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A

SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH PEOPLE

BY

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

HONORAKY FKLLOW OF JKSL'S COLLAGE, 58IFOR»

WITH MAPS, TAU LES, AND

AN ANALYSIS

HvC. W, \. TAU', M.A., *lisistant M<i*ir>- m Clifton Cvllegt*

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Battle of Marston Moor, *July u.*
Surrender of Parliamentary Army in Cornwall, *Sept.* 2.
Battle of Tippermuir, *Sept.* 2.
Battle of Newbury, *Oct.*
Milton s " A reopagitica."
Self-denying Ordinance, *April.*
New Model raised.
Battle of Naseby, *fune* 14.
Battle of Philiphaugh, *Sept.*
1646 Charles surrenders to the Scots, *May.*
1647 Scots surrender Charles to the Houses, *fan.* 30.
Army elects Agitators, *April.*
The King seized at Holmby House, *fune.*
"Humble Representation " of the Army, *fune.*
E.pulsion of the Eleven Mjepnbers.
Army occupies London, *Aug.*
Flight of the King, AW.

1647 Secret Treaty of Charles with the Scots, *Dec.*

1648 Outbreak of the Royalist Revolt, *Feb.*
Revolt of the Fleet, and of Kent, *May.*
Fairfax and Cromwell in Essex and Wales, ***June—****July,*
Battle of Preston, *Aug.* 17.
Surrender of Colchester, *Aug.* 27
Pride's Purge, *Dec.*
Royal Society begins at Oxford.

1649 Execution of Charles *I.*, *Jan.* 30.
Scotland proclaims Charles I I . King.
England proclaims itself a Commonwealth.
Cromwell storms Drogheda, *Sept. 1*1.

1650 Cromwell enters Scotland.
Battle of Dunbar, *Se/t.* 3.

1651 Battle of Worcester, *Sept.* 3.
Hobbes s " Leviathan."

1652 Union with Scotland.
Outbreak of Dutch War, *May.*
Victory of Tromp, *Nov'.*

1653 Victory of Blake, *Feb.*
Cromwell drives out the Parliament, *April* 20.
Constituent Convention (Barebones Parliament), *July.*
Convention dissolves, *Dec.*
The Instrument of Government.
Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, died 1638.

1654 Peace concluded with Holland.
First Protectorate Parliament, *Sept.*

1655 Dissolution of the Parliament, *Jan.*
The Major-Generals.
Settlement of Scotland and Ireland.
Settlement of the Church.
Blake in the Mediterranean.
War with Spain and Conquest of Jamaiea.

1656 Second Protectorate Parliament, *Sept.*

1657 Blake's victory at Santa Cruz.
Cromwell refuses title of King.
Act of Government.

1658 Parliament dissolved, *Feb.*
Battle of the Dunes.
Capture of Dunkirk.
Death of Cromwell, *Sept.* j.
Richard Cromwell, .bord Protector, died 1712.

1659 Third Protectorate Parliament.
Parliament dissolved.
Long Parliament recalled.
Long Parliament again driven out.
Monk enters. London.
The "Convention" Parliament-
ChafTes tlxe Second, lands at^Dover, *May,* died 1685.

1660 Union of Scotland and Ireland undone.

1661 Cavalier Parliament begins.

1663 Act of Uniformity re-enacted.
Puritan clergy driven out.
Royal Society at ***London.***

1663 Dispensing Bill fails.

1664 Conventicle Act.

1665 Dutch War begins.
Five Mile Act.
Plague of London.
Newton s Theory of J'Vuxtons.

1666 Fire of Ixmdon.

1667 The Dutch in the Medway.
Dismissal of Clarendon.
Peace of Breda.
Lewis attacks Flanders.
Milton[1]s " Paradise Lost."
The Triple Alliance.
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
Ashley shrinks back from toleration to Catholics.

1670 Treaty of Dover.
Bunyari" s "Pilgrim's Progress" written-

1671 *Milton's "Paradise Regained" and " Samson Agonistes."*
Newton's Theory of Light.
Closing of the Exchequer.

1672 Declaration of Indulgence.
War begins with Holland.
Ashley made Chancellor.
Declaration of Indulgence withdrawn.

1673 The Test Act.
Shaftesbury dismissed.
Shaftesbury takes the lead of the Country Party.

1674 Bill of Protestant Securities fails.
Charles makes Peace with Holland.
Danby I^ord Treasurer.

1675 Treaty of mutual aid between Charles and Lewis.

1677 Shaftesbury sent to the Tower.
Bill for Security of the Church fails.
Address of the Houses for War with France.
Prince of Orange marries Mary.

1678 Peace of Nirneguen.
Oates invents the Popish Plot.

1679 New Parliament meets.
Fall of Danby.
New Ministry with Shaftesbury at its head.
Temple's plan for a new Count il.
Habeas Corpus Act passed.
Exclusion Bill introduced.
Parliament dissolved.
Shaftesbury dismissed.

1680 Committee for agitation formed.

1680 Monmouth pretends to the throne.
Petitioners and Abhorrers,
Exclusion Bill thrown out by the LUKL.
Trial of Lord Stafford.
1681 Parliament at Oxford.
Treaty with France.
Limitation Bill rejected,
Shaftesbury and Monmouth arrested.
1682 Conspiracy and flight of Shaftesbury.
Penn found;. Pennsylvania.
1683 Death of Shaftesbury.
Rye-house Plot.
Execution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney.
1684 Town charters quashed.
Army increased.
1685 James the Second, died 1701
Insurrection of Argyll and Monmouth.
Battle of Sedgenioor, *July* 0
The Bloody Circuit.
Army raised to 20,000 men.
1685 Revocation of Edict of Nantes.
1686 Test Act dispensed with by royal .Luthoiity.
Ecclesiastical Commission set up.
1687 *Nnut on' s " Prituipia.*
Expulsion of the Fellows of Magdalen.
Dismissal' of Lords Rochester and Clarendon.
Declaration of Indulgence.
The Boroughs regulated.
William of Orange protests against the Declaration.
Tyrconnell made Lord Deputy in Ireland.
1688 Clergy refuse to read the new Declaration of Indulgence.
Birth of James's son.
Invitation to William.
Trial of the Seven Bishops.
Irish troops brought over to England.
Lewis attacks Germany.
William of Orange lands at Torbay.
Flight of James.

MODERN ENGLAND.

1689—1874.

1689 Convention Parliament
Declaration of Rights.
William and Mary made King and Queen.
William forms the Grand Alliance against Lewis.
Battle of Killiecrankie, *July* 27.
Siege of Londonderry.
Mutiny Bill.
Toleration Bill.
Bill of Rights,
Secession of the Non-jurors.
1690 Abjuration Bill and Act of Grace.
Battle of Beachy *Head, June* 30.
Battle of the Boyne, *July* 1.
William repulsed from Limerick.
1691 Battle of Aughrim, *July.*
Capitulation and Treaty of Limerick.
1692 Massacre of Glencoe.
Battle of La Hogue, *May* 19.
1693 Sunderland's plan of a Ministry.
1694. Bank of England set up.
Death of Mary.
1696 Currency restored.
1697 Peace of Ryswick.
1698 First Partition Treaty.
1700 Second Partition Treaty.
1701 Duke of Anjou becomes King of Spain.
Act of Settlement passed.
1701 Death of Jaine* II.
1702 Anne, died 1714.
1704 Battle of Blenheim, *August* 13.
Harley and St. John take office
1705 Victories of Peterborough in Spain.
1706 Battle of Ramillies, *May* 23.
1707 Act of Union with Scotland.
1708 Dismissal of Harley and St. John.
Battle of Oudenarde.
1709 Battle of MalplaqueL
1710 Trial of Sacheverell.
Tory Ministry of Harley and St. John.
1712 Dismissal of Marlborough.
1713 Treaty of Utrecht.
1714 George the First, died 1727.
Ministry of Townshend and Walpole.
1715 Jacobite Revolt under Lord Mar.
1716 The Septen ial Bill.
1717 The Triple Alliance.
Ministry of Lord Stanhope.
1718 The Quadruple Alliance.
1720 Failure of the Peerage Bill
The South Sea Company.
1721 Ministry of Sir Robert Walpole.
1723 Exile of Bishop Atterbury.
1727 War with Austria and Spain.
George the Second, died 176a
1729 Treaty of Seville.
1730 Free exportation of American rice allowed

CHRONOLOGICAL ANNALS.

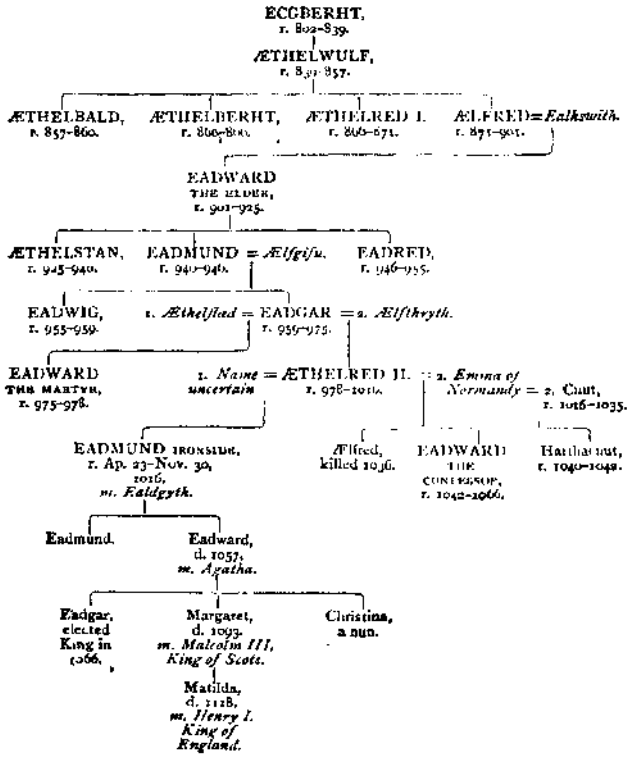
1731 Treaty of Vienna.
1733 Walpole's Excise Bill.
War of the Polish Succession.
Family compact between France and Spain.
1737 Death of Queen Caroline.
1738 *The Methodist* appear in London.*
1739 War declarer! with Spain.
1740 War of the Austrian Succession.
1742 Resignation of Walpole.
174-3 Battle of Dettingen, *June* 27.
1745 Ministry of Henry Pelham.
Battle of Fontenoy, *May* 3r.
Charles Edward lands in Scotland.
Battle of Prestonpans, *Sept.* 21.
Charles Edward reaches Derby, *Dec.* 4.
1746 Battle of Falkirk, *Jan.* 23.
Battle of Culloden, *April* 16.
1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelte.
1751 Clive's surprise of Arcot.
1754 Death of Henry Pelham.
Ministry of Duke of Newcastle.
1755 The Seven Years' War.
Defeat of General Braddock.
1756 Loss of Port Mahon.
Retreat of Admiral Byng.
1757 Convention of Closter-Seven.
Ministry of William Pitt.
Battle of Plassey, *June* 23.
1758 Capture of Louisburg and Cape Breton.
Capture of Fort Duquesne.
1759 Battle of Minden, *August* 1.
Capture of Fort Niagara and Ticonderoga.
Wolfe's victory on Heights of Abraham.
Battle of Quiberon Bay, *Nov.* 20.
1760 **George the Tliird** died 1820.
Battle of Wandewash.
1761 Pitt resigns office.
Ministry of Lord Bute.
Brindley's Canal over the I rive II.
1763 Peace of Paris.
Ministry of George Grenville.
Wedgwood establishes potteries.
1764 First expulsion of Wilkes from House of Commons.
Hargreaves invents Spinning Jenny.
1765 Stamp Act passed.
Ministry of Lord Rockingham.
•Meeting and Protest of American Congress.
Watt invents Steam Engine.
1766 Repeal of the Stamp Act.
Ministry of Lord Chatham.
1768 Ministry of the Duke of Grafton.
Secow* expulSton Of Wilkes.
Arkuuright invents Spinning Machine.
1769 Wilkes three times **elected** for Middlesex.
House of Commons seats Col. Luttrell.
Occupation of Boston by British troops.
Letters of Junius.
1770 Chatham's proposal of Parliamentary Reform.
Ministry of Lord North.
1771 Last attempt to prevent Parliamentary reporting.
Beginning of the great English Journals.
1773 Hastings appointed Governor-General,
Boston tea-riots.
1774 Military occupation of Boston.
Its port closed.
Massachusetts Charter altered.
Congress assembles at Philadelphia.
1775 Rejection of Chatham's plan of conciliation.
Skirmish at Lexington.
Americans, under Washington, besiege Boston.
Batile of Bunker's Hill.
Southern Colonies expel their Governors.
1776 *Crompton invents the Mule.*
Arnold invades Canada.
Evacuation of Boston.
Declaration of Independence, *July* 4.
Battles of Brooklyn and Trenton.
Adaw Smith's " Wealth of Nations."
1777 Battle of Brandywine.
Surrender of Saratoga, *Oct.* 17.
Chatham proposes Federal Union.
Washington at Valley Forge.
17^,78 Alliance of France and Spain with United States.
Death of Chatham.
1779 Siege of Gibraltar.
Armed Neutrality of Northern Powers.
The Irish Volunteers.
1780 Capture of Charlestown.
Descent of Hyder Ali on the Carnatic.
1781 Defeat of Hyder at Porto Novo.
Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.
1782 Ministry of Lord Rockingham.
- Victories of Rodney.
Repeal of Poynings' Act.
Pitt's Bill for Parliamentary Reform.
Burke's Bill of Economical Reform.
Shelburne Ministry.
Repulse of Allies from Gibraltar.
1783 Treaties of Paris and Versailles.
Coalition Ministry of Fox and North,
Fox's India Bill.
Ministry of Pitt.
1784 Pitt's India Bill.
Financial Reforms.

1785 Parliamentary Reform Bill.
Free Trade Bill between England and Ireland.
1786 Trial of Warren Hastings.
1787 Treaty of Commerce with France.
1788 The Regency Bill.
1789 Meeting of States-General at Versailles.
New French Constitution.
Triple Alliance for defence of Turkey.
1790 Quarrel over Nootka Sound.
Pitt defends Poland.
Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution"
1791 Representative Government set up in Canada.
Fox's Libel Act.
Burke's "Appeal Jront the New to the Old Whigs:'
1792 Pitt hinders Holland from joining the Coalition.
France opens the Scheldt.
Pitt's efforts for peace.
The United Irishmen.
1793 France declares War on England.
Part of Whigs join Pitt.
English army lands in Flanders.
English driven from Toulon.
1794 English driven from Holland.
Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act.
Victory of Lord Howe, *June* i.
1796 *Burke's "Letters on a Regicide Peace."*
1797 England alone in the War with France.
Battle of Camperdown.
Battle of Cape St. Vincent.
1798 Irish revolt crushed at Vinegar Hill.
Battle of the Nile.
1799 Pitt revives the Coalition against France.
Conquest of Mysore.
1800 Surrender of Malta to English Fleet.
Armed Neutrality of Northern Powers.
Act of Union with Ireland.
1801 George the Third rejects Pitt's Plan of Catholic Emancipation.
Administration of Mr. Addington.
Surrender of French army in Egypt.
Battle of Copenhagen.
1802 Peace of Amiens.
Publication of "Edinburgh Review."
1803 War declared against Buonaparte.
Battle of Assaye.
1804 Second Ministry of Pitt.
1805 Battle of Trafalgar, *Oct.*
1806 Death of Pitt, *Jan.* 23.
Ministry of Lord Grenville.
Death of Fox.
1807 Orders in Council.
1807 Abolition of Slave Trade.
Ministry of Duke of Portland.
Seizure of Danish Fleet.
1808 Battle of Vimiera, and Convention of Cintra.
1809 America passes Non-Intercourse Act.
Battle of Corunna, *Jan.* 16.
Wellesley drives Souk from Oport...
Battle of Talavera, *July* 28.
Expedition against Walcheren.
Ministry of Spencer Perceval.
Revival of Parliamentary Reform.
1810 Battle of Busaco.
Lines of Torres Vedras.
1811 Prince of Wales becomes Regent.
Battle of Fuentes d'Onore, *May* 5.
Luddite Riots.
1812 Assassination of Spencer Perceval.
Ministry of Lord Liverpool.
Storm of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajo/
America declares War against England
Battle of Salamanca, *July* 22.
Wellington retreats from Burgos.
Victories of American Frigates.
1813 Battle of Vitoria, *June* ar.
Battles of the Pyrenees.
Wellington enters France, *Oct.*
Americans attack Canada.
1814 Battle of Orthes.
Battle of Toulouse, *April* 10.
Battle of Chippewa, *July*
Raid upon Washington.
British repulses at Plattsburg and New-Orleans.
1815 Battle of Quatre Bras, *June* 16.
Battle of Waterloo. *June* 18.
Treaty of Vienna,
1819 Manchester Massacre.
1820 Cato Street Conspiracy.
George the Fourth, died 1830.
Bill for the Queen's Divorce.
1822 Canning Foreign Minister.
1823 Mr. Huskisson joins the Ministry
1826 Expedition to Portugal.
Recognition of South American States*.
1827 Ministry of Mr. Canning.
Ministry of Lord Goderich.
Battle of Navanno.
1828 Ministry of Duke of Wellington.
1829 Catholic Emancipation Bill.
1830 William the Fourth, died 18.,;.
Ministry of Lord Grey.
Opening of Liverpool and Manchester Ruihuay.
1831 B^form Agitation.
1832 Parliamentary Refor.n Bill passed,June 7

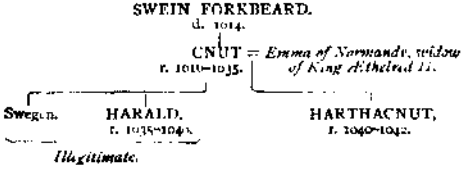
1833 Suppression of Colonial Slavery.
East Indian trade thrown open.
1834 Ministry of Lord Melbourne.
New Poor Law.
System of National Education begun.
Ministry of Sir Robert Peel.
1835 Ministry of Lord Melbourne replaced.
Municipal Corporation Act.
1836 General Registration Act.
Civil Marriages Act.
1837 Victoria.
1838 Formation of Anti-Corn-Law League.
1839 Committee of Privy Council for Education instituted.
Demands for a People's Charter.
Revolt in Canada.
War with China-
Occupation of Cabul.
1840 Quadruple Alliance with France, Portugal and Spain.
Bombardment of Acre.
1841 Ministry of Sir Robert Peel.
Income Tax revived.
i84a Peace with China.
Massacre of English Army in Afghanistan.
Victories of Pollock in Afghanistan.
Annexation of Scinde.
1845 Battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshah.
1846 Battle of Sobraon.
Repeal of the Corn Laws.
Ministry of Lord John Russell.
1848 Suppression of the Chartists and Iris' rebels.
1849 Victory of Goojerat.
Annexation of the Punjaub.
1852 Ministry of Lord Derby.
Ministry of Lord Aberdeen.
1854 Alliance with France against Russia.
Siege of Sebastopol.
Battle of Inkermann, *Nov.* 5.
1855 Ministry of Lord Palmerston.
Capture of Seha-stopol.
1856 Peace of Paris with Russia.
1857 Sepoy Mutiny in Bengal.
1858 Sovereignty of India transferred to the Crown.
Volunteer movement.
Second Ministry of Lord Derby.
1859 Second Ministry of Lord Palmerston.
1885 Ministry of I,ord Russell.
1866 Third Ministry of Lord Derby.
1867 Parliamentary Reform Bill.
1868 Ministry of Mr. Disraeli.
Ministry of Mr. Gladstone.
1869 Disestablishment of Episcopal Church in Ireland.
1870 Irish Lund Bill.
Education Bill.
1871 Abolition of religious tests in Universities.
Army Bill.
1873 Ballot Bill.
1874 Second Ministry of Mr. Disraeli.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

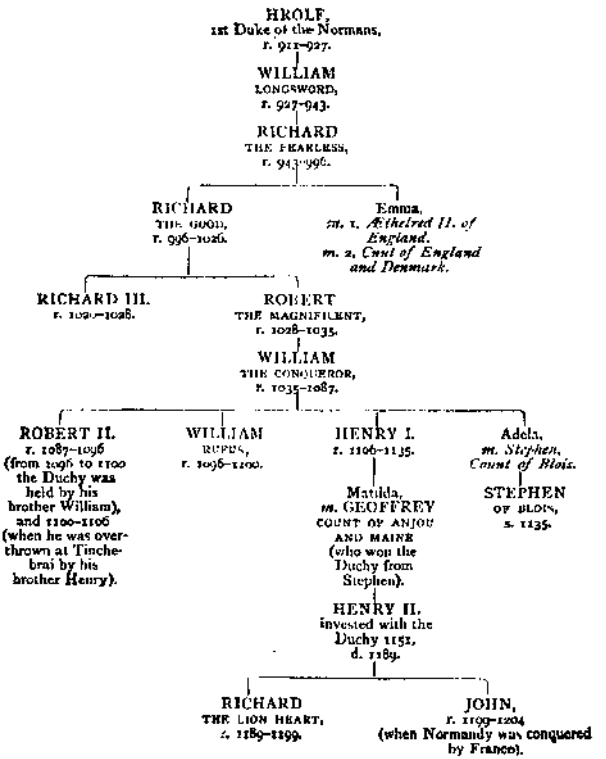
KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF CERDIC, FROM ECGBERHT.



