down to the time of the Crimean War.

From a medal commemorating the appointment of James, Duke of York, to be Lord High Admiral (1660).

Cromwell's Ecclesiastical Policy. A few years were to prove that his foreign policy was a splendid blunder: that the country to be feared was no longer Spain but France. But if his views on foreign affairs were old-fashioned, his belief in religious toleration was looked on as novel and strange. It is true that government by bishops was abolished, that the use of the Prayer Book was forbidden in the parish churches, and that Cromwell attempted to establish a new national Church which included all Puritans, whether Presbyterians or Independents. But those who held to the older usages of the Church of England were not molested, and, though the harsh laws against Roman Catholics remained in force, Cromwell showed no anxiety to figure as a persecutor.

Death of Cromwell. The Presbyterians who chafed at his moderation soon had a taste of something else. Years of anxiety and exertion had made him old before his time, and on the 3rd of September, 1658, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, he died, thanking God that his work was done.

CHAPTER XXV

THE TRIUMPH OF PARLIAMENT

1658-1702

RICHARD CROMWELL, Protector, 1658-59	JAMES II, 1685-88
CHARLES II, 1660-85	WILLIAM III, 1689-1702
	MARY II, 1689-94

The Restoration. We have seen in the last two chapters how the struggle between the English Parliament and a king who claimed to be an absolute monarch had led to the establishment, first of a republic, and then of a monarchy more powerful than that which the Civil War had destroyed. But the installation of Cromwell as Protector was only the end of one chapter in the story of the struggle between king and Parliament; with the death of Oliver the Protectorate collapsed. His good-natured, indolent son Richard, who succeeded him, soon abandoned a task which he found more irksome than honourable. No one knew what might happen next; the Army was divided against itself, and it seemed as if England was on the brink of another civil war when General Monk, the commander of the Protectorate armies in Scotland, marched to London at the head of his troops and summoned a new Parliament. This Convention Parliament declared that the old form of government by King, Lords, and Commons should be restored, and in May 1660 Charles II returned to the kingdom which he had left nine years before as a hunted fugitive.

Limits of the Royal Power. The country seemed as if it had awakened from a long nightmare, so wild was the enthusiasm with which Charles was received. The glories of Oliver's reign were forgotten; men remembered only the intolerable taxation and the vexatious laws that had forbidden both drunken carousals and the innocent festivities of Twelfth Night or May Day, and had visited theatres and bear-gardens with the same condemnation. But Charles did not return as an absolute monarch. Even

before he left Holland for England he had signed the Declaration of Breda, by which he bound himself to molest no man on account of his religion, and to forgive all who had taken up arms against himself or his father, except those whom Parliament refused to pardon. In addition, Charles knew then, or found out very soon afterward, that it would be impossible to revive the Star Chamber or any similar court, that he could not attempt to raise taxes without the consent of Parliament, and that if his counsellors or ministers gave him advice of which Parliament disapproved, Parliament would see that they were punished. In spite of all its enthusiasm the Convention Parliament disbanded the army, allowing the King to retain only one or two regiments of horse- and foot-guards and the garrisons of a few fortresses.

Abolition of Feudalism. Before it was dissolved at the end of 1660, the Convention Parliament did one notable piece of work. Though the age of feudalism had long passed, many estates in England were still held by feudal tenure. It is true that the owner was no longer required to follow the king, well armed and horsed, with half a score knights behind him, but he had to pay a substantial sum when he entered into possession of his estates; his purse was lightened when the king's eldest son was knighted or his daughter married; if he died leaving a child to succeed him, his heir became a royal ward. The troubles of the previous eighteen years, however, had thrown the already outworn system into such hopeless confusion that Parliament was forced to abolish it altogether.

The Cavalier Parliament. Charles faithfully observed one part of the Declaration of Breda. The Convention Parliament passed an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, from which only a handful of the late King's enemies were excepted, and of these only ten were put to death, but Charles discovered that it would be more difficult to keep the other part of his promise. The Parliament which met in 1661 was composed largely of young men whose fathers had fought under the banner of Charles I. Their enthusiastic devotion to the King earned them the nickname of the Cavalier Parliament. The astute King was fully aware of the value of their loyalty: when some one complained of their youth, Charles answered that he would keep them till they got beards. But their devotion had its limits: they were no fonder of a

standing army than the Convention Parliament had been; though they repealed the Triennial Act in 1664 as humiliating to the King, they still insisted that Parliament should meet at least once in three years, and though they detested the Roman Catholic Church they hated Puritanism almost as much.

Character and Policy of Charles II. King Charles had little sympathy with their religious views, as was only natural, since he was a Roman Catholic at heart. But promises and principles weighed little with this shrewd, humorous, cynical prince. Some day or other he would like to reign in England as his friend Louis XIV reigned in France, with no Parliament to bind his will: some time or other he might declare himself a Catholic, and abolish the laws which weighed upon his Catholic subjects; but he was in no hurry; he desired to live at his ease, to lavish money on himself and on witty and worthless favourites, and above everything else he wanted to be sure that never again would he be sent on his travels. So when he saw that Parliament was eager to persecute the Puritans he forgot the Declaration of Breda and let the members have their way.

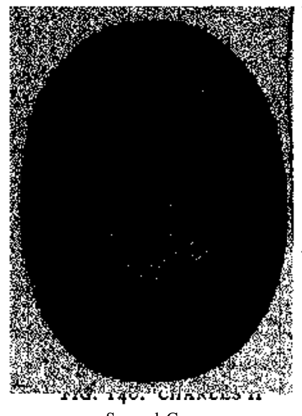


FIG. 140. CHARLES II

Samuel Cooper

The Clarendon Code. The restoration of the king also meant the restoration of the Church of England as it had existed in the reign of Charles I; bishops resumed the control of their dioceses as if they had never been absent, and the Prayer Book was again used. But hundreds of parish churches were occupied by Puritan clergymen, the majority of whom had been admitted since the outbreak of the Civil War. Most of them were men of high character, many of them were men of great learning, but in the eyes of the Cavalier Parliament they had one unpardonable fault —they believed neither in bishop nor in Prayer Book. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity required every clergyman to be ordained by a bishop, and to declare that he accepted the Prayer Book. If he refused to obey he would be ejected from his church. This

was not much harder treatment than had been meted out by the Puritans to their opponents during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, but Parliament was not content with the removal of the Puritans from the national Church; by forcing all teachers to accept the Prayer Book and to obtain permission to teach from a bishop, it deprived the ejected clergy of their only chance of making a decent livelihood. Few of the Puritans yielded to the temptation to purchase comfort by submission; before the end of the year twelve hundred of them left their churches. Parliament followed up this measure in 1665 by the Five-Mile Act, which forbade any Dissenting ministers, as the ejected Puritans were now called, to come within five miles of any town or of any parish in which they had formerly preached. This Clarendon Code, as it was called from the statesman who had the chief share in preparing it, pressed with equal severity on the Dissenting layman: the Corporation Act, passed in 1661, excluded him from all share in the management of his town, and the Conventicle Act of 1664 forbade him to attend any religious service other than the services of the Church of England.

FIG. 141. A BISHOP OF THE TIME OF CHARLES II

The Treaty of Dover. The King's desire to avoid open strife with his Parliament had other results in addition to those shown in the last paragraph. The money granted to him by Parliament, though far in excess of what any former Parliament had ever allowed to an English king, was not sufficient for Charles's real needs, much less for the gratification of his extravagant tastes. In addition, Parliament had acquired the inconvenient habit of "appropriating supplies," that is, declaring how the money should be spent when any grant was made to the king. Charles, therefore, in defiance of the fact that his advisers had just entered into the Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden, made a secret treaty, the Treaty of Dover, with King Louis XIV of France, whereby he bound himself to join the French in making war on his allies, the Dutch, and to declare himself a Roman Catholic. In return Louis gave him a substantial sum of money, and promised him troops if the declaration of his real religion

should seem likely to provoke a rebellion. It was an extraordinary situation: the King of England had become, and remained to the end of his life, the paid servant of a foreign monarch. Charles set about the fulfilment of his part of the bargain by picking a quarrel with the Dutch, careless of the fact that in the last war with Holland, which came to an inglorious end in 1667 with the bombardment of Chatham, the English sailors had found the Dutch-

FIG. 142. COSTUMES OF THE NOBILITY : TIME OF CHARLES II

men most formidable opponents. In 1672, without declaring war, Charles ordered his ships to attack a fleet of Dutch merchantmen. The English were driven off, and the Third Dutch War began. But the King's dishonourable conduct brought him no gain; the main English fleet, commanded by his brother James, was severely mauled in the battle of Southwold Bay, and the rich merchantmen, which he thought would help to replenish his empty exchequer, consistently refused to be captured. In 1674 he made peace, cheered by the thought that his nephew, the young Stadtholder, or permanent president, as we might call him, William, Prince of Orange, had now become the leading man in Holland.

Struggle between King and Parliament. No better success attended him in his attempt to carry out those terms of the treaty dealing with religion. In 1672 he issued the Declaration of Indulgence, suspending the laws against both Dissenters and

Roman Catholics. But as this edict had not been submitted to Parliament, for the very good reason that it had not a ghost of a chance of getting through, the members were indignant; in 1673 they forced the King to withdraw the Declaration and passed the Test Act, which increased the already intolerable burdens laid on the Roman Catholics and Dissenters. It required all judges and other royal officials, and all officers in the army and navy, to take the sacrament after the fashion of the Church of England, and to repudiate transubstantiation.

FIG. 143. A DUTCH MERCHANTMAN OF THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

From a model in the Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam.

The Exclusion Bill: Charles an Absolute Monarch. The passing of the Test Act was only one sign of the growing horror of Roman Catholicism. The ordinary man had not yet forgotten the Gunpowder Plot; when the City of London was almost completely burned out in 1666 by a fire which raged for four days, he was convinced that the Catholics were to blame, and when in 1678 a worthless liar called Titus Oates came forward with the tale of a Papist plot to murder the King, he believed every word of the wonderful narrative. But nothing could be more certain than that Charles would be succeeded by a Roman Catholic king: he had several children, but as none were the offspring of his lawful wife, his brother, James, Duke of York, a declared Catholic, was the nearest heir to the throne. In 1679 Charles tried to strengthen his position by dissolving the Cavalier Parliament. But his second Parliament, urged by the subtle and ambitious Earl of Shaftes-

bury, passed the Exclusion Bill, which decreed that on the death of Charles the crown should pass, not to James, but to the Duke of Monmouth, the eldest of Charles's illegitimate sons. Shaftesbury was confident that the King would give way, as he had done so often, but Charles thought that the time to make a stand had come. The claim that Parliament could tamper with the succession was one which, in his opinion, he could not admit without ceasing to be a king; when the Bill was presented to him he retaliated by dissolving Parliament. The Whigs, as Shaftesbury's supporters began to be called, forced a second Exclusion Bill through the Commons, but their opponents, the Tories, to use another new-fashioned name, threw it out in the House of Lords. In spite of this rebuff the Commons met Charles's requests for money with a demand that he should exclude James from the succession: again Charles foiled Shaftesbury by dissolving Parliament. By this high-handed action Charles almost provoked a civil war; Shaftesbury, who had the enthusiastic support of the London mob, flustered and threatened. He was aware that as Charles was in sore need of money he must summon a Parliament soon, but he did not know Charles. That apparently open and careless prince was never more to be dreaded than when he seemed most helpless. In 1681 he ordered his fourth Parliament to meet in the calmer atmosphere of Oxford, whither Shaftesbury's bodyguard of London roughs could not follow him. He knew, but Shaftesbury did not, that the King of France had promised him two million francs. Freed from his money troubles for the time, he did not worry when the Commons insisted that after his death his brother should retain nothing more than the title of king, but dissolved Parliament after it had sat for only a

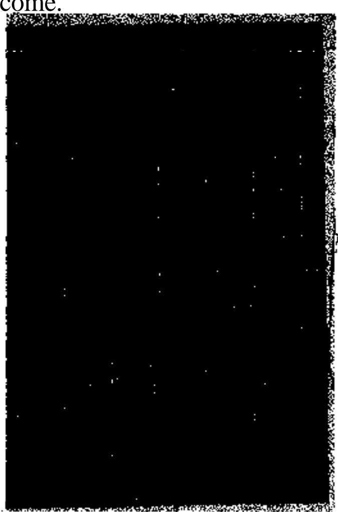


FIG. 144. TITUS OATES IN THE PILLORY

From a print in the British Museum.

week. This was the last thing that the members had expected; they did not know what to do, and ended by doing nothing. Charles had gained a complete victory; for the rest of his life he ruled without a Parliament.

James II. So we see that the partnership between king and Parliament which succeeded the absolute rule of Cromwell was in its turn displaced by the absolute rule of Charles II. But Charles knew that there was a point beyond which he dared not go: he was careful to conceal his own religion, and to refrain from any effort to protect or support the Roman Catholics. James, who succeeded him in 1685, was too honest or too bigoted to carry on his brother's religious policy: he posed as the champion of toleration for all Christians, but his real purpose was the restoration of Roman Catholicism as the national religion of England. He thought that his position was absolutely secure. It is true that a few months after James's accession the Duke of Monmouth headed a rebellion against him, but his peasant army was routed by the King's forces at Sedgemoor, and he himself perished on the scaffold. But the wholesale execution of captured rebels did not endear James to his subjects. At that moment, too, all England was thrilled with horror and pity at the news which came from France, where Louis XIV, grown bigot in his old age, had revoked the Edict of Nantes, which granted freedom of worship to Protestants in his kingdom, turned his soldiers on those who refused to change their religion at his whim, and hounded tens of thousands of his most faithful subjects into exile. But James had neither the cunning nor the common sense of his brother: he dismissed Parliament a few months after his accession because it would not listen to his schemes for toleration, dismissed his advisers because they refused to become Catholics, forced Catholics into positions from which they were excluded by law, and finally, without consulting Parliament, issued a Declaration of Indulgence, cancelling the laws against Catholics and Dissenters.

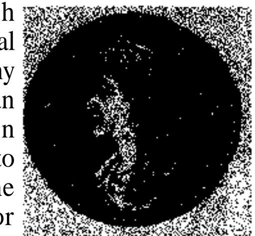


FIG. 145. COIN SHOWING HEAD OF JAMES II

Fai re of Attempt to restore Catholicism. Now there was nothing wrong about the Declaration of Indulgence itself; it was

only fair that all classes of Christians should be allowed to worship in the way which they thought right, but it caused general consternation. Every one knew what the King's real purpose was; every one saw that to carry it out he had set aside laws which could be cancelled only with the consent of Parliament. When the King massed an army near London, composed partly of Irish troops and including a large proportion of Catholics among its

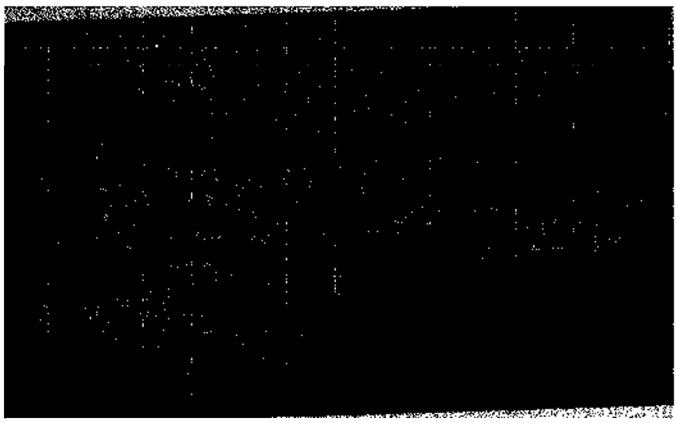


FIG. 146. THE BISHOP BEING TAKEN TO THE TOWER

officers, every one suspected that some big change was about to take place; people consoled themselves, however, by reflecting that the King was not immortal, and that when he died his successor would be his daughter Mary, who was a Protestant. But in the early summer of 1688 came two events that shook his subjects out of their resignation. In the spring James had issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered it to be read in every parish church: seven of the bishops, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, protested, but were straightway lodged in the Tower to await their trial. Then, while every one was wondering what the result of the trial would be, the astounding news spread that a son had been born to the Queen. At first people refused to believe it, but there was no denying the fact; no denying, either, that the child would be brought up as a 0
and that England had to face the prospect of a long line of

kings. A few days later consternation was succeeded by wild rejoicing when it became known that the seven bishops had been acquitted: bonfires blazed in the streets of London, and even James's troops, encamped on Hounslow Heath, could not forbear to cheer. That very night half a dozen noblemen sent a message

FIG. 147. FLIGHT OF **JAMES II FROM WHITEHALL**
From an engraving by A. Schoonebeck.

to the Prince of Orange, inviting him to come over to England at the head of an army.

The Revolution. At the end of the year William landed in Devonshire and marched on London. He met with no resistance: James's advisers and officers hastened to welcome him; every day the wretched King heard of some fresh desertion; he knew that he could not depend on his army, and in despair he slipped away from London in a ship bound for France. He was captured and brought back, but William had no mind to have another Charles I *Fa* his hands, and was only too glad to let him escape a second nothme.

H

William III: the Limits of his Power. William Kad **a double** claim to the English crown: his mother was the el dest daughter of Charles I, and he had married Mary, the fugitive King's elder daughter. He was desperately anxious, too, to become kin, because he would then be able to send the English fle and army to the help of his countrymen, who were menaced by the ambition of Louis XIV. But as yet no one had asked him to be king, and it was difficult to get over the fact that both his wife and his sister-in-law, the Princess Anne, had a better right to the three. The Convention Parliament, however, which met in 1689 declared that the throne was vacant, and, after Mary had flatly declined to be Queen if her husband were not allowed to be King, it invited William and Mary to be King and Queen. But Parliament had made up its mind that there were to be no more absolute moiaarchs and no more Roman Catholic kings, and in the Declaration of Right it laid down the rule that the king could not canciel or suspend any laws, and that he could neither keep a standing army in time of peace nor levy taxes without consent of Parliani it. The king, however, was by no means deprived of all his pow s; he still acted as his own commander-in-chief in time of war; le was still his own Foreign Minister, taking on his shoulders the business of conducting negptiations and making alliances with foreign countries; though he must summon Parliament, there was nothing to make him summon it more frequently, or to prevent his keeping an over-loyal Parliament as long as he pleased; he could reject any Bill presented to him by Parliament, and though the Habeas Corpus Act, passed in 1679, forbade him to throw anyone into prison without an opportunity for a trial, he was still permitted to dismiss any judge who gave a verdict which displeased him. But the next ten years witnessed a further shrinkage of the royal authority; a few months after William landed Parliament found it necessary to pass a Mutiny Act to maintain order in the army; but as the Act was to expire at the end of a twelvemonth, William saw that if he wanted to have a disciplined army at all he must summon his Parliament every year. In 1694 another Triennial Act limited the duration of any one Parliament to three years, and by the Act of Settlement, passed in 1701, the king lost his right to dismiss judges who had displeased him.

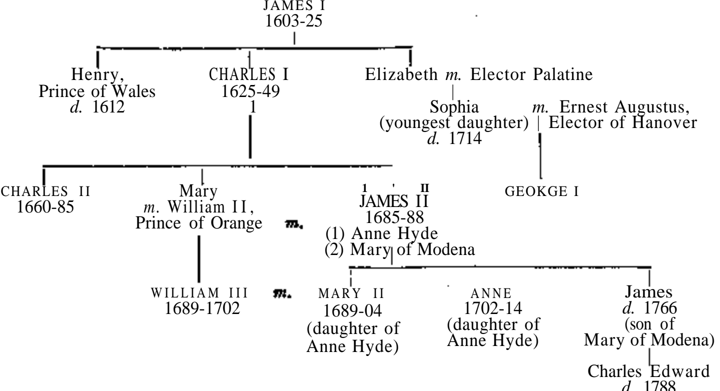
The Triumph of Parliament. With the end of the seventeenth century the long struggle between king and Parliament drew to a quiet close. It left the Parliament almost completely victorious: often William knew that he was in the right and that Parliament had blundered; he had to bow to its will all the same. It could not understand, as William did, how dangerous were the ambitions of the King of France, yet he had to let it cut down the army; though William had little sympathy with the Church of England, all he could get from Parliament as a reward for the Dissenters who had helped him to win his crown was a Toleration Act which granted them freedom of worship, but left the Corporation and Test Acts unrepealed. In other words, Dissenters, however fine their abilities and character might be, were excluded from the Universities; they were not allowed to become officers in the army or navy; they could not sit in Parliament; not one of them could even hope to be a mayor or an alderman. It is true that the king was left with the power of veto, the right to reject a Bill, but he knew that if he wished to keep his crown he must use it as sparingly as possible. He also found that it was expedient to choose his ministers, these great officials like the Lord Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Secretaries of State, from that party which had a majority in the Commons. Thus what is known as party government began. If the Whigs outnumbered the Tories; then the king chose his ministers solely from the ranks of the former; if the Tories outnumbered the Whigs, then every minister was a Tory. So if a minister found that the majority of the members of Parliament had become hostile to him, he no longer dreamt of an impeachment and the headsman's axe; he simply told the king that the members had grown tired of him, and the king put a more popular man in his place.

FIG. 148. WILLIAM III
Jan Wyck
From the National Portrait Gallery.

After the vigorous, far-sighted William had gone to his rest the power of Parliament increased still farther. Whether this

power was used wisely or not, whether, indeed, Parliament was fit to use it, are questions which we shall leave to a later chapter.

THE STEWART KINGS OF ENGLAND
(*Sovereigns in small capitals*)



CHAPTER XXVI

ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Stability in Change, When one has read the story of these sudden and violent changes in the government of the country, one might think that the England of 1700 must have been a very different place from the England of 1603. But, as a matter of fact, the subjects of King James I and those of King William lived in much the same kind of houses, ate the same kind of food, and carried on the same old trades in the ancient way. In a little more than half a century, it is true, all this was to be changed, but no whisper of the coming Industrial Revolution excited the people of King William's day.

An English Village, If, for example, we could have visited an ordinary English village at the beginning and again at the end of the seventeenth century, we should have had no difficulty in recognizing it as the same place. The church tower still rose, apparently unharmed, from the familiar cluster of thatched and tiled roofs. Only as we went close up to it would we notice that the image of the Virgin Mary above the western doorway had been shattered, and that the windows which once glowed like jewels were filled with plain white glass. We should probably be told by the villagers that the harm had been wrought when the church was used by Cromwell's officers as a guardroom or a stable, and some enthusiastic Independent or Anabaptist insisted on dashing down the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps we should find, too, that one wing of the manor-house lay in ruin, a monument to the skill of Oliver's gunners, or that the owner, more lucky than the head of many a Cavalier family, had restored the family fortunes and built a great mansion of brick or stone—like that shown in Fig. 149—more severe and stately in appearance than the Tudor house with its wealth of fantastic ornamentation that had been the home of his boyhood. There was nothing in the quiet, formal garden, with its straight walks, its smooth-

shaven turf and close-cut hedges, neat flower-beds, and rows of box-trees clipped into fantastic shapes, to remind one that musketeers had once lined these hedges, that a storming-party, shouting valiant Scripture texts, had once dashed up that green alley, and that the stench of blood and powder had once quenched the perfume of the flowers. If anything, the garden had growr

FIG. 149. HATLEY ST GEORGE, LEICESTERSHIRE
An example of a late seventeenth-ceotury house.

more trim and formal with the passage of the years; for though the squire might not feel much affection for his Dutch king he approved, at least, of his passion for the stiff and stately Dutch gardens, from which everything that suggested wild nature was resolutely banished.

Agriculture. There was too much wild nature about the village in the shape of undrained marshes and untilled heaths for a country gentleman to want to see it imitated in his garden. Though in the earlier half of the sixteenth century a great deal of the land had been divided up into compact little farms separated from one another by hedges, or taken out of cultivation altogether and used only for pasturing sheep and oxen, the process had

somehow or other come to a stop, and round most of the English villages the land was still portioned out as it had been in the days of William the Conqueror—into three great open fields, subdivided into hundreds of acre strips. Nor had any change taken place either in the kind of crops that were grown or in the methods of cultivation. England supplied all the food that its inhabitants required, so why should the farmer try to produce more? Turnips and potatoes were grown, but only in gardens; the conservative English cultivator refused to experiment with clover and foreign grasses, and so the ploughed land lay fallow one year out of three, as in the good old days of King Alfred, when it need only have lain fallow one year in seven. Not only did the cultivated land produce far less than it might have done: there were thousands of acres of waste land in the country that might have been brought under the plough. In most villages the great heath-clad common, where the villagers pastured their cattle, sheep, and swine, cut turf for fuel, and snared rabbits and hares, had not been encroached on at all by the plough. The low-lying land near the river, that would have made excellent pasture or cornland, was suffered to remain undrained. Nor did the villager wish it to be drained; for the marshes were haunted by wild ducks, which he was accustomed to snare or shoot.

Social Divisions in the Country. In fact, the lot of the average villager was far happier at the end of the seventeenth century than a hundred years later, when marshes had been drained and commons enclosed and tilled. At some time or other in the reign of Queen Elizabeth villeinage had disappeared: in the turmoil of the Civil War the old feudal dues had ceased to be exacted. Nor were the inhabitants of the country districts divided as they are to-day into the comparatively small class of farmers, working large stretches of land which they either own themselves or rent from a great landowner, and landless labourers, working for the farmers in return for a money wage. There were comparatively few big farmers; most of the labourers held an acre or two of land, and were allowed to pasture a few sheep or a cow, to cut turf, to kill rabbits, and to cut wood on the common lands of the village. But between the wealthy farmer and the day-labourer there came a great intermediate class of small farmers and yeomen that has now almost entirely disappeared. The farmer rented

his land from the neighbouring landowner, the yeoman worked the score or two of acres, either enclosed in one compact holding or scattered in acre lots about the village fields, which had been in the possession of his family from time immemorial. It was a hard life, but these men were their own masters, accustomed to regulate, impatient of control, and desperately proud of their own position. It was only to be expected that their independent spirit should lead many of them to become Puritans and Dissenters, and that in the Civil War they should have formed the backbone of the New Model Army.

FIG. 150. AN ENGLISH CITIZEN AND HIS WIFE ON HORSEBACK
From a seventeenth-century print.

Roads and Travelling. The seventeenth-century village was still isolated to an extent that we can hardly understand to-day. The roads were few and bad, no better than they had been in the Middle Ages, and far worse than in the time of the Romans. There were roads of a kind, it is true, but so uneven, so hacked up with deep ruts, so sodden and treacherous in wet weather that the few carriages which passed over them had to be drawn by teams of six horses. Stoutly built carts and wagons, pulled along by horses or oxen, were growing more popular, but the farmer or merchant who wished to send goods to some distant town usually had them carried on the backs of pack-horses. Stage-coaches, capable of making the journey from London to York or Exeter in from four to six days, rumbled and pitched along the ill-made—or unmade—roads, and the proprietor of a flying coach undertook to transport passengers over the fifty miles between London and Oxford in the marvellously short space of thirteen hours; but most travellers still preferred to journey on horseback. Members of Parliament formed parties of a dozen or a score to ride up to Westminster, judges on circuit rode from one county town to another as their predecessors had done in the time of Henry II, and when the country squire wished to take his sickly daughter to Bath to try the effect of the waters, he followed the example

of the gentleman shown in Fig. 150, and perched her behind him on the back of his horse.

But comparatively few people went far from home when travelling was slow, expensive, and dangerous. Country folk did not flock to London for a holiday: few of them ever travelled farther than the county town; nor did townspeople of moderate means spend a week or two in the country in summer. Even the ordinary country squire visited London rarely; only a very wealthy landowner could afford to have one house in the country and another

FIG. 151. A COACH AND THREE WITH SIDE SEAT

in London. On the other hand, the most prosperous merchant never dreamt of living anywhere else than over his place of business : the time had not yet come when he would build himself a comfortable villa in the suburbs and never be seen east of Temple Bar except in business hours.

One result of all this difficulty in getting about was that people's thoughts, like their wagons, ran in ruts; news travelled slowly, and ideas more slowly still; each little community thought that its own ways were the best, and was suspicious of anyone who suggested that improvements were possible. A more conspicuous effect was the hindrance to trade: for example, thousands of tons of coal were sent from Newcastle to London by sea, but since road transport was so bad coal could not be sent to an inland town except at a ruinous cost. For the same reason it would often happen that winter found the people of one county with more corn than they knew how to use, and the people of another lamenting that a bad harvest had left them without enough food;

but it was impossible to transport the superfluous corn from the prosperous district to. the starving one.

The Towns. Not only did the lack of good roads keep people apart: England was really much more thinly populated than it is now. At the close of the seventeenth century the number of people in the country was not more than five and a half millions, less by almost two millions than the population of Greater London at the present time. Nor was that the only difference: to-day, outside the London area, Lancashire and Yorkshire are the most densely populated parts of England; two hundred years ago they were sparsely peopled compared with the farming counties of the Midlands and the South. Except for London, with its 500,000 inhabitants, there were no large towns. Bristol, the second city in the kingdom, and Norwich had about 30,000 apiece; Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, busy little towns that had been almost unknown a generation or two before, could not boast that number among them. The drift from the country to the town had not yet set in: the great majority of the people were still working on the land; they were not wanted in the towns, where the same old slow methods were used in the same old industries. An eccentric nobleman had lately invented a steam-engine, but the few who heard of it regarded it as nothing more than a curious toy: a water-mill had lately been used to raise and lower the ponderous trip-hammers which beat out the soft masses of wrought iron, but as yet no one had thought of using water-power to work the weaver's loom. Iron was still smelted not by coal, but by charcoal: consequently the manufacture of iron goods was located not beside the great northern coalfields, as it is now, but near the fast vanishing woods of the Sussex Weald and the Forest of Dean.

FIG. 152. SIGN OF THE APE AND APPLE

Appearance of the Towns. With so few changes in the occupations of the townspeople, it was only to be expected that the appearance of the ordinary town should remain almost the same. The projecting upper storeys of the brick and timber, or plaster

and timber, houses still overhung the narrow, ill-paved, and evil-smelling streets, painted signs—like Fig. 152—projected not only from the taverns, but from every kind of shop, for in those days, when many people could not read, a sign was more useful than a name or a number. When night came down no lamps twinkled in the streets of the town; people who were abroad after dark carried their own lanterns, or engaged a link-boy to carry a light before them. But it was safer to stay indoors, for cutpurses and bullies roamed about the streets at night, undeterred by any respect for the handful of feeble old watchmen, who were as timorous and muddle-headed as their predecessors of Shakespeare's day.

The Great Plague. Nor were these gangs of bullies the only terror that lurked in the crowded, ill-drained towns; disease was common; the plague smouldered there, to flame up at intervals of about a generation into dreadful activity. In 1603 it devastated London, it came back in the year of Charles Fs accession, and again in 1636. Then it disappeared for thirty years, to return in 1665, when it slew one-seventh of the population of London and ravaged the whole country. This was the last appearance of the Plague in England, but other diseases continued to levy their toll on the people; in the closing years of the seventeenth century the annual death-rate in the capital was from two to three times what it is at the present day.

The Great Fire. If the appearance of the provincial towns changed little in the seventeenth century, the Great Fire which broke out in the year after the Great Plague completely transformed the appearance of London. The City was almost wiped out: of its scores of medieval churches, the chief of which was old St Paul's Cathedral, its public buildings like the Royal Exchange and the halls of the great city companies, its thousands of picturesque plaster and timber dwellings, only blackened ruins were left. In a few years, however, another city had risen out of the ruins of the old; solidly built brick houses replaced the timber and plaster structures that had provided such splendid fuel for the fire, the white towers and spires of new churches, designed by the great architect Wren and his pupils, gleamed unsullied by London smoke, and high above the city rose the great dome of new St Paul's. But every one was not as wise as

Wren: he had planned a new city with broad and airy streets: the citizens preferred to build their new houses and halls where the old ones had been, and so central London remains to this day a place of narrow, confused, and crowded streets.

Foreign Trade. But if there was litde apparent change in the external appearance of the country, if the rural labourer and the town craftsman still kept to the ancient paths, there was no doubt

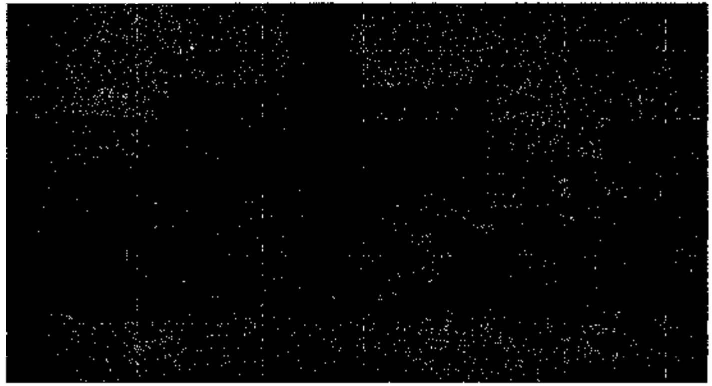


FIG. 153. OLD ST PAUL'S
From an engraving of the early seventeenth century.

that an enormous increase had taken place in the oversea trade of the country. This foreign trade was mainly in the hands of a few great trading companies, of which only one, the Merchant Adventurers, had been founded before the beginning of the seventeenth century. The East India Company had a monopoly of the trade with India and the Spice Islands; the Merchant Adventurers traded with the German states through the Rhine and Elbe ports; the merchants of the Eastland Company tried to oust the Dutch merchants from the Baltic, the Levant Company sent its ships to the eastern Mediterranean ports, and the African Company carried on a not too successful trade with the Guinea Coast of Africa. Of the founding of the North American Colonies and the traffic with America something will be said in a later chapter. Altogether it was calculated that the English merchant fleet had doubled between the Restoration and the Revolution of 1688.

The Navigation Act. It was this new, intense interest in foreign trade that in these times brought England into conflict with Holland. Holland was a poor country in itself, absolutely dependent for its prosperity on its colonial and foreign trade. The Dutch acted as carriers for other nations; Dutch ships, for example, carried corn from Germany and Poland to the countries round the Mediterranean, and brought back wine, oil, and fruits. The English merchants tried to strike a blow at this 'carrying trade': in 1651 the Commonwealth Parliament passed the Navigation Act. This Act forbade the importation of goods into England which were not carried in English ships, or in ships belonging to the country from which the goods came. Thus wine from France could be brought to England in an English or a French ship, but not in a Dutch ship. Neither the Restoration nor three costly wars could efface the Navigation Act from the statute-book. The Dutch Wars, in fact, ended in a draw: the English merchants realized that the seas of the world were big enough to hold both their ships and those of the Dutch; that though Dutch trade was steadily increasing their own was not diminishing, but on the contrary was growing more rapidly than that of their rivals.

FIG. 154. GENTLEMEN OF THE TIME OF JAMES II

Romance and Common Sense. Another change, too, had come over the country. The magic light of poetry was fading, the white fires of religious fervour were growing cold; the leading men at the close of the century seemed to be coarser, more selfish, more matter of fact, more suspicious of enthusiasm than their grandfathers had been. The typical statesman of the end of the century did not fling away his life greatly, like Strafford; he twisted and turned, lied, bribed, and plotted, was now on one side, now on the other, now on both. But the critical, questioning spirit which had been abroad since the Restoration, which made the ordinary man doubtful of honour and religion and all unselfish enthusiasms, which sent him whirling off in quest of

money or pleasure, had a different effect on some nobler minds. For it was in this age of doubt that English science had its birth, that Locke tried to unravel the workings of the human understanding, that Newton discovered the law which keeps the stars in their courses.

CHAPTER XXVII

IRELAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

English and Irish, The seventeenth century, which began with the surrender of the Earl of Tyrone and the complete subjugation of Ireland, saw the condition of that country grow more and more perplexed and unhappy. Englishmen and Irishmen seemed to have hardly anything in common: what one might call the natural differences in race and language were accentuated by the artificial differences in religion and custom, and by the memory of many a cruel and bloody campaign, which to the English was a rebellion and to the Irish a war of liberation. But, as we have seen in a previous chapter, the Tudor sovereigns hit on a device which seemed to assure the permanent pacification of Ireland: when a chief rebelled his land was forfeited to the sovereign, who granted it to English settlers. This device promised well, so well that it was used again and again in the seventeenth century, but the promise was deceptive. For one thing, the English and Irish ideas about the possession of land were quite different: the English theory was that a great noble, the Earl of Tyrone, for example, was absolute owner of all the lands in which his rule was acknowledged, in this case the county of Tyrone, and that if he were found guilty of treason the whole of these lands became the property of the king, who could divide them out again as he saw fit. The Irish theory was that the Earl of Tyrone did not own the county of Tyrone, but was simply chief of the people of Tyrone, and that though he forfeited his title no one could be justified in turning the inhabitants of Tyrone off the lands which they occupied, and handing them over to strangers.

The Plantation of Ulster. In 1607 the Earl of Tyrone, in the belief that the King was planning his total ruin, fled from the country accompanied by his neighbour, the Earl of Tyrconnel. Within a twelvemonth most of the other chiefs of Ulster were either dead or in disgrace, and the whole of North-eastern

Ireland, according to English law, became forfeit to the King. It seemed a favourable opportunity for converting Ulster into an English colony. The whole province was parcelled out into estates of iooo, 1500, and 2000 acres, which were sold to English and Scottish settlers on condition that they would build fortified dwelling-houses and expel all the native Irish from their new possessions. The experiment seemed to be a triumphant success: the new settlers were steadier and more industrious than the native Irish, and Ulster soon became the richest province of the four. All the same, the settlement of Ulster was a blunder; the Irish who were driven out of the province, or who remained as hewers of wood and drawers of water to their new masters, felt that a wrong past forgiveness had been inflicted upon them. What was even worse, the settlement made two Irelands: the earlier settlers had after a time become merged in the Celtic Irish population, but the sturdy Protestants of Ulster kept aloof from the despised and hated Irish Catholics, who hated and feared them and dreamed of revenge.

The Great Rebellion, If the native Irish could have felt sure that no more settlements would be made they might have remained in peace, but Strafford, the ablest ruler that Ireland ever had, refused to give this assurance, and threatened to partition Connaught, the one province where no English settlements had as yet been made. He abandoned the attempt and returned to England: the Irish soon felt the difference made by the withdrawal of his strong hand, and concluded that their opportunity had come: in 1641, the year after his departure, they rose in rebellion. It was no ordinary war; tales of the massacres of women and children thrilled England with horror, and the settlers did not hesitate to pay back the rebels in their own coin whenever they got the chance. The outbreak of civil war in England added to the confusion: the half-hearted alliance of the rebels with the Irish Royalists against those Protestants of the North who supported the English Parliament resulted only in black disaster. In 1649 Cromwell crossed to Ireland, stormed the town of Drogheda, and had every soldier of the garrison, every Roman Catholic priest, and some of the unarmed civilians put to the sword. He marched down the coast and captured town after town in the South. The inhabitants of one or two made some

resistance, but most were terrified by the fate of Drogheda, and opened their gates to the invader. When Cromwell left Ireland in the early summer of 1650 every one knew that the conquest of Ireland was assured, though it was not till 1652 that Galway, the last Irish stronghold, surrendered.

Cromwell's Irish Policy. Eleven years of civil war had left the country in a miserable state: it was calculated that the population had shrunk to little more than half of what it had been in 1641. But worse was to follow: every man who had taken up arms against the English Parliament was declared to have forfeited life and property, and all the Catholic Irish living east of the Shannon, whether they had fought against the Commonwealth or not, were ordered to remove themselves into the province of Connaught. Cromwell intended this wholesale clearance to be followed by a new and more extensive settlement: the settlers this time were to be disbanded soldiers, who would receive Irish land in place of their arrears of pay. But Cromwell's plan could not be carried out: it was impossible to transport hundreds of thousands of people from their homes and send them into the moors and mountains of Connaught; though the forfeited lands passed into the hands of English owners, though tens of thousands of the original inhabitants crossed the Shannon or sought refuge on the Continent, most of them remained, unwilling tenants, paying a rent which they sorely grudged, to a stranger. And as the years passed it was discovered that the failure of CromwelPs scheme was more complete than had at first been suspected: the Catholic Irish increased far more rapidly in numbers than the Anglo-Irish settlers, who remained in a minority, but a minority which kept to itself most of the land and trade, and the whole of the political power.

FIG. I55. IRISH SOLDIERS AT THE TIME OF THE CIVIL WAR

A War against Irish Trade. The Restoration, though it wiped out some of Cromwell's innovations, made the condition of Ireland, if anything, worse than it had been before. Some pretence was made of restoring to their lands those Irish Catholics who had not been actively disloyal to Charles I or Charles II, but in practice, when a Catholic and a Protestant claimed the same piece of land, the Catholic usually came off worse. Ireland had sent representatives to the English Parliament since 1653, but at the Restoration she got back her own Parliament. But this profited her little when the English Parliament seemed to be set on strangling her trade and industries for the benefit of English merchants and farmers. No longer was any distinction made between an Irish and a foreign ship; each was forbidden to trade with the English colonies, or to bring into an English port any goods that were not products of the country from which it had come. No country in Europe was better suited for the raising of cattle or for dairy-farming than Ireland, with its warm, moist climate and rich pasture; if the Irish country people had got a fair chance to carry on these pursuits they might have become prosperous and contented; but the chance was snatched away; in 1666 the English Parliament forbade the export of cattle and sheep from Ireland. Even then the Irish farmer did not despair; if he could not export his sheep he could at least export their wool to foreign countries, and get a better price for it than he could in the English markets. The English Parliament saw this, and passed an Act forbidding the export of Irish wool to any country except England. A few years later the Irish dairy-farming industry was almost killed by another edict forbidding the importation of butter and cheese into England.

The Treaty of Limerick. It is litde wonder that in 1689 the Catholic Irish declared against the English Parliament and welcomed King James. But with their usual ill-luck they had joined the losing side. They failed to capture Londonderry, which held out all through the summer of 1689, though 6000 French troops were sent to their aid, and though in the following summer the French swept the English fleet from the Channel, they were defeated by King William at the battle of the Boyne, and forced to abandon the province of Leinster to him. But the Irish refused to consider themselves beaten even when they were

deserted by James and their French allies; not till more than a twelvemonth after the battle of the Boyne did Limerick, the last and greatest of their strongholds in the West, surrender to King William's generals. The victors promised that no one would forfeit his lands or be punished in any way for his share in the war, and that Roman Catholics would remain as free to worship

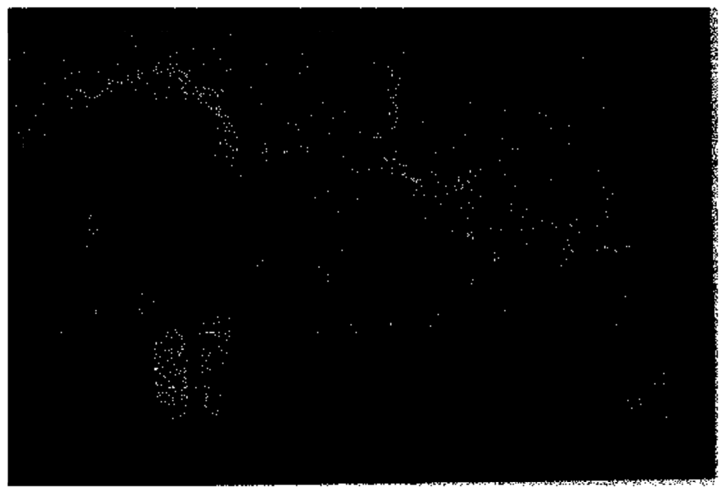


FIG. 156. LIMERICK IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

in their own way as they had been in the reign of Charles II. But in England the Treaty of Limerick was looked on as being far too generous, and soon the English Parliament resumed its old game of harassing the Irish Roman Catholics and throttling Irish trade. The year after the treaty had been signed, the Parliament at Westminster passed an Act which shut out all Roman Catholics from the Irish Parliament, or from any office under government: in other words, the great majority of the inhabitants were deprived of any share in the government of their country. A further breach of the Treaty of Limerick was made five years later, when all Roman Catholic bishops and monks were banished from Ireland. The last gleam of hope that some day or other the Irish Catholics would get back their lands disappeared in 1698, when it was announced that no Roman

Catholic could even begin an action in a court of law for the recovery of his estates.

Destruction of Irish Woollen Trade, A year later the unhappy country received another staggering blow: after the restrictions on the export of sheep and raw wool had been imposed the more enterprising Irish began to weave woollen cloth, and to export it to England and the Continent. The English woollen manufacturers were alarmed: they called to the English Parliament, and not in vain: in 1699 it passed a Bill forbidding the export of Irish woollens. The Irish woollen industry was killed; nor was it much consolation to the Catholic Irishmen to know that the Irish linen industry had been generously spared by the English Parliament, for linen-weaving was peculiar to the Protestant and half-alien population of Ulster.

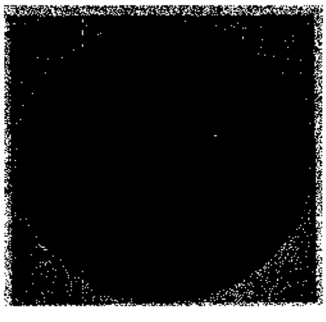


FIG. 157. WILLIAM III AT THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE
From a medal.

Now that Southern Ireland has become the Irish Free State, you may wonder why many Irishmen still seem unable to forgive and forget, to believe that the twentieth-century English statesman can be more fair or more generous than his seventeenth-century predecessor. When you have read this black record of crime and injustice you will understand why there are some things in the history of his country which an Irishman finds it hard to forgive and impossible to forget. Nor did the eighteenth century mend the wrongs with which the wretched country had been afflicted.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SCOTLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
1603-1707

The Union of the Crowns. The accession of a King of Scotland to the throne of England in 1603 did not lead to a close union between the two countries. Each kept its own Parliament and privy council, its own established form of worship, its own laws and courts of justice, its own coinage, weights and measures, and its own army. The only link between the two countries was the King, and though James strove to bring about a closer union, the English Parliament would do nothing beyond admitting Scots who had been born after 1603 to the privileges of English subjects. The King saw that a difference on foreign policy might split the union: as things were, there was nothing to prevent one of the partners in the union from going to war with an ally of the other. But with an independent Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh, it was difficult to see how complete agreement could be maintained; the King therefore decided that if he did not wish the relations of the two countries to sink into hopeless confusion he must obtain complete control over the Parliament of the smaller one. His task was far easier in Scotland than it was in England, for at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Scots were in the position of the English at the end of the fifteenth century; they were ready to obey a king who would maintain order and keep them from civil war. Besides, it was easy to control the Scottish Parliament; for more than two hundred years the real work of the Parliament had been entrusted to a small group of members called the Committee of the Articles; James slyly arranged that the Committee should be appointed, not by the other members, as before, but by himself. The Scottish Parliament lay in the hollow of his hand. His successors imitated his policy: if we omit the twenty years between the Second Bishops' War and the Restoration, we find that till the

time of William III there was no openly expressed disagreement between the Scots and the English, simply because the King controlled the Committee of Articles, which controlled the Scottish Parliament. Whenever the Committee of Articles was abolished trouble began.

The Scots and Presbyteria?iism. Such trouble as there was between the Scots and their kings in the seventeenth century had its origin in religious differences. The Scots were passionately

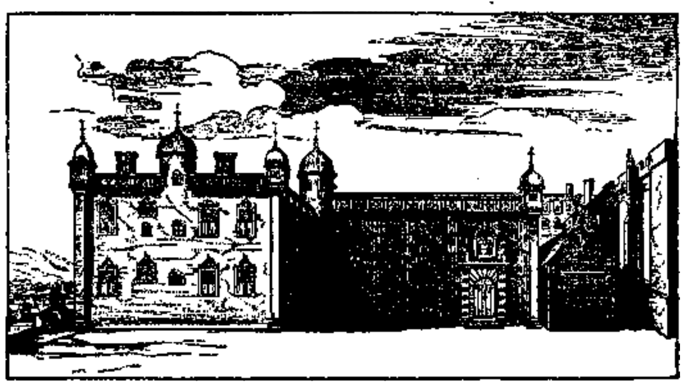


FIG. I58. PARLIAMENT HOUSE, EDINBURGH
In the seventeenth century. Used by the Scottish Parliament between 1639 and 1707.

attached to Presbyterianism, in other words, to the government of the Church not by bishops but by assemblies of clergy and laymen, and to religious services in which no use was made either of a prayer-book or of any ceremony that reminded the worshippers in any way of the rites of the Roman Catholic Church. James, it is true, managed to introduce bishops into the Church of Scotland and to break the power of the General Assembly, the highest court of the Church, without raising a storm, but the storm broke in the reign of his son.

Charles I fails to introduce Episcopacy. Charles did not understand that his father had succeeded because he had been content to go slowly: in the very first year of his reign he aroused the suspicion of the Scottish nobles by threatening to take back the lands which they had seized from the Church at the Reformation,

and twelve years later his attempt to make the use of a prayer-book compulsory in Scottish churches led to a riot which was destined to end in war. At the beginning of 1638 all classes in Scotland joined in signing the National Covenant, thereby pledging themselves to sacrifice their lives, if need be, for what they held to be the only true religion. The General Assembly which met at Glasgow later in the year abolished all the innovations which the King had introduced into the Scottish Church; the King, however, regarded it as an unlawful gathering, and refused to grant its demands, with the result that, as you already know, he led an untrained army northward in 1639, only to find that he was powerless against the Scots. He had no choice but to allow the General Assembly and the Parliament to meet. The General Assembly, as before, condemned all the changes in Church government and ceremonial for which the King was responsible, and its action was confirmed by the Scottish Parliament. The Parliament did not stop there: it freed itself from the control of the King by decreeing that he was to have no voice in the election of the Committee of Articles, and persisted in sitting after the King had ordered it to adjourn. The King took up its challenge, and in the summer of 1640 once more moved his army northward; but, as you will remember, he was powerless to beat back the Scottish invasion of Northern England, and was forced to grant the Scots all that they demanded.

Scotland and the Civil War. You have already read of the Scottish share in the Civil War from the English point of view, and you may have been at a loss to know why they changed sides, why they fought first for the Parliament, then for Charles I and his son. The reason is to be found in their devotion to Presbyterianism; they objected to the King only because he opposed Presbyterianism; they sided with the English Parliament only because it promised to establish Presbyterianism in both England and Scotland. You will remember that the Scots signed the Solemn League and Covenant, and sent an army into England to help the Parliament: as soon as they saw that the English Parliament either could not or would not set up Presbyterianism in England they began to negotiate with Charles I, and, bribed by his promise that he would give Presbyterianism a three years' trial, they marched south to the disaster of Preston in 1648.

After Charles's death they supported his son, partly because they could not bring themselves to forgive the execution of a King of Scotland, partly because they had made him sign both Covenants, thereby binding him to establish Presbyterianism in England. This policy led to the disasters of Dunbar and Worcester, and to the complete conquest of Scotland by Cromwell. Scotland, like Ireland, was united to England in 1652, and sent thirty members to the Protectorate Parliaments. But it was far happier than Ireland under the rule of Cromwell. The Protector made no attempt to force his own religious beliefs on the Scots, and Scottish merchants took advantage of their newly won liberty to trade with the English colonies.

The Covenanters. In appearance the Restoration released Scotland from its bondage to England, and made it an independent country once more: but the Scots soon discovered that Charles II and his ministers were far harder masters than Cromwell and Monk. The Scottish Parliament reappeared, but so did the Committee of Articles: a king who had signed both Covenants was now the undisputed ruler of Scotland, but Charles refused to be bound by vows made ten years before, and proceeded to force bishops upon an unwilling Church. Even though no attempt was made to change the Scottish fashions of worship, the King's action caused widespread trouble; hundreds of the Scottish clergy left their churches rather than admit the authority of the bishops; and their people, instead of listening to the preachers provided by the Government, preferred the more perilous course of listening to their old ministers in some nook in the hills under the open sky. These conventicles or open-air services were forbidden under threats of punishment that grew more and more severe. Twice, in 1666 and 1679, the smouldering discontent flared up into a rebellion; on the latter occasion the rebels murdered the Archbishop of St Andrews and defeated a force of royal cavalry at Drumclog before they were finally routed at Bothwell Brig. The accession of James II did not at first improve the lot of the Covenanters, as the more resolute upholders of Presbyterianism were called; an edict of 1685, in fact, made the mere attendance at a conventicle punishable with death. In 1687 came a respite; the Declaration of Indulgence was thankfully received by the harassed Covenanters, even though they

suspected the motives which had made the King publish it. But the Scots felt that what the King had given he might also take away, especially as he was a Roman Catholic. So it was with feelings of relief that the Scots heard of the landing of the Protestant Prince of Orange, and when in 1689 the Scottish Parliament offered William the crown of Scotland it was on the express condition that he should banish the bishops from the Scottish Church. William consented, and to this day both government by bishops and the use of the prayer-book are unknown in the Church of Scotland.

Hindrances to Scottish Trade. This sudden liberation from religious strife was accompanied by another reform: the Committee of Articles was finally abolished; in other words, the Scottish Parliament became almost completely independent of the king. But this liberty was a dangerous gift: within a few years it brought Scotland and England to the brink of war. Though Scotland was a poor country, its inhabitants were clever, energetic, and ambitious. They were eager to increase the wealth of their country, but since the Restoration they, like the Irish, had been hopelessly handicapped by the Navigation Act. If a Scottish sea-captain took a ship with a cargo of woollens over to New York he was not allowed to unload it; New York was an English colony; only English ships could use its harbour; Scots and other foreigners must stay away. If he tried to carry a shipload of sugar from Jamaica to Glasgow he encountered the same obstacle: Jamaica was an English colony; all the products of the island must go to England, not to foreign ports in Scotland.

The Darien Scheme. The Scots felt that their trade was being strangled, and hailed with delight the suggestion of an eccentric genius, William Paterson, that as Scottish merchants were not allowed to trade with English colonies, they should start a colony of their own. The Scottish Parliament gave its sanction to the scheme; the poverty-stricken Scottish people undertook to pay £400,000 to enable the colony to be established, and in 1698 the first party of emigrants set sail for the Isthmus of Darien. The venture was a disastrous failure: the settlers had to fight not only against a pestilential climate, but against the Spaniards, who claimed that the isthmus was their own. William would not stir a finger to help his Scottish subjects, and in 1699 the

northern to the southern kingdom. But for these privileges they had to pay a heavy price, too heavy in the opinion of many a patriotic Scotsman. The Scottish Parliament was abolished: instead, sixteen peers and forty-five commoners were sent to the Parliament at Westminster. The Scottish Church, however, and the Scottish law courts, were left as they had been before the

FIG. 159. INTERIOR OF THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE, EDINBURGH
Photo Valentine

Union, though English coins and English weights and measures had now to be used north of the Tweed.

It was a hard bargain, perhaps, and many Scots thought that it should never have been made. But both sides stuck to it, and as time went on the Scots discovered that what they had lost by the Union was far outweighed by what they had gained. They still gloried in the name of Scot, and kept their proud national spirit after they had lost their Parliament; but unlike the Irish —perhaps because they had less to forgive—they soon came to regard the English as partners and friends, not as tyrants and aliens.

The Problem of the Highlands. North of the Highland line, however, there was a different story to tell. The people there were still a race apart, passionately devoted to their chiefs, but caring nothing for king and Parliament, for Lowlander or English-

man. Twice in the seventeenth century a soldier of genius had united the clans for a season and led them against the Lowlanders. Twice before the eighteenth century was half spent did the clans sweep through the peaceful Lowlands and cross the border into England. But that is a story which must be kept for a later chapter.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLONIAL EMPIRE AND THE STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE

1689-1727

WILLIAM III, 1689-1702	ANNE, 1702-14
MARY II, 1689-94	GEORGE I, 1714-27

A New Hundred Years War. The accession of William III in 1689 was not only a sign that absolute monarchy had come to an end in England; it marked the beginning of a struggle with France which was not finally settled till more than a century had

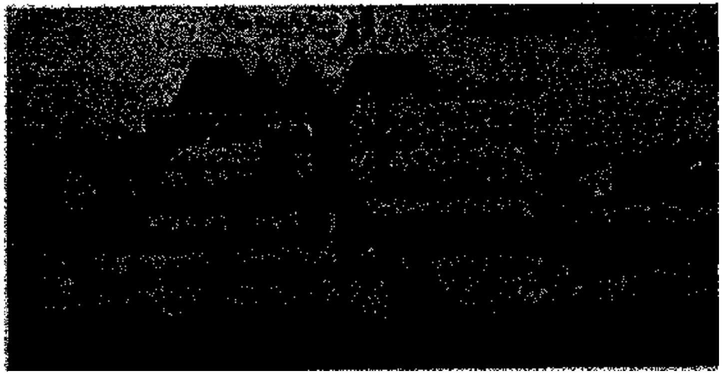


FIG. 100. THE ENGLISH FORT, BOMBAY
From an old engraving.

passed. We should not be far wrong if we called this struggle the second Hundred Years War, but the English Government was not, as in the first Hundred Years War, seeking to gain possession of the soil of France; it was striving to gain, among other things, trade and colonies.

British Colonies in the Seventeenth Century. In the seventeenth century the great British trading companies had begun to send

their ships and agents to every continent in the known world. These agents were often content with securing trading privileges for the company to which they belonged; in some cases, however, permanent stations or factories were established where a handful of clerks and officials lived all the year round. The East India Company, for example, had three such factories, at Bombay, at Madras, and at Fort St William, as Calcutta used to be called. But along the eastern coast of North America something quite different from these small trading settlements had come into existence. Here the English population did not consist of a few birds of passage, who looked forward to returning home after they had made their fortune, but of tens of thousands of settlers, who were quite content to spend the remainder of their lives in the New World.

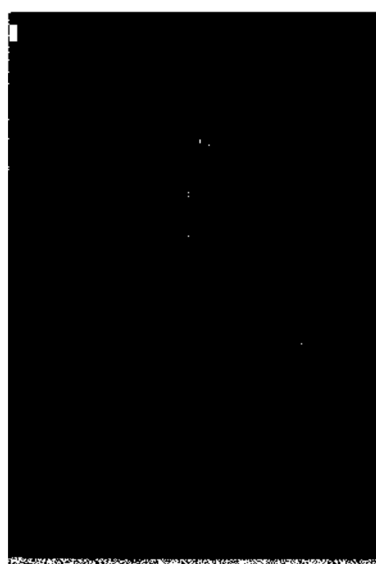


FIG. 161. THE PURITAN

A statue by Augustus St Gaudens, commemorating a Massachusetts magistrate of 1652.

The Art Institute of Chicago.

As early as the end of the fifteenth century Newfoundland had been claimed for the English crown, but the first English colony to be planted on the mainland of North America was Virginia, which was established at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1620 a party of English Puritans who had taken refuge in Holland crossed the Atiantic in the *Mayflower* and settled in the colder, less fertile territory to the north of Virginia, to which the name of New England had lately been given. This was only a beginning; before the Civil War broke out a line of English colonies stretched with only one break from the Kennebec River, on the northern frontier of Massachusetts, to the river Roanoke,

in the south of Virginia. Three years after the Restoration the founding of Carolina extended the British frontier from the Roanoke to the Altamaha River, at the head of the peninsula of Florida, and in 1664 the gap was closed by the capture of the Dutch settlement of New Holland, which became the colony of New York. Before the Civil War, too, the Bermudas, Barbadoes,

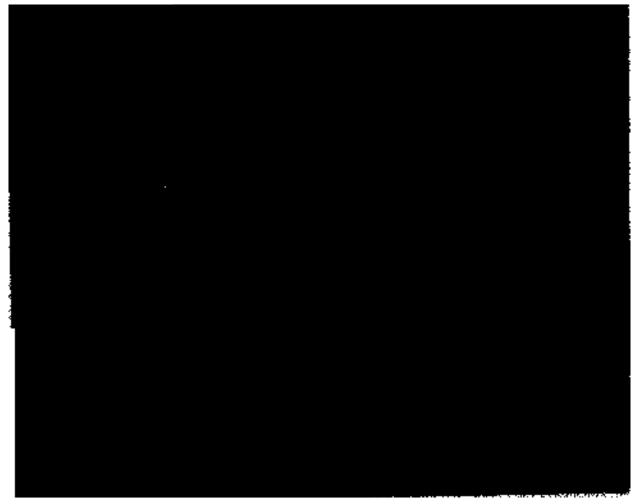


FIG. 162. THE EARLIEST MAP OF NEW YORK
From a print in the British Museum.

and a few of the smaller West Indian islands had been occupied, and in 1655 Jamaica was captured from the Spaniards.

Beginning of Struggle with France. But in William's reign people in Britain gave little thought to these settlements beyond the western seas, only to be reached by a journey lasting for many weeks. They feared France, not because the French soldiers, trappers, and priests were pushing steadily up the basin of the St Lawrence into the region of the Great Lakes, but because King Louis XIV had declared himself the champion of the exiled James II. William hated France because he knew that Louis wanted to advance the French frontiers to the Rhine, regardless both of the Spanish king, who at that time ruled over Belgium,

and of the Dutch, who had no mind to become the subjects of a Catholic king. Long before William had seen the danger that menaced his own country; he knew how valuable the help of Britain would be, and in 1689 his new subjects found themselves ranged with Holland, Spain, the Empire, and Savoy in a struggle with France The war was a disappointment for both sets of combatants: though at the battle of Beachy Head in 1690 the French fleet swept the English fleet from the Channel, and had Ireland and the southern coast of England at its mercy, the French leaders failed to follow up their victory, and in 1692 the brilliant English victory off Cape La Hogue destroyed their chances of invading England. In Belgium the British and Dutch lost battle after battle and fortress after fortress, but in 1695 the recapture of Namur from the French seemed to show that the ill-luck which had followed William with something of his own obstinacy had deserted him at last. Two years later the Treaty of Ryswick put an end to the war: Louis was not defeated, he had not abandoned his ambitious schemes, but he knew that his country needed rest. He could not be deprived of the bulk of his conquests, but he yielded something to each of his allies for the sake of peace: he promised, for example, to recognize William as the rightful King of England.

FIG. 163. THE "ROYAL GEORGE"
An English battleship of the period.
From the model in the Techniches Hofschule, Hanover.

This was all that even the most far-seeing English statesman, let alone the ordinary Englishman, had been striving for. As soon as the peace had been signed everybody in England concluded that there would never be another war with France, and Parlia-

ment insisted that the King should cut down his army to seven thousand men. The King did not share the confidence of his subjects: one or two signs made him suspect that the peace was only a pause, and that England would have to prepare for another struggle far more terrible than the last. The danger might be averted; he would spend his last breath in trying to avert it, but he could not be sure of his success. Then began a lonely struggle of which his subjects knew nothing.

The Spanish Succession. The trouble came from Spain, no longer the mistress of Europe, but still the centre of a great and almost undiminished empire. King Charles II of Spain had no son; now he had grown old before his time, and every one knew that his death was near. Who was to fall heir to his great empire? Louis of France claimed it on behalf of his second grandson, Philip; the Emperor, the supreme ruler over the multitude of states into which Germany and Austria were then divided, claimed it on behalf of his second son, Charles; and the Elector of Bavaria claimed it for his son, the Electoral Prince. If the question could not be settled before the death of Charles II a great European war was certain, a war in which England would be forced to take the side of the Emperor or submit to seeing the King of France rule the whole of Europe from the Rhine to Cape Trafalgar, threaten the British trade with the Mediterranean by his command of the Straits of Gibraltar, and become in time the sole master of both North and South America. Louis, however, seemed ready to agree to a division of the great inheritance between the French and the Austrian claimants, and in 1700 William persuaded him to sign the Second Partition Treaty.[1]

For a little William breathed freely, but only for a little. In 1700 Charles of Spain died, leaving a will which set all Europe by the ears. He bequeathed the whole of his possessions to Philip, if Louis would agree to support his claim; if Louis refused, the whole of Spain and the Spanish Empire would go to Charles The temptation was too much for Louis: in defiance of the Partition Treaty he accepted the perilous heritage on his grandson's behalf. What William had so long dreaded had happened at last, but even now few of his subjects shared his fears or under-

[1] The First Partition Treaty was made in 1698. The death of the Prince of Bavaria made a second treaty necessary.

stood why he thought it necessary to prepare for a war with France. The plain Englishman could not see why he should be asked to plunge into a quarrel which apparently concerned only Louis and the Emperor. Louis soon gave him good reason to change his mind: he declared that trade with the Spanish possessions in South America was to be open only to French and Spanish subjects; he seized the barrier towns, an outpost line of Dutch fortresses in Belgian territory, and he promised the dying James II that he would help his son to be King of England. It was only too clear that he meditated another attack on Holland, and, what was worse, another attack on England. The nation rallied to William, who with the remnants of his fast failing strength toiled to build up a great alliance against Louis. He succeeded: when he died in 1702 Britain was leagued with Holland and the Empire in a Grand Alliance against France, Spain, and Bavaria. The Emperor, however, was not able to bring into the field against Louis the armies of all those states of which he was the nominal head. Bavaria was part of the Empire, yet the Elector of Bavaria took the side of France. On the other hand, the Duke of Savoy, whose territories lay across the routes from France into Italy, and the King of Portugal entered the Grand Alliance in 1703.

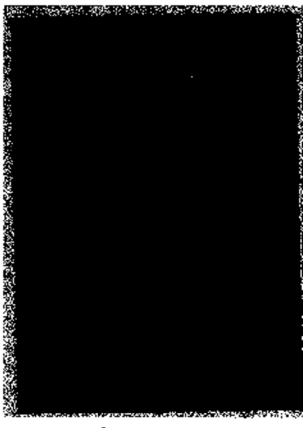


FIG. 164. THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

Outbreak of War. The British Government entered on the war resolved on four things: France and Spain must never be united under one king, the French troops must be cleared out of Belgium, the barriers that shut off British trade from the Spanish colonies must be broken down, and Louis must promise to give no help to the son of James II, called by his friends James III, by his enemies the Pretender. The Emperor was eager to see the French troops driven from Spain and the Spanish territories in Italy, which he coveted for his son Charles, while the timorous Dutch statesmen cared for little beyond the safety of their own

frontiers. Louis had gained most of what he desired without a struggle: before ever the war broke out he had marched French troops into Spain, Belgium, and Milan, and his aim now was to secure these new French dependencies by capturing Vienna, and so bringing about the withdrawal of the Emperor from the war and the break-up of the Grand Alliance. In 1703 the French armies marched down the Danube and threatened the Austrian capital. Winter intervened to stop their advance, but it seemed that when spring came the city would be captured.

FIG. 165
A SOLDIER OF MARLBOROUGH'S TIME

Those who thought so forgot about Marlborough, who was on the Dutch frontier with the bulk of the British troops. William III had indeed been happy in the time of his death: he had done all that a diplomat could do: his work could be completed only by a soldier of genius. Even William's friends admitted that he was not a great general; even Marlborough's enemies confessed that for all his avarice and cold selfishness he was a leader such as England had seen only once or twice in her history.

Marlborough saw that the French advance on Vienna must be stopped, but what could he do, bound hand and foot by the orders of the short-sighted Dutch Government that feared to let him move either Dutch or British troops more than a few miles from the frontiers of Holland? Marlborough, however, was a diplomat as well as a soldier; he cajoled the Dutch statesmen into lending him their troops, and before they could repent of their decision he struck right across Germany with his Anglo-Dutch army, reached the Upper Danube, joined hands with Prince Eugene, the impetuous commander of the Imperial forces, and got between the French and Vienna.

The Battle of Blenheim, Marshal Tallard, the French commander-in-chief, had posted his men in a strong position on the left bank of the Danube. His right flank was protected by the river and the village of Blenheim, his left by a range of wooded heights, his front by a wide stretch of marsh through which

wound a little stream. He massed most of his infantry in Blenheim and in the village of Oberglauheim, about three miles to the left, while the rising ground between was lined with cavalry and with smaller bodies of infantry.

Some changes in the art of war had taken place since Royalist and Roundhead clashed together at Marston Moor, sixty years

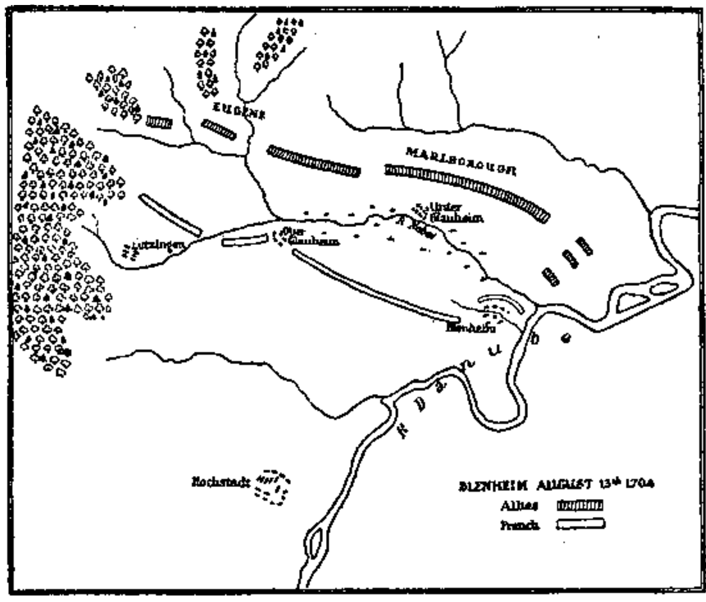


FIG. 166. PLAN OF BLENHEIM

before. Horsemen and infantry no longer arrayed themselves in steel helmet and breastplate. As neither would stop a bullet, the three-cornered felt hat and scarlet coat served equally well, and were far more comfortable to wear. The place of the matchlock was taken by the flintlock, in which the charge was ignited by a spark struck from a little flint, but though it was a handier weapon its range was little more than a hundred yards. With the invention of the bayonet the pike had fallen into disuse, though halberds were still carried by non-commissioned officers. The short range both of the flintlock musket and of the field guns, and

THE NETHERLANDS
MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
Appingadam
GRONINGEN
Groningen
Heiliger-Lee
Texel
FRIESLAND
DRENTHE
R. Ems
NORTH
SEA
Alkmaar
Enkhuizen
Hoorn
ZUIDER
ZEE
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Naarden
OVERYSSEL
Deventer
Leyden
HOLLAND
UTRECHT
Zutphen
Ryswick
Utrecht
GUELDERLAND
R. Yssel
Delft
Gouda
Rotterdam
Tiel
Gorinchem
Nimeguen
Dordrecht
Mookerhyde
Breda
ZEALAND
NORTH BRABANT
Goes
Bergen op Zoom
R. Rhine
Flushing
ANTWERP
Antwerp
Ostend
Bruges
Newport
Ghent
R. Scheldt
Dunkirk
Mechlin
Ruremonde
Dalem
FLANDERS
Alost
Brussels
BELGIUM
LIMBURG
Cologne
Elsloo
Maestricht
Ypres
Courtrai
Oudenarde
BRABANT
Landen
Aix-la-Chapelle
Bonn
Waterloo
Liège
Tournay
Steinkirk
Ramillies
LIEGE
Fontenoy
HAINAULT
Namur
R. Meuse
Mons
Valenciennes
Coblenz
Malplaquet
NAMUR
LUXEMBOURG
Treves
Luxembourg
R. Meuse

the slowness with which they were loaded and fired made it possible for two opposing bodies of troops to advance within a few yards of each other in close formation without suffering heavy loss.

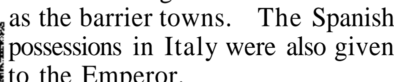
When the mist cleared away from the valley of the Danube on the morning of the 13th of August, 1704, the French marshal saw a brilliant and disquieting sight: the morning sun glittered upon column after column of scarlet-clad infantry moving slowly forward into their battle positions to the strains of military music. Not till the afternoon did the battle begin: while the English infantry hurled themselves against the defences of Blenheim Eugene at the head of his Germans tried to work his way round the left flank of his opponents. On neither flank could the allies prevail: the troops of Eugene made little progress in the densely wooded country through which they had to struggle, and the defenders of Blenheim beat off the fiercest attacks. In the centre all attempts to carry Oberglauheim failed; it was defended by Irish troops enlisted in the service of King Louis, who counter-attacked so fiercely that they clove their way right through the allied line. Marlborough saw that his army was in danger of being cut in two, so, putting himself at the head of a body of cavalry, he led them in a charge against the valiant Irishmen which closed the gap.

By this time he had discovered that the weakest part of the French line was not the flanks, as he had supposed, but the centre. No sooner had he seen his mistake than he put it right: he called troops from other parts of the field and hurled his cavalry against the long lines of French horsemen. Twice they were driven back, but the victorious French horsemen wavered under the steady fire that came from the reinforcing infantry, and when the allied cavalry charged for a third time, followed closely by the infantry, the French centre was completely swept away. The victorious allies now closed on the village of Blenheim; but further fighting was unnecessary, the defenders surrendered at the first summons, while away beyond Oberglauheim the unbroken left wing retreated in good order from the field. Vienna was saved, for the remnants of the French army did not halt till they reached the Rhine.

French Reverses. Though Louis kept his armies in the field

for another nine years he was never able to recover from this blow. One defeat was enough to shake the confidence which years of victory had given to his troops: all his great generals were dead, and the second-rate men who succeeded them felt that Marlborough was their master. In 1706 Marlborough inflicted another defeat upon his troops at Ramillies which forced him to abandon almost the whole of Belgium. Northern Italy was lost in the same year, for here Eugene with his Austrian troops drove the French armies back across the Alps. Two years after Ramillies came the triumph of Oudenarde: Marlborough had now captured Lille and was threatening to lead his armies into the heart of France.

End of the War. Only from Spain did any gleam of hope come to cheer Louis: there the allied expeditions had failed either to dislodge the French troops or to shake the affection of the Spaniards for the young French prince, now King Philip V. He could see nothing for it but to confess that he had been defeated, and to declare that he was willing to give up the whole of Spain and the Spanish possessions. Unfortunately his offer was not accepted; in Britain the Whig ministers were afraid that they would not be allowed to remain in office after peace had been made, and insisted on continuing the war. It was a grave blunder: the weary French troops fought with renewed vigour when they knew that they were defending their native land against an invader who had shut his ears against all offers of peace, and though the allies forced their way through the wooded ravines of Malplaquet in 1709 the French retreated in good order, leaving round their trenches the bodies of eleven thousand of their comrades and twenty-three thousand of their enemies. After that dearly bought victory the pace of the allied advance slowed down: Marlborough had to abandon his old dreams of a triumphal march into Paris and be content with the reduction of one or two frontier fortresses in the campaigns of 1710 and 1711. He had lost the support of the Government at home, for the Whigs were no longer in a majority, and the Whig ministers had been replaced by Tories who were anxious to bring the war to an end. The Government broke away from the Grand Alliance, dismissed Marlborough from his command, and opened negotiations with France. In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht closed the long struggle

The Treaty of Utrecht. The allies did not get all they were fighting for: as Spain and the Spanish possessions outside Europe had to be left under the rule of King Philip V, the grandson of Louis XIV, there was no guarantee that France and Spain would not some day be united. Belgium, however, was handed over to the Emperor and became the Austrian Netherlands, while the Dutch were allowed to man the line of Belgian fortresses known  as the barrier towns. The Spanish possessions in Italy were also given to the Emperor.

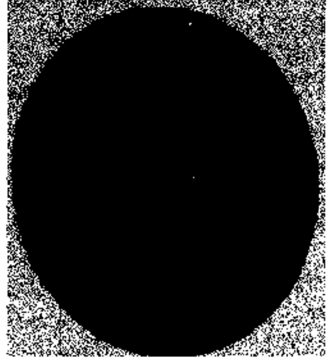


FIG. 167. ROBERT WALPOLE

But we are more interested in what Britain gained from the struggle. The British merchants did not gain complete freedom of trade with the Spanish colonies, but they alone were allowed to ship slaves to the Spanish colonies, and in addition they were allowed to send one ship each year to South America. In Spain itself the British kept the rock fortress of Gibraltar, which Admiral Rooke had captured almost by accident in 1704. King Louis promised to abandon the cause of the Pretender, gave up his claim to Newfoundland, and surrendered to Britain the peninsula of Nova Scotia and the snowy wastes round Hudson Bay.

Think for a moment over the list of these gains—trading privileges, a fortress guarding the entrance to the Mediterranean, new possessions in America. Clearly another great advance had been made in the building up of a colonial empire.

Establishment of Hanoverian Dynasty. After twenty-four years of almost continuous war with France came a period of peace which lasted for another quarter of a century. The death of Queen Anne in 1714 took the supporters of the exiled Stewarts by surprise: George, Elector of Hanover, a descendant of James I and a Protestant, was proclaimed king in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Settlement, and none dared to dispute his title. Bolingbroke, the leader of the Tory party, foiled in his schemes for putting the Pretender on the throne, fled to

France. The Whigs gained control of the government, and remained in power for half a century. It is true that in 1715 a rebellion broke out in the Highlands of Scotiand and in Northern England, but it was easily suppressed.

The First Prime Minister. As the new king understood not a word of English he had to let himself be guided in almost everything by the advice of his Whig ministers, who after 1721 were controlled by one of their number, Sir Robert Walpole. Walpole saw clearly that if the Cabinet—that small group of great officials such as the Lord Chancellor, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the two Secretaries of State, and the President of the Privy Council, which directed the government of the country—did not have a leader who was obeyed without question, the result would be hopeless confusion. So, as long as he remained the King's chief adviser, he insisted on absolute obedience; any colleague who disagreed with him had to surrender his office and leave the Cabinet. Thus Walpole became under the King the head of the Government, or the King's Prime Minister. People grumbled at first and thought that Walpole was asking far too much, but the arrangement was soon seen to be a convenient one, and it has continued to the present day.

FIG. 168. STREET SINGERS

Showing the costume of the people in the early eighteenth century.

From Tempest's *Cries of London.*

Cabinet Government. So what we call government by Parliament might more accurately be called Cabinet Government. The British Parliament is an inconveniently large assembly: the House of Commons in the eighteenth century had 658 members;

to-day it has 615. If a body of this size were allowed to muddle along from day to day, making all its decisions on the spur of the moment, the result would be confusion and disaster.

So from the time of Walpole onward the policy of the country has really been shaped in the Cabinet. An important new law is usually discussed in the Cabinet first of all, and unless the Cabinet as a whole is in favour of the new bill, it will have little

FIG. 169. LONDON IN 1746
The Monument and adjacent district.
From a painting in the Guildhall.
By permission of the Corporation of London.

chance of getting through the House of Commons. One or two members of the Cabinet may maintain that the proposed bill is unnecessary; if they do, the Prime Minister will make them choose between giving up their objections and leaving the Cabinet.

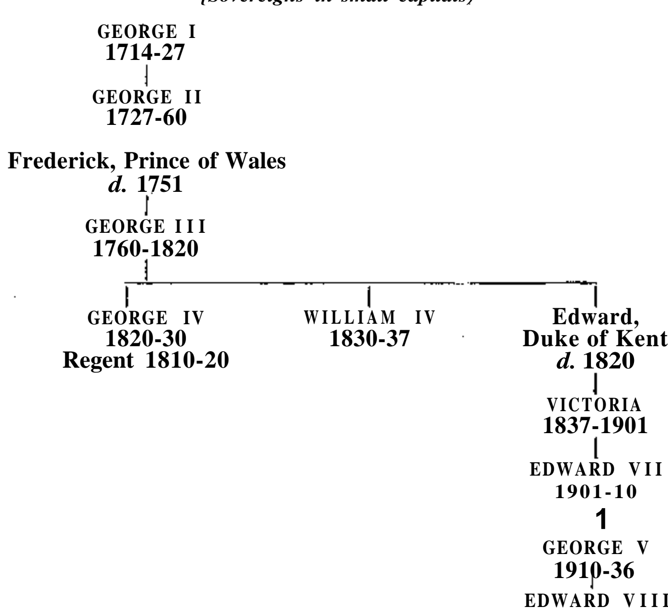
After the Cabinet has discussed the bill and decided what should be put in and what should be left out, the bill is submitted to the House of Commons. If a majority agree that a bill of this nature is necessary, the Commons will proceed to discuss the details of the bill and to suggest improvements. The Prime Minister and his colleagues in the Cabinet may think that the alterations change the bill for the worse, and refuse to go on with it. If they approve of the alterations, however, the bill is for-

warded to the House of Lords to be discussed there, and if the Lords accept the bill, it is certain to become an Act, one of the laws of the land. For though it has still to be presented to the King for his approval, the King no longer exercises his power of veto—the royal assent to a bill has not been refused since the time of Queen Anne.

But though it is the Cabinet which makes decisions, the Cabinet can direct only as long as it possesses the confidence of the House of Commons as a whole. If the Commons reject an important measure, more will follow than the mere withdrawal of the bill: the Prime Minister and his colleagues will be forced to resign. The King may then do one of two things: he may ask the leader of that party in the Commons which opposed the bill to become Prime Minister right away, or he may dissolve Parliament to allow a General Election to take place. Then, when the election is over, he will ask the leader of that party which has a majority in the new House of Commons to become Prime Minister and to select the members of his Cabinet from among the ranks of his supporters. But while it is the Prime Minister, advised more or less by the other members of the Cabinet, who leads and directs the country, Parliament is not bound to follow his lead: his decisions are invalid unless they are ratified by a majority of the House of Commons. And just as the Prime Minister cannot defy the wishes of the Commons, so the Commons cannot defy for long the wishes of those who have elected them. After 1694, as we have seen, the life of a Parliament was limited to three years; in 1716 the Septennial Act extended this to seven years, in 1911 it was reduced to five. So, though the House of Commons may pass laws or support a policy which the electors detest, the members know that in five years at the very outside they must give an account of their stewardship to the country.

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

(Sovereigns in small capitals)



CHAPTER XXX

THE STRUGGLE FOR CANADA AND INDIA
1727-63

GEORGE II, 1727-60
GEORGE III, 1760-1820

Walpole. Walpole used his great political power wisely: he aimed at keeping on friendly terms with France—an easy matter after the death of Louis XIV in 1715—at avoiding war, and at building up the wealth of,the country by encouraging trade and industry. His safe, unromantic, common-sense policy was popular; the death of the old King and the accession of George II in 1727 did nothing to lessen his influence; not till 1739 did he meet with serious opposition.

War with Spain. The Treaty of Utrecht, as you might expect, did not satisfy the British merchants: they were still forbidden to trade with the Spanish colonies. But as the settlers could not do without British goods the merchants found it profitable to defy the prohibition and smuggle their wares into Spanish America. The Spanish customs officials, in their attempts to put down this contraband trade, punished some of the smugglers severely; for example, a sea-captain, Jenkins by name, had one of his ears lopped off. The news of these severities kindled a frenzy of hatred against Spain: Walpole as usual strove hard to keep the peace, but the fiery speeches of his opponents, especially those of a young cavalry officer, William Pitt, swung the Commons against him, and in 1739 he was forced to consent to a war with Spain. " They are ringing their bells now," he exclaimed, as he heard the joy peals clanging from the steeples; "they will be wringing their hands soon."

This War of Jenkins' Ear, as it was called, like the wars with Holland in the seventeenth century, was nothing more or less than a struggle for trade. But the combatants became entangled in another war which broke out on the Continent in 1740 between

Austria on the one hand and France and Prussia on the other, and soon the British Government found that the war with Spain had developed into a war with France.

The Last Jacobite Rebellion. Walpole's prophecy came true.' though in 1743' the trained valour of the British troops carried them to victory at Dettingen, though it made their defeat at Fontenoy in 1745 even more glorious than a victory, the war was a costly and indecisive struggle. When it came to an end in 1748 the country had spent forty-four million pounds and had gained nothing. Only with regard to Scotland had the Government any cause for pride. In 1745, when almost all the regular troops were fighting the French on the Continent, Prince Charles Edward, the son of the exiled prince who called himself James III, slipped over to Scotland and rallied the Highlanders to his standard. With his small army he burst upon the Lowlands, captured Edinburgh, routed Sir John Cope's raw troops at Prestonpans, and invaded England. He was making for London, but when he got as far as Derby he heard that the regular troops were being hurried back from the Continent by the thousand, and resolved to retreat. Twice he beat off forces that tried to intercept him, but the Duke of Cumberland followed him into the north of Scotland and routed his forces at Culloden. Charles escaped to France, but his cause had perished. Never again did anyone think seriously of restoring the exiled Stewarts; never again did the Scottish Highlanders rise in rebellion. Parliament deprived the chiefs of their old powers, roads were constructed, forts built and garrisoned, and soon the north of Scotland became as peaceful as the south.

FIG. 170. HIGHLANDERS ON THE MARCH

It was well for the British Government that it entered on the next war with France unembarrassed by fears of an insurrection in the Highlands, for the prize at stake was an enormous one, nothing less than the control of India and North America. The trouble had been brewing for years, and long before the formal

THE BRITISH TERRITORY IN 1763.

declaration of war in 1756, long before British troops confronted their French advėrsaries on any European batdefield, the gigantic struggle had begun.

English and French in North America. At the beginning of the previous chapter mention was made of the English setdements along the eastern seaboard of North America. The colonists had other enemies to contend with in addition to the painted Indians: away to the north, in the basin of the St Lawrence river, lay the great French colony of Canada. The island fortress of Louis-burg protected it from attack by sea: its capital, Quebec, strongly fortified, garrisoned by veteran troops, stood high above the river in a position made almost impregnable by nature, and along its

southern frontier stretched a line of forts manned by sturdy soldier-settlers. But the men who governed the colony were not satisfied with what they had achieved: they aimed at extending the line of forts southward to the Ohio and thence to the French settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi, thus shutting up the English in the strip of land east of the Alleghany Mountains. The colonists saw their danger. In 1753 a small force was sent to establish a frontier post where the Allegheny and the Monongahela unite to form the Ohio River. The French drove off the colonists, however, and built Fort Duquesne to threaten the rear of the British settlements. The colonists appealed to the home Government, and though Britain and France were still at peace in Europe General Braddock was sent across the Atlantic in 1755 with two regiments of regular troops. But Braddock knew nothing of the tricks of wood-fighting which the French had learned from the Indians; he started out to capture Fort Duquesne, but walked into an ambush and was slain with almost the whole of his troops.

Beginning of the Seven Years War. After this encounter Britain could not deny that she was at war with France, and in the following year the struggle began in Europe in real earnest. As before, Britain and France were not the only combatants: for eight years the enmity between Austria and Prussia had smouldered, and now in 1756 it flamed up into open war. This time, however, Britain was on the side of Prussia, and France the ally of Austria.

The war had an inglorious beginning. The heads of the Government acted like a crowd of flustered old women. Though they had known for almost two years that war with France was certain, they had taken no steps to prepare either the army or the fleet. Terrified at the mere thought of invasion, they actually imported troops from Germany for the defence of Britain, and concentrated the fleet in the Channel. The result was that when Minorca, the only British naval base in the Mediterranean, was threatened by a French fleet they were afraid to send out a force strong enough to relieve it. Admiral Byng did indeed encounter a hostile squadron, but as it outnumbered his own he refused to fight to a finish. Minorca was lost: Byng was ordered to come home, court-martialled, and shot—" to encourage the others," as

a malicious Frenchman remarked. Nobody thought of shooting the ministers who had asked him to perform an impossible task.