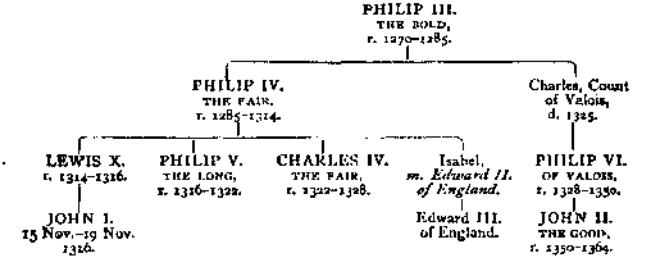
THE DANISH KINGS.



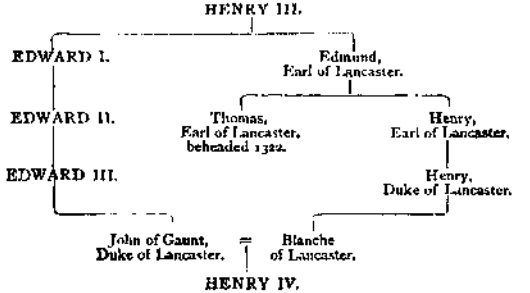
DUKES OF THE NORMANS.



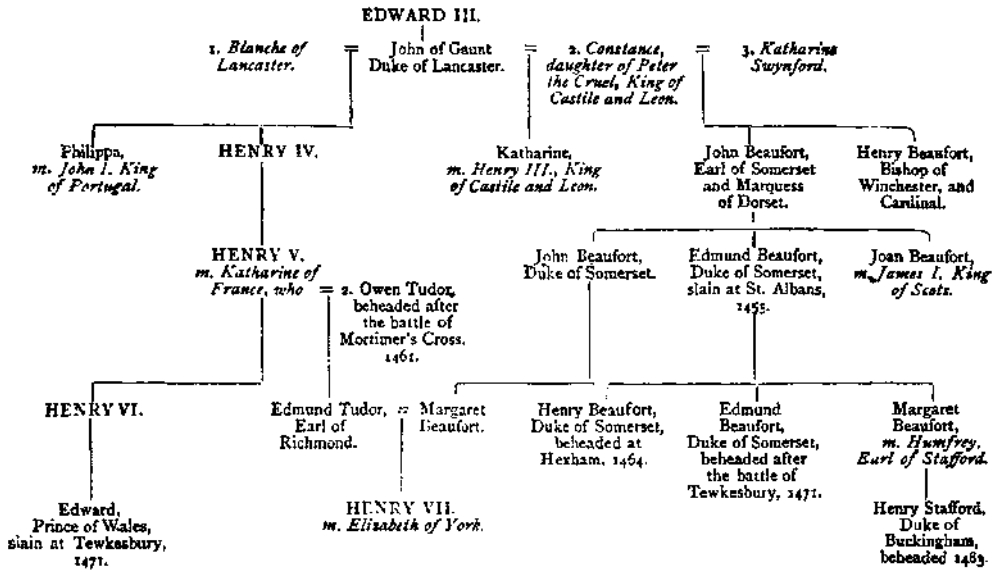
Claim of EDWARD III. to the French Crown.



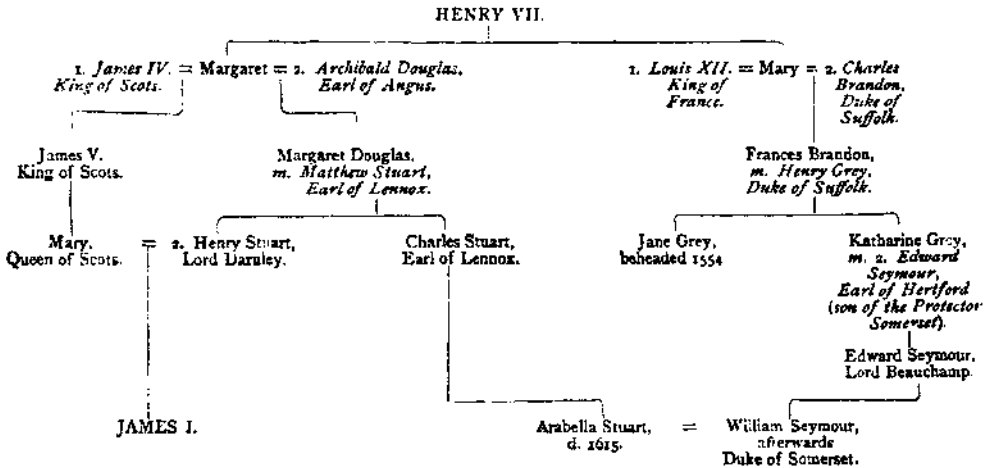
Descent of HENRY IV.



HOUSE OF LANCASTER.



DESCENDANTS OF THE DAUGHTERS OF HENRY VII.



THE SOVEREIGNS

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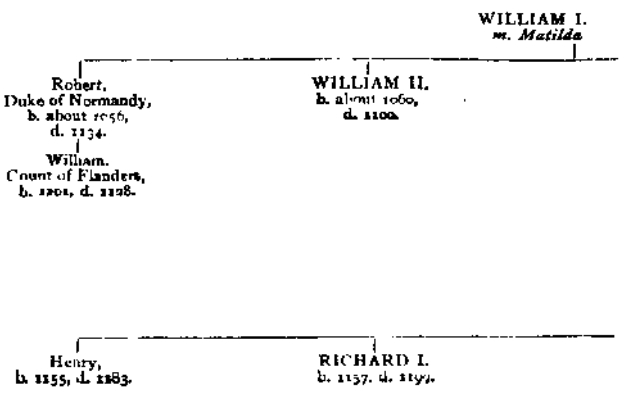


OF ENGLAND.

Norman Conquest.

b. about 1027, d. 1087.
of Flanders.

HENRY I.
b. 1068.
d. 1135.
m. 1. *Matilda of Scotland.*

Matilda,
d. 1167.
m. 2. *Geoffrey, Count of Anjou.*

HENRY II.
b. 1133, d. 1189.
m. Eleanor of Aquitaine.

Geoffrey,
b. 1158, d. 1186.
m. Constance, heiress of Britanny.

Arthur,
Duke of Britanny,
b. 1187.

Adela,
d. 1137.
m. Stephen, Count of Blois.

STEPHEN,
d. 1154.
m. Matilda of Boulogne.

Eustace,
Count of Boulogne,
d. 1153.

William,
Count of Boulogne,
d. 1160.

JOHN.
b. 1166, d. 1216.
m. 2. *Isabel of Angoulême.*

HENRY III.
b. 1207, d. 1272.
m. Eleanor of Provence.

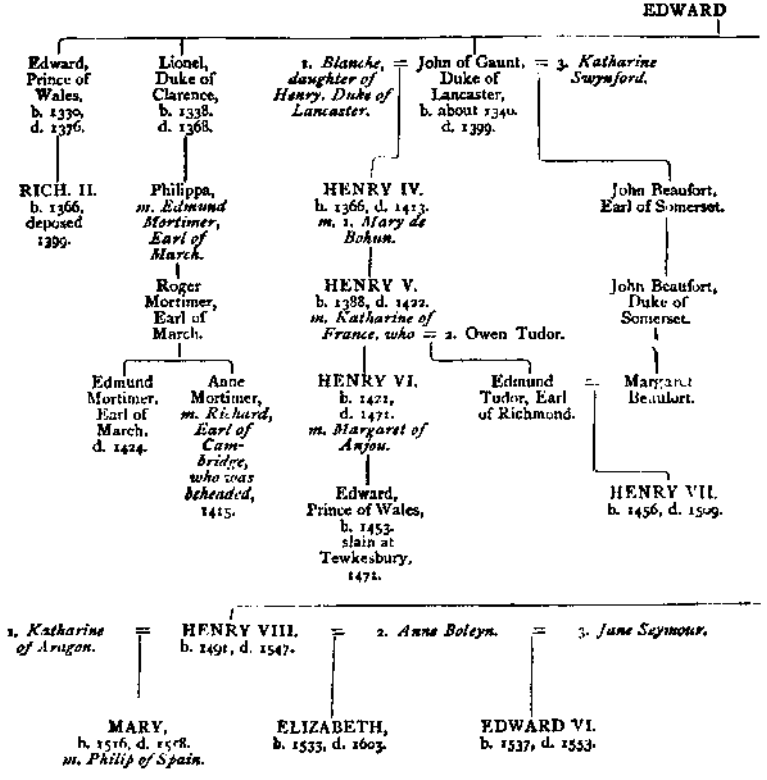
EDWARD I.
b. 1239, d. 1307.
m. 1. *Eleanor of Castile.*

EDWARD II.
b. 1284.
murdered 1327.
m. Isabel of France.

EDWARD III.
b. 1312, d. 1377.
m. Philippa of Hainault.

[*See next page.*]

THE SOVEREIGNS



OF ENGLAND—continued.

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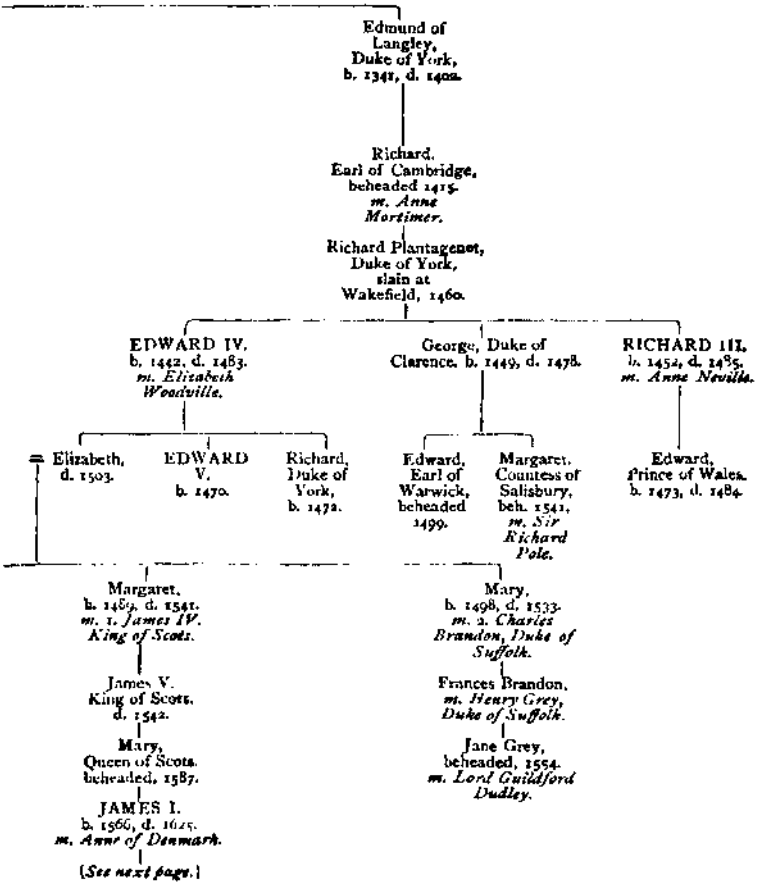

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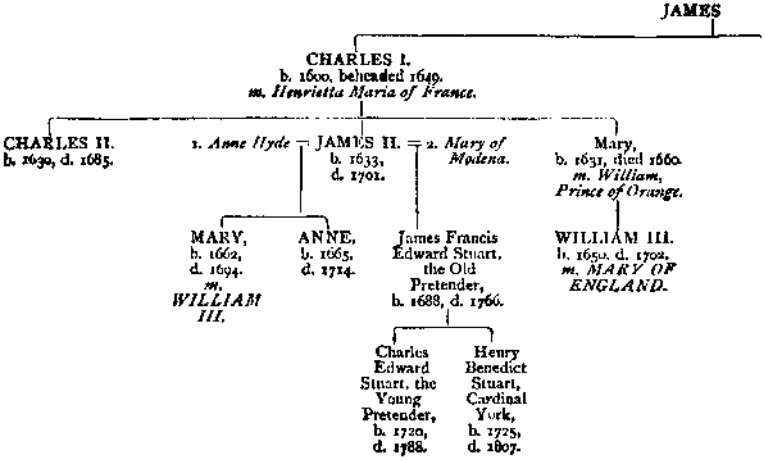

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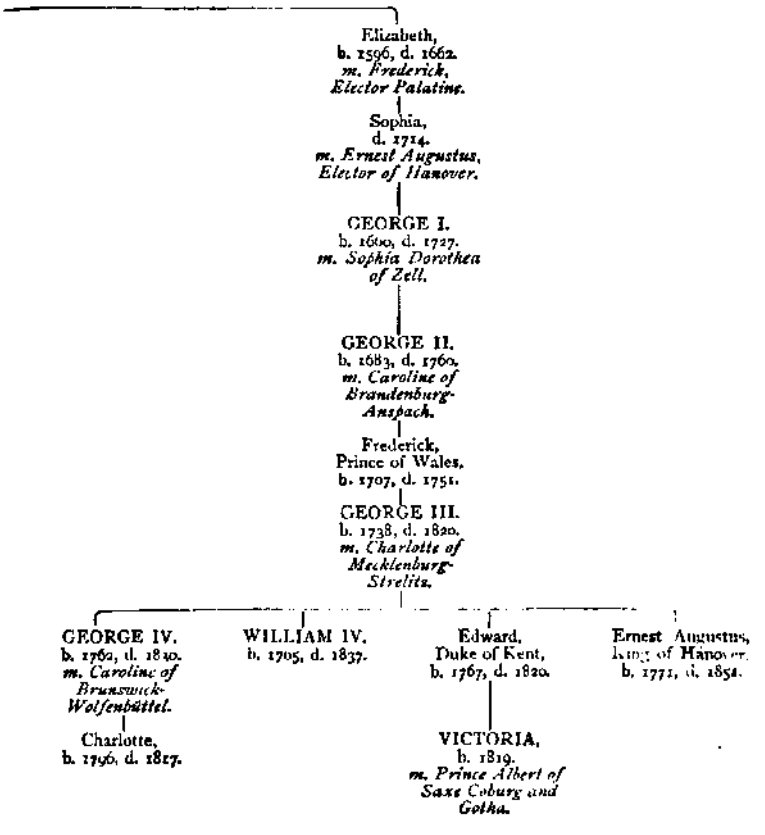
I.



CHAPTER III.

THE GREAT CHARTER.

120A 1265.

Section I.—English Literature under the Norman and Angevin Kings.

[Authorities.—For the general literature of this period, see Mr, Morley's "English Writers from the Conquest to Chaucer," vol. i. part ii. The prefaces of Mr. Brewer and Mr. Dimock to his collected works in the Rolls Series give all that can be known of Gerald de Barri. The Poems of Walter Map have been edited by Mr. Wright for the Camden Society; Layamon, by Sir F. Madden.]

The literary revival

IT is in a r^'iew of the literature of England during the period that we have just t» [rt]rsed that we shall best understand the new English people v *[h] which John, when driven from Normandy, found himself face to face.

In his contest with Beket, Henry the Second had been powerfully aided by the silent revolution which now began to part the purely literary class from the purely clerical. During the earlier ages of our history we have seen literature springing up in ecclesiastical schools, and protecting itself against the ignorance and violence of the time under ecclesiastical privileges. Almost all our writers from Baeda to the days of the Angevins are clergy or monks. The revival of letters which followed the Conquest was a purely ecclesiastical revival; the intellectual impulse which Bee had given to Normandy travelled across the Channel with the new Norman abbots who were established in the greater English monasteries ; and writing-rooms or scriptoria, where the chief works of Latin literature, patristic or classical, were copied and illuminated, the lives of saints compiled, and entries noted in the monastic chronicle, formed from this time a part of every icligious house of any importance. But the literature which found this religious shelter was not so much ecclesiastical as secular. Even the philosophical and devotional impulse given by Anselm produced no English work of theology or metaphysics. The literary revival which followed the Conquest took mainly the old historical form. At lWharrffTTTrgot and Simeon threw into Latin shape the national annals to the time of

SEC. I.

ENGLISH LITERATURE UNDER THE NORMAN AND ANGE- I viN KINGS

Henry the First with an especial regard to northern affairs, while the earlier events of Stephen's reign were noted down by two Priors of Hexham in the wild border-land between England and the Scots. These however were the colourless jottings of mere annalists ; it was in the Scriptorium of Canterbury, in Osbern's lives of the English saints, or in Eadmer's record of the struggle of Anselm against the Red King and his successor, that we see the first indications of a distinctively English feeling telling on the new literature. The national impulse is yet more conspicuous in the two historians that followed. The war-songs of the English conquerors of Britain were preserved by Henry, an Archdeacon of Huntingdon, who wove them into annals compiled from Baeda and the Chronicle ; while William, the librarian of Malmesbury, as industriously collected the lighter ballads which embodied the popular traditions of the English Kings.

Litera-ture and the Court

William of Malmesbury

It is in William above all others that we see the new tendency of English literature. In himself, as in his work, he marks the fusion of the conquerors and the conquered, for he was of both English and Norman parentage, and his sympathies were as divided as his blood. The form and style of his writings show the influence of those classical studies which were now reviving throughout Christendom. Monk as he is, he discards the older ecclesiastical models and the annalistic form. Events are grouped together with no strict reference to time, while the lively narrative flows rapidly and loosely along, with constant breaks of digression over the general history of Europe and the Church. It is in this change of historic spirit that William takes his place as first of the more statesmanlike and philosophic school of historians who began soon to arise in direct connection with the Court, and amongst whom the author of the chronicle which commonly bears the name of " Benedict of Peterborough," with his continuator Roger of Howden, are the most conspicuous. Both held judicial offices under Henry the Second, and it is to their position at Court that they owe the fulness and accuracy of their information as to affairs at home and abroad, their copious supply of official documents, and the purely political temper with which they regard the conflict of Church and State in their time. The same freedom from ecclesiastical bias, combined with remarkable critical ability, is found in the history of William, the Canon of Newburgh, who wrote far away in his Yorkshire monastery. The English court, however, had become the centre of a distinctly secular literature. The treatise of Ranulf de Glanvill, the justiciar of Henry the Second, is the earliest work on English law, as that of the royal treasurer, Richard Fitz-Neal, on the Exchequer is the earliest on English government.