William Pitt and his Policy. From this muddle and threatening disaster the country was saved by the genius of one man. In their extremity the members of the Government turned to their most relentless critic, William Pitt, who had declared: " I can save this country, and I know that nobody else can." The Duke of Newcastle, a second-rate statesman, remained the nominal head of the Government, but every one knew that it was really directed by the keen intelligence and imperious will of Pitt.

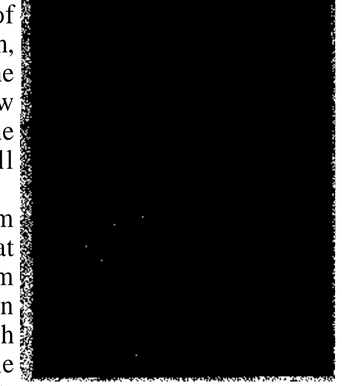


FIG. 171. WILLIAM PITT
Richard Brompton

Pitt understood fully the problem which he had to solve. He saw that the best way to secure Britain from invasion was not to keep the fleet in home waters, but to order it to watch the French coast and give battle to any hostile squadron which attempted to slip past. If this blockade were properly maintained, the French Government would find it impossible to send supplies and reinforcements to Canada, and the task of the British forces in North America would become a fairly simple one. At the same time he saw clearly that even if the French were driven out of North America the war might drag on for years unless the French armies in Europe could also be broken. He therefore sent large sums of money to Frederick of Prussia and organized an army, mostly German, but stiffened by 10,000 British troops, to defend Hanover and guard the right flank of the Prussian forces.

The Conquest of Canada. In 1758 the conquest of Canada began. A threefold attack had been planned: a combined naval and military force under Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst was to capture Louisburg, which guarded the entrance to the St Lawrence, and advance up the river to Quebec, while two other expeditions were to advance from the British settlements and break through the southern defences of Canada by assailing Fort

Duquesne and Ticonderoga. The scheme was only partially successful; Louisburg was captured, but after so obstinate a resistance that the advance on Quebec had to be postponed: Fort Duquesne was abandoned, but General Abercrombie's troops failed to storm the palisades of Ticonderoga, and were beaten off with heavy loss.

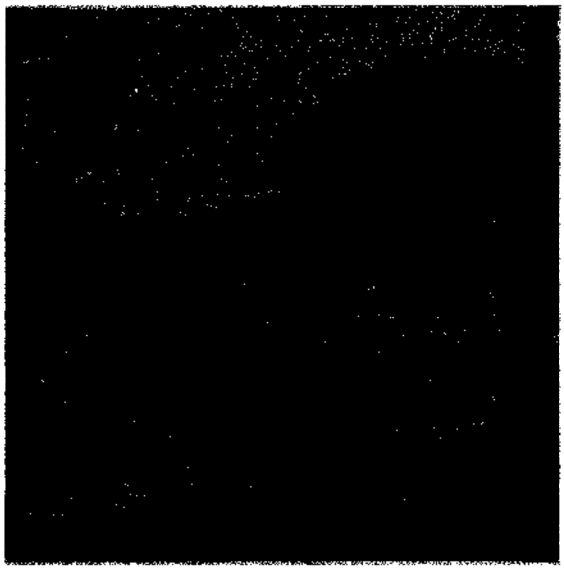


FIG. 172. THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM
The British setting out to assault the French lines.

But the French power in Canada was doomed. In the summer of 1759, while the French fleets lay blockaded in harbour, Admiral Saunders sailed for the St Lawrence with fifteen battleships and ten frigates. With him he had General Wolfe and a few thousand soldiers, for a second attempt upon Quebec had been planned. Wolfe disembarked his troops on the northern bank of the river, a few miles below the great fortress So far, everything had gone well, but Wolfe soon found that Quebec, strong to begin with because of its position on a height overlooking the great river, had been rendered doubly strong by the military skill of Mont-

calm, the French commander. Against his better judgment he attempted an attack from the east, but it resulted in a disastrous repulse. There seemed to be no way out of the difficulty. But Wolfe discovered that the Heights of Abraham, to the west of the town, were lightly defended; evidently the French commander did not expect an attack from that quarter. There Wolfe decided to strike; he transported his troops to the southern bank of the river and marched them a few miles upstream, where boats were waiting for them. On the 12th of September Saunders misled the enemy by directing a heavy bombardment against a spot to the east of the doomed fortress. Before dawn on the following morning Wolfe and four thousand of his men dropped downstream to a cove about a mile above the town. They scrambled up a zigzag path, overpowered the outpost that guarded the heights, and took up their position facing Quebec. The garrison were taken completely by surprise; Montcalm was at the other side of the town waiting for the attack to which the bombardment seemed to be a prelude. He galloped westward, mustering his troops as he went, and within three hours his army was drawn up in line opposite the scarlet-clad British regulars. Both sides advanced to the attack at the same time and with equal bravery. The British troops were as steady, their ranks as straight, as if they had been on parade. Though bullets were dropping thick among them they fired not a shot in reply till they came within forty yards of the enemy, when they poured first one volley and then another into the opposing ranks. The French line was hopelessly shattered; before the great gaps in the ranks could be filled up and the shaken troops rallied, the British charged home with the bayonet and swept their opponents from the field. Wolfe was wounded thrice, and lived only long enough to know that his desperate venture had succeeded. A few days later Quebec surrendered.

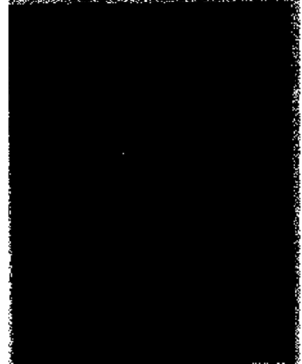


FIG. 173. GENERAL JAMES WOLFE
J. S. C Schaak
National Portrait Gallery.

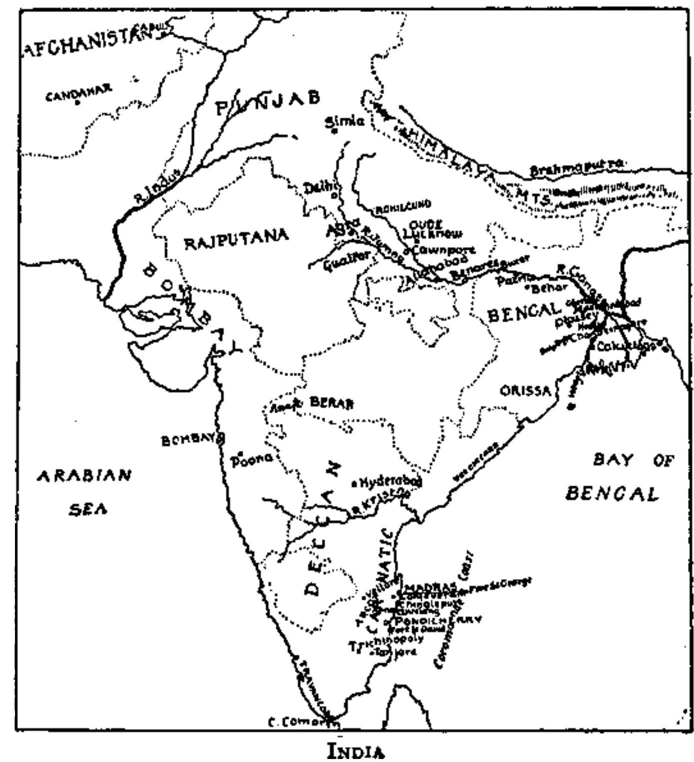
Amherst completed Wolfe's work of conquest. One French stronghold after another was compelled to surrender till only Montreal was left. But from three sides armies were advancing against it; a twelvemonth after the fall of Quebec Amherst and his two subordinate generals united their forces outside its walls. The French had no choice but to surrender, and they lost more than Montreal, for they gave up the whole of Canada to the British Crown.

The War in Europe. Not in Canada alone were the British troops victorious. While Wolfe was besieging Quebec the Anglo-Hanoverian forces met a French army at Minden. As at Quebec, the long thin line of scarlet-clad infantry advanced steadily against the centre of the enemy's position through the fire of eighty cannon, fired a crashing volley when they came to close quarters, attacked with the bayonet, and drove the French from the field. At the same time, too, a French fleet escaped from Toulon harbour and put to sea, only to be overtaken by Boscawen at Lagos and almost completely destroyed. Three months later the Brest fleet came out, only to share its fate. On a wild November night Hawke swooped down upon it, pursued it into Quiberon Bay, where the danger from shoals was greater than the danger from the enemy's fire, and captured or destroyed nine of the twenty-five French ships.

These naval victories gave Britain absolute command of the seas; British troops could be sent to any part of the world without hindrance while the French transports rotted at their moorings in Brest or Toulon. Not only had the French to let their colonies go; they were powerless to protect the islands off their own coast from the British: in 1761 Belle Isle was occupied by a British force. When in 1762 Spain joined France it at once learned the meaning of British sea-power; Havana and Manila dropped into the hands of the British like ripe plums.

India in the Eighteenth Century. It was sea-power, too, which finally decided the issue of the conflict between British and French in India, a struggle far more complicated than the similar struggle in North America. For one thing India, unlike North America, was already the seat of a civilization that measured its age, not by centuries, but by tens of centuries. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the whole of India had been united under the

sway of the Mogul emperors, but in the first half of the eighteenth century the Mogul Empire had become only the shadow of a name; the Nawabs of the great provinces ruled their subjects and made war on each other just as if they were independent kings.



INDIA

The French in India. It seemed to Dupleix, the governor of a French settlement at Pondicherry, that something might be won for his country out of the wreckage of this great empire. But if any considerable part of India was ever to come under the sway of the French king, the British must first of all be cleared out of the country. He therefore resolved to gain the friendship of the neighbouring Indian princes, arouse suspicions of the British in

their minds, and persuade them to let their troops be trained by French officers. He knew, too, that though France was far away he could draw supplies and reinforcements from the French island of Mauritius, which was not far off, while help could come to the British settlements only from Britain. The cleverness of his policy was shown in 1746, when his ally, the Nawab of the Carnatic, intervened to save Pondicherry from a British besieging

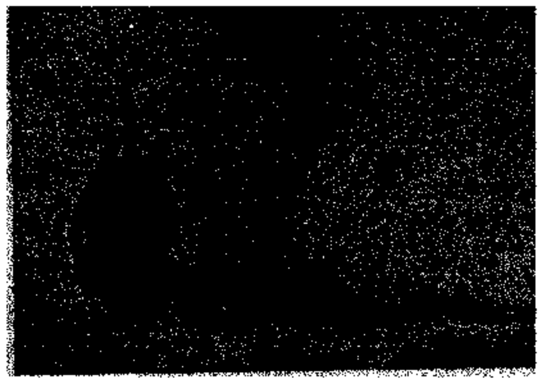


FIG. 174. THE " THAMES "
An East Indiaman of 1424 tons built for the East India Company.

force, and when the Governor of Mauritius attacked and captured Madras. Though the French Government restored Madras to the British in 1748 Dupleix did not abandon his schemes; he succeeded in making one friendly prince Nizam of the Deccan and another Nawab of the Carnatic. It seemed as if the whole of Southern India were to come under the control of this ambitious Frenchman.

Give. But in the East India Company's service there was an Englishman with a keener intelligence, a deeper knowledge of the native mind, a stouter resolution than were possessed by Dupleix himself. Robert Clive had gone out to India as a clerk, but had soon gained a reputation as a soldier. When in 1751 Dupleix began his direct attack on the British in the Carnatic by attacking their station of Trichinopoly, Clive retaliated by seizing the French station of Arcot and holding it with a handful of British

and native troops. His scheme succeeded; the French and their native allies were diverted from Trichinopoly. Clive followed up his first exploit by repeated victories, which resulted in the Carnatic coming under British influence. Then the French Government made its crowning blunder; it insisted on the return of Dupleix, the only Frenchman in India who could be pitted against Clive with any hope of success.

Foundation of the Indian Empire. When the Seven Years War broke out in 1756 Clive was in England. He reached India in time to hear of the atrocious cruelty of Suraj-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Bengal, who had captured Calcutta and allowed 146 of his prisoners to be shut up in one small room, there to endure the stifling heat of a summer night. When the doors were opened in the morning only twenty-three miserable spectres crawled out. Clive marched against the Nawab, routed his army at Plassey in 1757, and made one of his native allies Nawab in his place. But though Mir Jafar might be Nawab in name, the real ruler of the great province of Bengal was Clive himself.

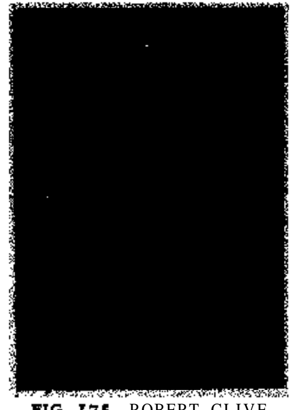


FIG. 175. ROBERT CLIVE

From the north the struggle spread to Southern India; but here British sea-power made itself felt. In 1759 an attempt to capture Madras was frustrated by the arrival of a British fleet. At the same time Clive sent an expedition southward which forced the Nawab of the Circars to become his ally, and so opened up the landward route from Bengal to the Carnatic. Thither he sent Sir Eyre Coote in 1760: his victory over the French at Wandewash gave the British complete control over the Carnatic, and in 1761 the capture of Pondicherry by a combined land and sea force brought the conflict to a close. Clive had not conquered the whole of India: as yet only the plain of the Ganges and a strip of territory along the eastern coast was under British control, but he had laid the foundations of an empire as wide as that of the Moguls; he had made sure that the French would never

again interfere with British designs in India, and he had shown the native princes that they would find the Company a convenient friend but a dangerous rival.

The Peace of Paris. Meantime what of Pitt, whose brain had directed and whose passion had inspired Wolfe and Clive, Boscawen and Hawke? The old King who had first hated and then trusted him had died in 1760: he was succeeded by the cocksure and inexperienced George III, who could neither understand nor respect Pitt's wonderful genius. Pitt began to lose his hold over the Government: in 1761 he saw that Spain meant mischief, urged an immediate declaration of war, and threatened to resign if his advice were not taken. The other ministers shut their eyes to the danger: Pitt resigned, Newcastle followed him, and the King's tutor, the Earl of Bute, became Prime Minister.

Bute's one idea was to make peace as quickly as possible, whatever the result might be. Happily, it was impossible for a man with Bute's slender stock of talents to undo what Pitt had accomplished. Though by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 he gave back Havana and Manila to Spain and restored Belle Isle, most of the captured West Indian islands, and the French settlements in India to France, the British gains were enormous. In Europe Minorca was restored, and the French armies were compelled to evacuate Hanover and Prussia. In America France surrendered Canada, Cape Breton Island, and half a dozen of the West Indian islands, and abandoned her claim to the vast stretch of territory between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi, while Spain gave up Florida and allowed British traders to cut timber in Honduras. Never before had Britain reached such a height of glory: her fleets and armies seemed to be invincible: in North America her possessions extended from the fog-bound coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador to the sunny peninsula of Florida, nor was there now any line of hostile forts to prevent British colonists from advancing across the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, and from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. In that hour of triumph people forgot that France and Spain, though beaten for the moment, were still unreconciled to the thought of defeat, and that Frederick of Prussia, who had been left in the lurch when the British Government hastened to make peace, was the last man in the world to forget an injury.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE LOSS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES

1765-83

GEORGE III, 1760-1820

The Navigation Laws. It was one thing to gain a great colonial empire; to know what to do with it was quite another. Throughout the eighteenth century English statesmen could not rid themselves of the idea that colonies existed mainly for the profit of the mother country, that when the interests of the colonists clashed with those of England, the colonists should always give way. Thus the sugar of the West Indian plantations, the tobacco, cotton, skins, and timber of the North American colonies had to be carried to a British port. Even when they fetched a higher price on the continent of Europe than they would in Britain, the colonial merchant was forbidden to send them to a Continental port. But the British merchant who had bought colonial goods was free to ship them again to a foreign country and take the profit which was denied to the colonist. Similarly the colonists were forbidden to import manufactured goods from any country except Britain, or even to attempt the manufacture of articles which were already imported from Britain. For example, all beaver skins exported from America had to go to England, though they might fetch higher prices in France, Thus the English merchants could buy the skins at a price which was unfairly low. At the same time the colonists were forbidden to wear beaver hats which had not been manufactured in England. In other words, the beaver skin had to be sent over three thousand miles of sea to England, made into a hat by an English hatter, and again shipped across the Atlantic before it could rest on the brow of an American colonist. So in the second half of the eighteenth century the colonists in North America, like the Scots at the beginning of the century, became convinced that the English Government was willing to

inflict any hardship upon them if only the prosperity of the English merchants might be assured. They forgot that the trading privileges were not all on the side of the English merchants, and that, however selfish and unreasonable the home Government might seem, it was the action of that Government in the Seven Years War which had saved them from falling under the sway of the much more selfish and unreasonable King of France. The English customs regulations were set at defiance, and a large and profitable smuggling trade sprang up.

The Thirteen Colonies. But embittered as the American colonists were by the policy of the British Government, it seemed for a long time that their discontent would show itself only in grumbling and in trying to evade the restrictions which had been placed on their trade. For one thing, it seemed impossible that they could ever bring themselves to act together, for the older British settlements in North America did not form one compact block of territory under one government; there were thirteen different colonies strung along the Atlantic coast from the Bay of Fundy to the peninsula of Florida, each with its own little Parliament and its own governor, each almost as suspicious of the other twelve as it was of the mother country.

The Stamp Act. Unfortunately the British Government would not let sleeping dogs lie, even when they growled in their sleep. In 1765 the Parliament at Westminster passed the Stamp Act, which imposed a tax on all legal documents used within the colonies. From one point of view the measure was a just one; without the British fleet and army the colonists would have been unable to baffle the far-reaching schemes of the French, yet though they had undertaken the defence of their own borders, and though colonial contingents had co-operated with the British regular troops in the conquest of Canada, they had done nothing to pay for those costly armaments which the home Government had sent. The Stamp Act was meant to remedy this; not a penny raised by it was to be sent overseas, it was all to be used for the payment of garrisons maintained for the defence of the colonies. But the colonists refused to admit that the Act would benefit them, and contended that, whatever its merits, it should not have been imposed upon them against their will by a Parliament meeting three thousand miles away, a Parliament, moreover, which con-

tained no representatives of the Colonies. The Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in the following year, but it could not yield gracefully; it passed a Declaratory Act at the same time asserting that the home Government was entitled to tax the colonists. This was as much as to say, " We can't tax you now, but we will tax you as soon as we are able."

Lord North. At this point, when the relations between the colonists and the mother country were daily growing more bitter, Pitt became Prime Minister. But age and disease had made him more haughty and irritable, clouds obscured his once vigorous mind, and he soon became a cipher in the Government which he was supposed to control. His mental vigour returned, but the lost opportunity did not return; after 1770 Lord North, an over-loyal statesman, became the head of the Government. North had no will of his own; he considered that his chief duty was to bow to the very imperious will of the King, even when his own judgment told him that the King was in the wrong. King George, for his part, was annoyed at the presumption of the colonists, and determined that, whatever the cost, respect for the British Government and the British King should be knocked into these contumacious persons.

FIG. 176. A STAMP OF 1765

" *The Boston Tea-Party.*" The colonists were steadily becoming more difficult to deal with. Taxes on tea, paper, glass, and paints, which had been imposed in 1767, were regarded with as much disfavour as the tax on stamped documents. North tried to conciliate the colonists by removing all the new taxes except the tax on tea. This he kept, though it brought in only a trifling sum, to show that the British Government had not abandoned its former claims. He would have done well to pocket his pride: in 1773, when two or three ships loaded with tea were lying in Boston harbour, a party of the townspeople disguised as Indians boarded the ships and threw the tea overboard. This, the most serious of many similar episodes, roused the home Government to fury: Boston harbour was closed; the colony of Massachusetts, of which Boston was the chief town, was deprived of its charter,

and orders were sent out that troops were to be quartered in the disaffected districts.

This vigorous action did not have the result that was expected: the people of Boston were not frightened into a submissive frame of mind; on the contrary, the other colonists began to feel that what had happened to the Bostonians might also befall them, and that the only argument that the British Parliament would listen to was the argument of armed force. This feeling speedily broke down the barriers which had hitherto separated the colonies; in 1774 a Continental Congress, to which representatives of twelve out of the thirteen colonies came, was held at Philadelphia. Though the Congress asserted that it was still loyal to King George, it denied that the British Parliament had a right to tax the colonies, insisted on the repeal of laws which were obnoxious to the colonists, and backed up its demands by stopping all trade with the mother country, and by threatening armed resistance should the Government not give way.

Outbreak of War. War was not far off. In the spring of 1775 General Gage, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, heard that a quantity of arms and ammunition had been collected by the rebels at Concord, not far from his headquarters at Boston He dispatched a few companies of infantry to destroy this war material, but when the troops reached the village of Lexington they found a body of armed colonists facing them. A volley was fired; some of the colonists were slain; the remainder dispersed. The troops continued their march and succeeded in destroying the stores. On their return, however, they were harassed by shots from every house, wall, and hedgerow which they passed, and when they reached Boston over two hundred of their number had been killed or wounded. This was no mere riot; it was the first battle in a great war. A few weeks later a second Congress met and decreed that a regular army should be raised. More important still, it gave the supreme command to George Washington, a leader of rare ability.

Battle of Bunker Hill. Even in Boston Gage could not feel safe, for the city and harbour were commanded by the ridge of Bunker Hill, on the Charlestown peninsula, which the rebels had occupied. Gage determined to drive them off by a frontal attack : twice large bodies of infantry, cumbered with heavy knap-

sacks, struggled up the hill in close order to within fifty yards of the American lines, and twice they were driven back by a shattering volley. Only at the third attempt, when the enemy's powder was almost exhausted, did they reach the rebel position and force the colonists to retire at the point of the bayonet. Gage had succeeded, but almost half the attacking force had been killed or wounded, and though the Americans had been forced to withdraw they retired in good order.

Comparison of the Two Sides. The fighting at Lexington and Bunker Hill made it evident that the subjugation of the colonists would be no easy matter. The ordinary British soldier was brave and well disciplined, but he was accustomed to fight in close formation, and as a marksman he could not compare with the average American, whose livelihood in peace-time had often depended on his accuracy of aim. Then the British leadership was bad; there was no Wolfe or Amherst among the British generals, and though Gage was replaced by Sir William Howe, the change benefited nobody except the Americans. But had the British soldiers joined their opponents' good qualities to their own, had they been commanded by a general of the highest ability, their task would still have been a difficult one. They had to draw their supplies and reinforcements from a base three thousand miles away, and to subjugate a vast and unfamiliar country, stretching for a thousand miles from north to south, inhabited by an unfriendly population. Nor was there any leader of Pitt's organizing genius at home. Pitt, indeed, still thundered out denunciations of the Government in the House of Lords, but the man who directed the conduct of the war in America and told the commanders what to do was none other than Lord George Germain, who had behaved so disgracefully at the battle of Minden that he had been dismissed from the army. On the other hand, the colonial troops, if brave and skilled in the use of their weapons, were undisciplined, and their military value was further diminished by the quarrels and jealousies of the various colonies. Many of the colonists refused to take any part in the struggle; many fought for King George side by side with the British regulars. The inhabitants of Canada, too, though the great majority were of French descent and had been subjects of King Louis only twelve years before, refused all invitations to join the rebels.

The French Canadians had not forgotten that the rebels had been the bitterest opponents of the Canada Act of 1774, which allowed Roman Catholics in the newly conquered province to worship according to the usages of their own church.

The Declaration of Independence. But though the attempts at invading Canada in the winter of 1775-76 ended in failure the colonists steadily gained ground. Early in 1776 Washington forced Howe to evacuate Boston. Nor were the colonists now uncertain about their aims; on the 4th of July, 1776, a Congress at which all thirteen colonies were represented met at Philadelphia, and in the Declaration of Independence proclaimed that the colonies were now free and independent states, owing no allegiance to the British King. But the end was still far off; in the autumn Howe drove Washington back from New York, which became the British headquarters till the close of hostilities.

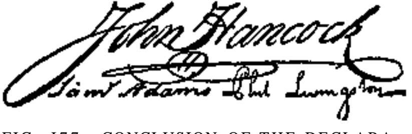


FIG. 177. CONCLUSION OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Saratoga. Next year the British Government drew up an elaborate plan of campaign. General Burgoyne was to lead an army from Canada and march down by the shores of Lake Champlain and the valley of the Hudson till he joined hands with Howe, who was to advance from Boston. The combined armies were then to clear the Americans out of the northern colonies. It was an excellent plan on paper, but Lord George Germain forgot to tell Howe that whatever happened he must effect a junction with the army of Burgoyne. Howe went off to besiege Philadelphia; Burgoyne, cumbered with a heavy train of artillery, started on his southward march. He reached Saratoga, at the head of the Hudson valley, but the Americans had closed in upon him, he was so far from his base that retreat was impossible, his provisions were almost exhausted, and he could get no news of Howe and his army. He beat off two attacks with difficulty, but he knew that his position was hopeless, and on the 17th of October, 1777, he surrendered.

France and Spain Intervene. This disaster in a sense decided the issue of the war. The task of transporting troops and stores over three thousand miles of sea, and of finding soldiers for a service in which little glory could be gained, though hard, was not impossible. And so long as it was possible, so long as the steady flow of troops and supplies was maintained without interruption, the British Government could flatter itself that in the long run the greater wealth and population of the mother country would give it the victory. But the prospects of victory would become very doubtful indeed if Britain were entangled in a war with another nation that possessed a great fleet. Not only would troops be kept at home to guard against a possible invasion, but if by any chance our fleets were defeated in battle or even badly handled, if the flow of reinforcements were checked, the effect would be felt at once in America. This is precisely what did happen; the news of Saratoga encouraged the Government of Louis XVI, eager to wipe out the humiliation of 1763, to declare war on Britain in 1778; in 1779 Spain followed the example of her ally, and in 1780 the once powerful fleets of Holland were arrayed against Britain. Nor was this all; Frederick of Prussia, who considered that he had been shabbily treated in 1763, not only refrained from lending any aid to his former ally; by joining the Armed Neutrality of the northern nations he made a distinct threat to Britain. The odds against Britain were even heavier than in 1756, and now there was no Pitt to guide her. The navy had been allowed to go to ruin; of 119 battleships that were supposed to be ready for service, only about half were fit to leave harbour. What could these threescore do when they had to reckon with the combined fleets of France and Spain, about 140 battleships in all? Able commanders there were, but with unseaworthy ships, ill-trained crews, and confused instructions from the Government at home, they did not get a chance. So powerless was the British fleet that the Spaniards were allowed to blockade Gibraltar for three years, and for a whole month a combined French and Spanish fleet cruised in the Channel unmolested.

British Surrender at Yorktown. After Saratoga the British leaders turned their attention to the Southern colonies, where, in 1780 and 1781, Lord Cornwallis defeated the Americans in a

series of hard-fought battles. But every victory left his army weaker, and in the spring of 1781 he withdrew into Virginia. He was in no apparent danger, and he soon received reinforcements dispatched by Clinton, Howe's successor. He did not know that Washington, in his camp on the Hudson, was planning a stroke that would end the war.

FIG. 178
GEORGE WASHINGTON
Cfiarles Gilbert Stuart

Washington had now near him a French army under Rochambeau, and he knew that De Grasse, with a powerful French fleet, would soon appear off the coast. He detached a small force under Lafayette, a young French nobleman, to watch Cornwallis, while he arranged that when De Grasse arrived the land and sea forces of the allies would combine to attack Clinton or Cornwallis. Clinton got to know of this scheme, and, convinced that the blow would fall upon himself at New York, he ordered Cornwallis to retire to the Yorktown Peninsula. Cornwallis accordingly fortified the seaport of Yorktown.

When it was too late Clinton learned that Washington and Rochambeau were marching southward to Yorktown. Even now Cornwallis seemed fairly safe; he could still get supplies and reinforcements by water. But De Grasse sailed into Chesapeake Bay and blockaded Yorktown before the two small British squadrons commanded by Hood and Graves could effect a junction. When it was too late Hood and Graves joined forces and attacked De Grasse, but were beaten off. Lafayette had already blocked the neck of the peninsula; the victorious fleet now brought up the troops of Washington and Rochambeau, and soon the guns of the allies were battering down the British defences. There was no way out; after the siege had lasted a month Cornwallis surrendered.

A Naval Victory. At home every one understood the lesson of this disaster. The struggle in America could no longer be maintained; there was no choice but to give the colonists com-

plete independence. Even Lord North recognized this: in 1782 he resigned in favour of ministers pledged to make peace. But if the Governments of France and Spain thought that they had to deal with a dispirited and broken antagonist they soon found out their mistake. In 1782 Rodney, with thirty-six battleships, sailed to the West Indies. Off the island of Dominica he met the victorious De Grasse and his fleet of thirty-five ships of the line, larger and more heavily gunned than the British vessels. Rodney attacked, broke the French fleet in two, and concentrated his fire on the rearward portion, which he completely destroyed. A few months later Howe's force of thirty-four battleships broke through the Spanish fleet that had beleaguered Gibraltar for three years, and relieved the sorely tried garrison.

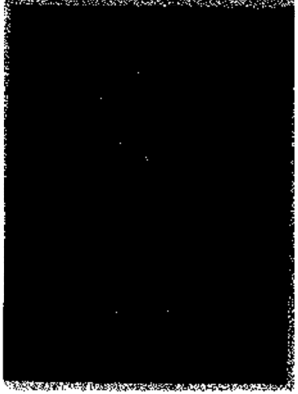


FIG. 179. WARREN HASTINGS
Sir T. Lawrence
National Portrait Gallery.

The Treaty of Versailles. But these victories came too late; the American colonies were lost beyond hope of recovery. By the Treaty of Versailles, signed in 1783, the British Government acknowledged the complete independence of the thirteen colonies, now the United States of America. To Spain Britain gave up East Florida, to France a few islands and two trading settlements in Africa.

One might think that British statesmen would have asked themselves why these great and wealthy colonies had broken away from the mother country, and what could be done to prevent similar quarrels and separations in future. But such questions did not trouble the eighteenth-century statesman: he found no fault in the vexatious trading regulations which had been the first and chief cause of the quarrel; he saw nothing to change in the way in which Britain governed its remaining colonies. If colonies separated from the mother country no one could be blamed—"'Twas their nature to."

Happily, while an empire was being lost in North America,

Warren Hastings, the brilliant and unhappy successor of the brilliant and unhappy Clive, resisted successfully the attempts of the French to regain what they had lost in 1763, broke the power of Hyder Ali, who had striven to make himself master of

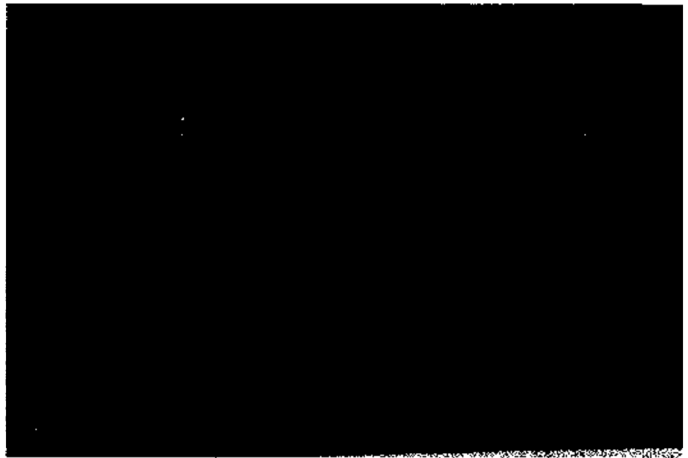


FIG. 180. H.M.S. "RESOLUTION"
In this ship Captain Cook completed the first eastward circumnavigation of the globe (1772-75) and made his last voyage (1776-79).

Southern India, made the most powerful native princes eager to become his allies, and improved the government of those territories which were under the direct rule of the East India Company. And in 1768 Captain Cook began that ten years of voyaging in unknown seas that led ultimately to the founding of a great colonial empire in the Southern Hemisphere.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE

1789-1815

GEORGE III, *1760-1820*
GEORGE, Prince of Wales, Regent, 1810-20

Discontent in France. When, in the spring of 1789, it became known that Louis XVI of France had summoned the French States-General or Parliament to meet at Versailles in May, the news excited no little interest in this country. In France, as in England, the seventeenth century had witnessed a struggle between the king and the Parliament, but whereas in England Parliament emerged triumphant in 1689, in France it was soon evident that if the king cared he could dispense with it altogether, and from 1614 to 1789 the States-General did not meet. Yet there were no immediate ill-effects; the civil war which broke out in the middle of the century left the king's authority stronger than it had been before, and in the long reign of Louis XIV art and literature, commerce and industry flourished, and France was the most prosperous as well as the most powerful state in Europe. But though this system—government by an absolute monarch through ministers and officials—had worked well for a time, from the middle of the eighteenth century onward it was evident that some day or other it would break down. The five long wars with Britain brought that day nearer, for they stripped the monarchy of its glory and left the country reeling under the weight of an enormous debt, and though France intervened successfully in the struggle between Great Britain and her rebellious colonies, the victor was burdened with a legacy not only of debt, but of political discontent. When even the nobly born French general Lafayette returned from America burning with a hatred of despotic monarchy which lasted to the end of a long iife, we need not be astonished that many of the soldiers

came home eager to establish, not a limited monarchy, but a republic like that which they had seen at work in America.

The French Revolution. At first thoughtful men in this country hailed the proceedings of the States-General with delight; it seemed that it was to accomplish in a few months that task for which the English Parliament had required the better part of a century. At the beginning of 1791 the King was no longer an absolute ruler, but a limited monarch, bound to make no decision

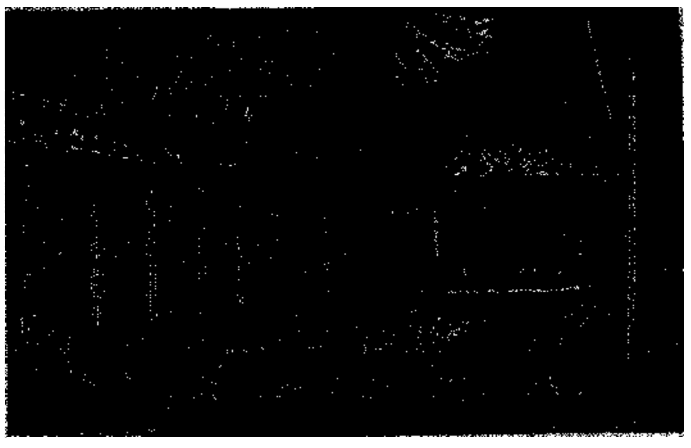


FIG. 181. FIRST SITTING OF THE NEW STATES-GENERAL, 1789

of which the National Assembly, as the States-General now called itself, did not approve. Many useful reforms had been introduced; the nobles, for example, were no longer a privileged class, exempt from taxation, with a monopoly of the valuable posts in the army and navy, for all Frenchmen had become equal in the eyes of the law. Even when all men saw that the King was no better than a prisoner, even when in 1792 news came that the monarchy had been overthrown and a republic established, even when thousands of high-born refugees crossed the Channel fleeing from the riot and massacre that had devoured so many of their friends, the ordinary Englishman was thrilled with sympathy and horror, but felt that all this was none of his business. His views were shared by the Prime Minister, William

Pitt, the second son of the great Chatham. Pitt was determined to remain at peace, even with revolutionary France; only if the nation were at peace could he carry out those reforms on which he had set his heart. He knew that British trade was hampered by an absurd system of customs duties; he knew that Parliament had long since ceased to represent the people of the country; he knew that the laws passed in seasons of panic against Roman Catholics pressed heavily upon a large body of Englishmen who for long had been perfectly loyal and well behaved. But not to him was the task of remedying these abuses entrusted; the man who might have been as great in peace as his father had been in war was fated to become the leader in a struggle with France more terrific than any in which Britain had yet engaged, and after thirteen years of warfare to sink overwhelmed by his stupendous task and die with the end not yet in sight.

Britain and France: Outbreak of War. What was it that wrought this change? Not the sudden transformation of a monarchy into a republic, but the fact that the new republic inherited all the ambitions of the old monarchy. In 1792 Belgium, which since the Peace of Utrecht had been part of the Austrian territories, was occupied by French armies; the estuary of the Scheldt, which had hitherto belonged to Holland, was declared by the Republic to be open to the ships of all nations—including, of course, French warships—and it was clear that Holland would soon share the fate of Belgium. In other words, the whole of the coast-line from Calais to the Zuider Zee would soon be in the hands of a powerful and unfriendly nation, and not only the sea-borne trade of Britain, but her very existence as an independent nation, would be imperilled. It was to avert such a danger that Britain went to war with France in 1793, as she went to war with Germany in 1914. And the security of the Government was menaced more directly: agents were sent over from France to this country to preach the merits of republicanism, and to urge the people of Great Britain to rebel against the King and his ministers. Protest as he might, Pitt was powerless either to stop this underhand work or to stem the advance of the French in the Netherlands. At the beginning of 1793, when it was already apparent that war could be postponed for a few weeks at most, every one in England was thrilled with horror, and

indignation at the news that came from France: King Louis had been condemned to death and executed by his former subjects. It was evident now that the French were in deadly earnest; Pitt at once ordered the French ambassadors to leave the country, and a few days later the Republic declared war.

FIG. 182. WILLIAM PITT THE YOUNGER
J. Hoppner
National Portrait Gallery.

Defeat of the First Coalition, No one was doubtful of the result; every one believed that in a few months at most France would be completely defeated. For Britain was not the only enemy of France; she was simply the most prominent member of a great coalition or alliance which included Austria, Russia, Prussia, Holland, and Spain. But the months and the years passed and France remained unconquered; her clever young generals and fiery-hearted soldiers seemed to be invincible. Nor did the coalition hold together for long: the rulers of Prussia and Russia speedily withdrew; Spain and Holland not only broke away, but became the allies of France, and after 1795 only Britain and Austria were left But Napoleon Bonaparte, the most brilliant of many able leaders in the service of the Republic, grappled with the Austrian armies in Northern Italy, defeated them again and again, and pressed them back toward Vienna. The British troops had been no more successful than the Austrian; they had made repeated attempts to invade France from the north or to co-operate with the French Royalists in the west, but every one had ended in failure. At the beginning of 1797 Britain seemed to be in a perilous plight; Ireland was on the brink of rebellion, not a single British soldier remained on the continent of Europe, and Austria was growing weary of the unequal struggle.

The Task of the Navy. But between the victorious French

armies and the shores of Britain lay the British fleet. At the beginning of the war it included a hundred and fifteen ships of the line, or battleships as we should call them nowadays, and a slightly larger number of frigates, or cruisers, while the French had only seventy-six ships of the line ready for sea. But these battleships (Fig. 183) bore a greater resemblance to the Stewart warship shown in Fig. 139, or even to the *Henri Grâce à Dieu* (Fig. 108), than to the modern *Hood* or *Iron Duke.* They were three-masted wooden ships, usually carrying seventy-four muzzle-loading guns, arranged in three tiers. Nowadays, with the increase in the range of the big guns, a battleship can often fire at an enemy that is barely visible, and naval actions are usually fought between fleets separated by miles of sea: at the end of the eighteenth century a battleship had to get within a few hundred yards of the enemy if its fire was to be effective, and often in a naval battle one might have seen a British and a French ship so close to each other that their sides were actually touching. The ships were quite unarmoured, but there were no shells in those days, only solid shot that crashed through the wooden planking without exploding. But it hurt just as much to be torn by a shot from a carronade ten yards off as it does to be hit by a splinter of a shell fired from a gun ten miles away; it required just as much courage to face death in 1797 as it does to face it to-day.

FIG. 183. H.M.S. "PRINCE," 110 GUNS

Battle of Cape St Vincent. The British fleet did not long keep its overwhelming superiority in numbers; in 1797 it had to deal

with the fleets of Spain and Holland as well as that of France. For a time it seemed as if the history of the later years of the American War was to be repeated. If the Spanish and Dutch ships could join forces with the French and form a great combined fleet Britain would not long be mistress of the seas. The Spanish admirals knew this; at the beginning of 1797 a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven vessels left the harbour of Cartagena and slipped through the Strait of Gibraltar, but before it could effect a junction with the French Atlantic fleet it was attacked off Cape St Vincent by a British fleet of fifteen ships, commanded by Admiral Jervis. The Spaniards were badly mauled and forced to put back to harbour. Everybody knew now that the Spanish fleet was useless as a fighting machine; everybody soon learned that the victory was due not to the stout old admiral, but to Nelson, the brilliant young officer who was second in command, and that if Nelson had had his way, not a single Spanish ship would have escaped.

Duncan and Camperdozon. This victory seemed fated to be the only gleam of good fortune in a year of disaster. A week or two later Austria, reeling under the hammer-blows with which Napoleon had smitten her armies, sued for peace, and Britain was left alone in face of a hostile or indifferent Europe. Then, at the very moment when her existence depended upon the fleet, the fleet mutinied. To us it may seem an unpardonable act of treachery, but bad food, low pay, and harsh treatment had made an unwilling traitor of many a gallant seaman. From the ships at Spithead and the Nore the infection spread to the North Sea fleet at Yarmouth commanded by Admiral Duncan, whose duty it was to pounce on the Dutch fleet if it came out of harbour. This it seemed on the point of doing, and at the beginning of June Duncan was ordered to take up his position off the Dutch coast. But only one vessel followed the flagship when it stood out to sea. The gallant old admiral refused to turn back; though he had only two ships of the line he knew that his duty was to hold up the Dutch fleet. And by using some curious devices he did succeed in making the cautious Dutchmen keep in harbour. His ships would lie off the coast, for example, and signal furiously to vast fleets, fleets which the watchers on shore thought to be just beyond the horizon, but which existed solely in Duncan's

imagination. Should his devices be discovered, he meant to steer his ship into the narrowest part of the Texel channel. He had no doubt of the result; the Dutch would sink his ship, but by so doing would block the road to the open sea against themselves. Happily such a desperate remedy was not required; in a short time the mutineers returned to duty, and when in the late autumn the Dutch fleet of sixteen battleships did emerge from harbour Duncan was able to attack it almost at once with a fleet of the same strength. That a stiff breeze from the west threatened to blow him on the shoals off the village of Camperdown mattered little to Duncan; he ordered his ships to close with the hostile fleet, broke through the Dutch line at two places, and in the hard-fought battle which followed captured nine of the enemy's ships. The naval power of Holland was completely destroyed.

FIG. 184. LORD NELSON

The Battle of the Nile. Spain and Holland had been sore stricken in 1797; in the following year disaster came to the fleets of France. Yet the summer began with a brilliant triumph; Bonaparte led an expedition to Egypt, crushed the resistance of the native troops in one or two battles, and set about the establishment of a new French Empire in the East. Both Bonaparte and the British Government knew well that Egypt was a half-way house on the road to India, and Nelson, who was now in command of the Mediterranean fleet, had tried in vain to intercept Bonaparte's expedition before it reached Alexandria. He failed, but a month after the French troops had disembarked Nelson came upon the French fleet that had escorted them from Toulon, anchored in a long line in Aboukir Bay. Nelson, like the French admiral, had thirteen battleships under his command. He saw that if each British ship picked out an opponent and hammered away at her the result would at best be doubtful; he therefore

resolved to concentrate his attack on the ships in the enemy's van and centre and leave the rear alone till these were destroyed. It worked out as he had planned; five British ships took up their position in the shallow water between the French and the shore, while the remainder closed in on the other side. The French were trapped; broadside after broadside crashed into the doomed fleet, breaking the calm of the summer night till, suddenly, the whole sky was lit up, and the clash and clang of the cannon was drowned in a terrifying roar. The French flagship, *UOrient,* had blown up. For about ten minutes an awed silence fell on the combatants; then the cannonade recommenced, not to cease till all but tfcro of the French battleships had been sunk or captured by the British.