The Court historians

Still more distinctly secular than these, though the work of a priest who Claimed to be a bishop, are the writings of Gerald de Barri. I Gerald is the father of our popular literature, as he is the originator of

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the political and ecclesiastical pamphlet. Welsh blood (as his usual name of Giraldus Cambrensis implies) mixed with Norman in his veins, and something of the restless Celtic fire runs alike through his writings and his life. A busy scholar at Paris, a reforming archdeacon in Wales, the wittiest of Court chaplains, the most troublesome of bishops, Gerald became the gayest and most amusing of all the authors of his time. In his hands the stately Latin tongue took the vivacity and picturesqueness of the jongleurs verse. Reared as he had been in classical studies, he threw pedantry contemptuously- aside. " It is better to be dumb than not to be understood," is his characteristic apology for the novelty of his style : " new times require new fashions, and so I have thrown utterly aside the old and dry method of some authors, and aimed at adopting the fashion of speech which is actually in vogue to-day." His tract on the conquest of Ireland and his account of Wales, which are in fact reports of two journeys undertaken in those countries with John and Archbishop Baldwin, illustrate his rapid faculty of careless observation, his audacity, and his good sense. They are just the sort of lively, dashing letters that we find in the correspondence of a modern journal. There is the same modern tone in his political pamphlets ; his profusion of jests, his fund of anecdote, the aptness of his quotations, his natural shrewdness and critical acumen, the clearness and vivacity of his style, are backed by a fearlessness and impetuosity that made him a dangerous assailant even to such a ruler as Henry the Second. The invectives in which Gerald poured out his resentment against the Angevins are the cause of half the scandal about Henry and his sons which has found its way into history. His life was wasted in an ineffectual struggle to secure the see of St. David's, but his pungent pen played its part in rousing the spirit of the nation to its struggle with the Crown.

Romance

A tone of distinct hostility to the Church developed itself almost from the first among the singers of romance. Romance had long before taken root in the court of Henry the First, where under the patronage of Oueen Maud the dreams of Arthur, so long cherished by the Celts of Britanny, and which had travelled to Wales in the train of the exile Rhys ap Tewdor, took shape in the History of the Britons by Geoffry of Monmouth. Myth, legend, tradition, the classical pedantry of the day, Welsh hopes of future triumph over the Saxon, the memories of the Crusades and of the world-wide dominion of Charles the Great, were mingled together by this daring fabulist in a work whose popularity became at once immense. Alfred of Beverley transferred Geoffry's inventions into the region of sober history, while two Norman *trouvcrcs,* Gaimar and Wace, translated them into French verse. So complete was the credence they obtained, that Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury was visited by Henry the Second, whUfcjiae child of his son Geoffry and of Constance of Britanny* bore the name of the

Geoffry of Monmouth

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Celtic hero. Out of Geoffry's creation grew little by little the poem of the Table Round. Britanny, which had mingled with the story of Arthur the older and more mysterious legend of the Enchanter Merlin, lent that of Lancelot to **fhe** wandering minstrels of the day, who moulded it, as they wandered from hall to hall, into the familiar tale of knighthood wrested from its loyalty by the love of woman. The stories of Tristram and Gawayne, at first as independent as that of Lancelot, were drawn with it into the whirlpool of Arthurian romance ; and when the Church, jealous of the popularity of the legends of chivalry, invented as a counteracting influence the poem of the Sacred Dish, the San Graal which held the blood of the Cross invisible to all eyes but those of the pure in heart, the genius of a court poet, Walter de Map, wove the rival legends together, sent Arthur and his knights wandering over sea and land in the quest of the San Graal, and crowned the work by the figure of Sir Galahad, the type of ideal knighthood, without fear and without reproach.

Walter de Map

Walter stands before us as the representative of a sudden outburst of literary, social, and religious criticism which followed the growth of romance and the appearance of a freer historical tone in the court of the two Henries. Born on the Welsh border, a student at Paris, a favourite with the King, a royal chaplain, justiciar, and ambassador, the genius of Walter de Map was as various as it was prolific. He is as much at his ease in sweeping together the chit-chat of the time in his " Courtly Trifles " as in creating the character of Sir Galahad. But he only rose to his fullest strength when he turned from the fields of romance to that of Church reform, and embodied the ecclesiastical abuses of his day in the figure of his " Bishop Goliath." The whole spirit of Henry and his court in their struggle with Beket is reflected and illustrated in the apocalypse and confession of this imaginary prelate. Picture after picture strips the veil from the corruption of the mediaeval Church, its indolence, its thirst for gain, its secret immorality. The whole body of the clergy, from Pope to hedge-priest, is painted as busy in the chase for gain ; what escapes the bishop is snapped up by the archdeacon, what escapes the archdeacon is nosed and hunted down by the dean, while a host of minor officials prowl hungrily around these greater marauders. Out of the crowd of figures which fills the canvas of the satirist, pluralist vicars, abbots " purple as their wines," monks feeding and chattering together like parrots in the refectory, rises the Philistine Bishop, light of purpose, void of conscience, lost in sensuality, drunken, unchaste, the Goliath who sums up the enormities of all, and against whose forehead this new David slings his sharp pebble of the brook.

Rartoai of the English tongue

It is only, however, as the writings of Englishmen that Latin or FrencWr.orks lik^ these can be claimed as part of English literature, The spoken tongue of the nation at large remained of course English

as before ; William himself had tried to learn it that he might administer justice to his subjects ; and for a century after the Conquest only a few new words crept in from the language of the conquerors. Even English literature, banished as it was from the court of the stranger and exposed to the fashionable rivalry of Latin scholars, survived not only in religious works, in poetic paraphrases of gospels and psalms, but in the great monument of our prose, the English Chronicle. It was not till the miserable reign of Stephen that the Chronicle died out in the Abbey of Peterborough. But the " Sayings of Alfred," which embodied the ideal of an English king and gathered a legendary worship round the great name of the English past, show a native literature going on through the reign of Henry the Second. The appearance of a great work of English verse coincides in point of time with the loss of Normandy, and the return of John to his island realm. " There was a priest in the land whose name was Layamon ; he was son of Lcovenath: may the Lord be gracious to him ! He dwelt at Earnley, a noble church on the bank of Severn (good it seemed to him !) near Radstone, where he read books. It came in mind to him and in his chiefest thought that he would tell the noble deeds of England, what the men were named, and whence they came, who first had English land." Journeying far and wide over the land, the priest of Earnley found liicda and Wace, the books too of S. Albin and S. Austin. " Layamon laid down these books and turned the leaves ; he beheld them lovingly: may the Lord be gracious to him ! Pen he took with fingers and wrote a book-skin, and the true words set together, and compressed the three books into one." Layamon's church is now Areley, near Bewdley, in Worcestershire. His poem was in fact an expansion of Wace's " Brut," with insertions from Baeda. Historically it is worthless, but as a monument of our language it is beyond all price. After Norman and Angevin English remained unchanged. In more than thirty thousand lines not more than fifty Norman words are to be found. Even the old poetic tradition remains the same ; the alliterative metre of the earlier verse is only slightly affected by riming terminations, the similes are the few natural similes of Ca?dmon, the battles are painted with the same rough, simple joy. It is by no mere accident that the English tongue thus wakes again into written life on the eve of the great struggle between the nation and its King. The artificial forms imposed by the Conquest were falling away from the people as from its literature, and a new England, quickened by the Celtic vivacity of de Map and the Norman daring of Gerald, stood forth to its conflict with John.

Layam0tt

SEC. II.

JOHN 1804 TO 1215

Section II.—John. 1204—1215.

[Authorities.—Owe chief sources of information are the Chronicle embodied in the "Memoriale" of Walter of Coventry; and the "Chronicle of Roger of Wendover," the first of the published annalists of S. Alban's, whose work was subsequently revised and continued in a more patriotic tone by another monk of the same abbey, Matthew Paris. The Annals of Waverley, Dunstable, and Burton are important for the period. The great series of the Royal Rolls begin now to be of the highest value. The French authorities as before. For Langlon, see Hook's biography in the "Lives of the Archbishops." The best modern account of this reign is in Mr. Peat son's "History of England," vol. ii.]

John

"Foul as it is, hell itself is defiled by the fouler presence of John." The terrible verdict of the King's contemporaries has passed into the sober judgement of history. Externally John possessed all the quick" ness, the vivacity, the cleverness, the good-humour, the social charm which distinguished his house. His worst enemies owned that he toiled steadily and closely at the work of administration. He was fond of learned men like Gerald of Wales. He had a strange gift of attracting friends and of winning the love of women. But in his inner soul John was the worst outcome of the Angevins. He united into one mass of wickedness their insolence, their selfishness, their unbridled lust, their cruelty and tyranny, their shamelessness, their superstition, their cynical indifference to honour or truth. In mere boyhood he had torn with brutal levity the beards of the Irish chieftains who came to own him as their lord. His ingratitude and perfidy had brought down his father with sorrow to the grave. To his brother he had been the worst of traitors. All Christendom believed him to be the murderer of his nephew, Arthur of Britanny. He abandoned one wife and was faithless to another. His punishments were refinements of cruelty—the starvation of children, the crushing old men under copes of lead. His court was a brothel where no woman was safe from the royal lust, and where his cynicism loved to publish the news of his victims' shame. He was as craven in his superstition as he was daring in his impiety. He scoffed at priests and turned his back on the mass even amidst the solemnities of his coronation, but he never stirred on a journey without hanging relics round his neck. But with the supreme wickedness of his race he inherited its profound ability. His plan for the relief of Chateau-Gaillard, the rapid march by which he shattered Arthur's hopes at Mirebeau, showed an inborn genius for war. In the rapidity and breadth of his political combinations he far surpassed the statesmen of his time. Throughout his reign we see him *qy&k* to discern the difficulties of his position, and inexhaustible in the resources with which he met them. The overthrow of his

continental power only spurred him to the formation of a great league which all but brought Philip to the ground ; and the sudden revolt of all England was parried by a shameless alliance with the Papacy. The closer study of John's history clears away the charges of sloth and incapacity with which men tried to explain the greatness of his fall. The awful lesson of his life rests on the fact that it was no weak and indolent voluptuary, but the ablest and most ruthless of the Angevins who lost Normandy, became the vassal of the Pope, and perished in a struggle of despair against English freedom.

The interdict

The whole energies of the King were bent on the recover)' of his lost dominions on the Continent. He impatiently collected money and men for the support of the adherents of the House of Anjou who were still struggling against the arms of France in Poitou and Guienne, and had assembled an army at Portsmouth in the summer of 1205, when his project was suddenly thwarted by the resolute opposition of the Primate and the Earl of Pembroke, William Marshal. So completely had both the baronage and the Church been humbled by his father, that the attitude of their representatives indicated the new spirit of national freedom which was rising around the King. John at once braced himself to a struggle with it. The death of Hubert Walter, a few weeks after his protest, enabled him, as it seemed, to neutralize the opposition of the Church by placing a creature of his own at its head. John de Grey, Pishop of Norwich, was- elected by the monks of Canterbury at his bidding and enthroned as Primate. In a previous though informal gathering, however, the convent had already chosen its sub-prior, Reginald, as Archbishop, and the rival claimants hastened to appeal to Rome ; but the result of their appeal was a startling one both for themselves and for the King. Innocent the Third, who now occupied the Papal throne, had pushed its claims of supremacy over Christendom further than any of his predecessors : after a careful examination he quashed both the contested elections. The decision was probably a just one ; but Innocent did not stop there; whether from love of power, or, as may fairly be supposed, in despair of a free election within English bounds, he commanded the monks who appeared before him to elect in his presence Stephen Langton to the archiepiscopal see. Personally a better choice could not have been made, for Stephen was a man who by sheer weight of learning and holiness of life had risen to the dignity of Cardinal, and whose after career placed him in the front rank of English patriots. But in itself the step was an usurpation of the rights both of the Church and of the Crown. The King at once met it with resistance, and replied to the Papal threats of interdict if Langton were any longer excluded from his see, by a counter threat that the interdict should be followed by the banishment of the clergy and the mutilation of svery Hajiaji he could seize in the realm. Innocent, however, was* not a man to draw

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back from his purpose, and the interdict fell at last upon the land. All worship save that of a few privileged orders, all administration of the Sacraments save that of private baptism, ceased over the length and breadth of the country : the church-bells were silent, the dead lay unburied on the ground. The King replied by confiscating the lands of the clergy who observed the interdict, by subjecting them in spite of their privileges to the royal courts, and often by leaving outrages on them unpunished. " Let him go," said John, when a Welshman was brought before him for the murder of a priest, "he has killed my enemy !" A year passed before the Pope proceeded to the further sentence of excommunication. John was now formally cut off from the pale of the Church ; but the new sentence was met with the same defiance as the old. Five of the bishops fled over sea, and secret disaffection was spreading widely, but there was no public avoidance of the excommunicated King. An Archdeacon of Norwich who withdrew from his service was crushed to death under a cope of lead, and the hint was sufficient to prevent either prelate or noble from following his example. Though the King stood alone, with nobles estranged from him and the Church against him, his strength seemed utterly unbroken. From the first moment of his rule John had defied the baronage. The promise to satisfy their demand for redress of wrongs in the past reign, a promise made at his election, remained unfulfilled ; when the demand was repeated he answered it by seizing their castles and taking their children as hostages for their loyalty. The cost of his fruitless threats of war had been met by heavy and repeated taxation. The quarrel with the Church and fear of their revolt only deepened his oppression of the nobles. He drove De IJraose, one of the most powerful of the Lords Marchers, to die in exile, while his wife and grandchildren were believed to have been starved to death in the royal prisons. On the nobles who still clung panic-stricken to the court of the excommunicate king John heaped outrages worse than death. Illegal exactions, the seizure of their castles, the preference shown to foreigners, were small provocations compared with his attacks on the honour of their wives and daughters. Lut the baronage still submitted ; and the King's vigour was seen by the rapidity with which he crushed a rising of the nobles in Ireland, and foiled an outbreak of the Welsh. Hated as he was the land remained still. Only one weapon now remained in Innocent's hands. An excommunicate king had ceased to be a Christian, or to have claims on the obedience of Christian subjects. As spiritual heads of Christendom, the Popes had ere now asserted their right to remove such a ruler from his throne and to give it to a worthier than he ; and this right Innocent at last felt himself driven to exercise. He issued a bull cf-^positicJn against John, proclaimed a crusade against bin?, and committed the'execution of his sentence to Philip of France.

John s deposition **1212**

JOHN 1204. TO 1215

John met it with the same scorn as before. His insolent disdain suffered the Roman legate, Cardinal Pandulf, to proclaim his deposition to his face at Northampton. An enormous army gathered at his call on Barham Down ; and the English fleet dispelled all danger of invasion by crossing the Channel, by capturing a number of French ships, and by burning Dieppe.

The Pope's vassal

But it was not in England only that the King showed his strength and activity. Vile as he was, John possessed in a high degree the political ability of his race, and in the diplomatic efforts with which he met the danger from France he showed himself his father's equal. The barons of Poitou were roused to attack Philip from the south. John bought the aid of the Count of Flanders on his northern border. The German King, Otto, pledged himself to bring the knighthood of Germany to support an invasion of France. But at the moment of his success in diplomacy John suddenly gave way. It was in fact the revelation of a danger at home which shook him from his attitude of contemptuous defiance. The bull of deposition gave fresh energy to every enemy. The Scotch King was in correspondence with Innocent. The Welsh princes who had just been forced to submission broke out again in war. John hanged their hostages, and called his host to muster for a fresh inroad into Wales, but the army met only to become a fresh source of danger. Powerless to resist openly, the baronage had plunged almost to a man into secret conspiracies ; many promised aid to Philip on his landing. John, in the midst of hidden enemies, was only saved by the haste with which he disbanded his army and took refuge in Nottingham Castle. His daring self-confidence, the skill of his diplomacy, could no longer hide from him the utter loneliness of his position. At war with Rome, with France, with Scotland, Ireland and Wales, at war with the Church, he saw himself disarmed by this sudden revelation of treason in the one force left at his disposal. With characteristic suddenness he gave way. He endeavoured by remission of fines to win back his people. He negotiated eagerly with the Pope, consented to receive the Archbishop, and promised to repay the money he had extorted from the Church. The shameless ingenuity of the King's temper was seen in his immediate resolve to make Rome his ally, to turn its spiritual thunder against his foes, to use it in breaking up the confederacy it had formed against him. His quick versatile temper saw the momentary gain to be won. On the 15th of May 1213 he knelt before the legate Pandulf, surrendered his kingdom to the Roman See, took it back again as a tributary vassal, swore fealty and did liege homage to the Pope.

The Battle of Bouvines

In after times men believed that England thrilled at the news with a sense of national shame such as she had never felt before. "He has become the Pope's man," the whole country was said to havc^jnur-mured ; "he has forfeited the very name of King ;»from a free man he

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has degraded himself into a serf." But we see little trace of such a feeling in the contemporary accounts of the time. As a political measure indeed the success of John's submission was complete. The French army at once broke up in impotent rage, and when Philip turned against the enemy whom John had raised up for him in Flanders, five hundred English ships under the Earl of Salisbury fell upon the fleet which accompanied his army along the coast and utterly destroyed it. The league which John had so long matured at last disclosed itself. The King himself landed in Poitou, rallied its nobles round him, crossed the Loire in triumph, and won back Angers, the home of his race. At the same time Otto, reinforcing his German army by the knighthood of Flanders and Boulogne as well as by a body of English troops, threatened France from the north. For the moment Philip seemed lost, and yet on the fortunes of Philip hung the fortunes of English freedom. But in this crisis of her fate France was true to herself and her King; the townsmen marched from every borough to Philip's rescue, priests led their flocks to battle with the Church banners flying at their head. The two armies met near the bridge of Bouvines, between Lille and Tournay, and from the first the day went against the allies. The Flemish were the first to fly; then the Germans in the centre were overwhelmed by the numbers of the French; last of all the English on the right were broken by a fierce onset of the Bishop of Beauvais, who charged mace in hand and struck the Earl of Salisbury to the ground. The news of this complete overthrow reached John in the midst of his triumphs in the South, and scattered his hopes to the winds. He was at once deserted by the Poitevin nobles, and a hasty retreat alone enabled him to return, battled and humiliated, to his island kingdom.