The Career of Napoleon. The battle of the Nile gave the command of the Mediterranean to the British fleet. Bonaparte was quick to see that as supplies and reinforcements could no longer be sent from France to Egypt his army must sooner or later be defeated, so he left it to its fate and slipped back to France. Though he had abandoned his dreams of a great Eastern empire other ambitions beckoned him; in 1799 he was elected First Consul of the French Republic, and in 1804 he became Emperor of France, wielding an authority far greater than the unfortunate Louis XVI had ever possessed. But Nelson's great victory made an end of the French threat to India; it also encouraged Austria and Russia to form the short-lived Second Coalition with Britain.

The defeat of the Austrians at Hohenlinden in 1800 shattered the Second Coalition, and in 1802 Britain herself made peace with France. But this Peace of Amiens was only a truce, a breathing-space in which the two mighty combatants could prepare for the second and more terrible stage of their conflict. In the late spring of 1803 Britain and France were again at war.

Napoleon' s Plans for Invasion. This time Bonaparte had determined to bring the war to a speedy conclusion by invading England. He collected a splendid army at Boulogne, and prepared a great fleet of boats in which his troops were to be ferried across the Channel. But before this flotilla of small boats could reach the English coast one of two things had to happen, the British warships must either be lured out of the Channel or be attacked and overwhelmed by the French men-of-war. But the French fleets were locked up in harbour, unable either to lure or to fight,

held fast by the British blockade. In the summer of 1805, however, Admiral ViUeneuve slipped out of Toulon harbour with his fleet, picked up a few Spanish ships, passed the Strait of Gibraltar, and headed across the Atlantic for the West Indies, as if he meant to attack the British possessions there. Nelson started in pursuit, not knowing that this move was only a ruse to lure him out of European waters. Napoleon had instructed ViUeneuve to double back as soon as he reached the West Indies, break his way through the British squadrons that were blockading the northern coast of France, and release the fleet locked up in Brest harbour, so that the combined fleets could then sail up the Channel to Boulogne and escort Napoleon's great army of invasion to the shores of England.

ViUeneuve doubled back as he had been told, but Nelson was warned of his change of course, and foUowed him back to Europe. Though VUleneuve kept ahead of his pursuers, he was intercepted by another British fleet off the coast of Spain and forced to put into harbour. He slipped southward from port to port till he reached Cadiz, but he could not break through the British blockade. Napoleon had to abandon all hope of a junction of Villeneuve's fleet with the Brest fleet, and with it all hope of an invasion of England. He knew also that Pitt had succeeded in buUding up a Third Coalition, and that masses of Russian and Austrian troops were gathering in Central Europe. The long rows of white tents disappeared from the heights above Boulogne and Staples, for the troops that had formed the " Army of England " were now trudging eastward along the white roads that led to Ulm and Austerlitz.

The Battle of Trafalgar, Though Villeneuve had failed, his fleet was still intact But Nelson, who was now cruising off Gibraltar with twenty-seven ships of the line, was waiting to fall on his fleet if it emerged from harbour. On the twenty-first of October Nelson came in sight of the French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar. There were thirty-three ships of the line altogether, saUing, or rather drifting, northward in a crescent-shaped formation about five miles long. Nelson had arranged his fleet in two divisions; the first, headed by Admiral Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign,* was to cut through the enemy's Une between the rear and the centre; the second, led by his own flagship, the *Victory,* was to get between the centre and the van. In

other words, he was to repeat what he did at the battle of the Nile, ward off one portion of the enemy's fleet while he concentrated all his force on the other portion. That he would risk his own life by putting his ship in the very forefront of the battle did not trouble him for a moment.

The bands played on the British ships as they crept closer to the enemy. Then a burst of cheering drowned the music, for the

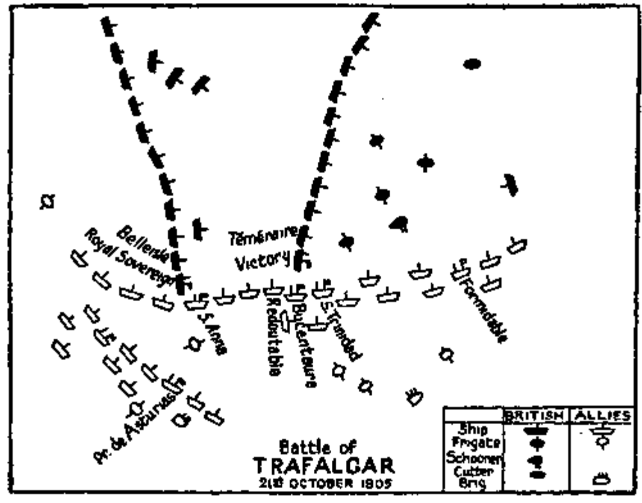


FIG. 185. PLAN OF TRAFALGAR

Note that the plan has been turned so that the north is not at the top, but at the right-hand side.

sailors had seen the signal-flags on the *Victory* flutter out the message " England expects that every man will do his duty." It was followed by Nelson's favourite signal, " Engage more closely." No more music was heard that day, except the stern music from the throats of a thousand guns.

It all fell out as Nelson had planned. Collingwood drove through the hostile fleet, followed by three or four of his squadron; a few minutes later the *Victory* broke through at another point. The enemy's centre and rear were encircled, broadside after broadside crashed into the wooden hulls. It was more than mortal man could endure; on one battered hulk after another the enemy'S

colours were hauled down, till eighteen ships in all had surrendered. The vanguard, after making a vain attempt to come to the help of the centre, turned about, and fled in disorder to Cadiz.

It was a great victory, but men could not rejoice over it, for Nelson was dead. He had been mortally wounded early in the battle, and lived for only a few hours. But it was a fitting end for a great warrior to die, like Wolfe, with the shout of triumph in his ear.

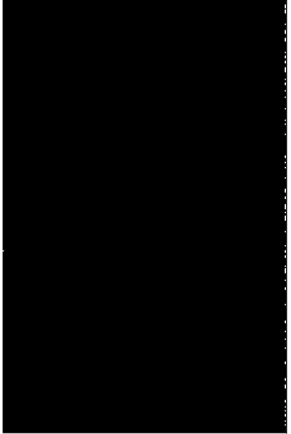
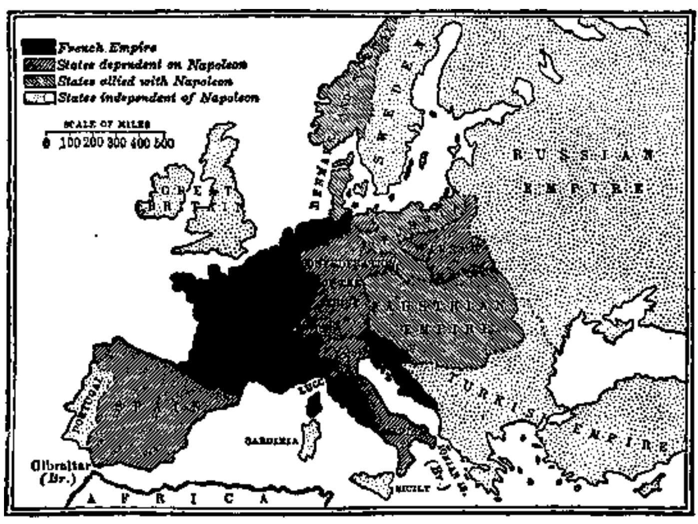


FIG. 156. NAPOLEON
From an etching.

Domination of Europe by Napoleon. The battle of Trafalgar freed Britain from the threat of invasion, but another ten years were to pass before Napoleon was finally defeated. On the Continent he marched from triumph to triumph. Before the end of the year he overwhelmed the Austrians at Austerlitz, and by so doing broke the great heart of Pitt; in 1806 he smashed the Prussians at Jena, and in 1807 he forced even the mighty Tsar of Russia to make peace. Soon Napoleon dominated the whole of Europe; the conquered territories which he did not annex to France he carved up into new kingdoms, which he flung to his kinsmen or marshals; those monarchs who were allowed to retain their lands knew that they must become his willing or unwilling allies.

But Britain remained unconquered. It was true that she seemed to have abandoned all intention of attacking France directly, and to be content with sending small expeditions against distant French colonies. Napoleon, too, desisted from direct attack after Trafalgar; he tried instead to weaken Britain by striking at the seaborne trade on which her wealth, and, indeed, her very existence, depended. In a series of proclamations beginning with the Berlin Decree of 1806, he tried to bring all traffic between Britain on the one hand and France and her allies on the other hand, to a standstill. He expected to ruin Britain; his policy, as we shall see, had a far different result.

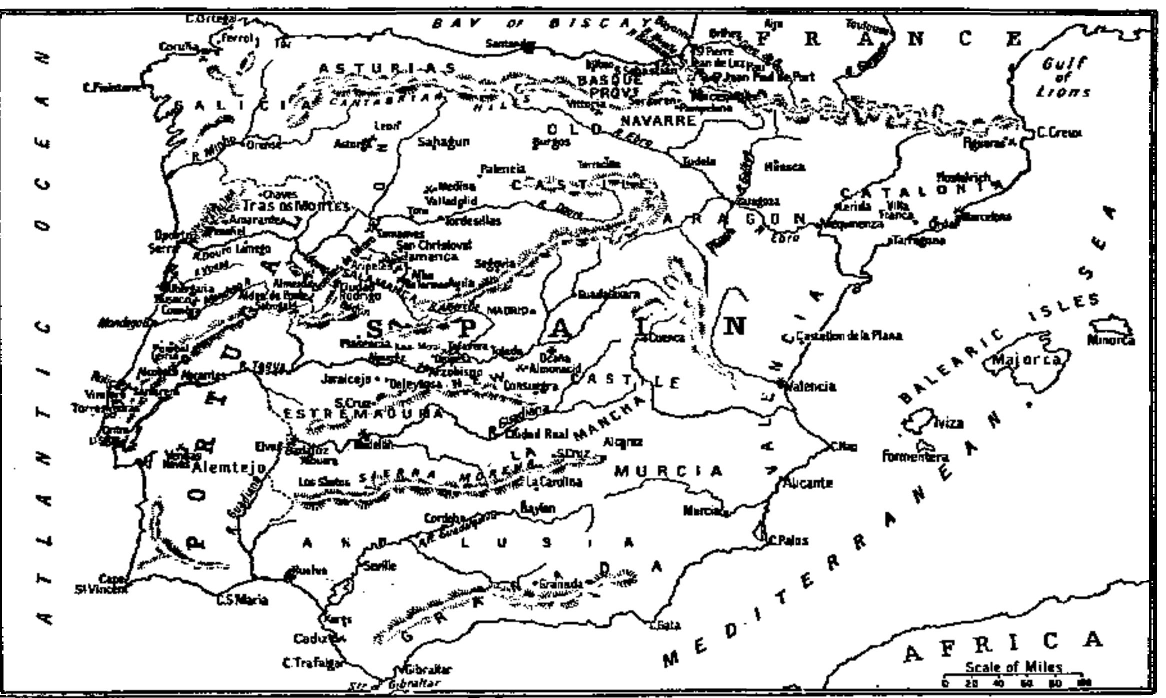
Beginning of the Peninsular War He followed this up by another blunder; he forced the ruler of Portugal to leave his country, poured troops across the Pyrenees into Spain, bullied the faint-hearted monarch into resigning his crown, and placed his brother Joseph Bonaparte on the throne. The Spaniards at once rose in rebellion and forced a French army to surrender, but they



EUROPE AT THE HEIGHT OF NAPOLEON'S POWER

were no match for the disciplined veterans of Napoleon, and their first victory was followed by defeat after defeat. At this point the British Government departed from its accustomed policy; it resolved to strike at Napoleon by sending help to the insurgent Spaniards and Portuguese, and in August 1808 Sir Arthur Wellesley landed with an army at Mondego Bay.

The reappearance of the scarlet-clad British soldiers on the Continent marked the turning-point in the struggle between Britain and France; from this time onward the best of the British troops, instead of being kept at home or dispatched to distant regions where victory was of little more value than defeat, were concentrated in the peninsula under a general who in military genius far surpassed the ablest of Napoleon's marshals. Three



SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

weeks after he landed he completely defeated the French at Vimeiro. But there were people at home who did not realize that a second Marlborough had appeared: Wellesley was recalled. Though his successor, Sir John Moore, struck into the heart of the peninsula and kept the great armies of Napoleon from rolling forward to the conquest of Southern Spain, he avoided disaster only by retreating northward before the overwhelming masses of his French pursuers. When, at the beginning of 1809, he reached the harbour of Corunna he ordered his men to turn about; tired and dispirited though they were by the forced marches over mountain passes choked with snow, they fought like heroes, drove back the French, and embarked unmolested in the ships that had come to take them to England.

Spain was evacuated; Moore had been killed in the battle; it seemed a sorry ending to an enterprise that had promised well. But before the spring of 1809 was over Wellesley had returned to Portugal to command the British army there: before the end of the summer he had hustled the French across the frontier into Spain, followed them up, and defeated them at Talavera. For this victory he received the title of Viscount Wellington.

The hopes that Talavera had aroused died away in the following year. All through the spring of 1810 division after division of veteran troops left the camps and fortresses on the northern frontier, marched along the poplar-lined highways of France, arid poured through the passes of the Pyrenees till there were no fewer than 300,000 French troops in the peninsula. And though Napoleon never returned to Spain after 1808, he sent Masséna, the cleverest of his generals, to command the forces south of the Pyrenees. The southward march that had been interrupted by Moore in 1808 was now resumed, and carried up to the walls of Cadiz.

Torres Vedras: the Turn of the Tide. Wellington knew that an attack on Portugal would follow the invasion of Southern Spain; he knew that he had with him little more than 30,000 British troops, but he did not despair of the result. Across the rugged peninsula on which Lisbon stands he constructed the Lines of Torres Vedras, a triple system of trenches and redoubts, strengthened by more than four hundred guns. That was not all; he ordered the peasants in the districts on the north of the

lines to leave their homes and retire to the mountains, taking with them all their cattle and foodstuffs. Then, after showing Masséna at the battle of Busaco that the shattering fire from the long thin lines of the British and Portuguese could easily beat back the fiercest onslaughts of the densely packed French columns, he retired slowly to his fortifications. Masséna followed him through a devastated country, where his hungry soldiers could find not a scrap of food, only to discover that his advance was barred by the first great line of fortifications, stretching for almost thirty miles from the Tagus to the sea. A few attempts soon convinced Masséna that a direct attack on the British position could result only in disaster; he resolved to content himself with blockading the British, and took up his position a few miles to the north. But Masséna found that a blockade which did not prevent supplies from coming into the British lines by sea was as futile as a direct attack, and after wasting five months before the British position he withdrew from Portugal in the early spring of 1811, leaving only the fortress of Almeida in the hands of a French garrison. Wellington at once left his entrenchments and advanced to the siege of Almeida. Masséna turned about to drive him back, but Wellington defeated him at Fuentes de Onoro and captured the fortress a few days later.

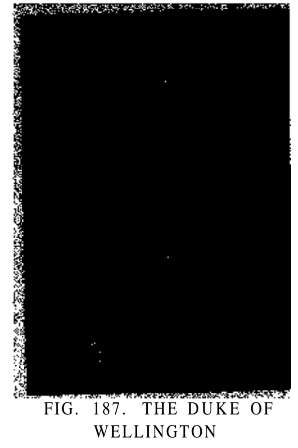


FIG. 187. THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON
Count Alfred D'Orsay
National Portrait Gallery.

Masséna had failed, and Napoleon could not forgive failure. He remarked that the marshal was too old, and dismissed him from his command. But his successors fared no better. They had to deal with an opponent who was, next to Napoleon, the ablest soldier in Europe, and in addition, their armies, large though they were, were not large enough for the work which they had to do. They had not only to defeat the British and Portuguese regulars under Wellington's command; they had to hold down the Spanish irregular troops. Attack these guerrillas, they scattered to fight

another day; capture them, they declared that they were peaceful peasants or workmen; try to terrify them by cruelty, they perpetrated some peculiarly cold-blooded atrocity on the next French prisoner who fell into their hands. And after the spring of 1812 every month that passed made the task of the French commanders more difficult, for trouble was brewing in Northern Europe, and Napoleon began to recall some of his best troops from Spain.

British Invasion of Spain. The withdrawal of Masséna showed Wellington that he had accomplished one half of his task, the securing of Portugal from invasion by the French, and that he could now attempt the second part of it, the expulsion of the French from Spain. He began early in 1812 by storming the great fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos on the frontier between Spain and Portugal; then in the late summer he marched into the heart of Spain, broke through the French army that barred his advance at Salamanca, and occupied Madrid. He had pressed on too far; from all parts of Spain the scattered French armies concentrated for an advance on the capital, and he was forced to withdraw to the Portuguese frontier.

French driven from Spain. Better fortune attended him in 1813. This time he advanced from the north of Portugal, so that he threatened to get behind the right flank of the French armies. Back and again back the French troops moved to avoid being outflanked, till they were within a few miles of the Pyrenees. Here at Vittoria the main French army, commanded by King Joseph himself, turned about and stood at bay. It was of no avail; the French were completely defeated, and streamed back toward the frontier in hopeless confusion, leaving in the hands of the British all their artillery and thousands of wagons laden with plunder.

They got no rest, for the British pushed on, fought their way through the passes of the Pyrenees, stormed the great fortress of San Sebastian, and crossed the frontier into France. All through the winter the fighting continued, till in April 1814 Wellington inflicted a last defeat on the French before the walls of Toulouse. He did not know that Napoleon had abdicated a few days before.

The Fall of Napoleon. It was Napoleon's attempt to stop all trade between the Continent and Great Britain that brought about his downfall. His allies grumbled at trade restrictions which did little harm to Great Britain but inflicted poverty and starvation

upon themselves. None complained more bitterly than the Tsar of Russia, who at last flatly refused to carry out Napoleon's instructions. Napoleon resolved to humble the Tsar, and in the autumn of 1812 he marched on Moscow with an army of 600,000 men. But the Russian expedition ended in black disaster; of the great army only a few thousand ragged spectres returned to France. Few of their comrades had fallen in battle; the majority had died of cold or starvation. In the following year Prussia and Austria again entered the war. At Leipzig the armies of the three nations shattered Napoleon's forces and forced him to retire within the frontiers of France. He tried to delay the inevitable end, but his own marvellous genius and the blind devotion of the few thousands of boy conscripts whom he led could not keep the allies back from Paris. The capital surrendered at the end of March, and a few days later he abdicated. He was sent to the island of Elba, off the coast of Italy, and in the autumn statesmen from every country in Europe met at Vienna to decide how the work of Napoleon could best be undone. Louis XVIII, the brother of the unfortunate king who had been executed more than twenty years before, became King of France, and the white-and-gold flag of the Bourbons replaced the tricolour under which the troops of the Republic and the Empire had so often marched to victory.

FIG. 188. A SOLDIER OF WELLINGTON'S TIME

The War of 1812. Another task awaited the victorious British troops. To cut off supplies from France, Britain had imposed restrictions on neutrals that almost ruined the foreign trade of America, and in 1812 America had declared war. So far neither side had gained a decisive victory; all attempts to conquer Canada failed, and though at first the duels between American and British frigates usually resulted in a British defeat, the American navy could not win the command of the seas. But beyond burning the city of Washington the Peninsular veterans achieved little when they did arrive, and in December 1814, when both countries

realized that the downfall of France had left them nothing to fight about, the war came to an end.

The Eve of Waterloo. A few months passed and the tricolour again waved over Paris. Napoleon had escaped from Elba and was again at the head of an army, an army not of young, untrained conscripts, but of the veterans who had been beleaguered in

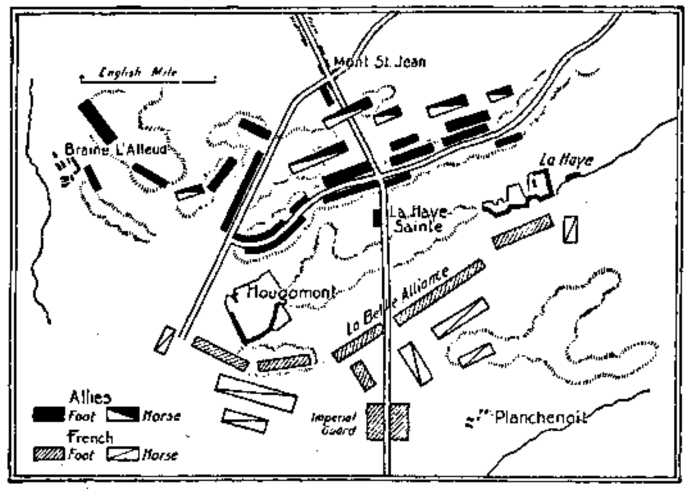


FIG. 189. PLAN OF WATERLOO

German, fortresses or shut up in English prisons. He wasted little time in Paris, but hurried forward in the direction of Brussels, where he knew that the Prussians under Bliicher were striving to get into touch with the British under Wellington. If they joined he was lost, for then his army would be hopelessly outnumbered. He therefore resolved to concentrate his forces on one of the hostile armies, destroy it completely, and then turn upon the other.

On the 16th of June, 1815, Marshal Ney, who commanded the left wing of Napoleon's army, came upon the British at the cross-roads of Quatre Bras, about twenty miles to the south of Brussels, and after a stubborn contest forced them to give way. They retired northward in good order. On the same day Napoleon with his main army attacked Bliicher at Ligny and defeated him. He

believed that the first half of his task had been accomplished, that Blücher had been routed, and that the remnants of his demoralized army were retreating in disorder to the north-east, away from Wellington's army. He did not know that the Prussian army, though in retreat, was unbroken, and that it was marching almost due north, making for Waterloo, where Blücher had promised to join Wellington at noon on Sunday, the 18th of June.

Napoleon's Last Battle. So Napoleon ceased to trouble about the Prussians, and marched in pursuit of the British. He found that Wellington had drawn up his infantry in long, thin lines on a low ridge in front of Waterloo. It was a strong position, but Wellington was none too happy, for only a third of his troops were British, and most of these were not his Peninsular veterans, but half-trained militiamen. Besides, it was almost noon; the French cannon had begun to thunder, dense columns of French infantry were winding across the valley and mounting the slope, and yet there was no sign of the Prussians. But defeat seemed far off: again and again the columns of blue-clad infantrymen rolled forward, only to recoil in confusion before the volleys that crashed from the troops that lined the crest. Napoleon saw that he must make haste, for masses of troops had made their appearance far to the east—the Prussians were advancing. The infantry attack had failed; he must send forward his cavalry. But as the glittering squadrons of cuirassiers, lancers, and hussars crossed the valley the British infantry formed up in hollow squares. This marked the beginning of the fiercest part of the fighting: again and again in the next two hours dense masses of cavalry hurled themselves on the squares; again and again in the intervals between the cavalry charges the French artillery blew great gaps in the bodies of closely packed infantrymen; the squares dwindled and shrank, but not one of them broke.

Napoleon's hopes of victory were fast disappearing, for evening had come; he had failed to displace the British, and now the Prussians were hammering at his right flank. One chance remained to him; his reserve of veterans, the Guard, had not yet been thrown into the struggle; he would use them now. They advanced steadily across that valley of death till they were within a few yards of the British position. Somewhere before them in

the smoke stood Wellington himself; to right and left of him the British Guards lay prone upon the ground. He rapped out a command; the British Guards sprang to their feet, fired one well-directed volley at the head of the advancing column, and charged downhill. The French Guards halted, wavered, and broke. Napoleon had lost the battle, and his empire

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

1733-1832

GEORGE II, 1727-60 | GEORGE IV, 1820-30
GEORGE III, 1760-1820 (Regent 1810-20)
WILLIAM IV, 1830-37

THE battle of Waterloo brought to an end that long conflict between Britain and France which had begun as far back as the accession of William III. Napoleon was exiled to the lonely island of St Helena, there to brood for another six years over his vanished empire, and Louis XVIII returned to Paris with what dignity he could command.

Britain before 1750. But the Britain that emerged triumphant from the conflict with France in 1815 was quite different from the Britain that began the struggle in 1793. In Chapter XXVI you have read a description of England as it was at the close of "the seventeenth century—a country where there were no large towns except London, where the most thickly populated regions were the Midlands and the South-east, where the great majority of the population were engaged in agriculture, which they carried on after a fashion that had changed but little since the Norman Conquest, where factories did not exist, since industries like weaving were carried on in small workshops, or, more frequently, in the weaver's own home. Railroads and canals were alike unknown; smooth, durable roads were almost as rare; no far-seeing genius had even dreamt of the steamship; you might search Britain from end to end without finding a single workshop where even the simplest form of steam-engine was in operation.

Men were content to jog along in their ancient ways till the second half of the eighteenth century, when there began a change, so swift in its operation, so far-reaching in its effects, that people have called it the Industrial Revolution. Easier and quicker ways of making articles in everyday use were discovered. These in-

ventions in turn led to other discoveries, discoveries of new implements that enabled a man to do his work better, or of machines that almost did his work for him. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, for example, the most important ironworks were situated in well-wooded districts like the Weald in Sussex and the Forest of Dean. The industry could be carried on at a profit nowhere else, for in those days when only charcoal could

FIG. 190. WHITEHALL IN 1724

be used for smelting, the iron-workers required to be near plentiful supplies of timber. But as the supply of wood was limited, the output of iron was small; even as it was, complaints arose from the shipbuilders that the timber which ought to have come to their yards was going into the furnaces of the charcoal-burners. Yet there was abundance of iron ore in the country, especially near the great coalfields in the North.

Changes in the Iron Industry. The industry was revolutionized by the discovery of a process, perfected between 1735 and 1790, whereby coal could be used instead of charcoal. This had a threefold result. In the first place, the output of iron increased enormously; it rose from 17,000 tons in 1740 to 125,000 tons in 1796, and to almost 700,000 tons in 1830. In the second place, it was discovered that the industry could be carried on most profitably,

not near the fast-vanishing forests, but beside the great coalfields. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sussex ironworks were abandoned; the works in the Forest of Dean fared better, because abundant supplies of coal were at hand; but in Staffordshire, Yorkshire, gnd the Scottish midlands roaring industrial towns came into existence where before there had been only a few houses or a desolate moor. In the third place, the revolution in the production of iron affected other industries; for example, the output of coal increased from two and a half million tons in 1700 to ten million tons in 1795.

The Steam-engine. Nor was that all: iron could now be put to uses for which its scarcity and cost had hitherto rendered it unsuitable; without an abundant supply of iron it would have been impossible for Watt and Boulton to send out from their engineering works in Birmingham those ingenious new machines that were to carry the revolution in industry a stage farther on. For as far back as 1765 James Watt had made the greatest discovery of the century; he had succeeded in transforming the blundering contrivances of earlier inventors into a workable steam-engine.

Improvements in Spinning and Weaving. Great as were the changes in the iron industry, the transformation in the manufacture of woven goods was equally remarkable. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the tangled wool or flax was combed out by hand, spun into thread on a spinning-wheel or the more old-fashioned distaff and spindle, then given to a weaver, who wove it into cloth on the hand-loom which stood in his cottage. For in those days factories were few and small; the spinners and weavers usually carried on their work in their own homes. But soon this was all changed: in 1733 John Kay, a watchmaker, invented the flying shuttle, which enabled the weaver to make cloth of double the old width. He followed up this invention by making improvements on the old hand-loom, but for a time weaving lagged behind spinning. In 1767 Hargreaves invented the hand-jenny (Fig. 191) which enabled him to spin eight threads at once instead of one. But the jenny had to contend against Arkwright's water-frame, in which the yarn was drawn over a double set of rollers, and Crompton's mule, which spun a fine thread that could be used for delicate fabrics. These new machines were at an advantage, because they were kept in motion, not by human energy, but by water-power.

The discovery that a water-wheel could spin yarn as well as grind corn had important consequences: a man with some foresight and a little money would build a spinning-mill on the banks of a stream and fill it with machinery. The new mill turned out far more material than a* whole village of spinners could do, and at far less expense; consequently the spinners who had worked at home found that their employment had disappeared. There was nothing for it but to throw aside their useless wheels and seek for work in the new mill at such wages as the owner chose to give them.

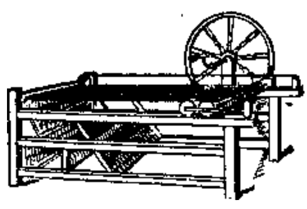


FIG. 191. HARGREAVES' SPINNING-JENNY

But now the owners of spinning-mills began to complain that they were turning out far more yarn than the weavers could possibly use. In the year 1784 a clergyman called Cartwright, who knew next to nothing about either weaving or machinery, heard some master-spinners making this complaint. He at once declared that what they needed was a weaving-machine, and that he would undertake to make it. They laughed at him, but the country parson was as good as his word; he set to work with the help of a carpenter and smith, and succeeded in constructing the first power-loom. It was a clumsy contrivance, but it was speedily improved, and after the beginning of the nineteenth century it began to displace the old hand-loom. The weaver was now able to keep pace with the spinner, though the hand-loom was still largely used for another half-century, especially in the woollen industry.

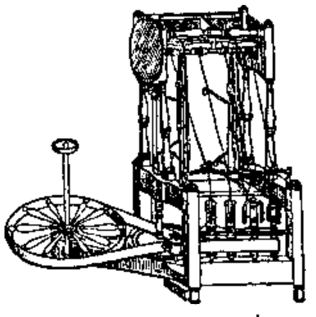


FIG. 192. ARKWRIGHT'S SPINNING-MACHINE

Toward the end of the eighteenth century another important change took place; mill-owners discovered that steam-power could be used instead of water-power for driving their machinery. It was now no longer necessary to plant a mill beside a stream; it

could be built in any district where an abundant supply of coal was available.

Roads and Canals. All these quicker and cheaper ways of making things would have profited little if it had been as difficult

FIG. 193. STAGE-COACH

to move goods from place to place as it was at the beginning of the eighteenth century. What would it have mattered though the warehouses of Liverpool were bursting with cotton if there were no easy way of getting the raw material to the mills round Manchester? What was the use of weaving thousands of yards of cotton in the Manchester mills if you could depend only on the old-fashioned carrier's cart to take your muslins and calicoes to London? But not only were old roads improved and new roads made in the closing years of the eighteenth century; in 1761 the Duke of Bridgewater encouraged James Brindley to construct a canal between Manchester and Runcorn on the Mersey. Thus it became possible for barges to go from Liverpool to Manchester laden with raw cotton, and to return with the finished fabric for export to foreign countries.

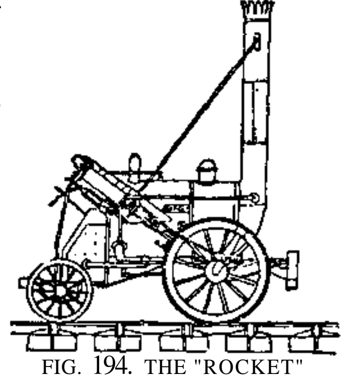


FIG. 194. THE "ROCKET"

As it was soon discovered that bulky goods could be transported far more conveniently by the slow-moving canal-boat than by the pack-horse or carrier's wagon, and that the cost of water-transport was only a quarter of the cost of transport by road, enterprising

men all over the country hastened to follow the Duke of Bridgewater's example, and soon most of the great centres of industry were linked up to one another by a system of canals.

Railways. For a long time there was no great change in the methods of transport by land, though the improved condition of the great main roads enabled the newer stage-coaches to travel at the rate often miles an hour. A boat propelled by steam made its

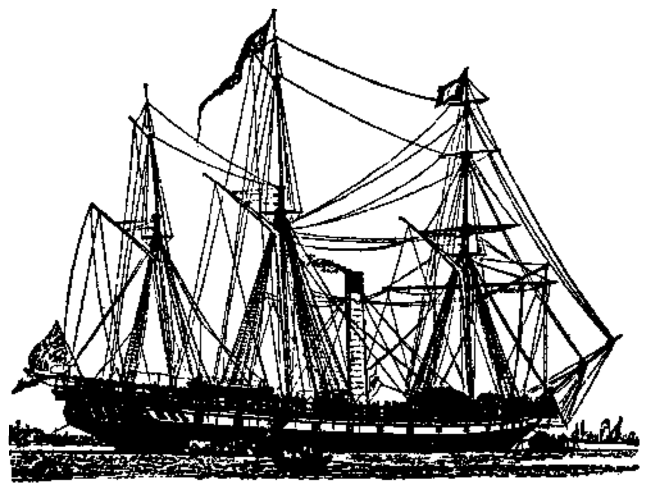


FIG. 195. AN EARLY STEAMBOAT, ABOUT 1820

appearance on the Forth and Clyde Canal in 1803, and in 1812 Henry Bell's steamer, the *Comet,* began to ply on the Clyde between Glasgow and Greenock, but it was not so easy to discover how a coach or wagon could be propelled by steam. In 1814, however, George Stephenson, a self-taught genius, constructed an engine that was capable of pulling a string of colliery wagons. A similar engine was used on the line between Stockton and Darlington, the first railway in the country, when it was opened in 1825, but it was not till 1829, when Stephenson succeeded in laying a railway between Liverpool and Manchester and in constructing the "Rocket," a locomotive which could travel at the rate of thirty-five miles an hour (Fig. 194), that people began to see that the stage-coach was doomed. A line from London to Birmingham

was begun almost at once, and before another thirteen years had passed it was possible to travel by train as far north as Darlington or Lancaster, and as far west as the neighbourhood of Exeter.

Growth of Foreign Trade. Just as ring after ring appears when one throws a stone into a pool, so did change produce change. As a result of the discovery of these machines and processes, far more woollen, cotton, and linen goods were produced than were actually required by the inhabitants of the island. What was to be done with the goods that were left over? The problem admitted of an easy solution: in no other country had these new devices been used; it was therefore no difficult matter for the British merchant to flood the markets of every continent with cheap machine-made goods. Thus Britain soon became the workshop of the world; whether they liked it or not, other nations depended on Britain for a supply of manufactured articles. The red woollen night-caps which the French revolutionaries wore as the badge of their republican sentiments, the greatcoats in which Napoleon's veterans marched to their death on the plains of Russia, had alike been woven on English looms.

Condition of the Working Classes. One can see that the wealth of the country must have increased enormously as a result of these changes. One can also see how manufacturers who were eager to make money would extend their factories till some of them contained thousands of workers, and how industrial towns like Manchester and Birmingham would soon grow far larger and richer than once prosperous towns like York or Norwich that were remote from any coalfield. The country was richer, there were more people in the country, but were the people happier?

Wages and Hours of Work. There can be no doubt about the answer. The lot of most of the dwellers in these new industrial towns was miserable in the extreme. You have already seen how people who had carried on spinning and weaving in their own homes were forced to seek for employment in the new factories. There they had to accept such wages as the millowner chose to give them, and he gave them barely enough to keep body and soul together. They had no remedy; if they threatened to leave the mill they were told that there were dozens of people from the country or from Ireland who would be only too glad to take their places, and if they spoke of forming a trade union to enforce higher

wages they were told that according to the Combination Act of 1799 they were embarking on an illegal conspiracy. It is true that in Queen Elizabeth's reign Parliament had passed an Act for the regulation of wages, but the millowners had conveniently forgotten about it, and when in 1813 their workers reminded them that such an Act did exist, they at once persuaded Parliament to repeal it (1814). And the wages were much lower than they seemed: in many places the workpeople were paid in tickets which they took to a shop belonging to the owner of the mill, where they obtained food and clothes at about double the ordinary price. Bread, too, was dear; no corn for a time could be imported unless the price of home-grown wheat was over eighty shillings a quarter. Nor was that all; a workman could not be sure that he would get even the small wage to which his master admitted that he was entitled. In some places a spinner was docked of a shilling if he was found dirty at his work or found washing himself in working hours, if he left on his light too long on a dark morning or put it out too soon, or even if he tried to cheer himself up by whistling.

As grievous a hardship was inflicted by the long hours of work, extending sometimes to fifteen or sixteen a day. It is not to be wondered at that with poor food, long hours, and cramped, insanitary houses, men and women became old before their time, and that when cholera appeared in the country for the first time in 1831, it found most of its numerous victims in the slums of the great industrial towns. In Bolton, for example, one-twentieth of the population perished in seven weeks.

Child-labour. But the new system of work pressed most cruelly upon the boys and girls, "children of misery baptized in tears." Fear of starvation drove their parents to send them to the mill at an age when a modern parent would hesitate to send them to school. Once they began their lifelong bondage, they had to work for exactly the same time as their elders, anything from twelve to fifteen or sixteen hours. Is it any wonder that the poor creatures sometimes fell exhausted among the unfenced machinery? Is it any wonder that those who reached manhood and womanhood were usually pale, stunted, misshapen creatures, unfit to be the parents of an imperial race? Hardly one voice was raised in their defence; the Parliament that had championed the cause of the

English people against a tyrannical king, the statesmen who had defied Napoleon in the name of liberty, alike remained silent.

Improvements in Agriculture. Meantime, in the country districts, great changes had taken place since the middle of the eighteenth century. The old wasteful methods of cultivation were abandoned; the yield from tilled land was increased by the more liberal use of manures, and by the introduction of crops like potatoes or turnips that had not been sown hitherto in the open fields. The landowner discovered that there was no need to let his land lie fallow one year out of every three; with new crops and new manures he got just as good results when he left it uncultivated for one year in seven. He found out, too, that by using the new methods he could get a good yield of corn from ground that he had hitherto regarded as barren, so he began to drain marshes and fence off heath-clad common. The old clumsy plough drawn by four oxen and attended by two men disappeared, to make way for the light iron plough, drawn by a pair of horses and guided by one man, and after the beginning of the nineteenth century the new-fashioned threshing-machine, turned by horses, easily did the work of " ten day-labourers " with their flails. In addition, enterprising landowners were beginning to take a keener interest in the breeding of cattle and sheep just at the time that the introduction of crops like turnips and clover had created an ample supply of winter fodder. The result was an increase not only in the number of the sheep and cattle in the country, but in the size of the individual animal.

Old and New Methods: Enclosures. But the country gentlemen who advocated these improvements found that they had to meet with the bitter opposition of the smaller tenant-farmers and the poorer freeholders. Only a fairly rich man could afford to buy the new-fashioned implements, only a fairly rich man could stand the expense of fencing, draining, and breaking up waste land. The freeholder who cultivated thirty one-acre strips scattered over the three common fields, who observed the immemorial rotation of wheat, barley, and fallow, who pastured his few cows and sheep on the fallow land or the common meadow, who got all his fuel from the wood or the heath beside the village, had no desire to depart from the ways which his ancestors had followed for centuries. It is true that his work did nothing more than supply his

family with food and clothes, but if the harvests were bad or the weather severe his wife and daughters could make a little money by working at the spinning-wheel, and, above all, he was his own master. But the enterprising landlords, the more ambitious farmers, could see only the wastefulness of the ancient methods, and resolved to change them completely. The land round the village was enclosed; in other words, it was divided out afresh in such a way that the man who had hitherto possessed thirty one-acre strips was now given one compact piece of ground as a substitute for his thirty strips and his share in the common pasture.

Degradation of the Rural Labourer. This plan was adopted all over the country. It has been estimated that over three million acres were enclosed between the middle of the eighteenth century and the year 1801, when a general Enclosure Act was passed by Parliament, and over two and a half millions in the first half of the nineteenth century. At first sight it seemed a fair enough arrangement. There was no doubt that the production of corn and meat increased to such an extent that it almost sufficed to meet the wants of the rapidly growing population. But if the enclosures benefited the landowners and the big farmers, they brought poverty and degradation to the great bulk of the rural population. The hired labourer, for example, who pastured a cow or two on the village common and eked out his wages by what his wife earned by her spinning-wheel, could no longer get pasture for his cows, and was forced to sell them. That was only a trifle; he would be lucky if he did not lose his employment altogether, for now that the farmer had adopted labour-saving devices fewer men were required; at the best he would be kept on at lower wages, wages that did not allow him to buy enough of even the plainest food. At the same time, his wife found that the new spinning-mills ruined her hopes of making anything by working at her spinning-wheel. If he sent his children into the woods to gather brushwood they might be arrested and imprisoned; if, driven desperate by the sight of their hungry faces, he snared a rabbit or killed an overfed pheasant, he was liable to be transported to the convict settlements in Australia.

Disappearance of the Small Proprietor. Even harder was the lot of the small freeholder, the man with a farm of less than fifty acres. Like the hired labourer, he had lost the right to pasture his cattle.

gather brushwood, or snare rabbits on the village common. The difficulty of obtaining pasture usually compelled him to sell his cows. But he had still his little farm. He was lucky if he kept it long. To begin with, he was compelled to fence it at his own cost; often he could not gather the money, and had to sell his whole farm for a trifle. If he survived this ordeal, others awaited him; a bad harvest would leave him without enough food for himself and his family, a good harvest made corn so cheap that he could not sell his surplus stock at a profit. Sooner or later he was doomed to surrender, to give up his farm and join the already overcrowded ranks of the hired labourers.

Pauperism. Thousands of country folk drifted into the new industrial towns to become the bond-slaves of the mill for the remainder of their days. The lot of those who remained was no better. It seemed that they had lost everything; only their independence remained. Even that was not left to them for long; in 1795 the magistrates of Berkshire met in the inn at Speenhamland to devise some remedy for the miserable condition of the peasantry within the county. The proposal that farmers should be compelled to pay higher wages met with no support; the magistrates decided instead to give every underpaid labourer a grant from the Poor Rates sufficient to enable him to keep body and soul together. It seemed an easy remedy, and the example of the Berkshire magistrates was speedily followed all over the country. But this new policy did little to improve the bodily welfare of the peasant—weak tea and coarse bread still remained the sole articles of diet in many a family—and in another way it wrought incalculable harm. It turned the stout-hearted English peasantry into a race of thriftless, hopeless paupers.

CHAPTER XXXIV

PARLIAMENTARY AND SOCIAL REFORM : 1830-65

WILLIAM IV, 1830-37
VICTORIA, 1837-1901

PERHAPS, as you read the sorry story unfolded in the last chapter, the story of marvellous inventions which, instead of comfort and happiness, brought poverty, weariness, and disease to the common people, you asked why neither king nor Parliament interfered. It is true that the sovereign had never counted for less than in the opening years of the nineteenth century; the death of George III in 1820, old and stricken with madness, and the accession of George IV, the worthless prince who for the previous ten years had acted as Regent, made no difference to the statesmen who directed the policy of the country, and when in 1830 George IV was succeeded by his eccentric brother, William IV, few gave the change of ruler a moment's thought. People indeed began to whisper that there was no need to have a king, since Parliament now did all the work that had once been done by the sovereign, and though with the accession of the girl-queen, Victoria, in 1837, these murmurs grew fainter, many years had to pass before they died away altogether.

Hostility of Parliament to Reform. But if the sovereign could no longer force Parliament to carry out necessary reforms, why did not Parliament act of its own accord? You have been told in earlier chapters that the members of the House of Commons were chosen by the freeholders in the counties or by the householders in the larger towns; why, then, did the great majority of these members utter no word in defence of the people whom they were supposed to represent?