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Stephen Xiangton

It is to the victory of Bouvines that England owes her Great Charter. From the hour of his submission to the Papacy, John's vengeance on the barons had only been delayed till he should return a conqueror from the fields of France. A sense of their danger nerved the baronage to resistance; they refused to follow the King on his foreign campaign till the excommunication were removed, and when it was removed they still refused, on the plea that they were not bound to serve in wars without the realm. Furious as he was at this new attitude of resistance, the time had not yet come for vengeance, and John sailed for Poitou with the dream of a great victory which should lay Philip and the barons alike at his feet. He returned from his defeat to find the nobles no longer banded together in secret conspiracies, but openly united in a definite claim of liberty and law. The leader in this great change was the new Archbishop whom Innocent had set on the throne of Canterbury. From the moment of his landing m England^Stephen Langton had assumed the constitutional position of the Primate as champion of the old English customs and law against the

personal despotism of the kings. As Anselm had withstood William the Red, as Theobald had rescued England from the lawlessness of Stephen, so Langton prepared to withstand and rescue his country from the tyranny of John. He had already forced him to swear to observe the laws of the Confessor, a phrase in which the whole of the national liberties were summed up. When the baronage refused to sail to Poitou, he compelled the King to deal with them not by arms but by process of law. Far however from being satisfied with resistance such as this to isolated acts of tyranny, it was the Archbishop's aim to restore on a formal basis the older freedom of the realm. The pledges of Henry the First had long been forgotten when the Justiciar, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, brought them to light at a Council held at S. Albans. There in the King's name the Justiciar promised good government for the time to come, and forbade all royal officers to practise extortion as they prized life and limb. The King's peace was pledged to those who had opposed him in the past; and observance of the laws of Henry the First was enjoined upon all within the realm. Langton saw the vast importance of such a precedent. In a fresh meeting of the barons at S. Paul's he produced the Charter of Henry the First, and it was at once welcomed as a base for the needed reforms. All hope however hung on the fortunes of the French campaign ; the victory at Bouvines gave strength to John's opponents, and after the King's landing the barons secretly met at S. Edmundsbury, and swore to demand from him, if needful by force of arms, the restoration of their liberties by Charter under the King's seal. Early in January in the year 1215 they presented themselves in arms before the King, and preferred their claim. The few months that followed showed John the uselessness of resistance ; nobles and Churchmen were alike arrayed against him, and the commissioners whom he sent to plead his cause at the shire-courts brought back the news that no man would help him against the Charter. At Easter the barons again gathered in arms at Brackley, and renewed their claim. "Why do they not ask for my kingdom ?" cried John in a burst of passion ; but j the whole country rose as one man at his refusal. London threw open her gates to the forces of the barons, now organised under Robert Fitz-Walter as "Marshal of the Army of God and Holy Church." The example of the capital was followed by Exeter and Lincoln ; promises of aid came from Scotland and Wales ; the northern barons marched hastily to join their comrades in London. There was a moment when John found himself with seven knights at his back, and before him a nation in arms. He had summoned mercenaries and appealed to his liege lord, the Pope ; but summons and appeal were alike too late. Nursing wrath in his heart the tyrant bowed to necessity, and called the barons to a conference at Runnymede.

SEC. III.

THE GREAT CHARTER 1315 . TO 1217

Section III.—The Great Charter, 1915—1217.

[Authorities.—The text of the Charter is given by Dr. Stubbs, with valuable comments, in his "Select Charters." Mr. Pearson gives a useful analysis of it.]

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An island in the Thames between Staines and Windsor had been chosen as the place of conference : the King encamped on one bank, while the barons covered the marshy flat, still known by the name of Runnymede, on the other. Their delegates met in the island between them, but the negotiations were a mere cloak to cover John's purpose of unconditional submission. The Great Charter was discussed, agreed to, and signed in a single day.

One copy of it still remains in the British Museum, injured by age and fire, but with the royal seal still hanging from the brown, shrivelled parchment. It is impossible to gaze without reverence on the earliest monument of English freedom which we can see with our own eyes and touch with our own hands, the great Charter to which from age to age patriots have looked back as the basis of English liberty. But in itself the Charter was no novelty, nor did it claim to establish any new constitutional principles. The Charter of Henry the First formed the basis of the whole, and the additions to it are for the most part formal recognitions of the judicial and administrative changes introduced by Henry the Second. But the vague expressions of the older charter were now exchanged for precise and elaborate provisions. The bonds of unwritten custom which the older grant did little more than recognize had proved too weak to hold the Angevins ; and the baronage now threw them aside for the restraints of written law. It is in this way that the Great Charter marks the transition from the age of traditional rights, preserved in the nation's memory and officially declared by the Primate, to the age of written legislation, of Parliaments and Statutes, which was soon to come. The Church had shown its power of self-defence in the struggle over the interdict, and the clause which recognized its rights alone retained the older and general form. But all vagueness ceases when the Charter passes on to deal with the rights of Englishmen at large, their right to justice, to security of person and property, to good government. "No freeman," ran the memorable article that lies at the base of our whole judicial system, "shall be seized or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or in any way brought to ruin : we will not go against any man nor send against him, save by legal judgement of his peers or by the law of the land." "To no man will we sell," runs another, "or deny, or delay, right or justice^ The great reforms of the past reigns were now formally recognized; judges of assize were to hold their circuits four times in

the year, and the King's Court was no longer to follow the King in his wanderings over the realm, but to sit in a fixed place. But the denial of justice under John was a small danger compared with the lawless exactions both of himself and his predecessor. Richard had increased the amount of the scutage which Henry the Second had introduced, and applied it to raise funds for his ransom. He had restored the Danegeld, or land-tax, so often abolished, under the new name of "carucage," had seized the wool of the Cistercians and the plate of the churches, and rated moveables as well as land. John had again raised the rate of scutage, and imposed aids, fines, and ransoms at his pleasure without counsel of the baronage. The Great Charter met this abuse by the provision on which our constitutional system rests. With the exception of the three customary feudal aids which still remained to the Crown, " no scutage or aid shall be imposed in our realm save by the common council of the realm ;" and to this Great Council it was provided that prelates and the greater barons should be summoned by special writ, and all tenants in chief through the sheriffs and bailiffs, at least forty days before. The provision defined what had probably been the common usage of the realm ; but the definition turned it into a national right, a right so momentous that on it rests our whole Parliamentary life.

Charter and tne People.

The rights which the barons claimed for themselves they claimed for the nation at large. The boon of free and unbought justice was a boon for all, but a special provision protected the poor. The forfeiture of the freeman on conviction of felony was never to include his tenement, or that of the merchant his wares, or that of the countryman his wain. The means of actual livelihood were to be left even to the worst. The under-tenants or farmers were protected against all lawless exactions of their lords in precisely the same terms as these were protected against the lawless exactions of the Crown. The towns were secured in the enjoyment of their municipal privileges, their freedom from arbitrary taxation, their rights of justice, of common deliberation, of regulation of trade. " Let the city of London have all its old liberties and its free customs, as well by land as by water. Besides this, we will and grant that all other cities, and boroughs, and towns, and ports, have all their liberties and free customs." The influence of the trading class is seen in two other enactments, by which freedom of journeying and trade was secured to foreign merchants, and an uniformity of weights and measures was ordered to be enforced throughout the realm. There remained only one question, and that the most difficult of all; the question how to secure this order which the Charter had established in the actual government of the realm. The immediate abuses were easily swept away, the hostages restored to their homes, the foreigners banished from the country. But it was less^'ea'sy to provide means for the control of a King whom no man could trust,

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and a council of twenty-five barons, were chosen from the general body of iheir order to enforce on John the observance of the Charter, with the right of declaring war on the King should its provisions be infringed. Finally, the Charter was published throughout the whole country, and sworn to at every hundred-mote and town-mote by order from the King.

John and the Charter

"They have given me five-and-twenty over-kings," cried John in a burst of fury, flinging himself on the floor and gnawing sticks and straw in his impotent rage. But the rage soon passed into the subtle policy of which he was a master. Some days after he left Windsor, and lingered for months along the southern shore, waiting for news of the aid he had solicited from Rome and from the Continent. It was not without definite purpose that he had become the vassal of Rome. While Innocent was dreaming of a vast Christian Empire with the Pope at its head to enforce justice and religion on his under-kings, John believed that the Papal protection would enable him to rule as tyrannically as he would. The thunders of the Papacy were to be ever at hand for his protection, as the armies of England are at hand to protect the vilcness and oppression of a Turkish Sultan or a Nizam of Hyderabad. His envoys were already at Rome, and Innocent, indignant that a matter which might have been brought before his court of appeal as oxcrlord should have been dealt with by armed revolt, annulled the Great Charter and suspended Stephen Langton from the exercise of his office as Primate. Autumn brought a hos,t of foreign soldiers from over sea to the King's standard, and advancing against the disorganized forces of the barons, John starved Rochester into submission and marched ravaging through the midland counties to the North, while his mercenaries spread like locusts over the whole face of the land. From Berwick the King turned back triumphant to coop up his enemies in London, while fresh Papal excommunications fell on the barons and the city. But the burghers set Innocent at defiance. "The ordering of secular matters appertaineth not to the Pope," they said, in words that seem like mutterings of the coming Lollardry j and at the advice of Simon Langton, the Archbishop's brother, bells swung out and mass was celebrated as before. With the undisciplined militia of the country and the towns, however, success was impossible against the trained forces of the King, and despair drove the barons to seek aid from France. Philip had long been waiting the opportunity for his revenge upon John, and his son Lewis at once accepted the crown in spite of Innocent's excommunications, and landed in Kent with a considerable force. As the barons had foreseen, the French mercenaries who constituted John's host refused to fight against the French sovereign. The whole aspect of affairs was suddrnl/ reversed. Deserted by the bulk of his troops, the King was forced to fall rapidly back on the Welsh Marches, while his rival

entered London and received the submission of the larger part of England. Only Dover held out obstinately against Lewis. By a series of rapid marches John succeeded in distracting the plans of the barons and in relieving Lincoln ; then after a short stay at Lynn he crossed the Wash in a fresh movement to the north. In crossing, however, his army was surprised by the tide, and his baggage with the royal treasures washed away.

The Ear) Marshal

The fever which seized the baffled tyrant in the abbey of Swineshead was inflamed by a gluttonous debauch, and John entered Newark only to die. His death changed the whole face of affairs, for his son Henry was but a child of nine years old, and the royal authority passed into the hands of one who stands high among English patriots, William Marshal. The boy-king was hardly crowned when the Earl and the Papal Legate issued in his name the very Charter against which his father had died fighting ; only the clauses which regulated taxation and the summoning of Parliament were as yet declared to be suspended. The nobles soon streamed away from the French camp ; for national jealousy and suspicions of treason told heavily against Lewis, while the pity which was excited by the youth and helplessness of Henry was aided by a sense of injustice in burthening the child with the iniquity of his father. One bold stroke of William Marshal decided the struggle. A joint army of French and English barons under the Count of Perche and Robert Fitz-Walter was besieging Lincoln, when the Earl, rapidly gathering forces from the royal castles, marched to its relief. Cooped up in the steep narrow streets, and attacked at once by the Earl and the garrison, the barons fled in hopeless rout ; the Count of Perche fell on the field ; Robert Fitz-Walter was taken prisoner. Lewis, who was investing Dover, retreated to London, and called for aid from France. Put a more terrible defeat crushed his remaining hopes. A small English fleet, which had set sail from Dover under Hubert de Burgh, fell boldly on the reinforcements which were crossing under the escort of Eustace the Monk, a well-known freebooter of the Channel. The fight admirably illustrates the naval warfare of the time. From the decks of the English vessels bowmen poured their arrows into the crowded transports, others hurled quicklime into their enemies' faces, while the more active vessels crashed with their armed prows into the sides of the French ships. The skill of the mariners of the Cinque Ports decided the day against the larger forces of their opponents, and the fleet of FZustace was utterly destroyed. The royal army at once closed in upon London, but resistance was really at an end. Jiy the *tranty* of Lambeth Lewis promised to withdraw from England on payment of a sum which he claimed as debt ; his adherents were restored to, the possessions, the liberties of London and other towns confirmed, and the prisoners on either side set at liberty. The expulsion of the stranger

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left English statesmen JYee to take up again the work of reform ; and a fresh issue of the Charter, though in its modified form, proclaimed clearly the temper and policy of the Earl Marshal.

Section IV.-Tbe Universities.

{Authorities.—For the Universities we have the collection of materials edited hy Mr. Anstey under the name of "Munimenta Academica." I have borrowed much from two papers of my own in "Macmillan's Magazine," on "The Early History of Oxfoul." For Bacon, see his "Opera Inedita," in the Rolls Series, with Mr. Brewer's admirable introduction, and Dr. Whewell's estimate of him in his "History of the Inductive Sciences."]

From the turmoil of civil politics we turn to the more silent but hardly less important revolution from which we may date our national education. It is in the reign of Henry the Third that the English universities begin to exercise a definite influence on the intellectual life of Englishmen. Of the early history of Cambridge we know little or nothing, but enough remains to enable us to trace the early steps by which Oxford attained to its intellectual eminence. The establishment of the great schools which bore the name of Universities was everywhere throughout Europe a special mark of the new impulse that Christendom had gained from the Crusades. A new fervour of study sprang up in the West from its contact with the more cultured East. Travellers like Adelard of Bath brought back the first rudiments of physical and mathematical science from the schools of Cordova or Bagdad. In the twelfth century a classical revival restored Caesar and Vergil to the list of monastic studies, and left its stamp on the pedantic style, the profuse classical quotations of writers like William of Malmesbury or John of Salisbury. The scholastic philosophy sprang up in the schools of Paris. The Roman law was revived by the imperialist doctors of Bologna. The long mental inactivity of feudal Europe broke up like ice before a summer's sun. Wandering teachers such as Lanfranc or Anselm crossed sea and land to spread the new power of knowledge. The same spirit of restlessness, of inquiry, of impatience with the older traditions of mankind, either local or intellectual, that had hurried half Christendom to the tomb of its Lord, crowded the roads with thousands of young scholars hurrying to the chosen seats where teachers were gathered together. A new power had sprung up in the midst of a world as yet under the rule of sheer brute force Poor as they were, sometimes even of servile race, the wandering scholar? vvho lectured in every cloister were hailed as "masters" by the ciowds at their feet. Abelard was a foe worthy of the menaces of

councils, of the thunders of the Church. The teaching of a single j Lombard was of note enough in England to draw down the prohibition of a King. When Vacarius, probably a guest in the court of Archbishop Theobald, where Beket and John of Salisbury were already busy with the study of the Civil Law, opened lectures on it at Oxford, he was at once silenced by Stephen, who was then at war with the Church, and jealous of the power which the wreck of the royal authority was throwing into Theobald's hands.

Oxford

At the time of the arrival of Vacarius Oxford stood in the first rank among English towns. Its town church of S. Martin rose from the midst of a huddled group of houses, girt in with massive walls, that lay along the dry upper ground of a low peninsula between the streams of Cherwell and the upper Thames. The ground fell gently on either side, eastward and westward, to these rivers, while on the south a sharper descent led down across swampy meadows to the city bridge. Around lay a wild forest country, the moors of Cowley and Bullingdon fringing the course of Thames, the great woods of Shotover and Bagley closing the horizon to the south and east. Though the two huge towers of its Norman castle marked the strategic importance of Oxford as commanding the river valley along which the commerce of Southern England mainly flowed, its walls formed, perhaps, the least element in its military strength, for on every side but the north the town was guarded by the swampy meadows along Cherwell, or by the intricate network of streams into which the Thames breaks among the meadows of Osney. From the midst of these meadows rose a mitred abbey of Austin Canons, which, with the older priory of S. Frideswide, gave the town some ecclesiastical dignity. The residence of the Norman house of the U'Oillis within its castle, the frequent visits of English kings to a palace without its walls, the presence again and again of important councils, marked its political weight within the realm. The settlement of one of the wealthiest among the English Jewries in the very heart of the town indicated, while it promoted, the activity of its trade. No place better illustrates the transformation of the land in the hands of its Norman masters, the sudden outburst of industrial effort, the sudden expansion of commerce and accumulation of wealth which followed the Conquest. To the west of the town rose one of the stateliest of English castles, and in the meadows beneath the hardly less stately abbey of Osney. In the fields to the north the last of the Norman kings raised his palace of Beaumont. The canons of S. Frideswide reared the church which still exists as the diocesan cathedral, while the piety of the Norman Castellans rebuilt almost all the parish churches of the city, and founded within their new castle walls the church of the Canons of S. George. We know nothing of the causes which drew students and teachers within the walls of Oxford. It is possible tkat her£ as elsewhere a new teacher had quickened older educational foundations, and

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that the cloisters of Osney and S. Fricleswide already possessed schools which burst into a larger life under the impulse of Vacarius. As yet, however, the fortunes of the University were obscured by the glories of Paris. English scholars gathered in thousands round the chairs of William of Champeaux or Abelard. The English took their place as one of the "nations" of the French University. John of Salisbury became famous as one of the Parisian teachers. Beket wandered to Paris from his school at Merton. But through the peaceful reign of Henry the Second Oxford was quietly increasing in numbers and repute. Forty years after the visit of Vacarius its educational position was fully established. When Gerald of Wales read his amusing Topography of Ireland to its students, the most learned and famous of the English clergy were, he tells us, to be found within its walls. At the opening of the thirteenth century Oxford was without a rival in its own country, while in European celebrity it took rank with the greatest schools of the Western world. But to realize this Oxford of the past we must dismiss from our minds all recollections of the Oxford of the present. Tn the outer aspect of the new University there was nothing of the pomp that overawes the freshman as he first paces the " High," or looks clown from the gallery of S. Mary's. *In* the stead of long fronts of venerable colleges, of stately walks beneath immemorial elms, history plunges us into the mean and filthy lanes of a media*v.-d town. Thousands of boys, huddled in bare lodging-houses, clustering round teachers as poor as themselves in church porch and house porrh, drinking, quarrelling, dicing, begging at the corners of the streets, take the place of the brightly-coloured train of doctors and Heads. Mayor and Chancellor struggled in vain to enforce order or peace on this seething mass of turbulent life. The retainers w ho followed their young lords to the University fought out the feuds of their houses in the streets. Scholars from Kent and scholars from Scotland waged the bitter struggle of North and South. At nightfall roysterer and ievellcr roamed with torches through the narrow lanes, defying bailiffs, and cutting down burghers at their doors. Now a mob of clerks plunged into the Jewry, and wiped off the memory of bills and bonds by sacking a Hebrew house or two. Now a tavern row between scholar and townsman widened into a general broil, and the academical bell of S. Mary's vied with the town bell of S. Martin's in clanging to arms. Every phase of ecclesiastical controversy or political strife was preluded by some fierce outbreak in this turbulent, surging mob. When England growled at the exactions of the Papacy, the students besieged a legate in the abbot's house at Osney. A murderous town and gown row preceded the opening of the Batons' War. "When Oxford draws knife," ran the old rime, "England's soon ak st'ife."

But the turbulence^and stir was a stir and turbulence of life. A keen

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Edmund Rich

thirst for knowledge, a passionate poetry of devotion, gathered thousands round the poorest scholar, and welcomed the barefoot friar. Edmund Rich—Archbishop of Canterbury and saint in later days—came to Oxford, a boy of twelve years old, from the little lane at Abingdon that still bears his name. He found his school in an inn that belonged to the abbey of Eynsham, where his father had taken refuge from the world. His mother was a pious woman of the day, too poor to give her boy much outfit besides the hair shirt that he promised to wear every Wednesday ; but Edmund was no poorer than his neighbours. He plunged at once into the nobler life of the place, its ardour for knowledge, its mystical piety. " Secretly," perhaps at eventide when the shadows were gathering in the church of S. Mary's, and the crowd of teachers and students had left its aisles, the boy stood before an image of the Virgin, and placing a ring of gold upon its finger took Mary for his bride. Years of study, broken by a fever that raged among the crowded, noisome streets, brought the time for completing his education at Paris ; and Edmund, hand in hand with a brother Robert of his, begged his way, as poor scholars were wont, to the great school of Western Christendom. Here a damsel, heedless of his tonsure, wooed I him so pertinaciously that Edmund consented at List to an assignation ; but when he appeared it was in company of grave academical officials, I who, as the maiden declared in the hour of penitence which followed, | " straightway whipped the offending *F.*\c out of her." Still true to J his Virgin bridal, Edmund, on his return from Paris, became the most j popular of Oxford teacher-^. It is to him that Oxford owes her first | introduction to the Logic of Aristotle. We see him in the little room which he hired, with the Virgin's chapel hard by, his grey gown reaching to his feet, ascetic in his devotion, falling asleep in lecture time after a sleepless night of prayer, with a grace and cheerfulness of manner which told of his French training, and a chivalrous love of knowledge that let his pupils pay what they would. "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust," the young tutor would say, a touch of scholarly pride perhaps mingling, with his contempt of worldly things, as he threw down the fee on the dusty w indow-ledgc, whence a thievish student would sometimes run off with it. Put even knowledge brought its troubles ; the (Id Testament, which with a copy of the Decretals long formed his sole library, frowned down upon a lo\e of secular learning from which Edmund found it hard to wean himself. At last, in some hour of dream, the form of his dead mother floated into the room where the teacher stood among his mathematical diagrams. " What are these ?" she seemed to say; and seizing Edmund's right hand, she drew on the palm three circles interlaced, each of which bore the name of one of the Persons of the Cluislian Trinity. " He these," she cried, as her figure faded away, "thy diagwuns hegnceforth, my son."

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The Universities and Feudalism

The story admirably illustrates the real character of the new training, and the latent opposition between the spirit of the Universities and the spirit of the Church. The feudal and ecclesiastical order of the old mediaeval world were both alike threatened by the power that had so strangely sprung up in the midst of them. Feudalism rested on local isolation, on the severance of kingdom from kingdom and barony from barony, on the distinction of blood and race, on the supremacy of material or brute force, on an allegiance determined by accidents of place and social position. The University, on the other hand, was a protest against this isolation of man from man. The smallest school was European and not local. Not merely every province of France, but every people of Christendom, had its place among the "nations" of Paris or Padua. A common language, the Latin tongue, superseded within academical bounds the warring tongues of Europe. A common intellectual kinship and rivalry took the place of the petty strifes which parted province from province or realm from realm. What the Church and Empire had both aimed at and both failed in, the knitting of Christian nations together into a vast commonwealth, the Universities for a time actually did. Dante felt himself as little a stranger in the " Latin " quarter around Mont Ste. Genevieve as under the arches of Bologna. Wandering Oxford scholars carried the writings of Wyclif to the libraries of Prague. In England the work of provincial fusion was less difficult or important than elsewhere, but even in England work had to be done. The feuds of Northerner and Southerner which so long disturbed the discipline of Oxford witnessed at any rate to the fact that Northerner and Southerner had at last been brought face to face in its streets. And here as elsewhere the spirit of national isolation was held in check by the larger comprehensiveness of the University. After the dissensions that threatened the prosperity of Paris in the thirteenth century, Norman and Gascon mingled with Englishmen in Oxford lecture-halls. At a later time the rebellion of Owen Glyndvvr found hundreds of Welshmen gathered round its teachers. And within this strangely mingled mass, society and government rested on a purely democratic basis. Among Oxford scholars the son of the noble stood on precisely the same footing with the poorest mendicant. Wealth, physical strength, skill in arms, pride of ancestry and blood, the very grounds on which feudal society rested, went for nothing in the lecture-room. The University was a state absolutely self-governed, and whose citizens were admitted by a purely intellectual fran< hise. Knowledge made the " master." To know more than one's fellows was a man's sole claim to be a " ruler " in the schools : and within this intellectual aristocracy all were equal. When the free commonwealth of the masters gathered in the aisles of S. Mary's all has an equal right to counsel, all had an equal vote in the final cfecision. 'V.reasury and libiary were at their complete dis-

posal. It was their voice that named every officer, that proposed and sanctioned every statute. Even the Chancellor, their head, who had at first been an officer of the Bishop, became an elected officer of their own.

The Universities and the Church

If the democratic spirit of the Universities threatened feudalism, their spirit of intellectual inquiry threatened the Church. To all outer seeming they were purely ecclesiastical bodies. The wide extension which mediaeval usage gave to the word "orders" gathered the whole educated world within the pale of the clergy. Whatever might be their age or proficiency, scholar and teacher were alike clerks, free from lay responsibilities or the control of civil tribunals, and amenable only to the rule of the Bishop and the sentence of his spiritual courts This ecclesiastical character of the University appeared in that of its head. The Chancellor, as we have seen, was at first no officer of the University, but of the ecclesiastical body under whose shadow it had sprung into life. At Oxford he was simply the local officer of the Bishop of Lincoln, within whose immense diocese the University was then situated. But this identification in outer form with the Church only rendered more conspicuous the difference of its spirit. The sudden expansion of the field of education diminished the importance of those purely ecclesiastical and theological studies whi(h had hitherto absorbed the whole intellectual energies of mankind. The revival of classical literature, the rediscovery as it were of an older and a greater world, the contact with a larger, freer life, whether in mind, in society, or in politics, introduced a spirit of scepticism, of doubt, of denial into the realms of unquestioning belief. Abelard claimed for reason the supremacy over faith. Florentine poets discussed with a smile the immortality of the soul. Even to Dante, while he censures these, Vergil is as sacred as Jeremiah. The imperial ruler in whom the new culture took its most notable form, Frederic the Second, the " World's Wonder " of his time, was regarded by half Europe as no better than an infidel. A faint revival of physical science, so long crushed as magic by the dominant ecclesiasticism, brought Christians into perilous contact with the Moslem and the Jew. The books of the Rabbis were no longer a mere accursed thing to Roger Bacon. The scholars of Cordova were no mere Paynim swine to Abelard of Bath. How slowly indeed and against what obstacles science won its way we know from the witness of Roger Bacon. "Slowly," he tells us, " has any portion of the philosophy of Aristotle come into use among the Latins. His Natural Philosophy and his Metaphysics, with the Commentaries of A vermes and others, were translated in my time, and interdicted at Paris up to *the* year of grace 1237 because of their assertion of the eternity of the world and of time, and because of the book of the divinations by d seams (which is the third book, De Sonmiis et Vigiliis), and becaufe of many passages

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erroneously translated. Even his Logic was slowly received and lectured on. For St. Edmund, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was the first in my time who read the Elements at Oxford. And I have seen Master Hugo, who first read the book of Posterior Analytics, and I have seen his writing. So there were but few, considering the multitude of the Latins, who were of any account in the philosophy of Aristotle; nay, very few indeed, and scarcely any up to this year of grace 1292."

Roger Bacon 1214-1292

We shall see in a later page how fiercely the Church fought against this tide of opposition, and how it won back the allegiance of the Universities through the begging Friars. But it was in the ranks of the Friars themselves that the intellectual progress of the Universities found its highest representative. The life of Roger Bacon almost covers the thirteenth century; he was the child of royalist parents, who had been driven into exile and reduced to poverty by the civil wars. From Oxford, where he studied under Edmund of Abingdon, to whom he owed his introduction to the works of Aristotle, he passed to the University of Paris, where his whole heritage was spent in costly studies and experiments. "From my youth up," he writes, "I have laboured at the sciences and tongues. I have sought the friendship of all men among the Latins who had any reputation for knowledge. I have caused youths to be instructed in languages, geometry, arithmetic, the construction of tables and instruments, and many needful things besides." The difficulties in the way of such studies as he had resolved to pursue were immense. He was without instruments or means of experiment. "Without mathematical instruments no science can be mastered," he complains afterwards, "and these instruments are not to be found among the Latins, nor could they be made for two or three hundred pounds. Besides, better tables are indispensably necessary, tables on which the motions of the heavens are certified from the beginning to the end of the world without daily labour, but these tables are worth a king's ransom, and mild not be made without a vast expense. I have often, attempted the composition of such tables, but could not finish them through failure of means and the folly of those whom I had to employ." Books were difficult and sometimes even impossible to procure. "The philosophical works of Aristotle, of Avicenna, of Seneca, of Cicero, and other ancients cannot be had without great cost; their principal works have not been translated into Latin, and copies of others are not to be found in ordinary libraries or elsewhere. The admirable books of Cicero de Republica are not to be found anywhere, so far as I can hear, though I have made anxious inquiry for them in different parts of the world, and by various messengers. I could never find the works of Seneca, though I made diligent search for them during twenty years, and more. And so FT is with many more most useful books connected with the

science of morals." It is only words like these of his own that bring home to us the keen thirst for knowledge, the patience, the energy of Roger Bacon. He returned as a teacher to Oxford, and a touching record of his devotion to those whom he taught remains in the story of John of London, a boy of fifteen, whose ability raised him above the general level of his pupils. " When he came to me as a poor boy," says Bacon, in recommending him to the Pope, " I caused him to be nurtured and instructed for the love of God, especially since for aptitude and innocence I have never found so towardly a youth. Five or six years ago I caused him to be taught in languages, mathematics, and optics, and I have gratuitously instructed him with my own lips since the time that I received your mandate. There is no one at Paris who knows so much of the root of philosophy, though he has not produced the branches, flowers, and fruit because of his youth, and because he has had no experience in teaching. But he has the means of surpassing all the Latins if he live to grow old and goes on as he has begun."

The pride with which he refers to his system of instruction was justified by the wide extension which he gave to scientific teaching in Oxford. It is probably of himself that he speaks when he tells us that "the science of optics has not hitherto been lectured on at Pans or elsewhere among the Latins, save twice at Oxford." It was a S' iencc on which he had laboured for ten years. But his teaching seems to have fallen on a barren soil. From the moment when the friars settled in the Universities scholasticism absorbed the whole mental energy of the student world. The temper of the age was against scientific or philosophical studies. The older enthusiasm for knowledge was dying down ; the study of law was the one source of promotion, whether in Church or state; philosophy was discredited, literature in its purer forms became almost extinct. After forty years of incessant study, Bacon found himself in his own words '* unheard, forgotten, buried/' lie seems at one time to have been wealthy, but his wealth was gone. " During the twenty years that 1 have specially l.iboiucd in the attainment of wisdom, abandoning the path of common men, 1 have spent on these pursuits more than two thousand pounds, on account of the cost of books, experiments, instruments, tables, the acquisition of languages, and the like. Add to all this the sacrifices I have made to procure the friendship of the wise, and to obtain well-instriuted assistants" Ruined and baftled in his hopes, Bacon listened to the counsels of his friend Orosseteste and renounced the world. He became a friar of the order of S. Franc is, an order where books and study wete looked upon as hindrances to the woik which it had pecially undertaken, thai of pleaching among the masses of the poor. He had wiitten hardly anything. So far was he from attempting to write, th.it his new supcnois had prohibited him Wom publishing any-

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thing under pain of forfeiture of the book and penance of bread and water. But we can see the craving of his mind, the passionate instinct of creation which marks the man of genius, in the joy with which he seized the strange opportunity which suddenly opened before him. " Some few chapters on different subjects, written at the entreaty of friends," seem to have got abroad, and were brought by one of his chaplains under the notice of Clement the Fourth. The Pope at once invited him to write. Again difficulties stood in his way. Materials, transcription, and other expenses for such a work as he projected would cost at least ^60, and the Pope had not sent a penny. He begged help from his family, but they were ruined like himself. No one would lend to a mendicant friar, and when his friends raised the money it was by pawning their goods in the hope of repayment from Clement. Nor was this all; the work itself, abstruse and scientilic as was its subject, had to be treated in a clear and popular form to gain the Papal ear. But difficulties which would have crushed another man only roused Roger Bacon to an almost superhuman energy. In little more than a year the work was done. The " greater work," itself in modern form a closely printed folio, with its successive summaries and appendices in the " lesser " and the " third " works (which make a good octavo more) were produced and forwarded to the Pope within fifteen months.

No trace of this fiery haste remains in the book itself. The " Opus Majus " is alike wonderful in plan and detail. Bacon's main plan, in the words of Dr. Whewell, is " to urge the necessity of a reform in the mode of philosophizing, to set forth the reasons why knowledge had not made a greater progress, to draw back attention to sources of knowledge which had been unwisely neglected, to discover other sources which were yet wholly unknown, and to animate men to the undertaking by a prospect of the vast advantages which it offered." The developement of his scheme is on the largest scale ; he gathers together the whole knowledge of his time on every branch of science which it possessed, and as he passes them in review he suggests improvements in nearly all. His labours, both here and in his after works, in the field of grammar and philology, his perseverance in insisting on the necessity of correct texts, of an accurate knowledge of languages, of an exact interpretation, arc hardly less remarkable than his scientific investigations. But from grammar he passes to mathematics, from mathematics to experimental philosophy. Under the name of mathematics was included all the physical science of the time. " The neglect of it for nearly thirty or forty years," pleads Bacon passionately, "hath nearly destroyed the entire studies of Latin Christendom. For he who knows not mathematics cannot know any other sciences : and what js mofe, he cannot discover his own ignorance or find its proper remedies." 'Geography, chronology, arithmetic, music, are

brought into something of scientific form, and the same rapid examination is devoted to the question of climate, to hydrography, geography, and astrology. The subject of optics, his own especial study, is treated with greater fulness ; he enters into the question of the anatomy of the eye, besides discussing the problems which lie more strictly within the province of optical science. In a word, the " Greater Work," to borrow the phrase of Dr. Whewell, is " at once the Encyclopaedia and the Novum Organum of the thirteenth century." The whole of the after works of Roger Bacon—and treatise after treatise has of late been disentombed from our libraries—are but devclopements in detail of the magnificent conception he had laid before Clement. Such a work was its own great reward. From the world around Roger Bacon could look for and found small recognition. No word of acknowledgement seems to have reached its author from the Pope. If we may credit a more recent story, his writings only gained him a prison from his order. " Unheard, forgotten, buried," the old man died as he had lived, and it has been reserved for later ages to roll away the obscurity that had gathered round his memory, and to place first in the great roll of modern science the name of Roger Bacon.

Section V.—Henry the Third, 1216-1257.

\Ai4thoritifs.-~~'Y\\iz two great authorities for this period are the historiographers of St. Albans, Roger of Wendover, whose work ends in 1235, and his editor and continuator Matthew Paris. The first is full but inaccuiate, and with strong royal and ecclesiastical sympathies : of the character of Matthew, [have spoken at the close of the present section. The Chronicles of Dunstable, Waveiley, and Burton (published in Mr. Luard's " Annales Monastici ") supplv many details. The " Royal Letters," edited by Dr. Shirley, with an admirable preface, are, like the Patent and Close Rolls, of the highest value. For opposition to Rome, see " Crosseteste's l.etteis," edited by Mr. Luard.]

Hubert de Burgh

The death of the Karl Marshal in 1219 left the direction of affairs in the hands of a new legate, Pandulf, of Stephen Langton who had just returned forgiven from Rome, and of the Justiciar, Hubert de Burgh. It was an age of transition, and the temper of the Justiciar was eminently transitional. Bred in the school of Henry the Second, he had little sympathy with national freedom ; his conception of good government, like that of his master, lay in a wise personal administration, in the preservation of order and law. But he combined with this a thoroughly English desire for national independence, a hatred of foreigners, and a reluctance to waste English blood and treasure in Continental struggles. Able as he proved himself, his task was one of no common difficulty. He was hampered by the constant interference of Rome^ A Papal legate resided at the English court, and claimed a share in the admin-

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istration of the realm as the representative of its over-lord, and as guardian of the young- sovereign. A foreign party, too, had still a footing in the kingdom, for William Marshal had been unable to rid himself of men like Peter des Roches or Faukes de Breaute', who had fought on the royal side in the struggle against Lewis. Hubert had to deal too with the anarchy which that struggle left behind it. From the time of the Conquest the centre of England had been covered with the domains of great nobles, whose longings were for feudal independence, and whose spirit of revolt had been held in check, partly by the stern rule of the Kings, and partly by their creation of a baronage sprung from the Court and settled for the most part in the North. The oppression of John united both the older and these newer houses in the struggle for the Charter. But the character of each remained unchanged, and the close of the struggle saw the feudal party break out in their old lawlessness and defiance of the Crown. Foi a time the anarchy of Stephen's days seemed revived. But the Justiciar was resolute to crush it, and he was backed by the strenuous efforts of Stephen Langton. The Earl of Chester, the head of the feudal baronage, though he rose in armed rebellion, quailed before the march of Hubert and the Primate's threats of excommunication. A more formidable foe remained in the Frenchman, Faukes de Breaute, the sheriff of six counties, with six royal castles in his hands, and allied both with the rebel barons and Llewelyn of Wales. His castle of
1224 Bedford was besieged for two months before its surrender, and the stern justice of Hubert hanged the twenty-four knights and their retainei s who formed the garrison before its walls. The blow was effectual ; the royal castles were surrendered by the barons, and the land was once more at peace. Freed from foreign soldiery, the country wa > freed also from the presence of the foreign legate. Langton wrested a promise from Rome that so long as he lived no future legate should be sent to England, and with PandulPs resignation in 1221 the direct interference of the Papacy in the government of the realm came to an end. But even these services of the Primate were small compared with his services to English freedom. Throughout his life the Charter was the first object of his care. The omission of the articles which restricted the royal power over taxation in the Charter which was published at Henry's accession was doubtless due to the Archbishop'.-, absence and disgrace at Rome. The suppression of disorder seems to have revived the older spirit of resistance among the royal ministers ; when Langton demanded a fresh confirmation of the Charter in Parlia-
1223 ment at London, William Brewer, one of the King's councillors, protested that it had been extorted by force, and was without legal validity. " If you loved the King, William," the Primate burst out in anger, " you would not throw a stumbling-block in the way of the peace of the realm." The King was cowed by the Archbishop's wrath, and a' once

Langton and the Charter 1216

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piomibcd obsenaiue of the Chatter. Two >ears after, its solemn promulgation was demanded by the Aichbishop and the barons as the price of a subsidy, and Henry's assent established the principle, so fruitful of constitutional results, that redress of wrongs precedes a grant to the Crown.

Hubert's fall

Langton s death I22S

The death of Stephen Langton in 1228 proved a heavy blow to English freedom. In 1227 Henry had declared himself of age ; and though Hubert still remained Justiciar, every year saw him more powerless in his struggle with Rome and with the tendencies of the King. In the mediae al theory of the Papacy, the constitution of Christendom as a spiritual realm took the feudal form of the secular kingdoms within Us pale, with the Pope for sovereign, bishops for his barons, the clergy for his under vassals. As the King demanded aids and subsidies in case of need from his liegemen, so it was believed might the head of the Church from the priesthood. At this moment the Papacy, exhausted by its long struggle with Frederick the Second, giew more and moie extortionate in its demands. It regarded England as a vassal kingdom, and as bound to aid its overlord. The baronage, however, rejected the demand of aid from the laity, and the Pope fell back on the cleigy. He demanded a tithe of all the moveables of the priesthood, and a threat of excommunication silenced their murmurs. Exaction followed exaction, the very rights of the lay patrons* were set aside, and under the name of " rescnes" presentations to English benefices were sold in the Papal market, while Italian cleigy were quartered on the best Inings of the Church. The geneial indignation found \ent .it last in a wide conspiracy ; letters from "the whole body of those who piefer to die rather than be ruined by the Romans" were sr.itteied over the kingdom by armed men; tithes gathcicd fut the Pope and foieign clergy were seized and given to the poor, the Papal commissioners, beaten, and their bulls trodden under foot The 1 cinonstranccs of Rome only revealed the national character of the movement; but as inquiry proceeded the hand of the Justiciar himself was seen to lune been at woik. SheiiflV had stood idly by while the uolencc was done; lojal letters had been shown by the rioters as appioving their at ts ; and the Pope openl) laid the charge of the outbreak on the set ictconnianteof Hubert de Buigh. The ch.ugo came at a tunc when Heniy was in full collision with his minister, to whom he altnhuted the failuic of his attempts to regain the foieign dominions of his house. An invitation from the batons of Normandx had been 1 ejected through Hubeit's remonstrances, and when a great ann.'iment gathcicd at Portsmouth for a campaign in Poitou, it was dispersed for want of transport and supplies. The young King drew his swoid and rushed madly on the Justiciar, whom he charged with treason and coiruption by thcgold of France; but **the** empanel was appeased, and the expedition defened for the year. The failure of the

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campaign in the following year, when Henry took the field in Britanny and Poitou, was again laid at the door of Hubert, whose opposition was said to have prevented an engagement. The Papal accusation filled up the measure of Henry's wrath. Hubert was dragged from a chapel at Brentwood where he had taken refuge, and a smith was ordered to shackle him. "1 will die any death," replied the smith, "before I put iron on the man who freed England from the stranger and saved Dover from France." On the remonstrances of the Bishop of London Hubert was replaced in sanctuary, but hunger compelled him to surrender; he was thrown a prisoner into the Tower, and though soon released he remained powerless in the realm. His fall left England without a check to the rule of Henry himself.