The explanation is not difficult to discover. For one thing, until Napoleon was packed off to St Helena statesmen were too busy devising plans for defeating the French to trouble about what was happening under their own noses. Again, the French Revolution had frightened them badly; they saw how one or two apparently

just and sensible reforms had led to the overthrow of the Government, the death of the King, and wholesale pillage and massacre, and they were afraid that similar reforms in Britain would be followed by similar results. Even after Parliament had outgrown these fears it was slow to meddle with such things as hours of work. It is true that as early as 1802 an Act was passed to improve the condition of apprentices in cotton and woollen mills, but this first Factory Act had two defects; it affected only a certain class of children in certain kinds of factories, and it could be evaded easily by unscrupulous employers. Nor should it be forgotten that in 1824 the repeal of the Combination Act allowed workmen to unite in trade unions for the purpose of obtaining shorter hours and better wages, though in the following year these new associations were shorn of most of their powers. But most politicians, Whigs even more than Tories, believed that Parliament had no business to concern itself with the relations between masters and workpeople. They reluctantly admitted that the Industrial Revolution had brought much suffering in its train; but they argued that the good which it had wrought far outweighed the evil, and that in any case the best thing to do was to let well alone: interference by Parliament, however well meant, would simply hamper trade, and so hurt the workman even more than it would hurt his employer.

Composition of Parliament. It may still be difficult to understand how the House of Commons, which claimed to be chosen by the people, could persist in maintaining an attitude which did so much harm to the majority of the people. Why did not the people choose representatives who would try to find a remedy for the ills that afflicted the nation? Why did not some ruined freeholder or overworked artisan rise from his place in the House of Commons to describe the woes of his fellows? The answer is that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the House of Commons really represented only a very small section of the people. It was impossible for the small freeholder or city workman, for even the poor country gentleman or the lawyer or merchant of moderate income, to sit in Parliament, for by an Act passed in 1710 no one could become a member of Parliament who did not have an estate worth at least £300 a year. This Act excluded from Parliament all but the biggest landowners and those merchants who were wealthy enough to buy large estates.

Faults in Electoral System, This in itself was not such a serious grievance; to-day even the wealthiest member hesitates to go contrary to the desires of the people who have elected him, because he knows that if he offends them they will not choose him as their member at the next election. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century the vast majority of the people were excluded from

FIG. 196. MANCHESTER: MARKET STREET IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

any share in the choice of members of Parliament. This was largely due to the fact that few new constituencies had been created in England since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and none since the close of the seventeenth century. Places which in the sixteenth century had been little villages with no claim to return a member of their own to Parliament still remained unrepresented, though the Industrial Revolution had transformed them into large and populous towns. Neither Manchester nor Birmingham, for example, had a single member. The inhabitants of these places were not consoled by the reflection that thriving towns of Queen Elizabeth's time which had declined into small villages still retained their two members. Nor was that all; from the sites of

some ancient boroughs both inhabitants and houses had long since disappeared, yet members for these places still sat in Parliament. So it came about that one pair of politicians represented an old wall, another pair a grassy mound, and a third pair a town that had been buried by the sea.

These boroughs with only a few electors or with no electors at all had become the private property of patrons, who could choose what members they liked. The Duke of Northumberland, for example, could choose no fewer than eleven members of Parliament, and at the end of the eighteenth century it was estimated that 357 out of the 658 members of the House of Commons were chosen by 154 patrons. The patron often took care to choose men who he thought would be good servants of the State, but often the owner sold the privilege of sitting in Parliament to the man who would give a high enough price for it. Sometimes he even nominated himself, elected himself unanimously, and sat in Parliament as the faithful champion of his own interests.

The state of things in the larger boroughs was not much better. Very rarely were all the male heads of households allowed to vote; the privilege of voting was confined sometimes to the corporation of the town, sometimes to a small body of freemen, sometimes to the occupiers of certain houses. But whether the electors were few or many, they were always ready to admit the force of arguments which took the form of substantial money payments, and the candidate who paid down most money was certain to be returned.

The Reform Act. But outside these 'pocket boroughs' and 'rotten boroughs' the people clamoured for a change. It seemed to the artisans in these great industrial cities of the North that only when they had some share in the choice of members of Parliament would Parliament do anything to better their condition. Some statesmen, too, were beginning to see that the persistent refusal to grant reforms was more likely to hasten than to prevent a revolution. In 1828 the Corporation and Test Acts were repealed; in 1829 the Catholic Emancipation Act gave Catholics the same political rights as Protestants. Then in 1830, for the first time in fifty years, the Whigs, who favoured Parliamentary Reform, found themselves in a majority in the House of Commons. They introduced a Reform Bill, but it was defeated by a narrow majority in the Commons, and the King dissolved Parliament.

The Whigs were returned to Parliament with an overwhelming majority, and a second Reform Bill was hurried through the Commons. This time it had a great majority in its favour, but when it was submitted to the House of Lords the Peers threw it out without hesitation. The Lords had done nothing illegal, they were entitled to reject any Bill which did not please them except a Bill concerned with the raising or spending of money, but the trouble was that not only the majority of the Commons, but the great majority of the people had set their hearts on obtaining Parliamentary Reform. Riots broke out, and civil war did not seem to be very far off when the Lords gave way, and in 1832 the Reform Bill became law.

By this Reform Act of 1832 fifty-six of the smallest boroughs lost all their members, and thirty boroughs with a population of less than four thousand apiece now found themselves with only one member each instead of two. On the other hand, about a score of large towns that had been unrepresented hitherto were given two members apiece, and another score of smaller towns one member, while the number of county members was increased by sixty-five. Many of the old restrictions on voting were swept away; in the towns all householders who paid a rent of more than ten pounds a year, and in the country all freeholders whose land was worth more than forty shillings a year, all copyholders and leaseholders occupying land worth more than £10 a year, and all ordinary tenants paying more than *£50* a year in rent, were allowed to vote in Parliamentary elections.

The Chartist Movement, It was a big change, but not big enough to satisfy some people. The restrictions on membership of the House of Commons still remained; not till 1858 was a man with an income of less than £300 a year allowed to become a member. Thus the composition of the House of Commons was changed but little: on the Tory benches the wealthy landowners predominated; on the Whig .benches the country squire sat side by side with the prosperous merchant or manufacturer. And just because the average Tory member derived his wealth from the rents paid to him by the tenant farmers on his estates, he was resolved to hold on tenaciously to these privileges which he and the farmer enjoyed. Whatever suffering his refusal might bring to other people, he would never consent to the abolition of the

duties on imported corn imposed at the end of the Napoleonic War. Similarly the Whig manufacturer, even though he called himself a Radical— a root and branch reformer—would show little enthusiasm for proposals to improve the lot of the factory worker, if the proposed improvements took the form of shortening the working day in his factories.

Then the Act of 1832 enfranchised only the middle classes : ten pounds in 1832 was a substantial sum, more than the ordinary workman was able to pay for his rent. Further, it actually disfranchised hundreds of poor electors in these boroughs where, before 1832, every householder had been entitled to vote. It is little wonder that among the workers in the towns enthusiasm for the Reform Act soon grew cold; some of them refused to be content with a measure which excluded both the rural labourers and themselves from any share in the government of the country, and tried to make Parliament pass another Act which would have given every man a vote and allowed any man, however poor, to sit in Parliament. These proposals they embodied in a document which they called the People's Charter, whence they got the name of Chartists. But in Parliament, even among the members who had been enthusiasts for the first Reform Act, there was hardly one who approved of the People's Charter; the Chartist leaders lost some supporters because they seemed to think only of Parliamentary reform, and failed to recognize that in a Parliament which did not contain a single working man there were statesmen capable of looking beyond the special interests of the class to which they belonged and working for the good of the community as a whole. The movement for the abolition of the Corn Laws, for example, was engineered by a Radical mill-owner, Richard Cobden, and brought to a successful conclusion by a Tory Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel. The success of this movement took the wind from the Chartists' sails; it proved that valuable reforms could be carried through by a half-reformed Parliament. But the Chartists discredited themselves finally when they talked of' physical force' or ' direct action,' of forcing Parliament to grant the Charter by the threat of civil war. In 1848 the movement collapsed; almost twenty years had to pass before the first Reform Act was amended.

Factory Legislation. But the Parliaments which met after 1832 carried out a great many reforms that had been delayed far too

long. Not only was slavery abolished throughout the colonies in 1833; an attempt was made to remedy some of the abuses connected with the factory system at home. The great champion of the factory workers in the Commons was not a working man himself—till 1874 no working man sat in Parliament—but one who bore a title that had long been famous in history, Lord Ashley, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury, a descendant of the famous seventeenth-century politician. In 1833 he persuaded Parliament to pass an Act which forbade the employment in a factory of any child under nine years of age. Children between nine and thirteen were not allowed to work more than nine hours a day, and boys and girls over thirteen but under eighteen were limited to twelve hours work out of the twenty-four. Ashley next turned his attention to the mines, where women and children were being treated like beasts of burden, and as the result of his efforts an Act was passed in 1842 which forbade the employment underground of all women and girls, and of all boys under ten. Another Factory Act followed in 1844; it forbade women to work more than twelve hours a day, and did not allow children under thirteen to work for more than six and a half hours. But Ashley's greatest triumph came in 1847, when an Act was passed which cut down the working day of all factory employees, men as well as women, to ten hours. These Factory Acts did not benefit only the workpeople; employers found to their surprise that the output from their factories had improved both in quantity and quality, because the shorter hours made their workers more alert and energetic.

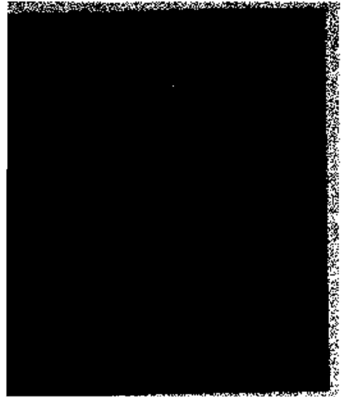


FIG. 197. THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY
Photo Frederick Hollyer

Borough Reform. Nor was it only the factories that were affected by the reforming activity of Parliament. In 1835 the governing bodies of the town were awakened rudely from their slumbers. Hitherto in almost every borough the corporation had been self-

elected; only death could remove a member from the borough council, and his successor was elected, not by the householders, but by the surviving aldermen and councillors. But now the Borough Reform Act swept away this absurd old system, and allowed all householders who had paid rates for three years to vote in the election of borough councillors.

The New Poor Law. The gigantic problem of poor relief had been attacked in the previous year, when the new Poor Law had been passed. It was an unpleasant remedy for an unpleasant state of things; in future no doles of money were to be given to able-bodied men and women: they must either starve or go to the workhouse. This sharp medicine soon cured many of the lazy and thriftless, but it tasted bitter to those who were poor through no fault of their own. But what were the thrifty poor to do? Wages were not increasing, and food seemed to grow dearer every year.

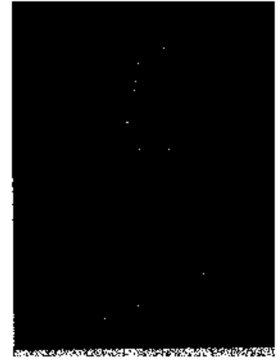


FIG. 198. SIR ROBERT PEEL
John Linnell
National Portrait Gallery.

Free Trade. At length some statesmen on the Whig side began to see a way out of the difficulty. A great deal of the misery among the working classes could be traced to the high cost of food; they simply could not buy enough bread with the small sums of money they received. But bread was dear because corn was dear, and corn was dear because the importation of corn from abroad was severely restricted. Abolish the Corn Laws and the people would have abundance of cheap food. For a long time Parliament hesitated; the Tories were convinced that the repeal of the Corn Laws would flood the country with foreign corn and ruin the British farmer, but in the autumn of 1845 a great disaster in Ireland forced the hands of the Government. The Irish potato crop failed; thousands of the wretched peasants died of starvation, tens of thousands left the country. The Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, allowed foreign grain to be imported as an emergency measure, and in 1846, despite the fierce opposition of his own

party, he persuaded Parliament to consent to the definite repeal of the Corn Laws. No restrictions on the importation of corn from abroad were retained except a trifling duty of a shilling or two on each quarter, and in 1849 this was reduced to one shilling. In the same year the Navigation Acts, once the cause of so much trouble with Holland and with the American colonies, were repealed. Britain had now become a Free Trade country; the ships of all nations could come to her ports without let or hindrance; their cargoes could be unloaded and sold without the payment of a penny of customs duty.

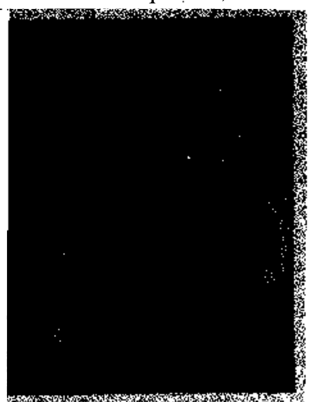


FIG. 199. VICTORIA
Photo Elliott and Fry, Ltd.

These do not exhaust the long list of important reforms that were carried out between 1832 and 1850; no mention has been made, for example, of the introduction of Penny Postage in 1840, but enough has been said to show you that in this period Parliament handled all sorts of matters with which it had previously refused to concern itself. But about the middle of the century its zeal for reform seemed to die out, even among the Whigs. The enthusiasts of 1832 were growing old; they thought it impossible that anyone could improve upon the improvements which they had carried out. The House of Commons, too, was now dominated by the masterful figure of Lord Palmerston, a statesman who was eager to make Britain play a big part among the great nations of Europe, and cared nothing for such matters as Parliamentary reforms. But his death in 1865 opened the way for new leaders and a new policy.

CHAPTER XXXV

NEW PROBLEMS : 1865-1914

VICTORIA, 1837-1901
EDWARD VII, 1901-10
GEORGE V, 1910-36

Gladstone and Disraeli. The Whig leader whom the death of Palmerston left pre-eminent was William Ewart Gladstone, a statesman who had entered Parliament as a Tory and had gradually swung round to the other side. Unlike Palmerston, he was interested mainly in political and financial reforms, for the carrying out of which his clear head, his grasp of figures, and his overpowering eloquence made him specially suited. Far different was his great rival, Benjamin Disraeli. Disraeli's imagination was fired by the vision of Britain as the centre of a world-wide empire, greater than even the Roman Empire at the height of its power, and like Palmerston he was quick—sometimes too quick—to repudiate anything that seemed like a slight to the national prestige. But he was far from being opposed to all reform at home; on the contrary his sympathies with the poor were, if anything, quicker and deeper than those of Gladstone. He saw clearly that the Tories would soon disappear from Parliament if they persisted in opposing any and every change, and under his guidance his party lost in a large measure its old distrust of reform. The dropping of the old party nickname was a sign of the coming change; his followers no longer called themselves Tories, but Conservatives, just as the Whigs had now become Liberals.

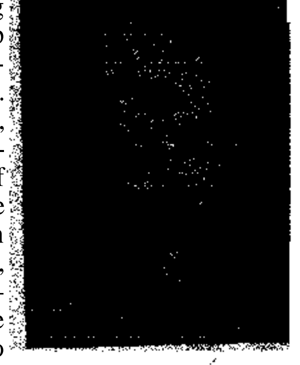


FIG. 200. W. E. GLADSTONE
Photo Elliott and Fry, Ltd.

Reform Act of i86y. The new period of change was heralded in 1867 by a second Reform Act which gave votes to all householders in towns who paid rates. In other words, the working classes in the towns were at last granted some share in political life. The measure had been introduced by Disraeli, but in the elections of 1868 the new electors returned a majority of Liberals to Parliament, and Gladstone became Prime Minister. During the six years in which he held office one reform followed another in bewildering succession. Till 1870, for example, only two million out of the four and a half million children in England attended school. Nor were there many good schools to which they could be sent; the existing schools were either supported by the churches or run for profit by private persons; in many cases the school buildings were too small, and the teachers badly paid and inefficient.

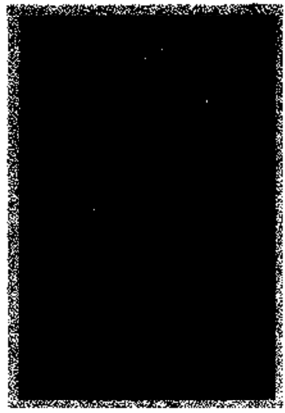


FIG. 201
BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD
L. Bogle, after Millais
National Portrait Gallery.

Education Acts. Yet most of these half-educated or wholly uneducated children would some day or other have a share in the government of the country. How could they use their power wisely if they knew nothing about British history, if they could not even read and write? In 1870 an Education Act was passed which established School Boards—small councils—in every district where no good school existed, and empowered these bodies to levy special school rates on the inhabitants, to be used for building new schools and paying new teachers. Not till 1880, however, was every child compelled to attend school, and not till 1891 was the payment of fees in Board Schools abolished.

Liberal Reforms. The Education Act was only one of many reforms. Hitherto young men who wished to enter the Civil Service had to be nominated by the head of the department to which they wanted to belong, but after 1870 entrance to all departments of the Civil Service, except the Foreign Office, was

thrown open to public competition. Nowadays a man who wants to be a clerk in, say, the Board of Education or the Post Office does not wait to be nominated by the Minister of Education or the Postmaster-General; he tries to pass a written examination which will enable him to enter the department he has chosen. In the following year the Army was reorganized, and officers were no

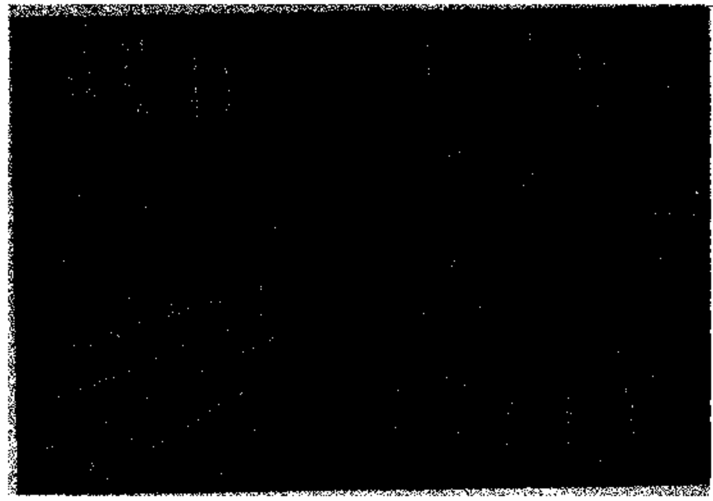


FIG. 202. INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The seat of the Speaker or chairman is shown in the centre of the picture. On his right hand sit the Prime Minister's supporters, on his left the Opposition members. The Prime Minister himself and other members of the Cabinet, who are also members of the House of Commons, sit on the front bench on the Speaker's immediate right.

Photo Frith

longer permitted to buy promotion; Nonconformists were admitted to the universities on equal terms with members of the Church of England; the powers of the trade unions were enormously increased, and the Ballot Act of 1872 enabled an elector to record his vote in secret.

Conservative Reforms. Gladstone had pressed on too fast, and in 1874 he had to give way to Disraeli. But Disraeli too, as we have seen, was eager to improve the condition of the people, and the six years in which he held office saw the passing of a Public Health Act, an Act to improve the houses of the working classes,

an Act to prevent unscrupulous shipowners sending men to their death in unseaworthy ships, a group of Acts extending the powers of the trade unions, and a new Factory Act. But Disraeli's adventurous foreign policy lost him the confidence of the nation, and in 1880 Gladstone returned to power. He tried to let foreign affairs alone, but they would not leave him in peace, and his only noteworthy achievement was the Franchise Act of 1884, which gave the vote to all householders in rural districts who paid rates.

Twenty Years of Conservative Government. If Gladstone thought that the votes of the country labourers would keep his party in power he was sadly mistaken; his management of foreign affairs, and especially his attitude to the troublesome Irish question, made him unpopular; many of his ablest supporters, including some, like Joseph Chamberlain, who wanted to go much further than he did along the pathway of social reform, voted against his proposal to give Home Rule to Ireland, and his resignation in 1886 was followed by twenty years of almost unbroken Conservative rule. Only for a short time between 1892 and 1895 did the Liberal ministers cling precariously to office. But till the end of Queen Victoria's reign in 1901 no great question divided Liberal from Conservative except the unanswerable question of Ireland; both parties alike carried out useful reforms. In 1888, for example, a Conservative Government established County Councils, and in 1894 a Liberal Government completed its work by setting up Parish Councils. In 1892 a Shop Hours Act was passed, limiting the week's work to seventy-four hours for any person under eighteen, and in 1897 this was followed by an Act compelling employers to pay compensation to any workman who was injured while carrying out his ordinary duties.

The Problem of Poverty. But the short reign of Edward VII (1901-10) saw both the appearance of a new political party in Parliament and the beginning of a bitter and obstinate quarrel between the two older parties. Though it was long since both Liberal and Conservative had abandoned the policy of "letting well alone," though no civilized country, except perhaps Germany, could point to greater achievements in social reform, what had been accomplished seemed the merest trifle beside what still had to be done. In any great city you could find homes from the foul atmo-

sphere of which the man of the Neolithic Age would have drawn back in disgust, men and women whose minds were as dark as those of our heathen forefathers, children who were born into a heritage of loathsome disease. And in addition to the very wretched there were millions of decent working men and women, never actually starving, but never sufficiently well fed, never without some kind of a house, but that house usually a cramped little brick box in a mean little street, with wages sufficient to buy the cheapest of food and clothes but not sufficient to let them provide for periods of unemployment and for old age. Yet the country as a whole was not poor; it was wealthy. Only the wealth was unequally distributed.

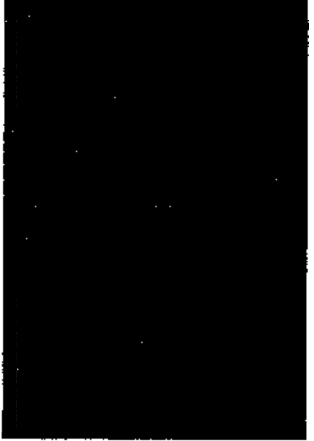


FIG. 203. EDWARD VII

The Labour Party. It seemed to some people that the attack on poverty would never become really effective till the working classes broke away from the older political parties, the policy of which was influenced too much by the big landowner and the wealthy business man, and wrought out their own salvation. The trade unions, for example, the great associations of workmen, must not be content with the securing of higher wages or shorter hours by threats to strike, they must see that they were directly represented in Parliament by their own officials. So in 1900 the Parliamentary Labour Party was formed, with Mr Ramsay MacDonald as its secretary.

Many Liberals were perplexed by the appearance of this new party, especially when Labour candidates began to oppose Liberal candidates at elections. To Liberals it seemed that the difference between Liberal and Labour was only one of degree: both wanted social reform, only Labour was in a little more of a hurry. The Labour leaders protested that the difference was much more serious; that the Liberal, like the Conservative, was content to patch and paint an uninhabitable house, while they meant to rebuild it from foundations to roof. They were Socialists, in other

words: they believed that poverty would be abolished only when the Government controlled and organized the whole trade and industry of the country—just as it controls the Army and Navy to-day—and saw that no man was paid either too much or too little for his services.

FIG. 204
JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN
Photo Elliott and Fry, Ltd.

Chamberlain and Tariff Reform, But other people had other remedies. Might it not be that wages remained low, that workmen had to endure long periods of unemployment, because trade was leaving the country? During the greater part of the nineteenth century Britain had been the workshop of the world, but now our industrial supremacy had been successfully challenged both by Germany and by the United States. Germans and Americans were now able to manufacture many kinds of goods more cheaply than we could, and in consequence were not only capturing our foreign markets, they were actually underselling the British manufacturer both in the Colonies and in Britain itself.

Nor was that all. There were still many kinds of goods which the British merchant could sell more cheaply than his rivals, but if he exported, say, woollen goods to the United States he found that they had to pay a duty which made them dearer than American goods of the same kind. To Mr Gladstone's old lieutenant, Joseph Chamberlain, now Secretary for the Colonies in the Conservative Government, the remedy seemed plain: Britain must do as the other great industrial countries had done, it must abandon its Free Trade policy and protect its threatened industries by imposing heavy taxes on manufactured goods imported from abroad. At the same time by Imperial Preference—by admitting Colonial products free of duty, and by persuading the Colonies to abandon the duties which they had already imposed on British goods—he hoped to bind the Colonies closer to the Mother Country.

So in 1903, after Mr Balfour[1] had succeeded the Marquis of Salisbury as Prime Minister, Chamberlain brought forward his scheme for Tariff Reform. Unfortunately the Colonies considered that they had industries of their own to protect, and showed no great eagerness to drop the duties which they had imposed on British goods. Unfortunately, too, no British industry had been harder hit than agriculture; Chamberlain therefore insisted that a tax on foreign corn must be a part of his scheme. But the immediate result of this return to Protection, Chamberlain's opponents were quick to point out, would be a rise in prices, especially in the price of foodstuffs.

The Liberals and the Lords. Chamberlain's proposal split his party and scared the electors. In 1906 the Liberals returned to Parliament with an enormous majority and prepared to carry out an ambitious scheme of social reform, a scheme which was certain to be supported by the new Labour Party, now forty strong. But they found that they had to reckon with the steady hostility of the House of Lords; the Old Age Pensions Bill, which granted a weekly payment of five shillings to men and women over seventy years of age, became law in 1908, but an Education Bill and a Licensing Bill were rejected, and in 1909 the Budget for the year shared their fate. Now this was serious, because the Budget was a money Bill; it fixed the taxes that were to be levied for the ensuing year, and though there was no written law to that effect, it had long been agreed that the Lords had no power to touch any measure that dealt with finance. The Lords, however, declared that the Budget was much more than a money Bill; the Liberal leader, H. H. Asquith, took up the challenge, and a long and bitter struggle followed. A general election at the beginning of 1910 did nothing to solve the problem, for the Conservatives and Liberals were returned in almost equal numbers, and only the support of the Labour party and the Irish members enabled Asquith to remain Prime Minister. The death of Edward VII and the accession of King George V failed to silence the strife of parties, and a second election at the end of the year had exactly the same result as the first. But in 1911 the Conservative peers, knowing that if they refused, the King would create a number of Liberal peers sufficient to outvote them, allowed Asquith's

[1] Created Earl Balfour in 1921.

Parliament Bill to pass. It definitely forbade the Lords to touch a money Bill, and declared that if they threw out any Bill after it had been presented to them by the Commons in three successive sessions of Parliament, their refusal would be of no effect and the Bill would automatically become law. In the same year the Government passed a National Insurance Act, designed to supply working people with free medical treatment and an allowance of money when they fell ill or were out of work through no fault of their own.

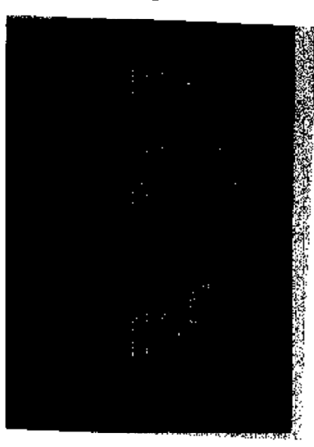


FIG. 205. LORD OXFORD AND ASQUITH
Photo Elliott and Fry, Ltd.

Industrial Strife. If the Liberal leaders had ever thought that their social legislation would bring content to the country they were soon disillusioned. For one thing, the rank and file of the Labour Party were growing impatient. Why wait, some of them argued, till Parliament and the country at large were persuaded that their cause was just, why not use a quicker method to obtain better wages and shorter hours of work? Why not have a really big strike, a strike which would inflict such hardship on the rest of the nation that Parliament would be compelled to intervene and force their employers to give them what they wanted? So a long and costly strike by the railwaymen in 1911 was followed by the longer and more costly strike of the miners in 1912.

Woman's Suffrage. Meantime trouble threatened in another quarter. Though a small number of women were entitled to vote in municipal elections, no woman, however wealthy, however highly educated she might be, was allowed to vote in a Parliamentary election. It was in vain that women who were interested in politics protested: though a majority of the members of the House of Commons professed to be in favour of votes for women they made no serious attempt to put a Suffrage Act on the Statute Book. At length some women lost patience al-

together, and by resorting to violent measures like setting fire to unoccupied houses they tried to frighten Parliament into giving them the vote.

So 1914 opened, cloudy and troubled, but there were few who guessed that these petty squabbles, quarrels of Liberals and Conservatives, of masters and workmen, of suffragettes and Cabinet Ministers, were soon to be forgotten in a vaster and more terrifying struggle.

CHAPTER XXXVI

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

I707-1914

The Industrial Revolution in Scotland. We must now turn our eyes for a little from England to the other parts of the British Isles and to the great British dominions beyond the seas. In 1707, you remember, the people of Scotland consented very reluctantly to a closer union with England. At first it seemed that the Scots had given away their ancient Parliament and received nothing, or less than nothing, in exchange. It is true that there were now no restrictions on trade between Scotland and the English colonies, but, as industries languished in the poverty-stricken country, the Scottish merchants had little to export. After the middle of the eighteenth century, however, that spirit of enterprise which had begun to transform English agriculture and industry made itself felt north of the Border; the Scottish farmer abandoned his old wasteful methods and became the most skilful agriculturist in Europe. Though James Watt's best work was done not in his native Greenock, but in Birmingham, the Carron ironworks, in Stirlingshire, became famous all over the world, and added a new word to the English language; the first steamboat was made in Scodand, and the first steamship to cross the Atlantic sailed from a Scottish port. In many parts of the Scottish Lowlands changes similar to those which were taking place in England might have been noticed; great heaps of refuse marked the position of the new coal-pits, factories arose beside many a sequestered stream, little villages became smoky industrial towns.

The benefits of the Union were now apparent; Scottish ships sailed to the North American colonies with guns and grates from the Carron ironworks and returned with cotton for the mills of Glasgow and Paisley, or they set out for the West Indies with a cargo of woven goods and returned laden with sugar. It was this American trade which transformed Glasgow from a small town by

the side of a shallow river into a great port and a vast and populous city, second only to London in the British Empire.

Changes in the Highlands. Even more remarkable than the change in the Scottish Lowlands was the change in the Highlands; as late as the year 1746 the Highlanders seemed to belong to another country and to an earlier and more warlike age. The suppression of the last Jacobite rebellion, you will remember, was followed by the complete pacification of the Highlands, but though the Government could make the Highlanders peaceful, it could not make them prosperous. The population was increasing rapidly, but the increase in numbers meant a decrease in comfort. Agriculture could not flourish in such a barren country, and the absence of coal and iron made it impossible to engage in manufacture on a large scale. Once the chiefs would have welcomed an increase in the number of their clansmen, because it would have meant an increase in the number of fighting men at their disposal, but now that clan warfare was ended for ever, the chiefs did not know what to do with these superfluous dependents. They discovered that sheep-farming paid very well; they also discovered that much of the land most suitable for pasture was cultivated by tenants who paid a miserably small rent. Sometimes the tenant's rent was increased till he could not pay it; the tenant was forced to leave his home and his few acres; his fields became part of a great sheep-run, and after a few winters his thatched hut crumbled into ruin. But it was not always desire for their own gain that made the chiefs persuade or compel their people to leave their ancient homes; it was the knowledge that the luckless tenants would sink deeper into poverty and misery if they remained where they were. Many of the Highlanders crowded into the great industrial towns, the more enterprising enlisted in the army or crossed the sea to the North American colonies. Not until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Sir Walter Scott made the Lowlander and the Englishman sensible of the beauty of mountain scenery, did travellers in search of the picturesque bring some kind of prosperity to the Highlands, but though these mountains and moors have since become the playground of Britain, the population continues to shrink year by year.

Scotland and England. For more than a century and a half there has been not a hint of a renewal of the old hostility between

Scotland and England. A handful of Scottish politicians, it is true, demand the re-establishment of a separate Scottish Parliament, but the great majority of the people are content with the present arrangement. After all, they have still got their own special system of law and their own. law courts—a decision of the Scottish Court of Session can be overturned only by the House of Lords—the Church of Scotland is still quite distinct from the Church of England, and though the Scottish Parliament as a separate body disappeared two centuries ago, there is little chance that a measure relating to Scotland which was obstinately opposed by a clear majority of the Scottish members would ever be allowed to pass by the House of Commons.

Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. Though with the passage of the years the feud between Scotland and England became only a vague memory, the relations between Ireland and England grew steadily more embittered. At the beginning of the eighteenth century an Irish Parliament still sat in Dublin, but no Roman Catholic could become a member; no Roman Catholic could even vote in a Parliamentary election. In other words, the great majority of the Irish people were denied any share in the government of their country. So long, too, as the fifteenth-century statute known as Poynings' Law remained unrepealed, the Irish Parliament could be nothing more than an instrument for carrying out the wishes of the English Government. That Government was none too sympathetic; we already know how it dealt with any Irish industry that threatened to prosper too well. The average Irishman probably did not fret so much over the loss of worldly wealth as at the interference with his religion. The laws against Roman Catholics were still unrepealed; though the harshest penalties were no longer exacted, Catholic priests were still treated as outlaws, and Catholics had to pay tithes for the support of the episcopal Church of Ireland, a Church to which only a tiny fraction of the Irish people belonged. Grievances like these kept alive the dark memories of battle and massacre, and made Irishmen think that in war and peace alike England aimed at their ruin and humiliation.

An Independent Irish Parliament. This was not true, of course; but an Irishman could not look on Irish affairs from the point of view of a British statesman. British statesmen, as was only

natural, usually put purely British interests first, but there were some of wider sympathies who saw that something must be done to remedy the condition of Ireland. In 1782 they effected the repeal of Poynings' Law, thus making the Irish Parliament completely independent of the British Government. But Ireland's experience of Home Rule was brief. The change did not satisfy the majority of the Irish people; the Catholics were no better off than they had been before; the restrictions on Irish trade were not removed, and though in 1794 Roman Catholics were given the vote, they were still debarred from entering Parliament.

The Union and Catholic Emancipation, Home Rule had done no good; in fact the state of Ireland was rapidly becoming worse, and in 1798 the country drifted into civil war. The rebellion was quickly and ruthlessly suppressed, but Pitt saw that Britain could not afford to have for her neighbour a nation that was always brooding over her wrongs and planning revenge. But what could he do? An independent Irish Parliament had been unable to prevent the rebellion of 'Ninety-eight.' Why, then, not treat Ireland as Scotland had been treated in 1707—unite the Parliaments of the two countries, and remove the special restrictions on Irish trade? The Irish might resent the disappearance of their Parliament from Dublin; they would be more than consoled by a measure for the repeal of the laws against Roman Catholics. Parliamentary union coupled with Catholic Emancipation would, in Pitt's opinion, solve these problems which had always perplexed the rulers of Ireland.

Unfortunately Pitt was allowed to carry out only one-half of his scheme; he succeeded in persuading the Irish Parliament to consent to its own extinction as a separate body; after 1800 Ireland sent twenty-eight peers and one hundred and one commoners to the Parliament at Westminster, but when he sought to fulfil his part of the bargain he found that he had to reckon with the obstinacy of the half-crazed old King. George III declared that he could not grant Catholic Emancipation without breaking his coronation oath, and forced Pitt to promise that the project should be abandoned as long as he was king. The Irish Catholics, naturally, could not understand Pitt's reluctance to quarrel with the King at a time when the country was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with France; they were convinced that Pitt had tricked them into giving up their Parliament by making a promise that he did not

intend to keep. Not till 1829 did Parliament very reluctantly consent to Catholic Emancipation, but the concession came too late to make the Catholics feel grateful for it.

The Potato Famine. But now another danger threatened the miserable country. In the thirty years after Waterloo the number of inhabitants increased rapidly—in 1841 it was over eight millions, more than half the population of England and almost three times the population of Scotland. But as the inhabitants increased in number their little plots of potatoes were divided and subdivided till they became too small to provide sufficient food for those who cultivated them, except in years when the harvest was good. An ordinary harvest meant scarcity; what a bad harvest meant became apparent in the autumn of 1845, when the potato crop was a complete failure. For two years famine reigned in the land; the Government's attempts to find a remedy seemed only to make matters worse; thousands of people died of starvation or of the maladies that follow in its train, and tens of thousands left the stricken country, many of them carrying in their wasted bodies the seeds of mortal disease. In the ten years after the first appearance of the potato disease the population of Ireland decreased by two millions, and it has gone on dwindling ever since.

Irish Grievances. But those who were left did not grow more contented. The repeal of the Corn Laws brought as much harm as good to Ireland; before 1846 the Irish corn had been exported to England; but when cheap corn was allowed to pour into England from foreign countries the Irish farmer found that he had lost his best market. He had older grievances too: he complained that he had to pay too high a rent for his land, that if he improved his farm his rent was increased, and that if he refused to pay the increased rent he was evicted, while the improvements that he had made became the property of the landowner. It must be remembered that this grievance did not affect only a small class, for in Ireland, as in most Continental countries, the great majority of the country-folk are not farm-servants, but small farmers cultivating a few acres of ground. Nor was the land question the only source of trouble; the Roman Catholics were tired of paying money to support a Church in which they did not believe.

No one who was not Irish seemed to trouble himself about these things: many Irishmen began to think that only by frightening

the British Government would they be able to obtain any really substantial reform. The Fenians, as these extremists called themselves, not only caused widespread disorder in Ireland: they were responsible for an explosion outside Clerkenwell prison which killed twelve persons and injured nearly a hundred.

Gladstone and Ireland. The Clerkenwell outrage took place at the end of 1867, and at the end of the following year Gladstone became Prime Minister. Like every other statesman he was disturbed by the growing disorder in Ireland; but unlike most of his countrymen he was convinced that the only cure for unrest and discontent was generosity. In 1869 he persuaded Parliament to pass a Bill disestablishing the Church of Ireland, and placing it on exactly the same footing as the other Churches in the island. He followed up this measure in 1870 with the Irish Land Act, which removed some, but not all, of the grievances about which the peasants had complained. The Act of 1870 was the first of a series of Land Acts, each more sweeping than the one preceding it, which culminated in the Land Purchase Act of 1903. Previous Acts had made the Irish peasant secure from the threat of eviction or from the burden of excessive rents; the Land Purchase Act enabled any peasant to become proprietor of the plot of ground which he cultivated. He had to buy it from the landlord, of course, but the Government lent him the necessary money on the understanding that he would repay it in small annual instalments. The Act proved to be a success; when a peasant knew that the land which he had cultivated was his own property he worked far harder, and as a result, in the ten years before the Great War Ireland was more prosperous than she had ever been before.

Home Rule. But neither the disestablishment of the Irish Church nor the repeated attempts to deal with the land question availed to put an end to Irish discontent or to the savage crimes in which it sometimes found expression. The fact is that many of the Irish people saw nothing of true generosity in the most generous actions of the British Government: they believed that the British had become masters of Ireland by fraud or force, and they demanded that their country should be granted complete independence, or at the very least Home Rule—the right to manage its own affairs. There was something to be said in favour of this contention, but for a long time even the fiery oratory of Parnell, the

leader of the Irish party in the House of Commons, failed to gain support for it from any British statesman. It was pointed out that the days when Ireland was unfairly treated had long since passed; Ireland, for example, had 101 representatives in the Commons, while Scotland, with the same number of inhabitants, had only 72. People argued, too, that it would be dangerous to leave the Protestants of Ulster in the power of their Catholic fellow-countrymen, who still brooded over old memories of war and massacre.

FIG. 206. CHARLES STEWART PARNELL
Photo Lawrence, Dublin

In 1886, however, Gladstone came reluctantly to the conclusion that an independent Parliament must again be established in Ireland. Though many of his ablest followers refused to support him, he succeeded in forcing a Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons. It was rejected by the Lords, whereupon Gladstone resolved to see what fortune a general election would bring him. His hopes were disappointed; the Parliament which met in the autumn of 1886 contained an overwhelming majority of Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists, as the Liberals who opposed Home Rule were called. Not till 1893 did Gladstone again get a chance to introduce a Home Rule Bill, but it shared the fate of the first; it was thrown out by the Lords, and Gladstone, now a very old man, resigned the leadership of the Liberal party.

Disappointed Hopes. Outside of Ireland little was heard of Home Rule for almost twenty years; it seemed for a time as if increased prosperity had made the Irish people forget their ancient grievances. They remembered them only too well. When a Liberal Government came into power in 1906 their hopes rose, though of late the Liberals had been none too eager to give open support to a policy that had wrecked their party once before. The result of the elections of 1910, however, made the Liberal leaders anxious to have the support of the Irish members, and in 1912 they passed a Home Rule Bill which, like the former measures,

passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. Now, according to the terms of the new Parliament Act, the Lords could not reject a Bill altogether, they could only suspend it for two years, and though the Ulster Protestants vowed that they would plunge the country into civil war rather than consent to separation from Great Britain, in 1914 the Home Rule Bill became law. But the misfortunes of Ireland were not ended; the Great War had broken out, and the Government, aware that the opposition of Ulster was as strong as ever, decided to delay the actual grant of Home Rule till the end of the war. This action bitterly disappointed those Irishmen who did not want complete separation from Great Britain, but only the right to manage their own affairs, and it enormously strengthened the new Sinn Fein party, which would be satisfied with nothing short of complete independence. In the spring of 1916 a rebellion broke out in Dublin, but it was confined to the capital and suppressed after a few days of furious fighting. The Sinn Feiners, however, beaten in open warfare, had recourse to ambush and assassination, and the Armistice of November 1918, which brought peace to the rest of Europe, brought no peace to Ireland.

The persistent discontent in Ireland seems remarkable when it is contrasted with the attitude of Scodand and Wales toward England. Since the half-Welsh Tudors came to the throne there has been no serious friction between England and Wales, nor have the Welsh people expressed any desire for a separate government. It seems even more remarkable when we consider that since the American War of Independence only one British colony has made a serious attempt to throw off British rule. Yet in most of the colonies a large proportion of the white settlers are not of British origin.

CHAPTER XXXVII

GREATER BRITAIN

1783-1914

THOUGH the British Empire increased steadily in extent between 1783 and 1815, though the first Australian colony was founded in 1786, though in Central India the power of the Mahratta chiefs was broken in 1803, though the Congress of Vienna permitted Britain to retain, among other conquests, Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope, it was some time before the British Government acquired the art of ruling a great empire.

Canada before 1840. For example, at the close of the Napoleonic wars few would have been astonished if Canada had followed the example of the, United States and had broken away from the Empire. It is true that both in the American War of Independence and in the war which broke out between Great Britain and the United States in 1812 the Canadians not only remained loyal, but fought side by side with the British regular troops. But it seemed impossible that the French settlers in Lower Canada would ever mix to any extent with the settlers of British descent in the older colonies like Nova Scotia and New Brunswick or in the great new province of Upper Canada, which was peopled by loyalist refugees from the United States. Few would have grieved had Canada been lost to the Empire, for at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was looked on as a wilderness of trackless woods, where the snow came early and lingered long, and where a mere handful of settlers fought hard to win a meagre livelihood. If the fertile prairies of the West were known at all, it was only to the wandering hunter or trapper, come from Fort York or some other lonely station of the Hudson Bay Company.

Canadian Self-government, But in 1837 the news of rebellion in both Upper and Lower Canada perturbed the home Government. Happily the ease with which the rebellions were suppressed did not lessen the anxiety of the Government to discover

the real cause of the trouble, and Lord Durham was sent out from Britain, to investigate. His report, published in 1839, marked a turning-point in the history of the British Empire. Hitherto there had been elected assemblies in both Upper and Lower Canada, but they had no control over the Government, which was in the hands of a small council nominated by the governor-general, as representative of the sovereign. Lord Durham laid down the principle that the work of government should be carried on only by men who were supported by a majority in the popular assembly. In other words, the British system of representative government was to be extended to the colonies. His suggestion was adopted; after 1840 the Assembly of the United Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada gained practically the same powers as the British House of Commons. The secret of governing colonies properly had at last been discovered; it lay in letting them govern themselves.