Henry III. and the aliens

There was a certain refinement in Henry's temper which won him affection even in the worst days of his rule. The Abbey-church of Westminster, with which he replaced the ruder minster of the Confessor, remains a monument of his artistic taste. He was a patron and friend of artists and men of letters, and himself skilled in the "gay science" of the troubadour. From the cruelty, the lust, the impiety of his father he was absolutely free. But of the political capacity which had been the characteristic of his house he had little or none. Profuse, changeable, impulsive alike in good and ill, unbridled in temper and tongue, reckless in insult and wit, Henry's delight was in the display of an empty and prodigal magnificence, his one notion of government a dream of arbitrary power. But frivolous as the King's mood was, he clung with a weak man's obstinacy to a distinct line of policy. He cherished the hope of recovering his heritage across the sea. He believed in the absolute power of the Crown ; and looked on the pledges of the Great Charter as promises which force had wrested from the King and which force could wrest back again. The claim which the French kings were advancing to a divine and absolute power gave a sanction in Henry's mind to the claim of absolute authority which was still maintained by his favourite advisers in the royal council. The death of Langton, the fall of Hubert de Burgh, left him free to surround himself with dependent ministers, mere agents of the royal will. Hosts of hungry Poitcvins and Bretons were at once summoned over to occupy the royal castles and fill the judicial and administrative posts about the Court. His marriage with

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Eleanor of Provence was followed by the arrival in England of the Oueen's uncles. The "Savoy," as his house in the Strand was named, still recalls Peter of Savoy, who arrived five years later to take for a while the chief place at Henry's council-board ; another brother, Boniface, was on Archbishop Edmund's death consecrated to the highest post in the realm save the Crown itself, the Archbishoprick of Canterbury. Thf, young Primate, like his brother, brought with him foreign fashions strange enough to English folk. His armed retainers pillaged

the markets;. Mis own archiepiscopal fist felled to the ground the prior of St. Bartholomew-by-Smithfield, who opposed his visitation. London was roused by the outrage ; on the King's refusal to do justice a noisy crowd of citizens surrounded the Primate's house at Lambeth with cries of vengeance, and the " handsome archbishop," as his followers styled him, was glad to escape over sea. This brood of Provencals was followed in 1243 by the arrival of the Poitevin relatives of John's queen, Isabella of Angouleme. Aymer was made Bishop of Winchester ; William of Valence received the earldom of Pembroke. Even the King's jester was a Poitevin. Hundreds of their dependants followed these great lords to find a fortune in the English realm. The Poitevin lords brought in their train a bevy of ladies in search of husbands, and three English earls who were in royal wardship were wedded by the King to foreigners. The whole machinery of administration passed into the hands of men ignorant and contemptuous of the principles of English government or English law. Their rule was a mere anarchy ; the very retainers of the royal household turned robbers, and pillaged foreign merchants in the precincts of the Court ; corruption invaded the judicature ; Henry de Bath, a justiciar, was proved to have openly taken bribes and to have adjudged to himself disputed estates.

The Barons and the Church

That misgovernment of this kind should have gone on unchecked, in defiance of the provisions of the Charter, was owing to the disunion and sluggishness of the English baronage. On the first arrival of the foreigners, Richard, the Earl Marshal, a son of the great Regent, stood forth as their leader to demand the expulsion of the strangers from the royal Council, and though deserted by the bulk of the nobles, he defeated the foreign forces sent against him, and forced the King to treat for peace. But at this moment the Earl was drawn by an intrigue of Peter des Roches to Ireland ; he fell in a petty skirmish, and the 1234
barons were left without a head. Edmund Rich, whom we have seen as an Oxford teacher and who had risen to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, forced the King to dismiss Peter from court ; but there was no real change of system, and the remonstrances of the Archbishop and of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, remained fruitless. In the long interval of misrule which followed, the financial straits of the King forced him to heap exaction on exaction. The Forest Laws were used as a means of extortion, sees and abbeys were kept vacant, loans were wrested from lords and prelates, the Court itself lived at free quarters wherever it moved. Supplies of this kind however were utterly insufficient to defray the cost of the King's prodigality. A sixth of the royal revenue was wasted in pensions to foreign favourites. The debts of the Crown mounted to four times its annual income. Henry was forced to appeal to the Great Council of the realm, and aid was granted on condition that the King confirmed the Charter. The 1237

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Charter was confirmed and steadily disregarded ; ami the resentment of the barons expressed itself in a determined protest and a refusal of further subsidies. In spite of their refusal however Henry gathered money enough for a costly expedition for the recovery of Poitou. The attempt ended in failure and shame. At Taillebourg the forces under Henry fled in disgraceful rout before the French as far as Saintes, and only the sudden illness of Lewis the Ninth and a disease which scattered his army saved Bordeaux from the conquerors. The treasury was drained, and Henry was driven to make a fresh appeal to the baronage. The growing resolution of the nobles to enforce good government was seen in their demand that the confirmation of the Charter was to be followed by the election of Justiciar, Chancellor, and Treasurer in the Great Council, and that a perpetual Council was to attend the King and devise further reforms. The plan broke against Henry's resistance and a Papal prohibition. The scourge of Papal taxation fell heavily on the clergy. After vain appeals to Rome and to the King, Archbishop Edmund retired to an exile of despair at Pontigny, and tax-gatherer after tax-gatherer with powers of excommunication, suspension from orders, and presentation to benefices, descended on the unhappy priesthood. The wholesale pillage kindled a wide spirit of resistance. Oxford gave the signal by hunting a Papal legate out of the city, amid cries of " usurer " and " simoniac " from the mob of students. Fulk Fitz-Warcnne in the name of the barons bade a Papal collector begone out of England. " \i you tarry three clays longer," he added, "you and your company shall be cut to pieces." For a time Henry himself was swept away by the tide of national indignation. Letters from the King, the nobles and the prelates protested against the Papal exactions, and orders were given that no money should be exported from the realm. But the threat of interdict soon drove Henry back on a policy of spoliation, in which he went hand in hand with Rome.

1242

1246

Matthew Paris I200-1259

The story of this period of misrule has been preserved for us by an annalist whose pages glow with the new outburst of patriotic feeling which this common oppression of the people and the clergy [' had produced. Matthew Paris is the greatest, as he is in reality the last, of our monastic historians. The school of S. Alban's survived indeed till a far later time, but the writers dwindle into mere annalists whose view is bounded by the abbey precincts, and whose work is as colourless as it is jejune. In Matthew the breadth and precision of the narrative, the copiousness of his information on topics whether national or European, the general fairness and justice of his comments, are only surpassed by the patriotic fire and enthusiasm of the whole. He had succeeded Roger of Wendover as chronicler »t S. Alban's ; and the Greater Chronicle with an abridgement of if which rm? long passed under the name of Matthew of

Westminster, a " History of the English," and the *li* Lives of the Earlier Abbots," were only a few among the voluminous works which attest his prodigious industry. He was an artist as well as an historian, and many of the manuscripts which are preserved are illustrated by his own hand. A large circle of correspondents—bishops like Grosseteste, ministers like Hubert de Burgh, officials like Alexander de Swereford— furnished him with minute accounts of political and ecclesiastical proceedings. Pilgrims from the East and Papal agents brought news of foreign events to his scriptorium at S. Alban's. He had access to and quotes largely from state documents, charters, and exchequer rolls. The frequency of the royal visits to the abbey brought him a store of political intelligence, and Henry himself contributed to the great chronicle which has preserved with so terrible a faithfulness the memory of his weakness and misgovernment. On one solemn feast-day the King recognized Matthew, and bidding him sit on the middle step between the floor and the throne, begged him to write the story of the day's proceedings. While on a visit to S. Alban's he invited him to his table and chamber, and enumerated by name two hundred and fifty of the English baronies for his information. But all this royal patronage has left little mark on his work. " The case," as he says, " of historical writers is hard, for if they tell the truth they provoke men, and if they write what is false they offend God." With all the fulness of the school of court historians, such as Benedict or Hoveden, Matthew Paris combines an independence and patriotism which is strange to their pages, lie denounces with the same unsparing energy the oppression of the Papacy and the King. His point of view is neither that of a courtier nor of a churchman, but of an Englishman, and the new national tone of his chronicle is but an echo of the national sentiment which at last bound nobles and yeomen and churchmen together into a people ltsolute to wrest freedom from the Crown.

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Section **VI.**—The **Friara.**

[Authorities.—Eccleston's Tract on their arrival in England and Adam Marsh's Letters, with Mr. Prewer's admirable Preface, in the " Monumenta Eranciscana" of the Rolls .series. Grosseteste's Letters in the same series, edited by Mr. Luard. Eor a general account of the whole movement, see Milman's " L.itin Christianity," vol. iv. caps. 9 and 10.]

England and tlit Church

From the tedious record of misgovernment and political weakness which stretches over the forty years we have passed through, we turn with relief to the story of the Friars.

Never, as we have seen, had the priesthood wielded such boundless

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power over Christendom as in the days of Innocent the Third and his immediate successors. But its religious hold on the people was loosening day by day. The old reverence for the Papacy was fading away before the universal resentment at its political ambition, its lavish use of interdict and excommunication for purely secular ends, its degradation of the most sacred sentences into means of financial extortion. In Italy the struggle that was opening between Rome and Frederick the Second disclosed a spirit of scepticism which among the Epicurean poets of Florence denied the immortality of the soul, and attacked the very foundations of the faith itself. In Southern Gaul, Languedoc and Provence had embraced the heresy of the Albigenses, and thrown off all allegiance to the Papacy. Even in England, though there were no signs as yet of religious revolt, and though the political action of Rome had been in the main on the side of freedom, there was a spirit of resistance to its interference with national concerns which broke out in the struggle against John. "The Pope has no part in secular matters," had been the reply of London to the interdict of Innocent. And within the English Church itself there was much to call for reform. Its attitude in the strife for the Charter as well as the after work of the Primate had made it more popular than ever; but its spiritual energy was less than its political. The disuse of preaching, the decline of the monastic orders into rich landowners, the non-residence and ignorance of the parish priests, robbed the clergy of spiritual influence. The abuses of the time foiled even the energy of such men as Bishop Grosscteste of Lincoln. His constitutions forbid the clergy to haunt taverns, to gamble, to share in drinking bouts, to mix in the riot and debauchery of the life of the baronage. But such prohibitions only witness to the prevalence of the evils they denounce. Bishops and deans were withdrawn from their ecclesiastical duties to act as ministers, judges, or ambassadors. Benefices were heaped in hundreds at a time on royal favourites like John Mansel. Abbeys absorbed the tithes of parishes, and then served them by half-starved vicars, while exemptions purchased from Rome shielded the scandalous lives of canons and monks from all episcopal discipline. And behind all this was a group of secular statesmen and scholars, waging indeed no open warfare with the Church, but noting with bitter sarcasm its abuses and its faults.

The Triars

To bring the world back again within the pale of the Church was the aim of two religious orders which sprang suddenly to life at the opening of the thirteenth century. The zeal of the Spaniard Dominic was roused at the sight of the lordly prelates who sought by fire and sword to win the Albigensian heretics to the faith. "Zeal," he cried, "must be met by zeal, lowliness by lowliness, false sanctity by real sanctity, preaching lies by precihing truth." His fiery ardour and rigid orthodoxy were seconded by the mystical piety, the imaginative enthusiasm of Francis

of Assisi. The life of Francis falls like a stream of tender light across the darkness of the time. In the frescoes of Giotto or the verse of Dante we see him take Poverty for his bride. He strips himself of all, he flings his very clothes at his father's feet, that he may be one with Nature and God. His passionate verse claims the Moon for his sister and the Sun for his brother, he calls on his brother the Wind, and his sister the Water. His last faint cry was a " Welcome, Sister Death ! " Strangely as the two men differed from each other, their aim was the same—to convert the heathen, to extirpate heresy, to reconcile knowledge with orthodoxy, to carry the Gospel to the poor. The work was to be done by the entire reversal of the older monasticism, by seeking personal salvation in effort for the salvation of their fellow-men, by exchanging the solitary of the cloister for the preacher, the monk for the friar. To force the new " brethren" into entire dependence on those among whom they laboured their vow of Poverty was turned into a stern reality ; the "Begging Friars "were to subsist on the alms of the poor, they might possess neither money nor lands, the very houses in which they lived were to be held in trust for them by others. The tide of popular enthusiasm which welcomed their appearance swept before it the reluctance of Rome, the jealousy of the older orders, the opposition of the parochial priesthood. Thousands of brethren gathered in a *few* years round Francis and Dominic; and the begging preachers, clad in their coarse frock of serge, with a girdle of rope round their waist, wandered barefooted as missionaries over Asia, battled with heresy in Italy and Gaul, lectured in the Universities, and preached and toiled among the poor.

THE FKIAKS

The Friars and the Towns

To the towns especially the coming of the Friars was a religious revolution. They had been left for the most part to the worst and most ignorant of the clergy, the mass-priest, whose sole subsistence lay in his fees. Burgher and artisan were left to spell out what religious instruction they might from the gorgeous ceremonies of the Church's ritual, or the scriptural pictures and sculptures which were graven on the walls of its minsters. We can hardly wonder at the burst of enthusiasm which welcomed the itinerant preacher, whose fervid appeal, coarse wit, and familiar story brought religion into the fair and the market-place. The Black Friars of Dominic, the Grey Friars of Francis, were received with the same delight. As the older orders had chosen the country, the Friars chose the town. They had hardly landed at Dover before they made straight for London and Oxford. In their ignorance of the road the two first Grey Brothers lost their way in the woods between Oxford and Baldon, and fearful of night and of the floods, turned aside to a grange of the monks of Abingdon. Their ragged clothes and foreign gestures, as they prayed for hospitality, led the porter to take them for jongleurs,, the jesters , and jugglers of the day, and the news of this break in the monotony j

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THE FRIARS

of their lives brought prior, sacrist, and cellarer to the door to welcome them and witness their tricks. The disappointment was too much for the temper of the monks, and the brothers were kicked roughly from the gate to find their night's lodging under a tree. But the welcome of the townsmen made up everywhere for the ill-will and opposition of both clergy and monks. The work of the Friars was physical as well as moral. The rapid progress of population within the boroughs had outstripped the sanitary regulations of the Middle Ages, and fever or plague or the more terrible scourge of leprosy festered in the wretched hovels of the suburbs. It was to haunts such as these that Fnncis had pointed his disciples, and the Grey Brethren at once fixed themselves in the meanest and poorest quarters of each town. Their first work lay in the noisome lazar-houscs; it was amongst the lepers that they commonly chose the site of their homes. At London they settled in the shambles of Newgate ; at Oxford they made their way to the swampy ground between its walls and the streams of Thames. Huts of mud and timber, as mean as the huts around them, rose within the rough fence and ditch that bounded the Friary. The order of Francis made a hard fight against the taste for sumptuous buildings and fe.- greater personal comfort which characterized the time. "1 did not enter into religion to build walls," protested an English provincial when the brethren pressed lor a larger house ; and Albert of Bisa ordered a stone cloister, which the burgcssc.-> of Southampton had built for them, to be razed to the ground. "You need no little mountains to lift your heads to heaven," was his scornful reply to a claim for pillows. None but the sick went shod. An Oxford Friar found a pair of shoes one morning, and wore them at matins. At night he dreamt that robbers leapt on him in a dangerous pass between Gloucester and Oxford with shouts of "Kill, kill !" "I am a friar," shrieked the terror-stricken brother. "You lie," was the instant answer, "for you go shod." The Fl iar lifted up his foot in disproof, but the shoe was there. In an agony of repentance he woke and thing the pair out of window.

The Friars and the Universities

It was with less success that the order struggled against the passion for knowledge. Their vow of poverty, rigidly interpreted as it was by their founders, would have denied them the possession of books or materials for study. "I am your breviary, I am your breviary," Francis cried passionately to a novice who asked for a psalter. When the news of a great doctor's reception was brought to him at Paris, his countenance fell. "I am afraid, my son," he replied, "that such doctors will be the destruction of my vineyaid. They are the true doctors who with the meekness of wisdom show forth good works for the edification of their neighbours." At a later lime Roger Bacon, as we have seen, was suffered to possess neither ink, parchment, nor books; ancf only the Pope's injunctions could dispense with the

stringent observance of the rule. But one kind of knowledge indeed their work almost forced on them. The popularity of their preaching soon led them to the deeper study of theology. Within a short time after their establishment in England we find as many as thirty readers or lecturers appointed at Hereford, Leicester, Bristol, and other places, and a regular succession of teachers provided at each University. The Oxford Dominicans lectured on theology in the nave of their new church, while philosophy was taught in the cloister. The first provincial of the Grey Friars built a school in their Oxford house, and persuaded Grosseteste to lecture there. His influence after his promotion to the see of Lincoln was steadily exerted to secure study among the Friars, and their establishment in the University. He was ably seconded by his scholar, Adam Marsh, or de Marisco, under whom the Franciscan school at Oxford attained a reputation throughout Christendom. Lyons, Paris, and Koln borrowed from it their professors : it was owing, indeed, to its influence that Oxford now rose to a position hardly inferior to that of Paris itself as a centre of scholasticism. The three most profound and original of the schoolmen—Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and Ockham—were among its scholars ; and they weie followed by a crowd of teachers hardly less illustrious in their day.

Scholarticism

But the result of this powerful impulse was soon seen to be fatal to the wider intellectual activity which had till now characterized the Universities. Theology in its scholastic form, which now found its only efficient rivals in practical studies such as medicine and law, resumed its supremacy in the schools ; while Aristotle, who had been so long held at bay as the most dangerous foe of mediaeval faith, was now turned by the adoption of his logical method in the discussion and definition of theological dogma into its unexpected ally. It was this very method that led to "that unprofitable subtlety and curiosity" which Lord Bacon notes as the vice of the scholastic philosophy. But "certain it is "— to continue the same great thinker's comment on the Friars —" that if these schoolmen to their great thirst of truth and unwearied travel of wit had joined variety of reading and contemplation, they had proved excellent lights to the great advancement of all learning and knowledge." What, amidst all their errors, they undoubtedly did was to insist on the necessity of rigid demonstration and a more exact use of words, to introduce a clear and methodical treatment of all subjects into discussion, and above all to substitute an appeal to .eason for unquestioning' obedience to authority. It was by this critical tendency, by the new clearness and precision which scholasticism gave to enquiry, that in spite of the trivial questions with which it often concerned it-elf, it trained the human mind through the next two centuries to a tcnlper^'hich fitted it to profit by the great disclosure of knowledge that brought about the

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Renascence. And it is to the same spirit of fearless enquiry as well as to the strong popular sympathies which their very constitution necessitated that we must attribute the influence which the Friars undoubtedly exerted in the coming struggle between the people and the Crown. Their position is clearly and strongly marked throughout the whole contest. The University of Oxford, which had now fallen under the direction of their teaching, stood first in its resistance to Papal exactions and its claim of English liberty. The classes in the towns on whom the influence of the Friars told most directly were the steady supporters of freedom throughout the Barons' war. Adam Marsh was the closest friend and confidant both of Grossctesle and Earl Simon of Montfort,

Section VII.—The Barons' War, 1258 12G5.

[Authorities.—At the very outset of this important period we lose the priceless aid of Matthew Paris. lie is the last of the great chroniclers ; the Chionicles of his successor at S. Albaa's, Kishanger (published by the Master of the Rolls), are scant and lifeless jottings, somewhat enlarged for this period by his fragment on the Barons' War (published by Camden Society). Something may be gleaned from the annals of Burton, Melrose, Dunstable, Waverley, Osney, and Lanercost, the Royal Letters, the (royalist) Chronicle of Wykes, and (for London) the "Liber de Antiquis Legibus." Mr. Blaauw has given a useful summary of the period in his " Barons' War."]

When a thunderstorm once forced the King, as he was rowing on the Thames, to take refuge at the palace of the Bishop of Durham, Earl Simon of Montfort, who was a guest of the prelate, met the royal barge with assurances that the storm was drifting away, and that there was nothing to fear. Henry's petulant wit broke out in his reply. " If I fear the thunder," said the King, " I fear you, Sir Earl, more than all the thunder in the world."

Simon of Montfort

The man whom Henry dreaded as the champion of English freedom was himself a foreigner, the son of a Simon de Montfort whose name had become memorable for his ruthless crusade against the Albigensian heretics in Southern Gaul. Though fourth son of this crusader, Simon became possessor of the English earldom of Leicester, which he inherited through his mother, and a secret match with Eleanor, the King's sister and widow of the second William Marshal, linked him to the royal house. The baronage, indignant at this sudden alliance with a stranger, rose in a revolt which failed only through the desertion of their head, Earl Richard of Cornwall; while the censures of the Church on Eleanor's breach of a vow of chastity, which she had made at her first husband's death, were hardly averted by a journey

1239-1241

to Rome. Simon returned to find the changeable King quickly alienated from him and to be driven by a burst of royal passion from the realm. He was, however, soon restored to favour, and before long took his stand in the front rank of the patriot leaders. In 1248 he was appointed Governor of Gascony, where the stern justice of his rule, and the heavy taxation which his enforcement of order made necessary, earned the hatred of the disorderly nobles. The complaintb of the Gascons brought about an open breach with the King. To Earl Simon's offer of the surrender of his post if the money he had spent in the royal service were, as Henry had promised, repaid him, the King hotly retorted that he was bound by no promise to a false traitor. Simon at once gave Henry the lie; "and but that thou bearest the name of King it had been a bad hour for thee when thou utteredst such a word!" A formal reconciliation was brought about, and the Earl once more returned to Gascony, but before winter had come he was forced to withdraw to France. The greatness of his reputation was shown in an offer which its nobles made him of the regency of their realm during the absence of King Lewis on the crusade. But the offer was refused; and Henry, who had himself undertaken the pacification of Gascony, was glad before the *close* of 1253 to recall its old ruler to do the woik he had failed to do. Simon's character had now thoroughly developed. He had inherited the strict and severe piety of his father; he was assiduous in his attendance on religious services whether by night or day; he was the friend of Grosscteste and the patron of the Friars. In his correspondence with Adam Marsh we see him finding patience under his Gascon troubles in the perusal of the Book of Job. His life was pure and singularly temperate; he was noted for his scant indulgence in meat, drink, or sleep. Socially he was cheerful and pleasant in talk; but his natural temper was quick and ardent, his sense of honour keen, his speech rapid and trenchant. His impatience of contradiction, his fiery temper, were in fact the great stumbling-blocks in his after career. But the one characteristic which overmastered all was what men at that time called his "constancy,[1]" the firm immoveable resolve which trampled even death under foot in its loyalty to the right. The motto which Edward the First chose as his device, "Keep troth," was far truer as the device of Earl Simon. We see in his correspondence with what a clear discernment of its difficulties both at home and .-.broad he "thought it unbecoming to decline the danger of so great an exploit" as the reduction of Gascony to peace and order; but once undertaken, he persevered in spite of the opposition he met with, the failure of all support or funds from England, and the King's desertion of his cause, till the work was done. There is the same steadiness of will and purpose in his patriotism. The letters of Grosscteste show wow early he had learned to sympathize with the bishop in his resistance to Rome,

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and at the crisis of the contest he offers him his own support and that of his associates. He sends to Adam 'Marsh a tract of Grosseteste's on " the rule of a kingdom and of a tyranny," sealed with his own seal. He listens patiently to the advice of his friends on the subject of his household or his temper. " Better is a patient man," writes honest

1265 Friar Adam, " than a strong man, and he who can rule his own temper than he who storms a city." " What use is it to provide for the peace of your fellow-citizens and not guard the peace of your own household?" It was to secure "the peace of his fellow-citizens" that the Earl silently trained himself as the tide of misgovernment mounted higher and higher, and the fruit of his discipline was seen when the crisis came. While other men wavered and faltered and fell away, the enthusiastic love of the people gathered itself round the stern, grave soldier who "stood like a pillar," unshaken by promise or threat or fear of death, by the oath he had sworn.

The **Provisions of Oxford**

In England affairs were going from bad to worse. The Pope still weighed heavily on the Church. Two solemn confirmations of the Charter failed to bring about any compliance with its provisions. In 1248, in 1249, and again in 1255, the Great Council fruitlessly renewed its demand for a regular ministry, and the growing resolve of the nobles to enforce good government was seen in their offer of a grant on condition that the chief officers of the Crown were appointed by the Council. Henry indignantly refused the offer, and sold his plate to the citizens of London to find payment for his household. The barons were mutinous and defiant. " I will send reapers and reap your fields for you/' Henry had threatened Earl Bigod of Norfolk when he refused him aid. " And I will send you back the heads of your reapers," retorted the Earl. Hampered by the profusion of the court and by the refusal of supplies, the Crown was penniless, yet new expenses were

1254 incurred by Henry's acceptance of a Papal offer of the kingdom of Sicily in favour of his second son Edmund. Shame had fallen on the English arms, and the King's eldest son, Edward, had been disastrously defeated on the Marches by Llewelyn of Wales. The tide of discontent, which was heightened by a grievous famine, burst its bounds in the irritation excited by the new demands from both Henry and Rome with which the year 1258 opened, and the barons repaired in arms to a Great Council summoned at London. The past half-century had shown both the strength and weakness of the Charter : its strength as a rallying-point for the baronage, and a definite assertion of rights which the King could be made to acknowledge ; its weakness in providing no means for the enforcement of its own stipulations. Henry had sworn again and again to observe the Charter, and his oath was no sooner taken than it was unscrupulously broken. The barons had secured the freedom of the realm ; the secret of their long patience during the reign of Henry lay in the difficulty of securing its right

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THE BARONS' WAR 1258 TO 1265

administration. It was this difficulty which Earl Simon was prepared to solve. With the Earl of Gloucester he now appeared at the head of the baronage in arms, and demanded the appointment of a committee of twenty-four to draw up terms for the reform of the state. Although half the committee consisted of royal ministers and favourites, it was impossible to resist the tide of popular feeling. By the "Provisions of Oxford" it was agreed that the Great Council should assemble thrice in the year, whether summoned by the King or no ; and on each occasion "the Commonalty shall elect twelve honest men who shall come to the Parliaments, and at other times when occasion shall be when the King and his Council shall send for them, to treat of the wants of the King and of his kingdom. And the Commonalty shall hold as established that which these Twelve shall do." Three permanent committees were named—one to reform the Church, one to negotiate financial aids, and a Permanent Council of Fifteen to advise the King in the ordinary work of government. The Justiciar, Chancellor, and the guardians of the King's castles swore to act only witi the advice and assent of the Permanent Council, and the first two grea officers, with the Treasurer, were to give account of their proceedings to it at the end of the year. Annual sheriffs were to be appointed from among the chief tenants of the county, and no undue fees were to be exacted for the administration of justice in their court.

Provisions of Oxford *July* 1258

A royal proclamation in the English tongue, the first in that tongue since the Conquest which has reached us, ordered the observance of these Provisions. Resistance came only from the foreign favourites, and an armed demonstration drove them in flight over sea. The whole royal power was now in fact in the hands of the committees appointed by the Great Council ; and the policy of the administration was seen in the prohibitions against any further payments, secular or ecclesiastical, to Rome, in the formal withdrawal from the Sicilian enterprise, in the negotiations conducted by Earl Simon with Franee, which finally ended in the absolute renunciation of Henry's title to his lost provinces, and in the peace which put an end to the incursions of the Welsh. Within, however, the measures of the barons were feeble and selfish. I259
The Provisions of Westminster, published by them under popular pressure in the following year, for the protection of tenants and furtherance of justice, brought little fruit ; and a tendency to mere feudal privilege showed itself in an exemption of all nobles and prelates from attendance at the sheriff's courts. It was in vain that Earl Simon returned from his negotiations in France to press for more earnest measures of reform, or that the King's son Edward remained faithful to his oath to observe the Provisions, and openly supported him. Gloucester and Hugh Bigod, faithless to the cause of reform, drew with the feudal party to the side of the King ; and Henry, procuring from the Pope a bull which annulled the Provisions and freed him from his oath

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to observe them, regained possession of the Tower and the other castles, appointed a new Justiciar, and restored the old authority of the Crown.

The struggle with the Crown

Deserted as he was, the Earl of Leicester was forced to withdraw for eighteen months to France, while Henry ruled in open defiance of the Provisions. The confusion of the realm renewed the disgust at his government; and the death of Gloucester removed the one barrier to action. In 1263 Simon landed again as the unquestioned head of the baronial party. The march of Edward with a royal army against Llewelyn of Wales was viewed by the barons as a prelude to hostilities against themselves; and Earl Simon at once swept the Welsh border, marched on Dover, and finally appeared before London. His power was strengthened by the attitude of the towns. The new democratic spirit which we have witnessed in the Friars was now stirring the purely industrial classes to assert a share in the municipal administration, which had hitherto been confined to the wealthier members of the merchant gilds, and at London and elsewhere a revolution, which will be described at greater length hereafter, had thrown the government of the city into the hands of the lower citizens. The "Communes," as the new city governments were called, showed an enthusiastic devotion to Karl Simon and his cause. The Queen was stopped in her attempt to escape from the Tower by an angry mob, who drove her back with stones and foul words. When Henry attempted to surprise Leicester in his quarters in Southwark, the Londoners burst the gates which had been locked by the richer burghers against him, and rescued him by a welcome into the city. The clergy and Universities went in sympathy with the towns, and in spite of the taunts of the royalists, who accused him of seeking allies against the nobility in the common people, the popular enthusiasm gave a strength to Karl Simon which enabled him to withstand the severest blow which had yet been dealt to his cause. The nobles drew to the King. The dread of civil war gave strength to the cry for compromise, and it was agreed that the strife should be left to the arbitration of Lewis the Ninth of France. In the Mise of Amiens Lewis gave his verdict wholly in favour of the King. The Provisions of Oxford were annulled. Only the charters granted before the Provisions were to be observed. The appointment and removal of all officers of state was to be wholly with the King, and he was suffered to call aliens to his councils. The blow was a hard one, and the decision of Lewis was at once confirmed by the Pope. The barons felt themselves bound by the award; only the exclusion of aliens—a point which they had not purposed to submit to arbitration—they refused to concede. Simon at once resolved on resisiunce. Luckily, the French award had reserved the rights of Englishmen to the liberties they had enjoyed before the Provisions

1263

Mise of Amiens *Jan.* 1264

of Oxford, and it was easy for Simon to prove that the arbitrary power it gave to the Crown was as contrary to the Charter as to the Provisions themselves. London was the first to reject the decision; its citizens mustered at the call of the town-bell at Saint Paul's, seized the royal officials, and plundered the royal parks. Put an army had already mustered in great force at the King's summons, and Leicester found himself deserted by baron after baron. Every day brought news of ill. A detachment from Scotland joined Henry's forces. The younger De Montfort was taken prisoner. Northampton was captured, the King raised the siege of Rochester, and a rapid march of Earl Simon's only saved London itself from a surprise by Edward. Betrayed as he was, the Earl remained firm to the cause. He would fight to the end, he said, even were he and his sons left to fight alone. With an army reinforced by 15,000 Londoners, he marched to the relief of the Cinque Ports, which were now threatened by the King. Even on the march he was forsaken by many of the nobles who followed him. Halting at Fletching in Sussex, a few miles from Lewes, where the royal army was encamped, Earl Simon with the young Earl of Gloucester offered the King compensation for all damage if he would observe the Provisions. Henry's answer was one of defiance, and though numbers were against him the Earl resolved on battle. His skill as a soldier reversed the advantages of the ground ; marching at dawn he seized the heights eastward of the town, and moved down these slopes to an attack. His men, with white crosses on back and breast, knelt in prayer before the battle opened. Edward was the first to open the fight; his furious charge broke the Londoners on Leicester's left, and in the bitterness of his hatred he pursued them for four miles, slaughtering three thousand men. He returned to find the battle lost. Crowded in the narrow space with a river in their rear, the royalist centre and left were crushed by Earl Simon ; the Earl of Cornwall, now King of life Romans, who, as the mocking song of the victors ran, " makede him a castel of a mulne post" ("he weened that the mill-sails were mangonels "goes on the sarcastic verse), was made prisoner, and Henry himself captured. Edward cut his way into the Priory only to join in his father's surrender.

THE I'AKONS' WAR **1258** TU **1265**

Battle of Lewes May 14, **1264**

The victory of Lewes placed Earl Simon at the head of the state. "Now England breathes in the hope of liberty," sang a poet of the time ; "the English were despised like dogs, but now they hi've lifted up their head and their foes are vanquished." The song announces with almost legal precision the theory of the patriots. " He who would be in truth a king, he is a 'free king' indeed if he rightly rule himself and his realm. All things are lawful to him for the government of his kingdom, but nothing for its destruction. It is one thing to rule according to a king's duty, another to destroy a kingdom by resisting the law." " Let the community of the realm advise, and let it be

Simon's rule

THE BARONS' WAR 1258 TO 1265

known what the generality, to whom their own laws are best known, think on the matter. They who are ruled by the laws know those laws best, they who make daily trial of them are best acquainted with them ; and since it is their own affairs which are at stake, they will take more care, and will act with an eye to their own peace." " It concerns the community to see what sort of men ought justly to be chosen for the weal of the realm." The constitutional restrictions on the royal authority, the right of the whole nation to deliberate and decide on its own affairs, and to have a voice in the selection of the administrators of government, had never been so clearly stated before. But the moderation of the terms agreed upon in the Mise of Lewes, a convention between the King and his captors, shows Simon's sense of the difficulties of his position. The question of the Provisions was again to be submitted to arbitration ; and a parliament in June, to which four knights were summoned from every county, placed the administration till this arbitration was complete in the hands of a new council of nine, to be nominated by the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester and the patriotic Bishop of Chichester. Responsibility to the community was provided for by the declaration of a right in the body of barons and prelates to remove either of the Three Electors, who in turn could displace or appoint the members of the Council. Such a constitution was of a different order from the cumbrous and oligarchical Committees of 1258. But the plans for arbitration broke down, Lewis refused to review his decision, and the Pope formally condemned the barons' cause. The Earl's difficulties thickened every day. The Queen gathered an army in France for an invasion, and the barons on the Welsh border were still in arms. Il was impossible to make binding terms with an imprisoned King, yet to release Plenry without terms was to renew the war. A new parliament was summoned in January, 1265, to Westminster, but the weakness of the patriotic party among the baronage was shown in the fact that only twenty-three earls and barons could be found to sit beside the hundred and twenty ecclesiastics. But it was just this sense of his weakness that drove Earl Simon to a constitutional change of mighty issue in our history. As before, he summoned two knights from every county. But he created a new force in English politics when he summoned to sit beside them two citizens from every bordugh. The attendance of delegates from the towns had long been usual in the county courts when any matter respecting their interests was in question ; but it was the writ issued by Earl Simon that first summoned the merchant and the trader to sit beside the knight of the shire, the baron, and the bishop in the parliament of the realm.

Summons of the Commons to Parliament

The fall of Earl Simon

It is only this great event however which enables us to understand thf lafge and prescient nature of Earl Simon's designs. Hardly a few months had passed since the victory of Lewes, and

already, when the burghers took their seats at Westminster, his government was tottering- to its fall. Dangers from without the Earl had met with complete success; a general muster of the national forces on Barham Down put an end to the projects of invasion entertained by the mercenaries whom the Queen had collected in Flanders ; the threats of France died away into negotiations ; the Papal Legate was forbidden to cross the Channel, and his bulls of excommunication were flung into the sea. But the difficulties at home grew more formidable every day. The restraint upon Henry and Edward jarred against the national feeling of loyalty, and estranged the mass of Englishmen who always side with the weak. Small as the patriotic party among the barons had always been, it grew smaller as dissensions broke out over the spoils of victory. The Earl's justice and resolve to secure the public peace told heavily against him. John Giffard left him because he refused to allow him to exact ransom from a prisoner contrary to the agreement made after Lewes. The young Earl Gilbert of Gloucester, though enriched with the estates of the foreigners, resented Leicester's prohibition of a tournament, his naming the wardens of the royal castles by his own authority, and his holding Edward's fortresses on the Welsh marches by his own garrisons. Gloucester's later conduct proves the wisdom of Leicester's precautions. In the spring Parliament of 1265 he openly charged the Earl with violating the Mise of Lewes, with tyranny, and with aiming at the crown. Before its close he withdrew to his own lands in the west, and secretly allied himself with Roger Mortimer and the Marcher barons. Earl Simon soon followed him to the west, taking with him the King and Edward. He moved along the Severn, securing its towns, advanced westward to Hereford, and was marching at the end of June along bad roads into the heart of South Wales to attack the fortresses of Earl Gilbert in Glamorgan when Edward suddenly made his escape from Hereford and joined Gloucester at Ludlow. The moment had been skilfully chosen, and Edward showed a rare ability in the movements by which he took advantage of the Earl's position. Moving rapidly along the Severn he seized Gloucester and the bridges across the river, destroyed the ships by which Leicester strove to escape across the Channel to Bristol, and cut him off altogether from England. By this movement too he placed himself between the Earl and his son Simon, who was advancing from the east to his father's relief. Turning rapidlv on this second force Edward surprised it at Kenilworth and drove it with heavy loss within the walls of the castle. But the success was more than compensated by the opportunity which his absence gave to the Earl of breaking the line of the Severn. Taken by surprise and isolated as he was, Simon had been forced to seek for aid and troops in an avowed alliance with Llewelyn, and it was with Welsh reinforc<?iiiei:^s that he turned to the east. But the seizure of his ships aftd of the bridges of

1264

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the Severn held him ;i prisoner in Edward's grasp, and a fierce attack drove him back, with broken and starving forces, into the Welsh hills. In utter despair he struck northward to Hereford ; but the absence of Edward now enabled him on the 2nd of August to throw his troops in boats across the Severn below Worcester. The news drew Edward quickly back in a fruitless counter-march to the river, for the Earl had already reached Evesham by a long night march on the morning of the 4th, while his son, relieved in turn by Edward's counter-march, had pushed in the same night to the little town of Alcester. The two armies were now but some ten miles apart, and their junction seemed secured. But both were spent with long marching, and while the Earl, listening reluctantly to the request of the King, who accompanied him, halted at Evesham for mass and dinner, the army of the younger Simon halted for the same purpose at Alcester.