The Unification of Canada. Another problem remained to be solved. Upper and* Lower Canada were only a part, though a very important part, of what we now call the Dominion of Canada. British Columbia, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, each had its little assembly; the Hudson Bay Company claimed Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta as its private property. But a few Canadian statesmen saw that Canada would never prosper as long as it was, not one colony, but a collection of colonies. For example, it was essential to the welfare of Canada that a railway should be built right across the continent, but if half a dozen little colonial Governments undertook the task, there would be endless disputes, and it would never be finished.

Accordingly in 1867 the British Government consented to the federation of the different colonies into the Dominion of Canada. At first only Nova Scotia and New Brunswick joined Upper and Lower Canada, which had now become the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, but between 1870 and 1873 the Hudson Bay Territories, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island were added to the Dominion. These provinces, to which Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta have been added by the division of the Hudson Bay Territories, still retain their local assemblies, but all questions which concern Canada as a whole must be settled by the Dominion Parliament, meeting in Ottawa. The Canadian

Parliament, like the Parliament at Westminster, consists of two houses, a House of Commons and a Senate, but the members of the Senate do not succeed by hereditary right; they are nominated by the Governor-General, who is the special representative of the king.

Canada after 1867. The important thing to notice is that Canada has become almost an independent country. The British

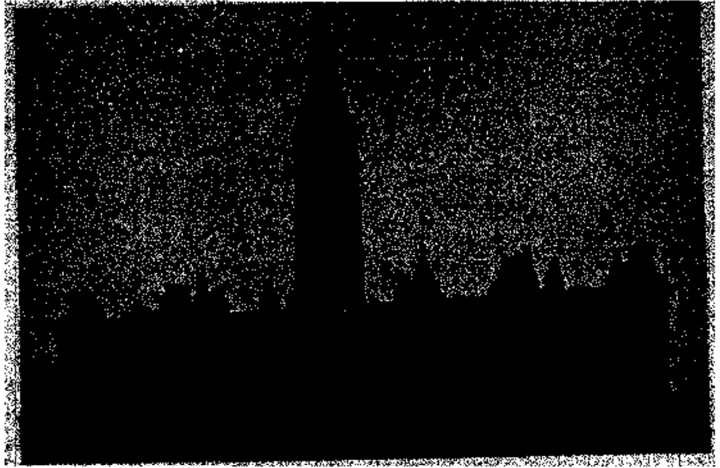


FIG. 207. PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT OTTAWA
Photo E.N.A.

Parliament cannot impose any tax on the Canadian people; it cannot make any law which the colonists are bound to obey. Even in matters of foreign policy the home Government cannot command, it can only recommend. No ordinary British court, not even the House of Lords, can overturn the verdict of a Canadian judge; disputed cases have to be referred to a special court, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which in theory is presided over by the king himself. But Canada is much more loyal to the Empire than it would have been had it been a vassal state, kept in unwilling subjection by force of arms; even the French Canadians, who are as reluctant as ever to mix with their fellow-colonists of British descent, show no desire to break the invisible bond which binds them to the great British Commonwealth.

Since 1867 Canada has continued to prosper: the first transcontinental railway, the Canadian Pacific, begun in 1881 and completed in 1885, enabled emigrants not only from Europe but from Eastern Canada and the United States to pour into the vast expanse of prairie to the west of the Great Lakes. What in 1867 seemed to be a desert, abandoned to the Indian and the wandering hunter, has now become one of the greatest wheat-growing areas in the world. Though the advance has been most startling in these new provinces, other parts of the Dominion have not lagged behind, and some people are sanguine enough to think that Canada may yet rival the United States in population and wealth.

Australia: in Leading-strings. The story of Canada in the nineteenth century is also, with one or two variations, the story of Australia. In the first half of the century the Australian colonies, like those in Canada, were governed by British officials, who had the right of overruling local assemblies; about the middle of the century the separate colonies were allowed to govern themselves, and at the end of the century these six colonies united to form a single commonwealth. But though the general resemblance is striking, the histories of the two great colonies are not exactly parallel. For one thing, Australia has developed more slowly. Its remoteness from Europe made the emigrant from Britain turn to the United States or to Canada, and tempted the British Government to use it as a settlement for convicts. But as long as the majority of the settlers were either actual convicts or men who had once been convicts, it was impossible to entrust the government to an elected assembly, while respectable people did not like to settle in a place where they would be surrounded by undesirable neighbours. Again, the vast expanse of desert in the interior of the island limited colonization to land near the sea and the few great rivers, and made intercourse between inhabitants of the widely scattered settlements extremely difficult.

The history of Australia as a British colony may be said to date from the year 1786, when the British Government claimed the eastern half of the island, to which it gave the name of New South Wales. In the following year the first batch of convicts was sent out, and in 1788 the first permanent settlement was made at what is now the great town of Sydney. The governor of the new colony ruled, and had to rule, like an absolute monarch; not till 1824 did

the British Parliament think it safe to set up a legislative council in New South Wales, but even then the members were appointed by the governor, and it was only in 1840 that elected members were admitted to the council.

Meantime colonization was proceeding slowly in other parts of the continent. In 1825 Tasmania was placed under a separate governor, three years later Western Australia was founded, and in 1836 the settlement of South Australia began. It had long since been discovered that the great plains in the interior afforded splendid pasturage for sheep, but the progress of the colonies was still retarded by the constant influx of convicts and the scarcity of suitable settlers. In 1851, however, the discovery of gold in the new colony of Victoria turned all eyes to Australia, and in the next half-dozen years tens of thousands of new settlers flocked into the colonies. Most of them settled in the region where gold had been found, which had been detached from New South Wales in 1850, but in every colony the population increased.

Australia: Self-government. As a result of this great influx the convicts and ex-convicts were now outnumbered by the free settlers, and every one saw that the time had come for allowing the new colonies to govern themselves. Between 1850 and 1856 Parliaments were established in all the existing colonies except Western Australia. Each of these local Parliaments consisted of a lower house or Assembly and an upper house or Council. In all the colonies except New South Wales the Council, like the Assembly, was elected, and soon every adult male colonist was allowed to vote in the Parliamentary elections. When Queensland was detached from New South Wales in 1859 it was granted a similar constitution. Meantime the colonists had begun to protest against the practice of transporting British convicts to Australia. The protest was listened to; first one colony and then another was barred against the convicts, till in 1868 their exclusion from Western Australia marked the end of a gloomy chapter in colonial history.

Australia: Unification. The Australians, like the Canadians, felt that the grant of self-government to the separate colonies was only the first step to the union of the colonies in a great confederation. But their reasons for desiring it were not quite the same: they knew that they were only a mere handful of five million people,

in possession of a tropical island almost as big as Europe: they knew that Britain was far away, much farther away than the ambitious Japan or overcrowded China, and they feared that some day they might have to fight for their heritage with an Asiatic race. Prudence counselled them to draw closer together, and in 1900 the six Australian colonies united to form the Commonwealth of Australia. Like Canada, it is all but an independent state—it has

FIG. 208. PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CANBERRA
Photo E.N.A.

even a navy of its own—but like Canada it displays not the faintest desire to separate from the Empire.

New Zealand. What is true of Australia is also true of the neighbouring Dominion of New Zealand, which did not become a British colony till 1840, though British adventurers had settled there at an earlier date. Twelve years later Parliamentary government was established. But the new colony had its own peculiar difficulties to surmount: the Maoris or native inhabitants, unlike the Australian aborigines, were a spirited and warlike race. Many of them hated to see their ancestral lands pass into the possession of strangers, and in 1860 war broke out, a war which smouldered on till 1872. But long before the latter date most of the Maoris realized that it was possible to live on friendly terms with the colonists, and did their best to suppress the rebellion. The colonial Government treated them generously; in 1865 they were declared to have the same rights as other subjects of the Queen,

and in 1867 the first Maori representatives took their seats in the Assembly.

South Africa: British and Dutch. Racial differences are noi always settled as easily as they have been in Canada and New Zealand. In South Africa the Boers or original Dutch colonist? found it difficult to settle down under British rule, or to live or friendly terms with the settlers who came out from Britain. Not was that the only trouble; the European colonists were outnum-

FIG. 209. BOERS TREKKING INTO NATAL

bered by the natives, and again and again had to go to war with them to maintain their position. To complicate matters further, the Dutch thought that the British Government, advised as it was by British missionaries, treated the natives with too great kindness.

Accordingly some of the more adventurous Dutchmen resolved to leave Cape Colony altogether and settle in the undiscovered country to the north. In 1838 a few of them made their way into what is now Natal, and there founded an independent state. The British Government objected, troops were sent into Natal, and in 1843 it was annexed to Cape Colony. Again the Dutch ox-wagons rolled away from the abandoned settlements, this time away to the west.

The Transvaal. The British Government reluctantly decided

not to interfere with these new settlements: in 1852 it recognized the independence of the new Dutch state—the Transvaal—that had come into existence north of the Vaal River, and in 1854 it withdrew all its claims over the Dutch settlements between the Vaal and the Orange River. At the same time an elected Parliament was set up in Cape Town, and the colonists in Natal were removed from the control of the Cape Government and allowed to manage their own affairs. About twenty years later, in 1872, Cape Colony was granted full self-government; the South African colonies, it seemed, would follow the same peaceful course as Canada and Australia.

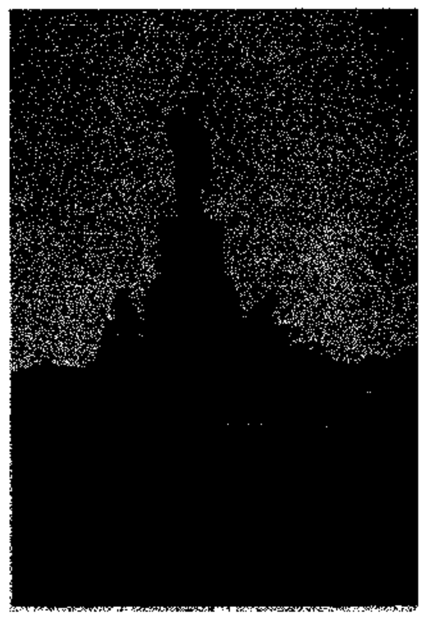


FIG. 210. STATUE OF PAUL KRUGER AT PRETORIA

Kruger was four times President of the South African Republic, 1883-1902.

But there was danger ahead. In 1877 the British Government, knowing that the Boers would have difficulty in maintaining themselves against the Zulus, the most warlike of all the South African natives, annexed the Transvaal. The wisdom of this policy was more than doubtful: though the complete defeat of the Zulus by British troops two years later saved the Transvaal from the horrors of a native invasion the Boers showed no gratitude; on the contrary they protested against the annexation of their country without their consent, and in 1880 declared war on Britain. In the following year, after a small British army had suffered a disastrous defeat at Majuba Hill, it was announced that the British Government had consented to the complete surrender of the Transvaal.

What was lost in one direction was gained in another: in 1889 Cecil Rhodes set himself the task of building up a great colony north of the Transvaal, the colony which is now known as Rhodesia.

The South African War. The decision of the British Government to give up the Transvaal had much to commend it: the Transvaal Boers, slow-moving, conservative farmers for the most part, were separated from the more enterprising and restless British colonists by many things besides race and language, and it seemed a good thing that two peoples that could not agree should be kept apart. But they would not stay apart; about the year 1886 gold was discovered in great quantities in the Transvaal, and settlers of British descent poured into the Transvaal by the thousand. These newcomers soon became the richest members of the community, but though they were heavily taxed they were completely excluded from the political life of the republic. The Boers did not want them. No response was made to their demand for the vote; the rebellion which some of them, encouraged by Rhodes himself, tried to start in 1895 did not succeed, and every month showed the relations between them and the Boers growing more embittered. The intervention of the home Government only made matters worse; the Boers flatly refused to be guided by the advice of British statesmen, and in 1899 the Transvaal, which was joined at once by the Orange Free State, declared war on Britain.

FIG. 211. CECIL RHODES
1853-1902
Photo Elliott and Fry, Ltd.

At home every one expected an immediate and complete victory; no one was prepared for an immediate and almost a complete defeat. The main British army was locked up in Ladysmith; when reinforcements arrived toward the end of the year they seemed powerless to do anything, and in one dark week no fewer than three separate armies suffered disastrous defeats. Not till Lord Roberts

and Lord Kitchener arrived was there a change for the better; within a few months Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, was captured, and the territory of the two hostile states declared to be annexed by Britain. It seemed that the war was over, but elusive bands of horsemen prolonged the struggle for another two years, and not till 1902 did the Boer leaders surrender at Vereeniging.

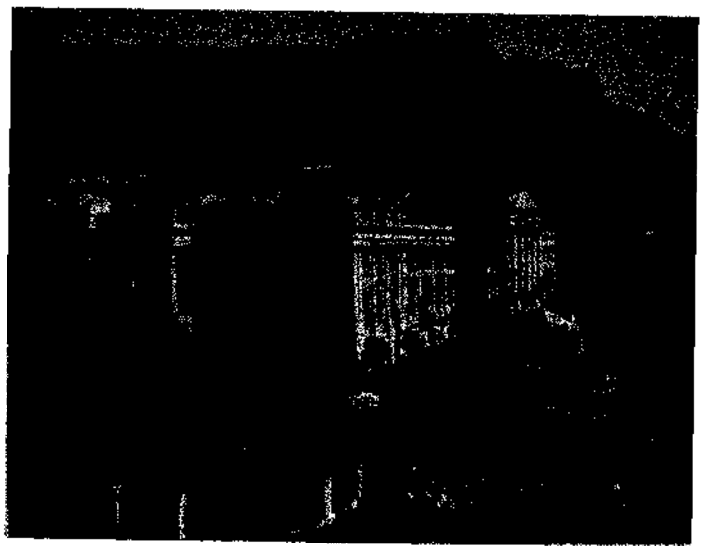


FIG. 212. PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CAPE TOWN, SHOWING TABLE MOUNTAIN IN THE BACKGROUND
Photo E.N.A.

South Africa: Self-government. Few care to remember that struggle, a struggle in which the vanquished seemed to be beaten, not because they lacked courage or military skill, but simply because they were outnumbered. It is more pleasant to remember what happened a year or two after the war, when the British Government adopted a very risky but very generous line of action. In 1906 it granted full self-government to the Transvaal, and in the following year conferred the same privilege on the Orange Free State, now the Orange River Colony. This policy won the hearts of the Boers as nothing else could have done, though there

are still some of them who would like complete separation **from** the British Empire.

South Africa: Unification. As in Canada and Australia, the grant of self-government to the individual colonies was followed by unification, but in South Africa it was carried a stage further. In Canada and Australia the local Parliaments were allowed to retain some of their old powers; in South Africa they were eliminated altogether, and all their powers transferred to the new Union Parliament.

In this way has the colonial problem been solved; the colonies have been given control of their own affairs to such an extent that they are now permanent allies rather than colonies in the old-fashioned sense.

Tropical Possessions. It must not be forgotten that in every **one** of these dominions, except South Africa, an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants are of European descent. But to Britain also belong great tracts of territory in tropical regions, where white people find it difficult to live, and where the coloured races outnumber the handful of officials and traders. Such are our old colonies in the West Indies, our recent gains in Africa—Nigeria, British East Africa, and Rhodesia—and our vast Indian Empire. In all these places the gulf which divides the British colonist from the alien races among which he finds himself is far wider and deeper than that which separates him from the French Canadian or the Boer of South Africa. The problem of India, which counts its inhabitants by the hundred million, whose peoples are not uncivilized indeed, but nurtured in a civilization entirely different from that of the West, has not yet been completely solved.

India before 1857. In the forty years after Waterloo the boundaries of the East India Company's possessions were steadily pushed forward. States where the ruler had died without leaving an heir whose right was undisputed were quietly annexed. Other states were rash enough to make war upon the Company and suffered the same fate: in 1826, for example, the ruler of Burmah was defeated and forced to give up Assam; in 1843 Scinde was annexed; two long wars with the Sikhs of North-western India ended in 1849 with the cession of the whole of the Punjab to the Company, and in 1856 the kingdom of Oude was also absorbed.

The Indian Mutiny. But the Company had pushed on too fast;

the princes whose territories were still intact became alarmed and, what was worse, the native troops, by whose help the recent conquests had been made, began to despise the British soldiers and to think too much of their own fighting qualities. A seemingly trivial incident produced a great military rebellion; in 1857 a new rifle was introduced, the cartridges of which were greased with animal fat. The troops, whether Hindu or Mohammedan, were indignant: the Hindus thought that the British were forcing them

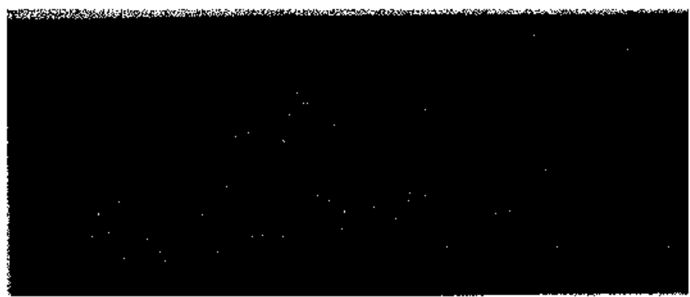


FIG. 213. AN AERIAL VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS AT DELHI
Photo E.N.A.

to handle the fat of the cow, which they regard as a sacred animal; the Mohammedans believed that they would be compelled to touch the fat of swine, animals which are accursed to them. They did not conceal their anger: in May the native troops at Meerut mutinied, and within a few days the whole of Northern India was aflame. There is no space here to tell of the grim struggle which followed, of the massacre at Cawnpore, of the siege of Delhi, maintained by a handful of British troops—more besieged than besieging—against a great fortified city crammed with rebel troops, or of the gallant defence of Lucknow. It seemed for a time as if British rule in India would be overthrown, but reinforcements were hurried out from home, the beleaguered garrisons were rescued, and the mutiny was stamped out.

The mutiny brought about a complete change in the British attitude to India. The old East India Company disappeared: after 1858 the complete responsibility for the management of Indian affairs rested with the British Government, and in particular

with two great officials, the Secretary for India, who had a seat in the British Parliament, and the Viceroy, the special representative of the sovereign in India. The forward policy was abandoned; native princes now knew that so long as they ruled their people decently they would not be deposed, and that even if they were deposed their territories would not come under the direct rule of the British. The Burmese War of 1885, however, resulted in the annexation of the whole of the kingdom of Burmah.

The Question of Self-government. British statesmen have long since realized that British rule in India can be justified only if it results in a steady improvement in the condition of the various Indian peoples. If we cannot govern them better than they governed themselves we have no business to be in India at alh And there is little doubt that the British officials in India have managed the country far better than the natives could have done; they have banished the fear of invasion and civil war, they have made a gallant fight against famine and plague, they have dealt out even justice and made the life of peasant and merchant less troubled. On the other hand they have been slow to give any share in the government of the country to the native of India, regarding any sudden advance in the direction of self-government as a hazardous experiment. But the advance has begun; since 1879 almost all the subordinate branches in the Civil Service have been held by natives; in 1892 native members, elected by their fellow-countrymen, were admitted to the Viceroy's Legislative Council and to the Legislative Councils of the different provinces, and in 1909 the number and powers of these native members were greatly increased.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

BRITAIN AND THE REST OF EUROPE : 1815-1914

Britain and Russia. The battle of Waterloo was followed by forty years of almost unbroken peace. Britain had no longer any reason to fear France; in fact, the relations between the Governments of the two countries became most friendly. But Britain began to suspect another Great Power, Russia, of dangerous ambitions, and that suspicion continued to haunt it till the beginning of the present century. Russia, like Britain, had great possessions in Asia, the boundaries of which were being steadily pushed nearer to the frontiers of India, and it seemed that at some time or other an attempt would be made to add India to the already enormous Russian Empire. Again, Russia wanted to gain control of the Balkan Peninsula, which was under the rule of the Sultan of Turkey, that she might get an outlet to the Mediterranean and so increase both her commercial prosperity and her military strength. But this proposed advance to the Mediterranean aroused the hostility not only of the British Government, which saw in it simply a more cunning attempt to cut the connexion between Britain and India, but of the French Emperor, who had no desire to see his country endangered by the presence of Russian fleets in the Mediterranean.

The Crimean War. Accordingly in 1854 the two ancient enemies became allies and declared war on Russia. Armies were sent from Britain and France to the peninsula of the Crimea, in the south of Russia, with orders to capture the fortress of Sevastopol. The old generals who were in command muddled the campaign; instead of pushing on to Sebastopol at once they gave the Russian engineers time to make the fortress almost impregnable, and so subjected troops who had come out prepared only for a summer campaign to all the terrors of a Russian winter. Twice, at the hard-fought battles of Balaclava and Inkerman, the Russians almost succeeded in driving the British from

their base, but the allies held fast, and in 1855 Sebastopol was captured.

The Franco-German War. The Treaty of Paris, which brought the war to an end in the following year, seemed to put a check on the ambitions of Russia. Russia was forbidden to maintain a fleet in the Black Sea or to meddle in the affairs of the Balkan Peninsula. But in 1870 an event occurred which had far-reaching results: France declared war on Prussia. The French armies were com-

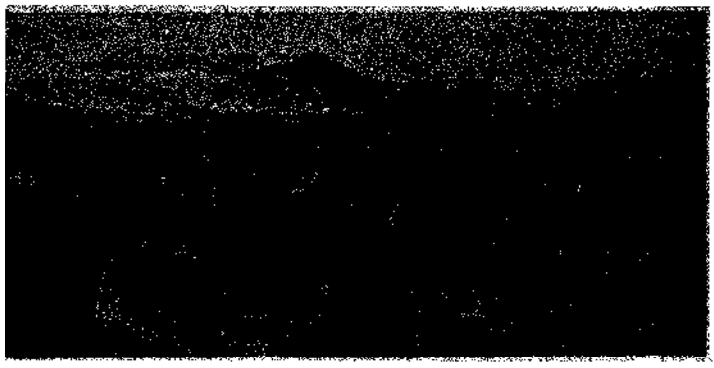


FIG. 214. THE CHARGE OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE AT BALACLAVA
R. Caton Woodville
Henry Graves and Co., Ltd.

pletely overwhelmed by the troops of Prussia and of the smaller German states that were her allies; the Emperor Napoleon III abdicated, and a Republic was established. What was even more important, the military alliance of Prussia and the smaller German states speedily developed into a permanent union. In January 1871, while the German guns were still thundering at the defences of Paris, the new German Empire was proclaimed at Versailles, with King William of Prussia as the first German Emperor.

Disputes with Russia. France's perplexity was Russia's opportunity: in 1870 Russian warships again entered the Black Sea. The British Government was afraid to protest, though since the construction of the Suez Canal in 1869, which opened a new route to India, it had more reason than ever to be perturbed by a Russian move toward the Mediterranean.

And there was cause enough for anxiety in the next few years.

In 1877 war broke out between Russia and Turkey; the Turks were defeated and the Russians advanced to within a few miles of Constantinople. In Britain every one thought that war was certain; the fleet was sent out to the Dardanelles and the army was prepared for active service. But at the last moment Russia gave way, and in 1878 the representatives of the Great Powers assembled at the Berlin Congress made an end to the plan for the establishment of a Russian protectorate in the Balkan Peninsula. Austria, however, was made guardian of the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the understanding that they were not to be annexed to the Austrian Empire. Foiled in its designs on Constantinople, the Russian Government began to threaten India directly by trying to gain control over the independent state of Afghanistan, which now formed the only barrier between Russian Turkestan and North-west India. The suspicion that the ruler of Afghanistan had become too friendly with Russia made Britain go to war with Afghanistan in 1878, and in 1885 the occupation by Russian troops of a village within the Afghan frontier almost led to a war between the two great rivals.

British and French in Egypt. Nor were the relations between Britain and France much happier. After the humiliation of 1870 France became more eager than ever to establish a great colonial empire in North Africa, while Britain, always anxious about the route to India, determined to gain what control it could over the Suez Canal. Now the canal ran through Egyptian territory, and the Khedive or prince of Egypt, who was nominally a vassal of the Sultan of Turkey, had borrowed huge sums of money from people in Britain and France. In 1876 he refused to pay any interest on his debts, whereupon the British and French Governments established a system of joint control over Egypt. But when a revolution broke out in 1882 the French left the task of restoring order to the British. The revolution was suppressed, but the French could not forgive the British Government when it took over sole control of Egyptian affairs, even though it protested that its occupation of Egypt was only temporary.

British Occupation of Egypt. Unexpected difficulties kept the British from leaving Egypt. The inhabitants of the Sudan, led by a pretended prophet, the Mahdi, rose in rebellion against their nominal ruler, the Khedive of Egypt, cut to pieces every Egyptian

army that was sent against them, and threatened to invade Egypt itself. The immediate reconquest of the Sudan was a task which the British Government did not care to undertake, and in 1885, after the failure of the attempt to relieve the gallant General Gordon, who had been besieged in Khartum, all the British and Egyptian troops were withdrawn. But Egypt itself was not abandoned by the British, who saw that if they left it would run the risk of being devastated by the fanatical followers of the Mahdi. The once useless Egyptian army was reorganized by British officers, and British advisers guided the Khedive in every detail of his government.

The Fashoda Episode, At last, in 1898, after years of careful preparation, General Kitchener defeated the followers of the Mahdi near Khartum, where Gordon had perished thirteen years before. This battle practically completed the reconquest of the Sudan, but the victorious general could allow himself no rest, for he had heard that a small French force had appeared in the Sudan, and that the French flag had been hoisted over the village of Fashoda, four hundred miles farther up the Nile. Kitchener hurried south and called upon the French commander, Major Marchand, to withdraw from Sudanese territory. Marchand obeyed, knowing that force would be used if he did not go immediately, but when the news of Kitchener's action reached France, there was an immediate clamour for war with Britain.

Britain and the Rest of Europe. Happily there was one French statesman who saw that a war between Britain and France would be a disaster for both countries, and who never forgot that France had another rival infinitely more dangerous than Britain. Through his efforts war was averted, but the French people could not forget the somewhat humiliating episode at Fashoda, and during the South African War they lost no opportunity of indulging in bitter criticism of Britain. This did not discompose British statesmen, but they were genuinely surprised to find that the same kind of criticism, even more embittered, if possible, was common in Germany. They realized, in fact, that Britain had not a friend in Europe. As far back as 1879 Germany and Austria had become allies, and in 1882 the addition of Italy transformed this Dual Alliance into a Triple Alliance. France, afraid of being again attacked by her old enemy, reinforced this time by Austria

and Italy, had entered into an alliance with Russia in 1895. Hitherto Britain had kept aloof from both these groups. At the end of the century, however, British statesmen had begun to realize that their policy of "splendid isolation" was not as safe as they had supposed. In 1898 and again in 1901 they attempted to enter into an alliance with Germany. But the German Government thought that it could dispense with the friendship of Britain, and so a great opportunity was lost.

Britain on the Eve of the War. It was long before the British people in general saw any need for worry over the Dual or Triple Alliance. It seemed to them that war and bloodshed had vanished for ever from their corner of the world. Half a century had passed since Britain had gone to war with any other European nation; more than a century and a half had passed since any battle had been fought on the soil of Britain. Life had become very comfortable, especially for those people who had a little money, but even the ordinary artisan lived in a' way that would have astonished a rich merchant of Queen Elizabeth's days. He might live in a poky house in a mean street, but his house was lighted by gas; by turning a tap he could have abundant supplies of pure water; his wife's cooking appliances would have been the wonder of a sixteenth-century cook. If he had to go any distance to his work, an electric tramcar would whirl him there in a few minutes at the cost of a penny or so; a penny would take a letter to any part of the United Kingdom or almost any part of the British Colonies; a payment of sixpence would enable a London workman to send a telegram to his friend in Edinburgh; if he visited that friend his journey would cost him little more than a pound, and would be completed in litde more than eight hours. On his table was food from all the ends of the earth, tea from India, sugar from the West Indies or from Germany, bread made of Canadian or Russian wheat—white bread, too, that a century or two ago was looked on as a luxury—meat from Australia or South America, fruit from North America or the West Indies. If he was fond of reading, a pound or two would put him in possession of a library that would have been the wonder of a medieval scholar, a library such as few medieval castles contained; if he liked amusement, a few pence would admit him to a seat in a cinema, or, without paying at all, he could listen to the band in the public park.

No doubt the lot of the twentieth-century workman seemed uncomfortable when it was compared with that of the wealthier classes; still, in such conditions the workman of 1814 would have thought that he was revelling in luxury. But it was only natural that he should compare his condition with that of people who were better off than himself, and that he should strive by strikes

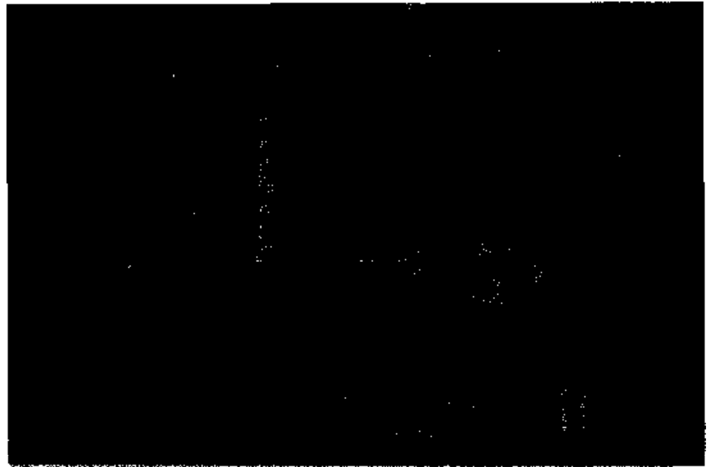


FIG. 215. A QUEUE OUTSIDE A CINEMA
Photo James's Press Agency

and other means to gain better wages and shorter hours of labour. It was only natural that he, like almost all his fellow-countrymen, should pay little attention to those black clouds that hovered over Europe, sure signs of a tempest wild enough to lay his little world in ruins.

Germany. To observers in this country the danger seemed to come from Germany, the home of a people who were clever, hard-working, but out of all measure ambitious. The German manufacturers, starting later than their British rivals, had beaten them in the race; at the beginning of the twentieth century Britain was no longer the greatest industrial country in the world; its output of manufactured goods was surpassed by both Germany and the United States. But the bulk of the carrying trade of the

world was still in the hands of the British, and Britain had by far the greatest colonial empire. This was Britain's chief offence in the eyes of Germany. Before 1884 Germany had no colonies at all, and when in that year she began to acquire them, she found that all the more desirable portions of the earth's surface had already been annexed, and that she must content herself with

FIG. 216. CUNARD LINER " MAURETANIA "

territories in tropical regions, where no white man could live in comfort. Her population was half as big again as that of Britain, and twice as big as that of her old rival France; her output of manufactured articles was greater, yet each of these countries possessed vast stretches of productive territory in temperate parts of the globe.

The Triple Entente. So when in 1902 Germany, which already possessed the most formidable army in the world, began to pile up a navy which promised at the end of a very few years to be more powerful than the British navy, when the remonstrances of the British Government only served to make it build faster than ever, our statesmen naturally concluded that Germany was planning to strike at us and deprive us of our colonies. Rebuffed by

Germany, they turned to her old enemy, France. In 1904 the two countries agreed to settle all their differences, but they did not become allies, bound by a definite treaty; they were bound together only by an *Entente Cordiale,* as it was called at the time, a friendly agreement; they simply became friends who recognized that in certain circumstances they might have to fight side by side. Three years later the British Government entered into a similar agreement with the once-dreaded Russia. But Britain still remained outside the Dual Alliance, though the French felt, rightly or wrongly, that they could count on her support should they be attacked by Germany.

Triple Entente and Triple Alliance. There was now no danger of a war between Britain and Russia. But in 1911 the peace of Europe was almost broken by a dispute between France and Germany over Morocco, which France wished to add to her colonial empire, a dispute in which France got her own way only because she was firmly supported by the British Government. And the ill-feeling between Russia and Austria made Russia a somewhat dangerous friend. Both Governments were anxious to increase their influence over the Balkan States, and in 1908, before Russia had recovered from the effects of her disastrous war with Japan, Austria stole a march on her by annexing its provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Russia protested, but when her protests drew an unmistakable threat of war from Austria's ally, Germany, she did nothing. But though Russia submitted because she had no other choice, there was no saying what might happen if Austria repeated the performance of 1908 at a time when the Russian statesmen thought that they could risk a contest with Austria and her allies.

Sarajevo. This was the position when in the early summer of 1914 the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, was assassinated in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The Austrian Government jumped to the conclusion that the Serbian Government had instigated the murder. An ultimatum was therefore sent from Vienna to Belgrade giving Serbia forty-eight hours in which to choose between war and what was little short of a complete surrender of national independence. The Austrian statesmen chose to disregard the effect which this ultimatum would have on Russia. They might have known; the Russian

Government looked on it as a repetition of the Bosnia-Herzegovina business, and ordered a general mobilization of the army. The reserves were called up, and Russian troops began to mass on the Austrian and German frontiers, ready to attack when the word was given.

Enter Germany. And now Germany came on the scene. One cannot say that since the crime of Sarajevo Germany had striven to bring about a European war; neither can one say that she had striven hard to prevent it. Germany did not instigate Austria to attack Serbia, as people in this country once believed, but, in spite of repeated appeals from Sir Edward Grey,[1] the British Foreign Minister, she made no attempt to hold back her over-impetuous ally. A warning was indeed sent to Vienna, but it was too late; before a reply could be received the news of the Russian mobilization reached Berlin. The German Government could interpret this in only one way. Russia was preparing to attack Germany. Accordingly an ultimatum was sent to St Petersburg, giving Russia twelve hours in which to demobilize, and when no reply was received Germany declared war. Two days later, on August 3, 1914, the German declaration of war on Russia was followed by a declaration of war on France. Germany had no quarrel with France at the moment. That did not matter; it was sufficient that France was the ally of Russia; France therefore must be attacked and completely crushed before Russia could bring her large armies into the field.

Why Britain went to War. Four of the great European Powers were now at war. Italy broke away from the Triple Alliance, refusing to join Germany and Austria in what she declared was a war of aggression. Could Britain stay out too?

The Sarajevo crime, the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, the Russian mobilization, were none of our business. Could we say the same of the German invasion of France? We had signed no treaty binding us to fight in defence of France, and Germany, far from wanting to attack Britain just then, was extremely anxious that we should remain neutral in the coming struggle.

On the other hand, though the British Government had not pledged itself to defend France against an unprovoked attack by Germany, it had encouraged its military and naval advisers to

[1] Created Viscount Grey of Fallodon in 1916.

confer with French generals and admirals and to frame schemes for the co-operation of the British and French forces should France ever be invaded by the Germans. The French Government, therefore, rightly or wrongly, counted upon British support. There could be no doubt too, that if France and Russia were de-

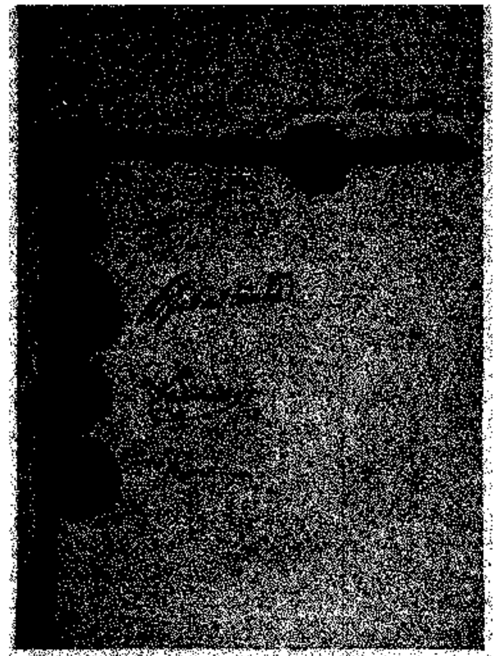


FIG. 217. THE SIGNATURES ON THE "SCRAP OF PAPER
Photo James's Press Agency

feated the position of Britain, left alone to confront a Germany flushed with victory, and covetous of her great colonial possessions, would be perilous in the extreme. But of all this the average British elector understood nothing, and the British Government knew that if it decided to declare war on Germany simply because Germany had declared war on France, it would go into a life-and-death struggle with a divided nation behind it.

While the British Government hesitated, the Germans settled

the matter for them by invading Belgium. There had been no quarrel between the two countries, but the fact that the shortest and easiest route to Paris lay through Belgium was to the Germans sufficient excuse for an unprovoked attack. They conveniently forgot that by a treaty signed in 1839, Germany, like Britain, France, Austria, and Russia, was bound to refrain from sending any troops into Belgian territory. But the British Government did not forget; our statesmen thought that if the treaty of 1839 was to be regarded as a mere " scrap of paper," no treaty in the world would be worth the paper it was written on, and that if Belgium was not to be secure from the attack of a powerful neighbour in such circumstances, might would overcome right the whole world over. On the 4th of August, 1914, the British Government dispatched a note to Berlin, demanding the instant withdrawal of all German troops from Belgium. No attention was paid to the request, and at midnight Britain and Germany were at war.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE GREAT WAR
1914-18

The Work of the Fleet. Every one knew that the struggle would be long and grim; few guessed how weary it would be, or how black would be that dark hour before the dawn. Britain itself was practically secure from invasion; before war broke out the German fleet had retired to the Kiel Canal, from which it showed no disposition to budge. It was the wisest policy; the German admirals knew that the British fleet was superior in size and fighting power, and they had no mind to risk a battle till its numbers had been reduced and its crews demoralized by submarine attacks. But though the German submarines sank a few British cruisers they did not deprive Britain of the command of the sea. The trade between Britain and Allied or neutral countries suffered no interruption; no hostile fleet appeared in the Channel to hinder the embarkation of troops for France, and one by one the German colonies fell into the hands of the British.

Beginning of the War in the West. On land there was a different story to tell. The German plan was to overwhelm France utterly before her powerful but sluggish ally was ready, and then turn on Russia. The plan nearly succeeded; the resistance of the Belgians collapsed before the French could join forces with them. All the British troops that were available, about 120,000 splendidly trained regular troops, were sent across the Channel in the first half of August under the command of Sir John French, but they took up their position about the little Belgian town of Mons, on the extreme left of the line that stretched from the Swiss to the Belgian frontier of France, only to find that the troops on their right had fallen back before the tremendous German onslaught, and that they must retreat too if they were not to be outflanked or isolated. Southward they retreated for the better part of a fortnight, halting again and again to drive back the advancing German

masses with bursts of rifle fire, till they were across the river Marne and within a few miles of Paris. Though few of them knew it, the whole Allied line east of Verdun had given way, and some of the richest departments of France had fallen into the hands of the enemy. But the French were now in touch with their reserves; a new army, of which the Germans had heard nothing, was hurried to the front, and at the beginning of September the whole Allied

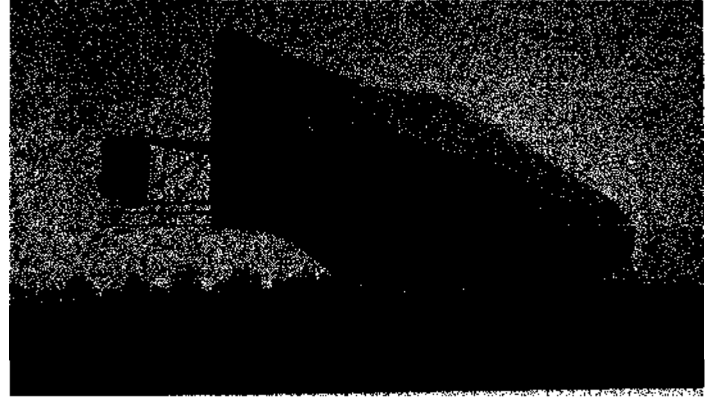


FIG. 218. A ZEPPELIN
Photo Sport and General

line swept forward and drove the Germans across the Marne. In Britain despondency yielded to exultation; the unexpected victory made people look for an immediate Allied triumph. But the next great attack, which was meant to drive the Germans across the Aisne in confusion, was only partially successful; the Germans were forced to fall back, but they retired in good order, and when they reached the line of the Aisne they entrenched themselves and stood firm. The French followed their example, and from Compiègne eastward to the great fortress of Verdun, and again eastward to the Swiss frontier, stretched the unbroken line of French and German trenches. But from Compiègne northward to the mouth of the Yser, where the remnants of the Belgian army were standing at bay, a great gap yawned in the Allied line, a gap through which the Germans meant to push, that they might gain

the Channel ports and cut off France from her ally. French reinforcements were hurried up, till an unbroken line had been established between Compiègne and Lens, to the north of Arras, but a gap was still left in front of the picturesque old town of Ypres between the extreme left of the main French army and the right of the mixed French-Belgian army on the Yser. Into this gap the

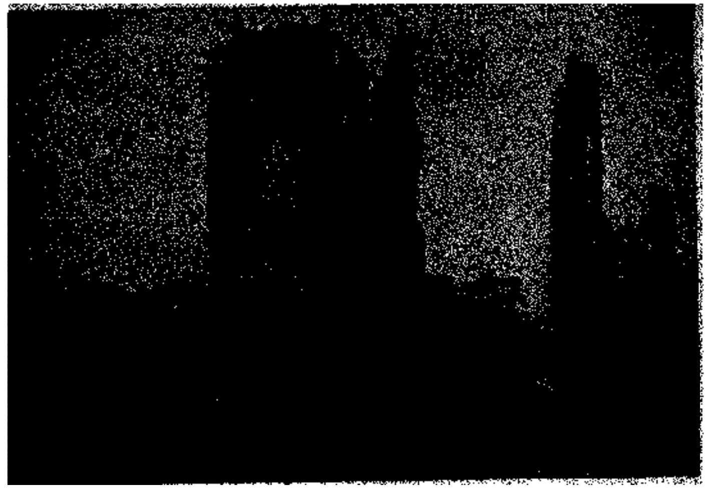


FIG. 219. THE CLOTH HALL, YPRES, 1916
Imperial War Museum. Copyright reserved.

British army was thrust, and here, in front of Ypres, in the last week of October and the first week of November, it was called on to withstand the onslaught of overwhelming masses of Germans, whose leaders were determined that the road to Calais should not be closed. It seemed as if Ypres must be captured, for the British troops were all too few, but though the British line bent, it did not break.

The Defeat of Russia. For a year and a half after the road to Calais had been barred against them the Germans made no serious attempt to break through the Allied line in France. But their success in Russia more than atoned for their partial failure in France; before the summer of 1915 had ended they and their Austrian allies had driven the Russians back to their own country,

captured every one of the great barrier fortresses, and occupied the city of Warsaw, one hundred and fifty miles within the Russian frontier. Russia never recovered from this series of tremendous defeats; though she fought gallantly for another two years she could only stave off the final disaster, she could not avert it altogether.

A Lull in the West. Although these sudden changes of fortune, these overwhelming triumphs and disasters, were unknown on the Western Front, the struggle there was grim enough. Along all these hundreds of miles of trenches the fighting never ceased; in quiet, red-roofed villages, forty and fifty miles behind the fighting line, you could hear the throb of the great guns all night long, and see the eastern horizon lit up as if with flashes of summer lightning. And as the days passed more and bigger guns were brought up, more and more of the newly raised bodies of troops, many of them from the great colonies and dominions, were put into the line, till the British held not only the few miles between Ypres and Lens, but the whole of the old French line as far south as the Somme. Devices unknown before added a new horror to war. In April 1915, for example, the troops in front of Ypres saw a strange green cloud rolling toward them, and discovered, too late, that it was a cloud of poison gas, sent from the German trenches. Again it seemed that the capture of Ypres was certain, but the Canadian troops conquered their fear of an unknown and horrible death and beat back the German attack. Even when the troops were led out of the trenches to a village behind the line they did not get all the rest they deserved; shells from long-range guns or bombs from aeroplanes blew their billets to pieces.

There was nothing of romance in this war, if there ever was in any war, nothing noble or beautiful, except the unconquerable spirit of man. The gay scarlet coats had disappeared; the soldiers no longer marched into battle in long, glittering lines to the strains of martial music; their garments were coloured like the mud of the trenches in which they crouched; when they went into the line they marched silently under cover of night. Sometimes indeed, as at Loos in September 1915, the intermittent crash of the big guns rose into a steady roar, as from every battery position behind the British lines leaped tongues of rosy light.

Then whistles would blow all along the trenches, and straggling groups and rows of khaki-clad infantry would appear, picking their way through the barbed wire and shell-holes of that No Man's Land that lay between them and the German trenches. Then a rocket would flare above the enemy's lines, and in a second or two attackers would disappear amid the smoke of bursting

FIG. 220. TRENCH AT OVILLERS, 1916
Imperial War Museum. Copyright reserved.

shells. Those who were not blown to pieces by the shells or stricken by the machine-gun bullets that whipped through the air by the thousand leaped into the half-obliterated trenches, bayoneted the Germans whom they found there, and prepared to meet the inevitable counter-attack. Sometimes a few hundred yards, once or twice, as at Loos, a mile or two of enemy trench was captured in this way. But the British never broke clean through the German lines, and every trifling gain was made at a terrible cost in human life.

Gallipoli and Mesopotamia. Nor was there much consolation to be gained in other parts of the world. Though Turkey had gone over to the side of Germany in November 1914, the balance seemed to be righted when in May 1915 Italy joined the Allies.

But before this the British Government had decided to knock Turkey out of the war by forcing the passage of the Dardanelles and sending a fleet right up to Constantinople. The enterprise was a failure; though in April 1915 a force of British and Australian troops effected a landing on the peninsula of Gallipoli at the entrance to the Dardanelles, no advance could be made, and at the end of the year Gallipoli had to be evacuated. Some of the troops had been transferred to Salonika, in the vain hope that they might save the Serbians from the combined attacks of the Austrians and their new allies the Bulgarians. They failed to effect a junction with the Serbian army and retired to the neighbourhood of Salonika, where they were reinforced and where they remained on the defensive for the next two and a half years. There was promise of better things in Mesopotamia, where in 1915 an army of British and Indian troops defeated the Turks in battle after battle and pushed forward toward Bagdad. But too much had been attempted with too small a force; when the British reached Kut the Turkish armies closed in upon them, and in April 1916 they were forced to surrender.

The Battle of Jutland. Though the fleet saved Britain from the horrors of invasion, the days were gone when it could protect the civilian inhabitants from all the dangers and inconveniences of war. That the Channel was no barrier against airships or aeroplanes was a lesson learned for the first time by the people of London in the autumn of 1915, when a fleet of Zeppelins dropped bombs into the heart of the city. And the increasing cost of the commonest articles of diet drove home another lesson, that the German submarines in their efforts to starve Britain into surrender were sinking helpless merchant ships by the score and leaving their crews to perish. The fleet seemed to be doing nothing, and people sighed for the days of Nelson, forgetting that even after Trafalgar British merchantmen were captured by the hundred every year. At last, at the beginning of June 1916, news came that the British Grand Fleet had met the G-erman High Seas Fleet off the coast of Jutland on the afternoon of 31st May, and that a great battle had been fought. But Jutland was no Trafalgar; the German fleet was beaten and seemed on the point of being annihilated when, under cover of mist and darkness, it slipped away from the British battleships that were closing in upon it. The

British loss was heavy; three great battle-cruisers, each with a thousand men on board, were sent to the bottom. It was a decisive enough victory, however; though almost all the German ships had returned to port many of them had been badly mauled, and the German sailors were so demoralized by their awful ordeal that till the close of the war no admiral dared order them to put to sea. But our admirals did not know this; they thought that

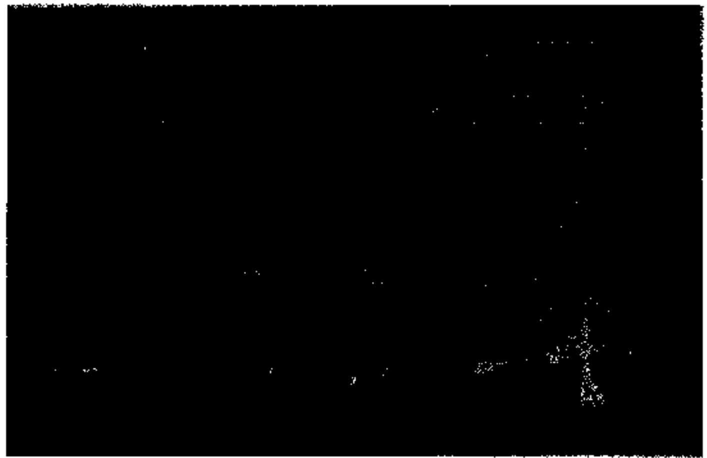


FIG. 221. THE BATTLE-CRUISER " LION " COMING INTO ACTION AT JUTLAND

the German fleet might come out at any moment, and so a hundred torpedo-boat destroyers, that would have proved invaluable in hunting down submarines, had to be kept with the Grand Fleet, waiting for an enemy that never appeared.

The German Attack on Verdun. Hardly had the news of the battle of Jutland been received when rumours of preparations for a great battle in France revived the hopes of the British public. Already, since February 1916, thousands of German guns had been thundering against the great fortress of Verdun, pounding its outlying defences to pieces; already the German infantry had, as the result of repeated and costly attacks, pressed the French back to within three miles of the town. If Verdun had been lost one of the pillars on which the Allied system of defences rested

would have been broken and irreparable damage would have been done, but the gallant defenders held out, and on the 1st of July the danger was over. A combined British and French attack had been launched to the north and south of the Somme.

The Battle of the Somme. Great things were hoped from this attack. The British had a new general, Sir Douglas Haig, one of the heroes of the first battle of Ypres; they had an abundant supply of men, for at the beginning of the year an Act had been passed which compelled every able-bodied man to fight for his country; they possessed a new engine of war in the shape of the tank, a small moving fortress made of steel and armed with machine-guns, and they now went into battle protected, like Cromwell's troops, with round steel helmets. A terrible artillery bombardment lasting for days had blown in the German trenches and dug-outs, and made the task of the infantry easier. Sure enough they took the forward trenches without much difficulty, but again they failed to break right through the German defensive system. For four months the battle continued; again and again fresh attacks were made, to result, perhaps, in the gain of a shattered heap of bricks that had once been a village, but at the end of November the British and French between them had won back a strip of devastated country about twenty miles long and not more than seven miles broad. To achieve this result tens of thousands of our finest troops had been killed and hundreds of thousands wounded. But the Germans had suffered too, and at the beginning of 1917 they retired voluntarily from a great tract of country which they saw no hope of defending with success against another British attack.

America joins the Allies. Nor was this the only gleam that lighted up the early months of 1917; in April the United States of America entered the war on the side of the Allies. The squadrons of light vessels that the American Government was able to send over almost at once enabled the British fleet to cope at last with the swarms of German submarines which were throttling British seaborne trade and threatening to starve Britain into surrender. But in the whole length and breadth of the States there were only a few thousand trained soldiers, and though recruits were enrolled by the hundred thousand, every one knew that long months must pass before they would be able to fight

side by side with the British and French troops. It was certain, too, that during these months Germany would strain every nerve to shatter the Allied armies before the American troops could arrive.

The Battle of Arras. No such forebodings disturbed the minds of the British; every one was elated by the capture of Bagdad, which surrendered to General Maude in March, every one looked forward eagerly to the great battle which was about to take place

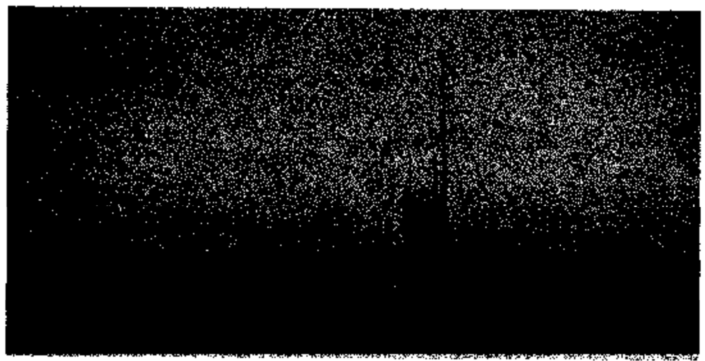


FIG. 222. H.M. SUBMARINE E7
Imperial War Museum. Copyright reserved.

in France. Haig had planned two big operations for the spring of 1917, one an attack in the neighbourhood of Arras, and the other, the really important one, an attack on a much bigger scale in front of Ypres. Success in the latter would have meant the liberation of Belgium and the destruction of these nests of submarines which the Germans had established on the Belgian coast. At the request of the French, however, who were preparing for a big attack in Champagne, Haig reluctantly agreed to postpone the Ypres operations and to confine his attack to the German lines before Arras. On the 9th of April, after another tremendous bombardment, the British attacked in front of Arras. The operation promised to be a brilliant success; on the very first day the British infantry drove the Germans back for about four miles, losing few men themselves and inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. But as the weather broke down guns could not be

brought up to smash the enemy's rear positions and scatter the reinforcements that were being hurried forward along every available road. It was the old story: the forward movement slowed down, advances were made, but at a steadily increasing cost in human life, and at the end of April all hopes of a break through were abandoned, if indeed it had ever been entertained. Nor did the news from the French front bring any consolation: the great attack launched a few days after the Arras fighting began had been

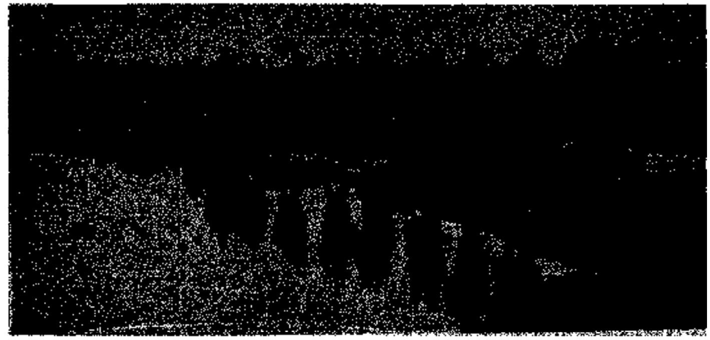


FIG. 223. RETURNING FROM THE TRENCHES, YPRES SALIENT, 1918
Imperial War Museum. Copyright reserved.

a complete failure. A slight advance was indeed made, but at such an appalling cost that the French people were for the moment stricken with despair, and thought of withdrawing from the war. So the British had to pound away in front of Arras to distract the attention of the Germans from the weakened French line, attempting hopeless tasks with inadequate forces.

Ypres. Haig now considered himself free to go on with his original plan. All through the summer great guns rolled northward from every part of the British front, and on the 31st of July, after the usual long bombardment, the British infantry attacked in front of Ypres. But success was not to be gained by obstinate valour. The attack had been delayed too long; the weather broke down and converted the low-lying, shell-blasted ground over which the troops had to advance into a quagmire. Nor were the Germans unprepared for the attack; when the British infantry neared the German lines they were mown down by machine-gun

fire from innumerable concrete block-houses, or "pill-boxes," as the soldiers called them. After overcoming almost insuperable obstacles, unsupported by tanks, left almost without guidance in the fog of war, the British troops succeeded in wresting a narrow strip of waterlogged territory from the Germans. Again and again in the next few months the attack was renewed, with no better result, and when the fighting died down in November the

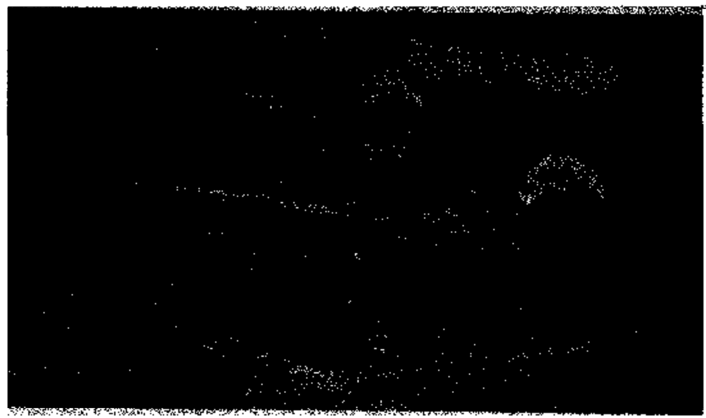
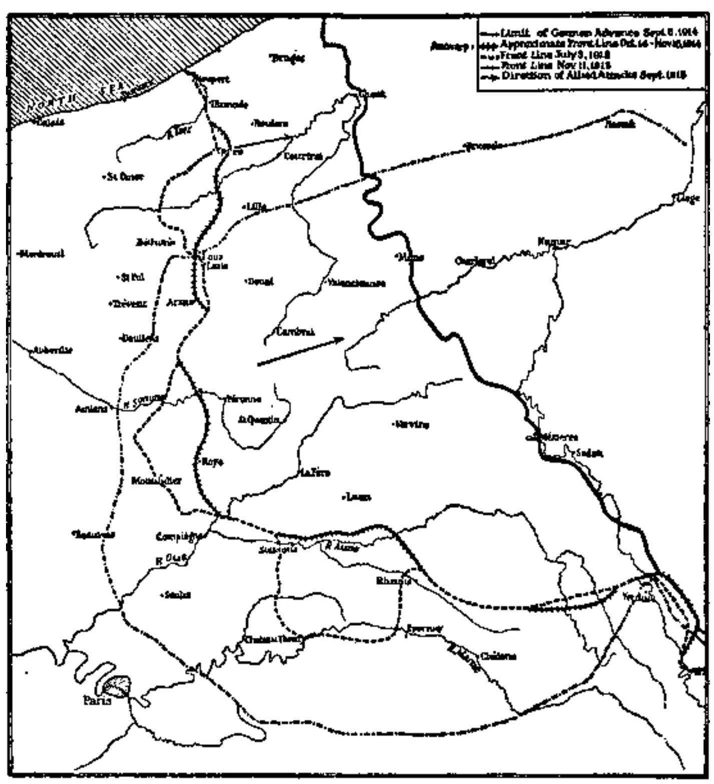


FIG. 224. MACHINE-GUNNERS IN ACTION
Imperial War Museum. Copyright reserved.

Germans had been driven back only five miles along a front barely twenty miles long.

The Collapse of Russia. The British had gained only a partial success where they both expected and needed a sweeping victory. The German generals did not intend to remain much longer on the defensive in France and Flanders; they were only waiting for the surrender of Russia to transfer the bulk of their fighting men from the Eastern to the Western Front; in fact, some of these troops from Russia took part in the later stages of the struggle in Flanders. For Russia was almost done with the war. In the early months of 1917 a revolution had swept the Tsar from power and established a republic, but a seemingly endless series of defeats had deprived the Russians of all stomach for fighting, and at the end of the year the new Government sued for peace. One or

two gleams of success, however, lighted up the close of the year. Allenby, already famous as the victor of Arras, entered Jerusalem at the head of a British army, and a sudden attack made by the British in front of Cambrai, an attack preceded only by a short



MAP OF THE WESTERN FRONT FROM THE COAST TO VERDUN

bombardment and carried out mainly by swarms of tanks, took the Germans completely by surprise. But no general forward move followed, for the Germans counter-attacked and deprived the British of most of the ground which they had won.

The Darkest Hour. **A quiet winter followed on the Western Front, but every one knew that the calm would not last, that**

hundreds of thousands of German troops with thousands of guns were moving across the plains of Poland and Germany into Northern France. On the 21st of March the storm broke on the Somme, where the British line was weakest. A short but intense bombardment with gas shells was followed by the advance of dense masses of infantry. The front line positions were overwhelmed and the British driven back; again and again they halted and attempted to make a stand, again and again the hurricane bombardment, followed by the onset of the German storm-troops, forced them to retire. In a few days all the costly gains of the autumn of 1916 were lost, but the Germans still pressed on, till it seemed that they would be content with nothing short of Amiens itself.

FIG. 225. MARSHAL FOCH

Amiens, in fact, was their goal; once they captured that great railway centre they would have driven in a wedge between the British and the French forces, and would be able to hurl the British back in confusion to the shores of the Channel. It was Britain's darkest hour, but Amiens was not taken. The resistance gradually stiffened, and the difficulty of transporting food, ammunition, and reinforcements across fifty miles of devastated country deprived the later German attacks of much of their force, and at the beginning of April the attempt to capture Amiens was abandoned.

Meantime reinforcements were being hurried into France, not only from Britain, but from the United States. For America was at last beginning to make her weight felt; before the end of the summer there were no fewer than two million American troops on the soil of France. It is true that Britain and France had each twice as many, but while they were unable to raise any more men, America was willing to send ten million of soldiers across the Atlantic if necessary. That the Allies might be able to work together without any waste of their resources, the supreme command of all the armies in France was given to Foch, the most brilliant of the French generals.

The full effect of these events was not felt for some time. In April the Germans made another great drive in front and to the south of Ypres; again a few days saw the costly gains of months of fighting pass into the hands of the Germans. But though the Germans had gained much they had not got what they wanted; they had neither reached the Channel ports nor driven the British into the sea. In the circumstances an incomplete victory was no better than an actual defeat; the increase in the number of the

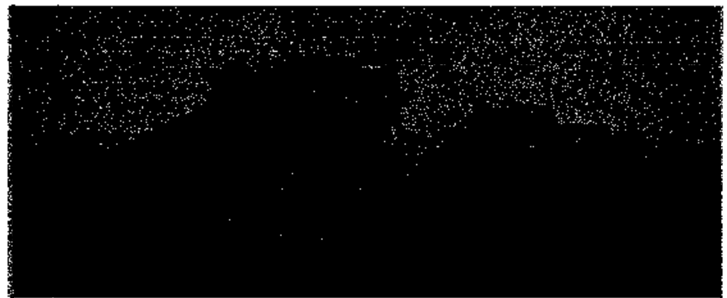


FIG. 226. TANKS ON THEIR WAY TO THE FRONT
Imperial War Museum. Copyright reserved.

American troops was rapidly depriving the Germans of the advantages they had enjoyed in March, and in May they staked everything on one wild throw—they resolved to resume the plan of 1914 and march straight on Paris. Again the operations began with a startling triumph;' the whole French front between Soissons and Rheims gave way, and the Germans pressed on till they were within forty miles of Paris.

The Allied Triumph. All seemed to be lost, but Foch did not despair; he knew that the Germans had used up their reserves in this wild adventure, and that the great bulge which they had made in the French line, formidable as it seemed, was really a source of weakness to themselves. The Germans must have known of this danger, but they thought that Foch, too, had no more reserves, and they were completely taken by surprise when on the 18th of July an attack was launched against the eastern front of the great salient. Foch had not forgotten the lesson of Cambrai, hitherto strangely neglected; the infantry were preceded by swarms of

light 'tanks.' The attack was completely successful, but Foch allowed his victorious troops no rest; again and again they were hurled against the Germans, till at the beginning of August they had driven the invaders clean out of the salient. This was only the beginning; Haig had been massing troops in front of Amiens, and at the signal from Foch he launched them against the Germans. Again the Germans were completely defeated, again Haig pushed on, till in a few weeks he regained all that he had lost in the spring.

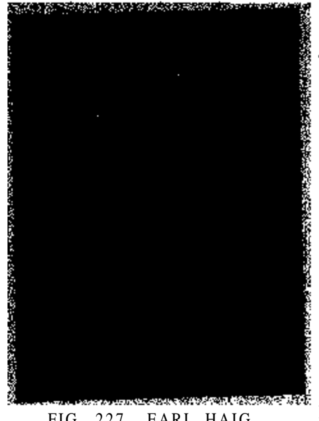


FIG. 227. EARL HAIG
Photo Press Portrait Bureau

But Haig refused to be content with anything short of the immediate evacuation of France. The whole Allied line was now in motion. Early in September, after a tremendous cannonade in which a million shells were fired in one day, the British broke through the all but impregnable defences in front of Arras; a few days later the American army drove in the troops on the German left; at the end of the month the German armies were reeling back under the shock of three tremendous blows dealt at their left, centre, and right. All through October the grim game went on, the Allies relaxing their efforts at one part of the front only to fall on the distracted Germans with redoubled force at another. None of these attacks was more skilfully planned, none carried through with more self-forgetting bravery, than Haig's tremendous thrusts at the enemy's centre. So the gigantic struggle continued, till on the 11th of November the German armies, their spirit broken at last, were back again at the French frontier, looking forward with dread to a disaster more overwhelming than any that had yet befallen them.

Collapse of Germany's Allies. They were deserted by all their allies. Bulgaria had collapsed before the first determined attack of the Salonika forces and had sued for peace on the 25th of September. On the 30th of October Turkey withdrew from the

conflict. It was high time, for Allenby had swept right through Palestine and was now in Asia Minor. Finally, on the 3rd of November the Austrians, sorely battered by the onslaught of the Italians and Serbians, had asked for an armistice.

Peace. At last the German people recognized that the game was lost. The disasters of the summer and autumn had shattered their confidence in their leaders, and many of them had long been talking of revolution. And now the revolution had come; the fleet mutinied when it was ordered to put to sea; on the 9th of November the Emperor fled to Holland, and on the n t h the leaders of the new German Republic agreed to give up the struggle.

CHAPTER XL

BRITAIN, EUROPE, AND THE EMPIRE: 1918-39

Disenchantment. When the slow months crept past in the dreary middle period of the war it seemed to our soldiers that peace was something too precious, too remote, even to be dreamt about. They believed in the ultimate victory of the Allies; that they themselves should live to see that victory few of them dared to hope. To think of the return to the old, comfortable, easy-going England, the England they had left, would have unmanned them, so they put the vision aside. But there were times after the Armistice when one was tempted to think that the million who perished in battle, with their illusions still unshattered, were more fortunate than those who returned. For these did not come back to the happy England they had left, but to an England restless and ill at case, greedy for wealth, greedy for pleasure, hungry for revenge. There was no popular leader who dared remind his followers of the great English tradition of magnanimity, or point out to them the duty of being generous to a beaten foe. It was long before the British people learned the bitter lesson that a war into which two equally matched combatants throw all their resources in men, material, and money is only a shade less destructive to the victor than to the vanquished.

FIG. 228. GEORGE V
Photo Press portrait Bureau

The League of Nations, So in the negotiations which followed the Armistice Britain joined the other Allies in forcing from Germany a promise to pay the full cost of the war. Britain also gained something more substantial than promises which would never be

fulfilled: most of the surrendered German colonies came under British control. Happily for Britain there were among her leaders one or two, like Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts, who had set their hearts on something more valuable than colonies or indemnities. They saw how a quarrel, in which, to begin with, no Englishman, Frenchman, or German had been concerned, had resulted in the slaughter of one million British soldiers, a million and

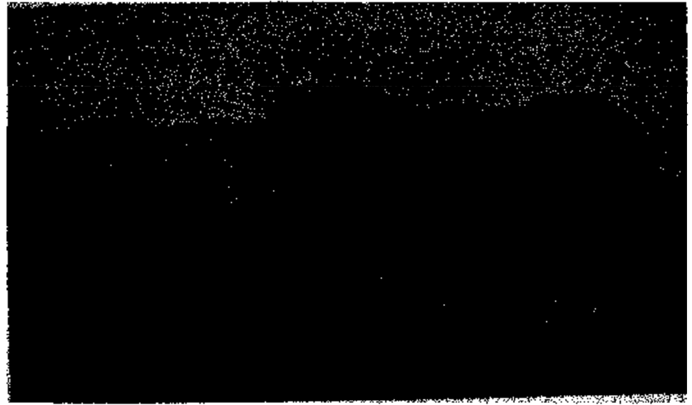


FIG. 229. THE **PALACE OF THE NATIONS,** GENEVA
Photo E.N.A.

a half of French soldiers, and more than two million Germans. Alliances of groups of nations, formed, in the first place, to make peace more secure, had only made war more terrible when it did come. How, then, was the disaster of war to be avoided? There was one very simple solution; instead of having two sectional alliances, instead of having, as before the war, Britain, France, and Russia balanced by Germany, Austria, and Italy, why not have one world-wide alliance—a League of Nations. The League found its most powerful supporter in Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States, who insisted that the Covenant of the League of Nations should form an integral part of the treaty of peace, the Treaty of Versailles which was signed by representatives of Germany and the Allies in June 1919. The former enemy Powers, however, were not allowed to join the League at once: Germany had to wait till 1926, Turkey till 1932.

The League, in theory, is a world alliance or world state. It has its Parliament, the Assembly, which contains representatives of every one of the States which is a member of the League, and which meets in Geneva every September; its Cabinet, the League Council, a small body containing permanent members, the representatives of Britain, France, and Russia, and temporary members, elected for three years by the other States; its court of justice, the League Tribunal, meeting at The Hague; and its civil service, the League Secretariat, which is permanently stationed in Geneva. Nations becoming members of the League bound themselves to abandon war as a method of settling disputes, and to refer their quarrels to the whole League for settlement. As the Assembly meets only once a year such disputes were usually dealt with by the Council. When either party to a dispute refused to be bound by a decision of the League it had to face the opposition not only of its original adversary, but of the whole League. The League might content itself with expressing its disapproval of the action of the recalcitrant State, as it did in 1932, after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. It might find that a mere expression of disapproval was not enough, and decide on 'economic sanctions,' a partial or complete stoppage of trade with the offender, as it did in 1935, when Italy attacked Abyssinia. But these milder measures, though they settled disputes among small States, proved ineffective against great Powers. The League shrank from applying its last remedy, 'military sanctions,[5] fearing that if it used force against an offender it would start that dreaded world war which it had been called into existence to prevent.

For the League had two grave defects. Some of its members were only half-hearted in their allegiance to it, while others feared that it either could not or would not save them if they were attacked by a powerful and determined enemy. So the Disarmament Conference, which met at Geneva in 1932 to devise a scheme for reducing armaments without impairing security, dispersed a year later after having accomplished less than nothing. Great Britain insisted on retaining bombing aeroplanes; France, afraid of what a rearmed Germany might do, would consent neither to an increase in the German forces nor to a reduction of her own; Germany, indignant at not being

allowed to have an army and navy as large as those of her neighbours, withdrew from the Conference and the League of Nations.

Again, even in the period of its greatest influence the League was never a world-wide alliance. It is true that Russia, for long hostile to it, consented to become a member in 1934, but already in 1933 Japan and Germany had withdrawn from it, and their example was followed by Italy in 1937. The League was weakened still further when these three Powers agreed to act together, and when, in 1939, Germany and Italy concluded a close military alliance. That the League has outlived its usefulness seems to be shown by its failure to prevent the forced union of Austria and part of Czecho-Slovakia to Germany in" 1938, and the complete extinction of Czech independence and the Italian annexation of Albania in 1939. So twenty years after the Treaty of Versailles a return was made to sectional alliances: those countries which feared the "Berlin-Rome-Tokio Axis" looked for salvation not to the League, but to the "Peace Bloc," a small group of nations organized and led by Britain and France.

The British Commonwealth of Nations. The United States refused to enter the League, partly from a fear of " entangling alliances," partly from a belief that Great Britain has far more power within the League than she is entitled to. In the Assembly there sit representatives not only of Great Britain, but of Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, India, and Eire. To the Americans it seems unfair that one country should have seven votes while their own would have only one. They find it hard to understand that the British Dominions—Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand—are to all intents and purposes independent States. The British Empire—or British Commonwealth—is, in fact, more a league of nations, a group of permanent allies, than an empire on the Roman model. There is no Imperial Parliament in the strict sense of the word, no assembly making laws which are binding on the whole Empire. The nearest approach to it is the Imperial Conferences, an assembly of the Prime Ministers of the different Dominions and Colonies, which since 1887 has met at long intervals to discuss matters affecting the welfare of the Empire as a whole; but it can only recommend: it cannot give its recommendations the force of law.

The Imperial Conference of 1926 set itself to define precisely the relationship between the Dominions and the Mother Country. "Great Britain and the Dominions," it declared, "are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another . . . united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." In 1931 this declaration was ratified by the British Parliament in the Statute of Westminster. So the Dominions are free to amend their own constitutions without reference to the Parliament at Westminster, free to send their own representatives to foreign Powers, free to shut their doors against British immigrants or to impose prohibitive tariffs on goods manufactured in Britain., Thus at the Imperial Economic Conference held at Ottawa in 1932 the representatives of Great Britain failed to establish free trade within the Empire, or even to obtain a substantial reduction in the duties imposed by the Dominions on British goods. They had to be content with the decision of the Dominions to show their preference for British goods over foreign, not by reducing the duties on British goods, but by increasing the duties on foreign goods.

India. India still stands somewhat apart from the other Dominions: in spite of the insistent demands of Indian politicians,, Britain still refuses to grant the full measure of self-government to a country—or rather a continent—where only an insignificant fraction of the population can read and write, and where if the pressure of alien rule were removed the feuds of Hindu and Mohammedan would almost certainly flame up into civil war. The British policy is to grant self-government by instalments: in 1919, for example, the Montague-Chelmsford reforms put elected native members in a majority in both the central legislature and in the legislatures of the different provinces. But, although these elected Chambers are allowed to make laws and levy taxes, and although they have been given full control of certain matters like public health and education, their decisions may be overruled by the Viceroy if they seem to him to be unwise, and they are forbidden to discuss other and, to them, more important matters. The Government of India Bill, passed by the British Parliament in 1935, and put into force in 1937, has brought India a step nearer to full Dominion status. Not only is almost a quarter

of the total adult population entitled to vote in the elections for the legislatures of the provinces, but these provincial Assemblies send representatives to a House of Assembly for the whole of India. Above the House of Assembly is a Council of State, containing representatives not only of the provinces of British India, but also of the native states. Thus India has become a federation, like Canada and Australia.

Egypt. Though a British garrison is maintained in Egypt to protect the Suez Canal, and though by a treaty of alliance made in August 1936 the defence of Egypt is guaranteed by Great Britain, Egypt is no longer part of the British Empire. It is true that when in 1914 war broke out between Britain and Turkey, of which it was still nominally the vassal, it was made a British protectorate, but since 1922 it has been an independent kingdom.

Mandated Territories. Though, as a result of the war, Britain has gained control not only of most of the former German colonies in Africa, but also of Palestine, which formerly belonged to Turkey, these States are not, in theory at least, part of the British Empire. Britain is not an owner, but a guardian, a trustee, administering these Mandated Territories, as they are called, not for her own advantage, but for their good. This she does by virtue of a 'mandate' granted to her by the League of Nations; she is responsible to the League for their just and efficient administration, and may be brought to book by the League if she fails in her duty. Her task in Palestine was complicated by her promise, made in 1917, to establish, in a country where the bulk of the inhabitants were Arabs and Moslems, a national home for the Jews. The enterprise and industry of the tens of thousands of Jewish immigrants who poured in brought wealth and prosperity, but provoked the bitter enmity of the Arabs. In 1936 they organized a strike, which speedily developed into a savage guerrilla war, waged with both the British garrison and the Jews. South-west Africa and the former German possessions in the Pacific fall into another class; the mandates for their administration are held, not by Great Britain, but by the Union of South Africa and the Australian Commonwealth respectively.

Ireland. The presence of representatives of Ireland in the Assembly of the League of Nations marks a change in the

relations between Great Britain and Ireland. The Armistice was followed in Ireland by a terrible and prolonged civil war, a war which grew every day more cruel and to which it seemed there could be no satisfactory issue. Britain, the champion of the liberty of small nations, could not with any show of justice compel Ireland to remain united to it; neither could it compel Ulster to become part of an independent Irish Republic if Ulster refused to be separated from Great Britain. At the end of 1921, however, a treaty was signed by the representatives of the British Government and delegates from the Dail, or Irish revolutionary Parliament, which put an end to the strife.

By this Anglo-Irish treaty Southern Ireland was to remain within the Empire, but was to have as complete liberty to manage its own affairs as Canada or Australia. In other words, it was granted Dominion status. The greater part of Ulster, however, the six northern counties of Antrim, Down, Londonderry, Armagh, Tyrone, and Fermanagh, was not to form part of this Irish Free State, but to remain within- the United Kingdom. Northern Ireland was not only to send representatives to the Parliament at Westminster: it was also to have a Parliament of its own, to deal with questions of merely local importance.

The treaty was ratified by the British Parliament and by the Dail in 1922. It did not please the extreme Sinn Feiners, but the new Government dealt with the malcontents more firmly than the English had done. He would be rash who asserted that the Irish question has been finally settled; after Mr de Valera became Premier in 1932 almost every one of the few and slender bonds that united the Irish Free State to the Empire was frayed or cut. The members of the Dail no longer took the oath of allegiance to the King; appeals from the Irish courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council were forbidden, and the office of Governor-General was abolished.

The new constitution which came into force in 1937 made Eire, as the Irish Free State is now called, a republic in all but name. Its official head is a President, elected for seven years, and it acknowledges the authority of the King in external relations only.

CHAPTER XLI

GREAT BRITAIN: 1918-39

GEORGE V, 1910-36
EDWARD VIII, 1936
GEORGE VI, 1936-

Great Britain. What of Great Britain itself in the eighteen years between the end of the Great War and the accession of King George VI? It is not altogether a happy story; it is, rather, a story of political and industrial strife, of die ever-present shadow of unemployment, of a people courageous and cheerful, but not contented, aware that something is amiss, but unable to find a remedy.

The Coalition, The outbreak of the war had been the signal for the cessation of political strife. It revealed the one big weakness of the Party System: in normal times even the ablest members of the party in a minority in the Commons could serve the Government only by criticizing it. No Liberal Prime Minister would have dreamt of asking a Conservative to serve under him as, say, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and even if the invitation had been given, loyalty to his party would have kept any Conservative from accepting it. But in 1915 a Coalition Government was formed: Asquith presided over a Cabinet drawn in almost equal parts from the Liberal and Conservative parties.

This unity, however, did not long endure. As the war dragged on, as with every month the prospect of victory receded farther into the future, Asquith's new allies and many of his old followers decided to replace him by a leader who promised speedy success. So in 1916 Asquith was compelled to resign, and Mr Lloyd George, the most eloquent and popular of the Liberal leaders, became Prime Minister. But he could not command the allegiance of the whole of the Liberal party; only one-half—the Coalition Liberals—supported him through thick and thin; the remainder—the Independent Liberals—still regarded Asquith as their leader.

Industrial Depression. The Coalition outlived the war; at the General Election which followed immediately after the Armistice

it was returned to power with an enormous majority. But it did not survive long: its leader's schemes to organize the nation for peace as it had been organized for war and to make Britain " a land fit for heroes to live in " broke down hopelessly. Such schemes required money, but the nation was already spending over a thousand million pounds a year and drifting rapidly toward bankruptcy. It was in vain that employees responded to the appeal to work harder and produce more goods; nobody seemed to want them. Some Continental countries had been so hard hit by the war that they could not possibly buy them; others had learned to do without them. Italy and France, for example, which had once imported large quantities of British coal, had discovered that it cost less to harness their mountain torrents and drive their trains and the machinery in their factories by electricity. So the brief boom in trade after the war was followed by a prolonged slump; wages were cut down, men for whom their employers could find no work were dismissed to live on the Mole,' the small weekly payment made to unemployed workers who had paid the contributions required by the Insurance Act. In the summer of 1922 the number of unemployed had swelled to two million. To make matters worse, emigration had become more difficult since the war, the United States admitted only a comparatively small 'quota' of immigrants each year, and the Dominions, though they were glad enough to have settlers from the already under-populated rural districts of England and Scotland, held out no encouragement to the unemployed workman from the towns.

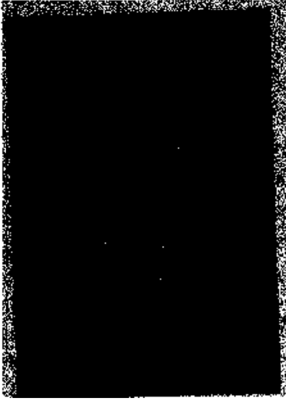


FIG. 230. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE
Photo Press Portrait Bureau

The End of the Coalition. The Conservatives had their own remedy for unemployment, the remedy which had been proposed by Joseph Chamberlain twenty years before. The country had already partially abandoned its Free Trade principles: during the war duties had been placed on certain manufactured articles im-

ported from abroad, and in 1921 these 'safeguarding' duties were extended to other articles hitherto untaxed. But under a Prime Minister who was a Free Trader the Conservatives could not apply the wholesale system of Protection which they thought was needed to save the industry of the country, and in the autumn of 1922 they broke away from the Coalition.

FIG. 231. RAMSAY MACDONALD
Photo Elliott mid Fry, Ltd.

A Labour Government. In the General Election which followed the Conservatives under Bonar Law were returned with a clear majority over the two other parties combined. A change, too, had taken place in the position of these parties: the Labour members now outnumbered the Liberals. But Mr Baldwin,[1] who became Prime Minister in succession to Bonar Law in 1923, could not persuade himself to regard the country's choice of a Conservative Government as equivalent to a choice of Protection. He appealed to the country for a definite decision for or against Protection, but the result of the General Election which he provoked in 1923 disappointed him: though the Conservatives were the largest single party in the House of Commons, they were outnumbered by Liberal and Labour combined.[2] As both opposition parties were hostile to Protection they united for the purpose of forcing Mr Baldwin to resign, and in 1924 the first Labour Government took office, with Mr Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister. It was in a precarious position from the outset, and before the end of the year the Liberals combined with the Conservatives to overthrow it. The Liberals thought that their opportunity had come, but they were disappointed: Mr Ramsay MacDonald asked the King to dissolve Parliament, and in the General Election which followed only forty Liberals were returned. In the new Parliament the Conservatives were in a majority of two to one, and Mr Baldwin became Prime Minister for a second time.

[1] Created Earl Baldwin of Bewdley in 1937-
[2] Conservatives, 258 ; Labour, 191 ; Liberal, 158.

The General Strike. The collapse of the Liberal party has been one of the most remarkable features in the political history of Britain since the war. Even more remarkable, however, was the attempt of certain sections of the Labour party to challenge the authority of Parliament in 1926.

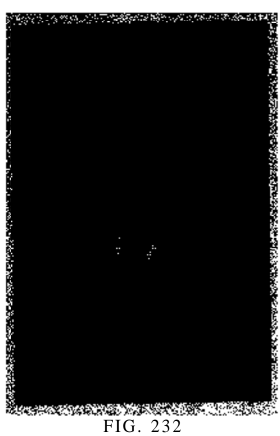


FIG. 232
EARL BALDWIN
Photo Elliott and Fry, Ltd.

The trouble began with the miners: in 1921 they had been guaranteed a certain minimum weekly wage and a seven-hour day. But in 1925 their employers declared that the industry was being carried on at a loss, and that if employers and employees were not to be overwhelmed in one common disaster, wages must be reduced and hours of labour lengthened. The miners' leaders refused to consider these proposals; the wages were barely sufficient already, and an increase in the working day would lead to unemployment. Their remedy was nationalization; the Government should take over the mines, run them as it ran the Post Office, and if there was a deficit make it up by imposing additional taxes. But a House of Commons in which only one-quarter of the members belonged to the Labour party was bound to be opposed to nationalization; the miners, on the other hand, rejected the scheme for the reorganization of the industry which Parliament proffered, and declared that they would have nationalization or nothing. If Parliament would not yield to persuasion, force must be tried; the Miners' Federation appealed to the other trade unions which were allied to it, and in May 1926 a General Strike was declared—miners, railwaymen, transport workers, and printers refused to work. Trains, buses, motor-lorries, and tramcars stopped running, and no newspapers were to be obtained. The strikers had hoped to paralyse the country, to inflict so much inconvenience on the general public that it would force the Government to give way. Twenty years before they might have succeeded, but they had waited too long: they had to reckon now

with the motor-car and wireless telegraphy. Trains might stop running: that did not matter so much in a country which possessed hundreds of thousands of private motor-cars; printing-presses might be silent: as long as the Government controlled all the wireless stations it could explain and defend its policy. Apart from this the Labour leaders, some of whom had been against the strike from the first, soon saw that it was making the general public annoyed, not at Parliament, but at the strikers. Trade unions were useful and necessary institutions, but so was Parliament; the Trades Union Congress represented a section—a very large and important section, but only a section—of the nation, while Parliament represented the whole nation. Why, then, should any group of unions, however powerful, try either to intimidate Parliament or to usurp its authority?

The Extension of the Franchise, After a few days the General Strike collapsed, and, so far as we can see, the trade unions have abandoned it as a weapon which, like the medieval cannon, is more dangerous to those who use it than to those against whom it is used. Complete nationalization of the mines will come only if Parliament decides for it, and Parliament will so decide only if the electors choose to send to Parliament a sufficient number of members who are in favour of it. Nor can one contend, as could have been done a hundred years ago, that Parliament does not represent the people. The poor man is no longer excluded from Parliament: not only has the property qualification been abolished; members of the House of Commons now receive an annual salary. The way, too, in which women did the work of men during the war convinced Parliament that its previous refusal of votes to them had been unjust: by the Representation of the People Act of 1918 all women over thirty who were already entitled to vote in municipal elections were granted a Parliamentary vote; the Franchise Act of 1928 went a step farther and granted the vote to all women over twenty-one.

Coal and Iron. The coal stoppage continued for many weary months. In the end the miners returned to work—where there was work for them to return to—on whatever terms the employers chose to offer. For many there was no work to return to: mines which had not paid their way or which had earned only a small profit were not reopened.

Other workers, especially in the iron and steel and textile industries, were in the same evil case. The number of unemployed increased steadily, but the Government seemed to be content with waiting for something to turn up. Impatience with its failure, not simply to deal effectively with the problem of unemployment, but to admit that the problem was really serious, led

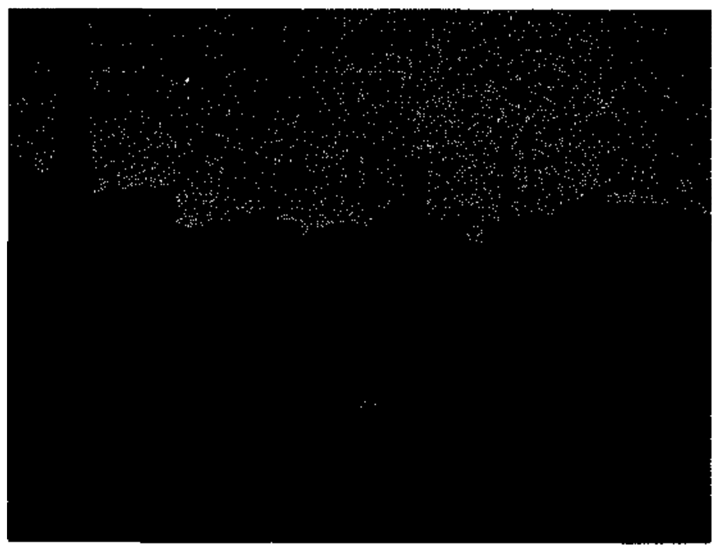


FIG. 233. DERELICT COLLIERY BUILDINGS AT PAGE BANK, NEAR DURHAM
Photo *The Times*

to its defeat in the General Election of 1929. The Labour party was now the largest in the House of Commons, but as it did not have a clear majority over the other two parties combined Mr Ramsay MacDonald again found himself the head of a 'minority Government.'

The Unemployment Problem, Before the rapid spread of unemployment the Labour Ministers seemed even more bewildered and helpless than their Conservative predecessors. Since they did not command a majority in the House of Commons they could not force through the schemes for nationalizing industry

or for creating work for the unemployed to which some of them pinned their faith. Liberals and Conservatives, they knew, would denounce such schemes as socialistic, and unite to defeat them. All they could do was continue the policy of their predecessors—pay weekly pittances to the great army of workless men and women, which in two years swelled from one and a quarter million to almost two and three-quarters of a million.

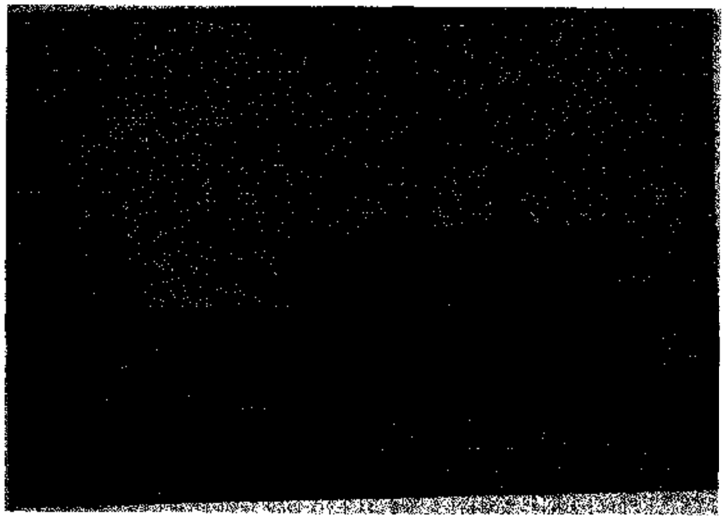


FIG. 234. UNEMPLOYED ON THEIR WAY TO A DEMONSTRATION IN GLASGOW, MARCH 1935
Fox photos

The immediate cause of this increase had to be sought far beyond the shores of Great Britain—in the United States, where in 1929 a financial panic had begun which soon threatened to bring the trade of the whole world to a standstill. But to many observers at the time it seemed that the measures which the Government was taking to combat unemployment really encouraged it. When the Unemployment Insurance scheme was instituted in 1911 it applied to workers in only a few trades, and only a small allowance from the State was required to make up the difference between the sums paid out in unemployment

benefit and the contributions received from fully employed workmen and their masters. But in 1920 the State increased its burdens by bringing almost every trade under the scheme—only domestic servants and agricultural labourers were excluded—and as unemployment spread and the number of workers who were able to pay insurance contributions diminished it was forced to borrow money in ever-increasing sums to maintain the payment of unemployment benefit to all those who were entitled to it. At the same time, its critics alleged, the Government was too generous: it sometimes paid unemployment benefit to people who did not really require it, or who, secure in the knowledge that they could get enough to keep body and soul together, made no serious attempt to obtain work.

The National Government. In the summer of 1931 the May Commission, a committee of financial experts appointed by the Government, reported that the country was rapidly drifting into bankruptcy, and that something more than an increase in direct taxation would be required to save it from disaster. The salaries of all public servants, from judges and Cabinet Ministers to teachers and policemen, must be cut down, the rate of unemployment benefit reduced by 10 per cent., and a Means Test introduced to ensure that it would be paid only to those who really needed it, Mr Ramsay MacDonald was willing to adopt these recommendations ; he failed, however, to convince the majority of his followers that the cut in unemployment benefit was necessary. He therefore decided to put himself at the head of a National Government, formed from all parties, and though only a few Labour members remained faithful to him, Mr Baldwin, followed by the whole Conservative party and all but a fraction of the small Liberal party, consented to serve under him. After an emergency Budget, authorizing drastic economies, including the 10-per-cent. cut in unemployment benefit, and imposing heavy taxes on certain classes of imported goods, had been rushed through the House of Commons, in the autumn of 1931 Parliament was dissolved.

Protection. At the General Election which followed only fifty-two Labour members were returned to Parliament, and Mr Ramsay MacDonald found himself at the head of a coalition which was predominantly Conservative, though it included sixty-eight Liberals and a sprinkling of 'National Labour' members.

The majority of his new followers had long been convinced that it was not enough to cut down expenditure and impose temporary tariffs on some imports; only a permanent tariff on all imports would save British industry and agriculture from foreign competition, and so check the growth of unemployment. Accordingly in 1932 a general tariff of 10 per cent., which might be increased in special cases, was imposed on all foreign goods. Thus, the decision of 1846 was reversed, and Great Britain definitely abandoned the policy of Free Trade.

The Ottawa Conference. The repudiation of Free Trade once more split the small Liberal party. One half definitely opposed it and refused to support the National Government any longer; the other half accepted it with reluctance. They recognized that much had happened since 1846, when Britain was the workshop of the world and every other nation was eager to purchase her products. Now almost every country in Europe, to say nothing of America and Japan, was trying by means of tariffs to keep out foreign goods, and by means of bounties, when fair competition failed, to get its own goods into foreign countries. Still, all but the staunchest supporter of Protection saw that prohibitive tariffs, though they might stimulate the trade of some countries for a little, must in the long run bring international trade to a standstill and make every country poorer than it had been before. From this fate Britain seemed to be saved by her position as the centre of a great Empire: she could find in her Dominions and Colonies a market for the goods which were shut out from foreign countries. But, as the Ottawa Conference of 1932 showed, the Dominions, anxious for the welfare of their own industries, were not eager to welcome British goods, and the British Government, concerned for the plight of farming at home, could not consent to admit all the foodstuffs that the Dominions were willing to send. Still, the Conference did something to break down the restrictions on trade within the Empire.

The International Economic Conference. Even greater hopes were placed on the International Economic Conference which met in London in 1933 to consider how the tariff barriers and other obstacles which threatened to paralyse international trade could be removed, but they were doomed to a greater disappointment. It was recognized that a settlement in which the United States,

the greatest industrial country in the world, refused to co-operate would be no settlement at all. American delegates did, indeed, appear at the Conference, but a second time the United States Government, preoccupied with its own special problems, refused to come to the help of a distracted Europe. When it ordered its representatives to withdraw the collapse of the Conference was assured.

A Return to Prosperity. Meantime the trade of Great

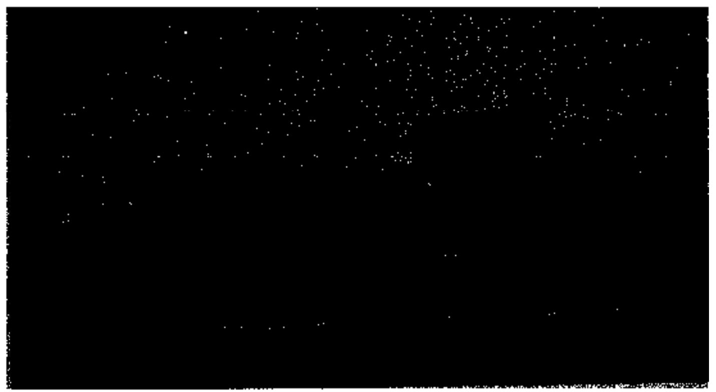


FIG. 235. A MODERN FACTORY: SHREDDED WHEAT FACTORY, WELWYN GARDEN CITY

By courtesy of the Shredded Wheat Co., Ltd.

Britain began slowly but steadily to improve. In the first three months of 1933 there was a drop of almost a quarter of a million in the number of unemployed, and the shrinkage has continued ever since. In fact, if a foreigner were to visit London and the Home Counties after an absence of twelve or fifteen years he would think that the spectre of unemployment had disappeared for ever from Great Britain. On every side he would see new factories rising above the green fields—dazzling structures of glass and concrete and polished steel, clean and airy within, with nothing about them to recall the "dark Satanic mills" of the early nineteenth century. He would see little difference in the railways, except that the passenger trains were much more comfortable, but he would find that the roads had been changed out of all recogni-

tion, that quiet tree-shaded country lanes had become broad thoroughfares, roaring with traffic—motor-lorries bearing goods from the new factories—from morning to night, and in many places all through the night. He would notice that the workers in those factories were dressed much more gaily in summer and

FIG. 236. WORKERS IN A MODERN FACTORY: CHOCOLATE COVERING AT BOURNVILLE

By courtesy of Cadbury Brothers, Ltd.

much more comfortably at all seasons. If he followed them home he would discover that many of them lived in little bungalows, with little gardens attached—not as beautiful as the half-timbered houses with thatched or tiled roofs that were once characteristic of rural England, but neat and bright, and equipped with hot and cold water, baths, electric light, and other conveniences either unknown to early Victorian England or known only to the very rich. One of these conveniences would almost certainly be a wireless-set. When in 1922 the British Broadcasting Company, later the

British Broadcasting Corporation, was founded wireless was the hobby of a few enthusiasts, and wireless-sets were expensive and inefficient; now there is hardly a. household, except among the very poorest, that has not succeeded in purchasing a set that can collect whispers from the ends of the earth, reproduce the most exquisite music in almost all its original beauty, or make the voice of a King reach from the palace to the homes of his subjects.

' *The Stiver Jubilee.* For three Christmases in succession King George V had broadcast a message to the whole Empire. It required only this to kindle into a warm personal affection the respect with which his subjects had regarded this simple, unpretentious English gentleman, "rich in saving common sense." They had come to realize how much they owed to a great public servant who belonged to no class, who was above all parties, who could put at the disposal of untried Ministers the political wisdom gained from twenty-five years' experience of kingship. So the wild enthusiasm shown when King George celebrated his Silver Jubilee in May 1935—enthusiasm which surprised no man more than the King—was partly an expression of relief that the days of bad trade and unemployment seemed to be over, partly an expression of gratitude to one who for twenty-five troubled years had devoted himself without intermission to the service of his people.

The General Election of 1935. The enthusiasm and confidence engendered by the Silver Jubilee and the return to prosperity swept the National Government, now under the leadership of Mr Baldwin, back into power. Though the number of Labour members was almost trebled at the General Election in June 1935, the Conservatives, with their National Liberal and National Labour allies, had still a majority of almost 250 over the Opposition.

The Distressed Areas. Unfortunately the return to prosperity was only partial, as our foreign visitor would notice if he went westward to South Wales and saw the mining villages where for years no one had ever gone down a mine, or north to the deserted mills of Yorkshire and Lancashire. The silent engineering shops, the shipyards which build not for trade, but for war, would tell him the same story. While new industries, like the manufacture of motor-cars and artificial silk, had flourished exceedingly, they were confined to the Midlands and south-east of England. The

west and north had continued to specialize in the heavy industries—those connected with coal and iron—and in the manufacture of cotton and woollen goods. But it was precisely these old-established industries that had suffered most cruelly from foreign competition: they had prospered as long as foreign countries bought their products; they languished when they lost their markets overseas. Thus it has come about that the bulk of that permanent army of a million unemployed—that melancholy host of middle-aged men who have forgotten their former skill, of young men who have never acquired any—is to be found in these areas which down to the eve of the Great War were the busiest and most crowded in the whole of Britain.

The Southward Drift of Industry. We are witnessing, in fact, a reversal of the northward drift of population and industry described in Chapter XXXIII. Now that the country has an excellent system of transport by road and rail, now that machinery can be driven more easily by electricity generated a hundred miles away than by steam, it is more advantageous for factories to be placed within easy reach of a great distributing centre than on the margin of the coalfields. So the bulk of the new factories have been built south of the Trent, and a southward drift of population has set in.

Death of King George V. The prosperity of the south should not blind us to the privations of the north, borne though they are for the most part with patience and good-humour. But something more than patience and good-humour is needed to solve the problem of breaking up that "solid core of unemployment" which so far has baffled the statesmen of all parties. It was a problem which haunted the mind of King George V. When, in January 1936, he lay on his deathbed he asked anxiously, "How is it with the Empire?" "It is well with the Empire" was the answer given to the dying King. The same problem perplexed King Edward VIII throughout that brief reign which in December 1936 ended with his abdication.

Respect for the monarchy survived the defection of the monarch. There has been no more splendid coronation in England, none hailed with wilder enthusiasm, than that of King George VI, the prince who, moved, not by ambition, but by a sense of duty, consented to take his elder brother's place.

After the coronation Mr Baldwin retired. His successor, Mr Neville Chamberlain, considered that the foreign policy pursued by previous Governments would inevitably bring Britain into conflict with the rearmed Axis Powers, a conflict for which she was inadequately prepared. He resolved, therefore, to rearm the nation on a vast scale, and at the same time to conciliate the Axis Powers by acceding to such of their demands as seemed to him to be reasonable. Accordingly by the Munich Agreement of 1938 he allowed Germany to dismember Czecho- Slovakia in return for an assurance that she would annex only those districts where the majority of the inhabitants were of German speech or descent. The promise, solemnly made by the German leader, was lightly broken. The destruction of Czech independence in March 1939 compelled Mr Chamberlain to abandon his policy of appeasement and to introduce conscription. So the summer of 1939 saw a rapid decrease in unemployment as men were swept into the Navy, Army, and Air Force and the shipbuilding and engineering industries; it also saw a growing anxiety at the apparently inevitable approach of a war more dreadful than the last.

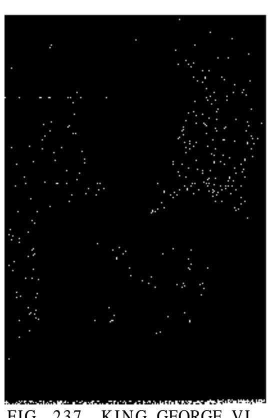


FIG. 237. KING GEORGE VI
Photo Speaight, Ltd.

An Unfinished Story. As you read the record of the twenty-one years that followed the Great War you may think that the million British soldiers who lie buried in cemeteries which ring the world flung away their lives for an empty dream, for a vision of a world purged of greed and hatred. If you think this remember that you will soon have some share in shaping the destinies of your country, of making it either something of which one can be proud or something of which one must be ashamed. The schoolboys of the first decade of the century had to face the task of dying for their country. May the youth of to-day be spared that grim ordeal, and be left free to perform the equally sacred duty of living for it!

LIST OF IMPORTANT DATES

Kings of Scotland in italics.

The numbers in parentheses indicate the pages of the text in which the subject is dealt with.

55-54 B.C. Julius Caesar's invasions of Britain (pp. 17-18).
A.D. 43-407. Roman occupation of Britain (pp. 18-25).
432. Beginning of St Patrick's mission to Ireland (pp. 33, 53).
449-613. The English conquest of Southern Britain (pp. 26-29).
563-597. St Columba's mission to Scotland (p. 33).
597-664. Conversion of the English to Christianity (pp. 30-34).
627-685. The Northumbrian overlordship (pp. 28, 29).
664. Synod of Whitby (pp. 33, 34).
790. First Danish raid (p. 36).
843. Union of kingdoms of Picts and Scots (p. 52).
851. Beginning of Danish occupation (p. 42).
871-901. Reign of Alfred (pp. 43-46).
878. Peace of Wedmore between English and Danes (p. 43).
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978-1016. Ethelred the Redeless. Renewal of Danish invasions (pp. 46-47).
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1016-35. Canute, King of Denmark, Norway, and England (p. 47).
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1832. Great Reform Act (pp. 325-327).
1833. Abolition of slavery (p. 328). First important Factory Act (p. 328).
1834. New Poor Law (p. 329).
1837-1901. Queen Victoria (pp. 322-334).
1840. Penny postage established (p. 330). Canada Act (p. 349).
1845. Irish potato famine (pp. 329, 344).
1846. Corn Laws repealed (p. 330).
1847. Ten Hours Act (p. 328).
1849. Annexation of Punjab (p. 358).
1850. Australian Constitutions Act (p. 352).
1852. New Zealand granted a constitution (pp. 353-354).
1853. Representative government in Cape Colony (p. 355).
1854-56. The Crimean War (pp. 361-362).
1856. Annexation of Oude (p. 358).
1857. Indian Mutiny (pp. 358-359)-
1858. East India Company taken over (pp. 359-360).
1867. Dominion of Canada established (p. 349). Disraeli's Reform Bill (P- 332).
1869. Disestablishment of Irish Church (p. 345).
1870. Elementary Education Act (p. 332). Irish Land Act (p. 345).
1872. The Ballot Act (p. 333).
1876. Franco-British joint control of Egypt (p. 363).
1878-80. War in Afghanistan (p. 363).
1881. Transvaal granted independence (p. 355).
1882. British control over Egypt (pp. 363-364).
1884. The Franchise Act (p. 334).

1886. Annexation of Burmah (p. 360). Defeat of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill (p. 346).
1888* County Councils established (p. 334).
1891. Free Education Act (p. 332).
1895-96. The Jameson Raid (p. 356).
1897. Workmen's Compensation Act (p. 334).
1898. Reconquest of the Egyptian Sudan (p. 364). The Fashoda episode (p. 364).
1899-1902. The Boer War (pp. 356-357).
1900. Australian Commonwealth formed (p. 353).
1901-10. Edward VII (pp. 334-337).
1903. Irish Land Purchase Act (p. 345).
1904. Agreement between Britain and France (p. 368).
1906. Responsible government given to the Transvaal (p. 357).
1907. Anglo-Russian agreement (p. 368).
1910. Union of South Africa (p. 358).
1910-36. George V (pp. 337-407).
1911. Parliament Act (pp. 337-338).
1914. The Great War (pp. 372-387).
1915. The Dardanelles Expedition (p. 377).
1916. Battle of Jutland (pp. 377-378). Battle of the Somme (p. 379).
1917. United States declares war against Germany (p. 379). Revolution in Russia (p. 382). Battle of Arras (pp. 380-381). Battle of Ypres (pp. 381-382).
1918. The Great German Offensive (pp. 384-385). Defeat of Germany (p. 386). Representation of People Act (p. 399).
1919. The Treaty of Versailles (embodying Covenant of League of Nations) (p. 389).
1921. Anglo-Irish Treaty (p. 393).
1924. First Labour Government (p. 397).
1926. The General Strike (pp. 398-399).
1928. The Franchise Act (p. 399).
1931. Formation of National Government (p. 402).
1932. Free Trade finally abandoned; general tariff on imported goods (P- 403).
1935. Silver Jubilee of George V (p. 406).
1936. Edward VIII (p. 407). George VI (pp. 407-408).
1938. The Munich Agreement (p. 408).
1939. Introduction of conscription (p. 408).

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

CHAPTER I *(pp.* 11-16)

1. Describe the inhabitants of Britain in the Early Stone Age. How did they clothe themselves? What did they eat, and how did they get their food? Of what were their tools and weapons made? What kind of dwellings did they have? (Notice that there was a difference between the earliest-known inhabitants of Britain and those who lived towards the end of the Early Stone Age. The Early Stone Age is sometimes called the Palaeolithic Age, which means the same thing.)

2. Answer the same questions about the inhabitants of Britain in the Late Stone (or Neolithic) Age.

3. Answer the same questions about the inhabitants of Britain in the first century before the birth of Christ.

4. What important changes took place in Britain between the end of the Late Stone Age and the coming of Julius Csesar in 55 B.C.? Why is it impossible to fix the exact date of these changes?

CHAPTER II *{pp.* 17-25)

1. Who was Julius Caesar? When and why did he come to Britain? What did he do there?

2. Tell the story of the Roman conquest of Britain down to the building of the Roman Wall in Scotland. (This wall was known as the Antonine Wall.)

3. Describe *(a)* the towns, *(b)* the country districts, in Southern Britain at the time of the Roman occupation.

4. Describe or draw a plan of a Roman fort.

5. When was the Antonine Wall abandoned by the Romans? When and why did Britain cease to be part of the Roman Empire?

6. What part was played in the Roman conquest and occupation of Britain by Aulus Plautius, Julius Agricola, Hadrian, Lollius Urbicus, Septimius Severus, Magnus Maximus?

CHAPTER III *(pp. 26-29)*

1. Where did the English come from? When did they begin to attack Britain? When did they begin to settle in Britain?

2. What were the chief stages in the English conquest of Britain? Did the invaders conquer the whole of Britain?

3. What happened to the Britons?

4. Were the English united under one king? What was the meaning of the title 'Bretwalda'?

CHAPTER IV (*pp.* 30-35)

1. What effect did the coming of the English have on the religion of Britain?

2. Why and by whom was St Augustine sent to England? Describe his arrival. Why was it important? How far was St Augustine successful in converting England to Christianity?

3. What share in the conversion of England was taken by Birinus and Paulinus?

4. Who was St Columba? Explain how the monks of Iona came to have a share in the evangelization of England.

5. When and why was the Synod of Whitby held, and why was its decision important?

6. How did Theodore of Tarsus improve the organization of the Church in England?

CHAPTER V (*pp.* 36-42)

1. What were the chief differences between England at the end of the third century and England at the beginning of the ninth century?

2. Describe the appearance of a ninth-century English village, and of the lands that surrounded it. How did the villagers get their food and clothing?

3. What do you learn from Fig. 21 about the methods of cultivation and the dress of the English peasant before the Norman Conquest?

4. What were the hundred court, the shire court, and the Witan, and what work did they do? What methods were used to find whether a charge was true or false, and what was the most usual method of punishment?

5. What forces were available for defending England against invasion? Why did they fail to defeat the Danes?

6. Describe or draw a sketch of a Danish ship. When did the Danish invasions of England begin?

CHAPTER VI (*pp.* 43-48)

1. Tell the story of Alfred's struggle with the Danes.

2. "Alfred was much more than a skilful soldier." What else was he?

3. What were the chief stages in the reconquest of England by Alfred's successors? What happened to the Danes?

4. How did Canute become King of England?

5. "The Norman Conquest really began before 1066." "The kingdom of England would have fallen to pieces soon after 1066 even if the Normans had never invaded it." Is there any truth in these statements?

CHAPTER VII (pp. 50-54)

1. How far had the English in 1066 succeeded in conquering those parts of the island which at the beginning of the seventh century were still held by the Britons?

2. At the beginning of the ninth century Scotland was divided among five different peoples. Who were they, and what parts of the country did they occupy? How and when did Scotland become a united country?

3. In what way does the story of Ireland in the first eight centuries of the Christian era differ from that of England?

4. How was Ireland affected by the Danish invasions?

CHAPTER VIII (*pp.* 55-59)

1. Who was King Harold? Why were *(a)* Tostig, *(b)* William of Normandy, hostile to him?

2. Examine Fig. 34 carefully. Describe or make a sketch of William's ship.

3. Examine Figs. 32, 33, 35. Describe the arms and armour of the Norman soldiers.

4. Describe the campaign of 1066 up to the battle of Hastings.

5. Describe the battle of Hastings.

6. Imagine that you are a Norman knight and that you have followed William from Normandy. Write a letter to your father in which you describe the battle of Hastings, and give your first impressions of England and the English.

CHAPTER IX (*pp.* 60-70)

1. Who were the Normans?

2. "When the King granted an estate to one of his followers he remained in a sense the owner of the estate." Explain this statement.

3. What was the difference between a tenant-in-chief and a sub-tenant? What were the obligations of a sub-tenant towards (a) the tenant-in-chief whose vassal he was, *(b)* the king?

4. What difference did the Norman Conquest make to the English village?

5. Examine carefully Fig. 36. Describe fully the most important features of the manor. (The tofts were the yards beside the villagers' houses. The crofts were pieces of land of from three to five acres, cultivated by cotters, men who had no share in the three common fields. A virgater held thirty one-acre strips in the common fields. The pin-fold, or pound, was the enclosure into which stray cattle were put by the pinder.)

6. Describe or draw sketches of the two chief types of Norman castle.

7. How did William the Conqueror meet his death? Describe the character of the King who succeeded him.

8. "Henry I knew what England needed, and applied the remedy." Explain.

CHAPTER X *(pp.* 71-80)

1. "King Henry's death begins a dreary chapter in English history." What made it dreary, and how was it brought to an end?

2. What lands were ruled over by Henry II, and how did they come into his possession?

3. How did Henry II improve *(a)* the military organization of the country, *(b)* the administration of justice?

4. What changes had taken place in the Church in the century after the Norman Conquest?

5. Draw a sketch-plan of a medieval monastery, and indicate the position of the more important buildings.

6. Why did Henry II quarrel with Becket, and what was the result of their quarrel?

CHAPTER XI *(pp.* 81-87)

1. What were the two big problems that perplexed thirteenth-century statesmen?

2. Tell the story of the reign of Richard I.

3. "Disaster after disaster marked, the early years of the reign of John." What were they? Were they all complete disasters?

4. Why did John quarrel with the Pope, and why with his barons?

5. What were the main provisions of the Great Charter? Why is it looked on as a document of the highest importance?

6. Explain the difference between the Great Council of the early thirteenth century and the Parliament of the late thirteenth century. How did the Great Council change into the Parliament?

CHAPTER XII (*pp.* 88-94)

1. Explain the growth of the English towns in numbers and importance in the two centuries after the Norman Conquest.

2. How did the possession of a charter benefit a town?

3. What was the merchant gild? What was the difference between a fair and a market?

4. Describe your own town, or some town which you know well, as you think it appeared seven hundred years ago.

5. Describe a day in the life of a thirteenth-century merchant.

6. Describe the exterior and interior of a thirteenth-century manor-house.

CHAPTER XIII (*pp.* 95-107)

1. "The greatest king who had ruled over England since the days of Alfred." What did Edward I do to merit this description? Had he any faults or failures? (To answer this question fully you must consult the two previous chapters as well.)

2. What did Edward do to strengthen or weaken *(a)* Parliament, *(b)* the towns, *(c)* the barons, *(d)* the Church? (The note on Question 1 applies here also.)

3. Describe, illustrating by plans and sketches if necessary, a typical Edwardian castle. What were the chief differences between it and a typical late Norman castle?

4. Describe the siege of an Edwardian castle from the point of view of *(a)* a defender, *(b)* a besieger.

5. Tell the story of the English conquest of Wales.

6. What changes had taken place in Scotland between the Norman Conquest and the death of Alexander III? Explain the relations between Scotland and England during this period.

7. Why did Edward I go to war with Scotland?

8. What were the chief events in the Scottish War of Independence between 1296 and 1307?

CHAPTER XIV (pp. 109-119)

1. What were the chief events in the Scottish War of Independence from 1307 to 1314? Did the battle of Bannockburn make Scotland an independent country?

2. Tell the story of Edward III's attempt to conquer Scotland. Why was *it* successful to begin with? Why did it fail in the end?

3. Why did Edward III go to war with France?

4. Describe briefly the course of the Hundred Years War from 1340 to 1375.

5. Give an account of the battle of Sluys. Describe the ships that took part, and explain why the battle was important.

6. Give an account of the two most important land battles in the early stages of the Hundred Years War. How did the tactics employed by the English at these battles differ from those which they had employed at Bannockburn?

CHAPTER XV (*pp.* 120-127)

1. "During Edward's reign changes took place the effects of which we feel to this day." State briefly what these changes were.

2. What was a craft gild? Explain the difference between it and a modern trade union.

3. What changes had taken place in rural England in the first half of the fourteenth century? How was rural England affected by the Black Death?

4. How did the landowners attempt to solve the new problems which confronted them in the second half of the fourteenth century? How far were they successful?

5. How did the peasants attempt to solve the new problems which confronted them in the second half of the fourteenth century? How far were they successful?

CHAPTER XVI (*pp.* 128-136)

1. In what way did the later Parliaments of Edward III differ from the later Parliaments of Edward I?

2. Compare the relations between King and Parliament in the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV. Can you account for the difference?

3. "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." Was this true of Richard II and Henry IV?

4. Why did Henry V renew the war with France? Why was he successful? What did he gain by the war?

5. Describe the battle of Agincourt. Compare the tactics of the English and French on this occasion with those which they employed at Crécy.

6. (a) Write a letter in which a French knight is supposed to describe his experiences at Agincourt. *(b)* Write a dialogue in which an English archer describes his experiences at Agincourt to his family after his return home.

CHAPTER XVII (*pp.* 137-144)

1. Give an account of the last stage in the Hundred Years War (1422-53).

2. Was England better or worse off in 1453 than it had been in 1415? Give reasons for your answer.

3. When and why did the Wars of the Roses begin? What justification had Edward, Duke of York, for claiming the crown?

4. What were the most important events in the Wars of the Roses between 1455 and 1471?

5. What effect had the Wars of the Roses on the country?

6. Who was Henry Tudor? When and how did he become King of England?

CHAPTER XVIII (pp. 145-154)

1. Describe the character and policy of Henry VII. What is meant by the 'new monarchy'?

2. What were the immediate effects of the discovery of America on the nations of Europe?

3. What was the Renaissance? How was it affected by the fall of Constantinople and by the discovery of printing?

4. What were the two chief causes of the Reformation? When and where did the movement begin? What parts of Europe were most affected by it? What were the points on which all Protestants were agreed?

5. What were the distinctive doctrines of Wyclif and the Lollards? How far was Lollardy successful?

6. Why did Henry VIII break with the Pope? What changes did he introduce into the Church of England?

CHAPTER XIX (*pp.* 155-165)

1. What changes were introduced into the Church of England in the reign of Edward VI?

2. Explain the ecclesiastical policy of Queen Mary. How far was it successful?

3. Explain the ecclesiastical policy of Queen Elizabeth. How far was it successful?

4. Explain the attitude of England to France and Spain in the sixteenth century.

5. What were the most important achievements of English sailors and travellers in the second half of the sixteenth century?

6. What were the most important events in the struggle between England and Spain in the reign of Queen Elizabeth?

7. Describe the part played in that struggle by Sir Francis Drake.

8. *(a)* Tell the story of the Spanish Armada, or *(b)* imagine that you are a Spaniard who sailed with the Armada and write an account of your experiences.

CHAPTER XX *(pp.* 166-175)

1. Why did unemployment increase in the second half of the sixteenth century? How did Parliament try to solve the unemployment problem?

2. Explain the attitude of Parliament and people to Queen Elizabeth. What devices did she use for controlling Parliament?

3. Compare an Elizabethan manor-house with a thirteenth-century manor-house. What can we learn about the change in the tastes of the inhabitants from the difference between the two buildings?

4. "An Elizabethan gentleman must have found life full of interest and fun. But poor people must have had a dull time." Are these statements true?

5. Describe an Elizabethan theatre. How does a twentieth-century theatre differ from it?

6. Imagine that you have visited the Globe Theatre in Shakespeare's time and have seen a play which you already know. Describe the performance, paying special attention to anything that would seem odd to a twentieth-century spectator.

CHAPTER XXI *(pp.* 176-183)

1. What was the Tudor policy with regard to Wales, Ireland, and Scotland? What obstacles did it meet with in Wales, and how were they overcome?

2. Explain the relations between England and Ireland from the time of Henry II to the time of Richard II. What was the Pale?

3. Explain the policy of the English Government with regard to Ireland from the deposition of Richard II to the accession of Henry VII. Why did Henry VII depart from this policy? What attempt was made by Sir Edward Poynings to solve the Irish problem?

4. How was Ireland affected by the Reformation?

5. What were the most important events in the struggle of the Irish against English rule in the time of Henry VIII and Elizabeth?

6. Why did the Irish rebel against English rule? Why did the English refuse to abandon Ireland? What device was adopted to secure the permanent pacification of Ireland?

CHAPTER XXII *(pp.* 184-191)

I. What did Scotland gain and what did she lose by the War of Independence?

2. "Down to the middle of the eighteenth century Scotland was really two countries." Explain.

3. "David II was the first of a series of ineffective kings." Who were they, and why did they fail?

4. Explain the relations between the king and the nobles of Scotland in the time of the first five Jameses.

5. Explain the relations between England and Scotland in the time of the first five Jameses.

6. Explain the policy of Henry VIII and Elizabeth with regard to Scotland.

CHAPTER XXIII (*pp.* 193-201)

1. Why had James I been successful in Scotland? Why did he fail in England?

2. What powers were possessed by the sovereign, and what powers were possessed by Parliament, at the beginning of the seventeenth century?

3. "James's difficulties were increased by the religious differences among his people." Explain.

4. Give an account of the struggle between King and Parliament *in* the reign of James I. What had Parliament gained at the end of the reign?

5. Give an account of the struggle between King and Parliament in the first four years of the reign of Charles I.

6. What devices did Charles use for governing England without a Parliament? When and why did the scheme break down?

CHAPTER XXIV (*pp.* 202-215)

1. What victories were gained by Parliament in its struggle with the King in 1640 and 1641? What powers were left to the King at the end of 1641?

2. Why did the quarrel between King and Parliament continue after 1641 and develop into the Civil War?

3. What were the most important events in the Civil War (1642-46)? Account for the early successes and the final defeat of the Royalists.

4. Describe the battles of Marston Moor and Naseby, and explain why they were important.

5. Explain the relations between Parliament and the Army from 1642 to 1653, and show how they affected the fate of Charles I.

6. Explain briefly Cromwell's system of government, his ecclesiastical policy, and his foreign policy. Do you approve of them?

CHAPTER XXV (*pp.* 216-228)

1. Why did the Protectorate break down after the death of Oliver Cromwell? Did Charles II return as an absolute monarch?

2. Explain the ecclesiastical policy of Parliament in the reign of Qharles II. How far did it agree with that of the King?

3. Describe the character 6f Charles II, and explain his domestic and foreign policy.

4. What were the most important events in the struggle between King and Parliament in the reign of Charles II?

5. Describe the character and policy of James II. Why did Charles II succeed in ruling as an absolute monarch, and why did James II fail?

6. Who was William of Orange? Why and how did he become King of England?

7. What limitations were imposed on the King after the Revolution of 1688? What powers were left to him that are not enjoyed by the present King? What do we mean when we say that party government began in the reign of William III?

8. Describe the position of the Dissenters in the reigns of Charles II, James II, and William III, and account for the differences in their treatment.

CHAPTER XXVI (*pp.* 229-238)

1. Compare rural England at the end of the seventeenth century with *(a)* rural England at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and *(b)* rural England to-day.

2. Describe the roads and the methods of travelling and of transporting goods in England at the end of the seventeenth century.

3. How was the population distributed in seventeenth-century England? If you could see the town in which you now live as it was at the end of the seventeenth century what differences would you notice?

4. Describe the Great Plague and the Great Fire.

5. Name the great trading companies that monopolized foreign trade. Why did England wage three wars with Holland in the second half of the seventeenth century, and what did the combatants gain in the end?

6. Imagine that you are taking a journey in England in the late seventeenth century, starting from a manor-house, passing through several villages, and ending in a town. Describe your experiences.

CHAPTER XXVII (*pp.* 239-244)

1. When and why did the plantation of Ulster take place? How far was it successful?

2. What were the most important events that happened in Ireland during the Civil War and the Protectorate? What was Cromwell's Irish policy? Was it a success?

3. How was Ireland affected by *(a)* the Restoration, *(b)* the Revolution of 1688? What were the chief terms of the Treaty of Limerick? How was the treaty interpreted by the English Government?

4. Explain the commercial policy of the English Government with regard to Ireland. What effect did it have on Ireland?

CHAPTER XXVIII (*pp.* 245-252)

1. Explain the relations between the King and the Scottish Parliament *(a)* from 1603 to 1688, *(b)* from 1689 to 1702.

2. Explain the ecclesiastical policy of James I and Charles I with regard to Scotland. What effect had it on the Scottish people?

3. Explain the attitude of the Scots to the King and the English Parliament between 1640 and 1649. Why did Cromwell invade Scotland?

4. Explain the ecclesiastical policy of Charles II and James II with regard to Scotland.

5. Why was the Darien Scheme launched? Why did it fail?

6. Describe the events which led up to the Treaty of Union. What did Scotland gain and what did she lose by the treaty?

CHAPTER XXIX (*pp.* 253-267)

1. What were the chief English colonies, or settlements, at the end of the seventeenth century?

2. Why were William III and his subjects suspicious of France? What were the most important events in the war between Britain and France (1689-97)? Explain the attitude of William III and his subjects to the Treaty of Ryswick.

3. What attempts did William III make to avoid a second war with France? Were they successful?

4. Give an account of the chief events in the War of the Spanish Succession.

5. What changes had taken place in methods of fighting on land between the time of Cromwell and the time of Marlborough? Describe the battle of Blenheim.

6. What did the various combatants gain or lose as a result of the war?

7. What change in the relations between King and Parliament took place in the reign of George I? Explain the meaning of the terms 'Prime Minister' and 'Cabinet.'

8. Explain the position of the Prime Minister with regard to the King, the Cabinet, and the House of Commons at the present day.

CHAPTER XXX (*pp.* 269-280)

1. Explain briefly Walpole's policy at home and abroad. Why did war break out between Britain and Spain while he was Prime Minister? What was the result of this war?

2. When and why did war break out between the British and the French in North America? Explain the initial failure and *the* final success of Britain in the Seven Years War.

3. Explain the part played by the Navy in the Seven Years War.

4. Tell the story of the conquest of Canada.

5. Imagine that you were present at the capture of Quebec on either the British or the French side. Give an account of your experiences.

6. Explain the position of the British and French in India before the outbreak of the Seven Years War.

7. Tell the story of the British struggle for India.

8. What did Great Britain gain by the Peace of Paris? Was it a completely satisfactory settlement?

CHAPTER XXXI (*pp.* 281-290)

1. Explain the colonial policy of the British Government in the eighteenth century. What did the North American colonists think of it?

2. Why did the British Parliament pass the Stamp Act, and why did the colonists object to it? What other attempts were made to tax the colonists, and what effect did they have?

3. Describe the opening stages of the American War of Independence up to July 4, 1776.

4. What were the chief difficulties with which *(a)* the British, (6) the colonists, had to contend? What was the effect of the intervention of France and Spain?

5. Give an account of the American War of Independence from July 4, 1776, to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

6. "The Seven Years War and the American War of Independence were both decided, not on land, but at sea." Explain this statement. Is it true?

CHAPTER XXXII (*pp.* 291-310)

1. What were the chief differences between the France of 1792 and the France of 1789? How had the change come about?

2. What reforms did Pitt mean to carry out if Britain remained at peace? Why did Britain go to war with France in 1793? What was the First Coalition, and what happened to it?

3. Compare the eighteenth-century ships and methods of naval warfare with those employed in *(a)* the sixteenth century, *(b)* the twentieth century.

4. Explain the part played in the war by the British Navy between 1797 and 1805.

5. Describe the battle of Trafalgar. How did it affect the course of the war?

6. Sketch the career of Napoleon between 1804 and 1814. How was it affected by his publication of the Berlin Decree and his intervention in the affairs of Spain and Portugal?

7. What were the most important events in the Peninsular War?

8. *(a)* Describe the Waterloo campaign. *(b)* Imagine that you are either a French or a British soldier and write a letter in which you describe the battle of Waterloo.

CHAPTER XXXIII (*pp.* 311-321)

1. Compare briefly the England of 1700 with the England of 1830.

2. Describe the changes which took place in England between 1700 and 1830 in *(a)* the production of iron and steel; *(b)* the manufacture of textiles; *(c)* transport and foreign trade; *(d)* agricultural methods.

3. As a result of these changes "the country was richer, there were more people in the country; but were the people happier?" Answer this question.

CHAPTER XXXIV (*pp.* 322-330)

1. Explain the attitude of Parliament to social reform in the period immediately after the Napoleonic War. Did it ever vary from this attitude before 1832?

2. What were the chief defects in the unreformed House of Commons?

3. Describe the events which led up to the passing of the 1832 Reform Act. What were the main provisions of the Act?

4. When and why did Chartism come into existence, and when and why did it collapse?

5. What steps did Parliament take between 1833 and 1847 to reform the abuses connected with the factory system?

6. What other important reforms were carried out by Parliament between 1832 and 1850?

CHAPTER XXXV *(pp.* 331-339)

1. Describe the policies of Palmerston, Gladstone, and Disraeli.

2. What changes were effected by the Reform Act of 1867 and the Franchise Act of 1884?

3. What attempts to improve the condition of the working classes were made by Parliament between 1868 and 1901?

4. When and why was the Parliamentary Labour Party formed?

5. When and why did Joseph Chamberlain propose to abandon the policy of Free Trade ? Explain the alternative policy that he put forward.

6. What events led to the passing of the Parliament Act, and what are the main provisions of the Act?

CHAPTER XXXVI *(pp.* 340-347)

1. How was Scotland affected by the Industrial Revolution?

2. What changes took place in the Scottish Highlands in the century after the last Jacobite rebellion?

3. Why did the relations between England and Ireland grow more embittered in the course of the eighteenth century?

4. What solution of the Irish problem was attempted by William Pitt? Why did he fail?

5. What solution of the Irish problem was attempted by Gladstone when he became Prime Minister in 1868? How far was he successful?

6. On what occasions did the Commons pass Bills to establish Home Rule for Ireland, and what was the subsequent fate of these measures?

CHAPTER XXXVII *(pp.* 348-360)

1. Sketch the history of Canada *(a)* from 1763 to 1840, *(b)* from 1840 to the present day.

2. Sketch the history of Australia and New Zealand from 1786 to the present day.

3. Sketch the history of South Africa *(a)* from 1815 to 1881, *(b)* from 1881 to the present day.

4. "The story of Canada in the nineteenth century is also the story of Australia and South Africa." Is this statement strictly true?

5. What are the Dominions? What are the most important differences between them and the other parts of the Empire?

6. *(a)* Sketch the history of India between 1815 and the present day. *(b)* "The problem of India has not yet been completely solved." What is it? What solutions have been proposed?

CHAPTER XXXVIII *(pp.* 361-371)

1. Why was Britain suspicious of Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century? What was the most important event in the Crimean War? How far was the policy of Russia modified by *(a)* the Treaty of Paris, *(b)* the Berlin Congress?

2. Why did Britain intervene in the internal affairs of Egypt, and when and why did she conquer the Sudan?

3. Explain the attitude of Britain to France and Germany in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

4. Explain the foreign policy of Britain between 1901 and 1914.

5. Why did Austria, Russia, Germany, and France go to war in 1914?

6. Why did Britain go to war with Germany in 1914?

CHAPTER XXXIX *(pp.* 372-387)

1. Explain the part that the British Army played in the War up to the end of 1914.

2. Explain the part that the British and Dominion troops played in the War up to the end of 1915.

3. Explain the part which British and Dominion troops played in the War up to the end of 1917.

4. Explain the part which British and Dominion troops played in the War up to the end of 1918.

5. What part did the Navy play in the Great War?

6. Compare the methods of land warfare employed in the time of Napoleon with those employed in the Great War.

CHAPTER XL *(pp.* 388-398)

1. What is the League of Nations? When and why was it founded?

2. Why has the influence of the League weakened since 1932?

3. Explain the relations of the Dominions to one another and to Great Britain. How and why does the position of India differ from that of the other Dominions?

4. Explain the present relationship between Great Britain and (a) Egypt, *(b)* Palestine, *(c)* the Irish Free State, *(d)* Northern Ireland.

CHAPTER XLI

1. When and why was the Coalition Government formed, and when and why did it break up?

2. Indicate some of the causes of the increase in unemployment since the War, and some of the attempts that have been made to check *it.* What parts of the country have been most affected by unemployment?

3. Imagine that some one left Great Britain in the spring of 1914 and did not return till this year. What changes would he notice *(a)* in Wales, Scotland, and Northern England, *(b)* in Southern England?

4. When and why was the National Government formed?

5. Why were the Ottawa Conference and the International Economic Conference summoned? What was effected by them?

6. Why has there been a southward drift of population since the Great War? Is it absolutely correct to say that there has also been a southward drift of industry?

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