Battle of Evesham
1265

" Those two dinners doleful were, alas ! " sings Robert of Gloucester; for through the same memorable night Edward was hurrying back from the Severn by country cross-lanes to seize the fatal gap that lay between them. As morning broke his army lay across the road that led northward from Evesham to Alcester. Evesham lies in a loop of the river Avon where it bends to the south ; and a height on which Edward ranged his troops closed the one outlet from it save across the river. But a force had been thrown over the river under Mortimer to seize the bridges, and all retreat was thus finally cut off. The approach of Edward's army called Simon to the front, and for the moment he took it for his son's. Though the hope soon died away a touch of soldierly pride moved him as he recognized in the orderly advance of his enemies a proof of his own training. " By the arm of St. James," he cried, " they come on in wise fashion, but it was from me that they learnt it." A glance however satisfied him of the hopelessness of a struggle ; it was impossible for a handful of horsemen with a mob of half-armed Welshmen to resist the disciplined knighthood of the royal army. "Let us commend our souls to God," Simon said to the little group around him, "for our bodies are the foe's." He bade Hugh Dcspenser and the rest of his comrades fly from the field. " If he I died," was the noble answer, " they had no will to live." In three hours the butchery was over. The Welsh Med at the first onset like sheep, and were cut ruthlessly down in the cornfields and gardens where they sought refuge. The little group of knights around Simon fought desperately, falling one by one till the Earl was left alone. So terrible were his sword-strokes that he had all but gained the hill-top when a lance-thrust brought his horse to the ground, but Simon still rejected I the summons to yield, till a blow from behind felled him, mortally wounded, to the ground. Then with a last cry of " It is God's grace" the soul of the great patriot passed away.

CHAPTER IV.

THE THREE EDWARDS.

1265-1360.

Section I.—The Conquest of Wales, 1265—1284.

{Authorities.—For the general state of Wales, see the " Itinerarium Cambria; " of Giraldus Cambrensis : for its general history, the " Brut-y-Tywysogion," and " Annales Cambrire," published by the Master of the Rolls ; the Chronicle of Caradoc of Lancarvan, as given in the translation by Powel ; and Warrington's " History of Wales." Stephen's " Literature of the Cymry " affords a general view of Welsh poetry ; the "Mabinogion" have been published by Lady Charlotte Guest. In his essays on ''The Study of Celtic Literature," Mr. Matthew Arnold has admirably illustrated the characteristics of the Welsh Poetry. For English affairs the monastic annals we have before mentioned are supplemented by the jejune entries of Trivet and Murimuth.]

The Welsh Literature

WHILE literature and science after a brief outurst were crushed in England by the turmoil of the Barons' War, a poetic revival had brought into sharp contrast the social and intellectual condition of Wales.

To all outer seeming Wales had in the thirteenth century become utterly barbarous. Stripped of every vestige of the older Roman civilization by ages of bitter warfare, of civil strife, of estrangement from the general culture of Christendom, the unconquered Britons had sunk into a mass of savage herdsmen, clad in the skins and fed by the milk of the cattle they tended, faithless, greedy, and revengeful, retaining no higher political organization than that of the clan, broken by ruthless feuds, united only in battle or in raid against the stranger. But in the heart of the wild people there still lingered a spark of the poetic fire which had nerved it four hundred years before, through Aneurin and Llywarch Hen, to its struggle with the Saxon. At the hour of its lowest degradation the silence of Wales was suddenly broken by a crowd of singers. The song of the twelfth century burst forth, not from one bard or another, but from the nation at large. "In every house/' says the shrewd Gerald de Barri, " strangers who arrived in the morning were entertained till eventide with the talk of maidens and the music of the harp." The romantic literature of the race found an admirable means of utterance in its tongue, as real a developement of the old Celtic language heard by œser as the Romance tongues are developements of Caesar's i-atin, but which at

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a far earlier date than any other language of modern Europe had attained to definite structure and to settled literary form. No other mediaeval literature shows at its outset the same elaborate and completed organization as that of the Welsh. But within these settled forms the Celtic fancy plays with a startling freedom. In one of the later poems Gwion the Little transforms himself into a hare, a fish, a bird, a grain of wheat; but he is only the symbol of the strange shapes in which the Celtic fancy embodies itself in the tales or "Mabinogion" which reached their highest perfection in the legends of Arthur. Its gay extravagance flings defiance to all fact, tradition, probability, and revels in the impossible and unreal. When Arthur sails into the unknown world, it is in a ship of glass. The "descent into hell," as a Celtic poet paints it, shakes off the mediaeval horror with the mediaeval reverence, and the knight who achieves the quest spends his years of infernal durance in hunting and minstrelsy, and in converse with fair women. The world of the Mabinogion is a world of pure phantasy, a new earth of marvels and enchantments, of dark forests whose silence is broken by the hermit's bell, and sunny glades where the light plays on the hero's armour. Each figure as it moves across the poet's canvas is bright with glancing colour. "The maiden was clothed in a robe of flame-coloured silk, and about her neck was a collar of ruddy gold in which were precious emeralds and rubies. Her head was of brighter gold than the flower of the broom, her skin was whiter than the foam of the wave, and fairer, were her hands and her fingers than the blossoms of the wood-anemone amidst the spray of the meadow fountain. The eye of the trained hawk, the glance of the falcon, was not brighter than hers. Her bosom was more snowy than the breast of the white swan, her cheek was redder than the reddest roses." Everywhere there is an Oriental profusion of gorgeous imagery, but the gorgeousness is seldom oppressive. The sensibility of the Celtic temper, so quick to perceive beauty, so eager in its thirst for lif , its emotions, its adventures, its sorrows, its joys, is tempered by a passionate melancholy that expresses its revolt against the impossible, by an instinct of what is noble, by a sentiment that discovers the weird charm of nature. Some graceful play of pure fancy, some tender note of feeling, some magical touch of beauty, relieves its wildest extravagance. As Kalweh's greyhounds bound from side to side of their master's steed, they "sport round him like two sea-swallows." His spear is "swifter than the fall of the dewdrop from the blade of reed-grass upon the earth when the dew of June is at the heaviest." A subtle, observant love of nature and natural beauty takes fresh colour from the passionate human sentiment with which it is imbued, seiytiment which breaks out in Gwalchmai's cry of nature-love, "I love the birds and their sweet voices in the lulling songs of the wood," in his watches at night beside the fords "among the

untrodden grass " to hear the nightingale and watch the play of the sea-mew. Even patriotism takes the same picturesque form ; the Welsh poet hates the flat and sluggish land of the Saxon ; as he dwells on his own, he tells of [a] its sea-coast and its mountains, its towns oh the forest border, its fair landscape, its dales, its waters, and its valleys, its white sea-mews, its beauteous women." But the song passes swiftly and subtly into a world of romantic sentiment: " I love its fields clothed with tender trefoil, I love the marches of Merioneth where my head was pillowed on a snow-white arm." In the Celtic love of woman there is little of the Teutonic depth and earnestness, but in its stead a childlike spirit of delicate enjoyment, a faint distant flush of passion like the rose-light of dawn on a snowy mountain peak, a playful delight in beauty. " White is my love as the apple blossom, as the ocean's spray ; her face shines like the pearly dew on Eryri; the glow of her cheeks is like the light of sunset." The buoyant and elastic temper of the Erench *trouvere* was spiritualized in the Welsh singers by a more refined poetic feeling. " Whoso beheld her was filled with her love. Four white trefoils sprang up wherever she trod." The touch of pure fancy removes its object out of the sphere of passion into one of delight and reverence.

It is strange, as we have said, to pass from the world of actual Welsh history into such a world as this. But side by side with this wayward, fanciful stream of poesy and romance ran a torrent of intenser song. The old sjpirit of the earlier bards, their joy in battle, their love for freedom, their hatred of the Saxon, broke out in ode after ode, in songs extravagant, monotonous, often prosaic, but fused into poetry by the intense fire of patriotism which glowed within them. The rise of the new poetic feeling indeed marked the appearance of a new energy in the long struggle with the English conqueror.

Of the three Welsh states into which all that remained unconquered of Britain had been broken by the victories of Deorham and Chester, two had long ceased to exist. The country between the Clyde and the Dee had been gradually absorbed by the conquests of Northumbria and the growth of the Scot monarchy. West Wales, between the British Channel and the estuary of the Severn, had yielded to the sword of Ecgberht. But a fiercer resistance prolonged the independence of the great central portion which alone in modern language preserves the name of Wales. In itself the largest and most powerful of the British states, it was aided in its struggle against Mercia by the weakness of its assailant, the youngest and least powerful of the English states, as well as by the internal warfare which distracted the energies of the invaders. But Mercia had no sooner risen to supremacy among the English kingdoms than it took the work of conquest vigorously in hand. Offa tore from Wales the border land between the Severn and the Wye ; the raids of his successors carried

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fire and sword into the heart of the country ; and an acknowledgement of the Mercian over-lordship was wrested from the Welsh princes. On the fall of Mercia this passed to the West-Saxon kings. The Laws of Howel Dda own the payment of a yearly tribute by " the prince of Abcrffraw" to " the King of London." The weakness of England during her long struggle with the Danes revived the hopes of British independence. But with the fall of the Danelaw the Welsh princes were again brought to submission, and when in the midst of the Confessor's reign the Welsh seized on a quarrel between the houses of Leofric and Godwine to cross the border and carry their attacks into England itself, the victories of Harold re-asserted the English supremacy. His light-armed troops disembarking on the coast penetrated to the heart of the mountains, and the successors of the Welsh prince Gruffydd, whose head was the trophy of the campaign, swore to observe the old fealty and render the old tribute to the English Crown.

1265

1284

1063

The Conquest of South Wales

A far more desperate struggle began when the wave of Norman conquest broke on the Welsh frontier. A chain of great earldoms, settled by William along the border-land, at once bridled the old marauding forays. From his county palatine of Chester, Hugh the Wolf harried Flintshire into a desert ; Robert of Belesme, in his earldom of Shrewsbury, " slew the Welsh," says a chronicler, " like sheep, conquered them, enslaved them, and flayed them with nails of iron." Backed by these greater baronies a horde of lesser adventurers obtained the royal " licence to make conquest on the Welsh." Monmouth and Abergavenny were seized and guarded by Norman castellans ; Bernard of Neufmarche" won the lordship of Brecknock; Roger of Montgomery raised the town and fortress in Powysland which still preserves his name. A great rising of the whole people in the days of the second William at last recovered some of this Norman spoil. The new castle of Montgomery was burned, Brecknock and Cardigan were cleared of the invaders, and the Welsh poured ravaging over the English border. Twice the Red King carried his arms fruitlessly among the mountains, against enemies who took refuge in their fastnesses till famine and hardship had driven his broken host into retreat. The wiser policy of Henry the First fell back on his father's system of gradual conquest, and a new tide of invasion flowed along the coast, where the land was level and open and accessible from the sea. The attack was aided by internal strife. Robeit Fitz-Hamo, the lord of Gloucester, was summoned to his aid by **a** Welsh chieftain ; and the defeat of Rhys ap Tewdor, the last prince under whom Southern Wales was united, produced an anarchy which enabled Robert to land safely on the coast of Glamorgan, to conquer the countVy round, and to divide it among his soldiers. A force of Flemings and Engliihmen followed the Earl of Clare as he landed

1094

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THE CONQUEST OF WALES

1265 TO 1284

The Welsh revival

near Milford Haven, and pushing back the British inhabitants settled a "Little England[M]" in the present Pembrokeshire. A few daring adventurers accompanied the Norman Lord of Kemeys into Cardigan, where land might be had for the winning by any one who would "wage war on the Welsh."

It was at this moment, when the utter subjugation of the British race seemed at hand, that a new outburst of energy rolled back the tide of invasion and changed the fitful resistance of the separate Welsh provinces into a national effort to regain independence. A new poetic fire, as we have seen, sprang into life. Every fight, every hero, had suddenly its verse. The names of the older bards were revived in bold forgeries to animate the national resistance and to prophesy victory. It was in North Wales that the new spirit of patriotism received its strongest inspiration from this burst of song. Again and again Henry the Second was driven to retreat from the impregnable fastnesses where the "Lords of Snowdon," the princes of the house of Gruffydd ap Conan, claimed supremacy over Wales. Once a cry 1157
arose that the King was slain, Henry of Essex flung down the royal standard, and the King's desperate efforts could hardly save his army from utter rout. In a later campaign the invaders were met by storms of rain, and forced to abandon their baggage in a headlong flight to Chester. The greatest of the Welsh odes, that known to English readers in Gray's translation as "The Triumph of Owen," is Gwalchmai's song of victory over the repulse of an English fleet from Abermenai. The long reigns of the two Llewelyns, the sons of 1194--12S3
Jorwcrth and of Gruffydd, which all but cover the last century of Welsh independence, seemed destined to realize the hopes of their countrymen. The homage which the first succeeded in extorting from the *Llewelyn ap Jorwer th* 1194-1246
whole of the Welsh chieftains placed him openly at the head of his race, and gave a new character to his struggle with the English King. In consolidating his authority within his own domains, and in the assertion of his lordship over the princes of the south, Llewelyn ap Jorwerth aimed steadily at securing the means of striking off the yoke of the Saxon. It was in vain that John strove to buy his friendship by the hand of his daughter Johanna. Fresh raids on the Marches forced the King to enter Wales; but though his army reached Snowdon it fell back like its predecessors, starved and broken before an enemy it could never reach. A second attack had better success. 12II
The chieftains of South Wales were drawn from their new allegiance to join the English forces, and Llewelyn, prisoned in his fastnesses, was at last driven to submit. But the ink of the treaty was hardly dry before Wales was again on fire; the common fear of the English once more united its chieftains, and the war between John and his barons removed all dread of a new invasion. Absolved from Ns allegiance to an excommunicated King, and allied with tlse barons under Fitz-

SKC. I.

THE CONQUEST OF WALKS

1265 TO 1884-

Ilewelyx) **ap** Jorwerth **and** the **Bards**

Walter -too glad to enlist in their cause a prince who could hold in check the nobles of the border country, where the royalist cause was strongest—Llewelyn seized his opportunity to reduce Shrewsbury, to annex Powys, where the English influence had always been powerful, to clear the royal garrisons from Caermarthen and Cardigan, and to force even the Flemings of Pembroke to do him homage.

The hopes of Wales rose higher and higher with each triumph of the Lord of Snowdon. The court of Llewelyn was crowded with bardic singers. " He pours," sings one of them, " his gold into the lap of the bard as the ripe fruit falls from the trees." But gold was hardly needed to wake their enthusiasm. Poet after poet sang of " the Devastator of England," the " Eagle of men that loves not to lie nor sleep/' " towering above the rest of men with his long red lance," his " red helmet of battle crested with a fierce wolf." " The sound of his coming is like the roar of the wave as it rushes to the shore, that can neither be stayed nor appeased." Lesser bards strung together his victories in rough jingle of rime and hounded him on to the slaughter. " Be of good courage in the slaughter," sings Elidir, " cling to thy work, destroy England, and plunder its multitudes." A fierce thirst for blood runs through the abrupt, passionate verses of the court singers. " Swansea, that tranquil town, was broken in heaps," bursts out a triumphant poet ; " St. Clears, with its bright white lands, it is not Saxons who hold it now !" " In Swansea, the key of Llocgria, we made widows of all (he wives." " The dread Eagle is wont to lay corpses in rows, and to feast with the leader of wolves and with hovering ravens glutted with flesh, butrhers with keen scent of carcases." *' Better," closes the song, " is the grave than the life of man who sighs when the horns call him forth to the squares of battle." But even in bardic verse Llewelyn rises high out of the mere mob of chieftains who live by rapine, and boast as the Hirlas-horn passes from hand to hand through the hall that "they take and give no quarter." " Tender-hearted, wise, witty, ingenious," he was "the great Caesar" who was to gather beneath his sway the broken fragments of the Celtic race. Mysterious prophecies, the prophecies of Merlin the Wise, floated from lip to lip, to nerve Wales to its last struggle with the invaders. Medrawd and Arthur would appear once more on earth to fight over again the fatal battle of Canilan. The last conqueror of the Celtic race, Cadwallon, still lived to combat for his people. 'The supposed verses of Talicsin expressed the undying hope of a restoration of the Cymry. " In their hands shall be all the land from Britanny to Man : . . . a rumour shall arise that the Germans are moving out of Britain back again to their fatherland " Gathered up in the strange work of Gecoffry of Monmouth, these predictions made a deep impression, not on, Wales only, but on its conquerors. It was to meet indeed the dreams of a yet Jiving Arthur that the grave of the legendary

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hero-king at Glastonbury was found and visited by Henry the Second. But neither trick nor conquest could shake the firm faith of the Celt in the ultimate victory of his race. "Think you," said Henry to a Welsh chieftain who had joined his host, "that your people of rebels can withstand my army ?" "My people," replied the chieftain, "may be weakened by your might, and even in great part destroyed, but unless the wrath of God be on the side of its foe it will not perish utterly. Nor deem I that other race or other tongue will answer for this corner of the world before the Judge of all at the last day save this people and tongue of Wales." So ran the popular rime, "Their Lord they will praise, their speech they shall keep, their land they shall lose except wild Wales." Faith and prophecy seemed justified by the growing strength of the British people. The weakness and dissensions which characterized the reign of Henry the Third enabled Llewelyn ap Jorwcrth to preserve a practical independence till the close of his life, when a fresh acknowledgement of the English supremacy was wrested from him by Archbishop Edmund. Hut the triumphs of his arms were renewed by Llewelyn the son of Gruffydd, whose ravages swept the border to the vciy gates of Chester, while his conquest of Glamorgan seemed to bind the whole people together in a power strong enough to meet any attack from the stranger Throughout the Barons' war Llewelyn remained master of Wales. Even at its close the threat of an attack from the now united kingdom only foiccd him to submission on a practical acknowledgement of his sovereignty. The chieftain whom the English kings had till then scrupulously designated as "Prince of Aberffraw/' was now allowed the title of" Prince of Wales," and his right to receive homage from the other nobles of his pnmipalitv was allowed

Lhwelyn ap Gruffydd 1246-1283

1267

The Conquest of Wales

Near, however, as Llewelyn seemed to the final realization of his aims, he was still a vassal of the English crown, and the accession of a new sovereign to the throne was at once followed by the demand of his homage. The youth of Edward the First had already given promise of the high qualities which distinguished him as an English ruler. The passion for law, the instinct of good government, which were to make his reign so memorable in our history, had declared themselves fiom the fust. He had sided with the barons at the outset of their struggle with Henry ; he had striven to keep his father true to the Provisions of Oxford It was only when the Crown scemed falling into bondage that Edwaid passed to the royal side; and when the danger he dreaded was o\er he returned to his older attitude. In the first Hush of vie tot), while the doom of Simon wis *yet* unknown, Edward stood alone in desiring his captivity against the ay of the Marcher lords for his death. When all was o\cr he wept o\er the corpse of his cousin, Henry de Montfort, and followccJjhcF ail's body to the tomb. It was from Earl Simon, as th$ Earl owned with a

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precisely the same way a knowledge of our earliest laws is indispensable for the right understanding of later legislation, its origin and its developement, while the principles of our Parliamentary system must necessarily be studied in the Meetings of Wise Men before the Conquest or the. Great Council of barons after it. But the Parliaments which Edward gathered at the close of his reign are not merely illustrative of the history of later Parliaments, they are absolutely identical with those which still sit at St. Stephen's ; and a statute of Edward, if unrepealed, can be pleaded in our courts as formally as a statute of Victoria. In a word, the long struggle of the constitution for actual existence has come to an end. The contests which follow are not contests which tell, like those which preceded them, on the actual fabric of our political institutions ; they are simply stages in the rough discipline by which England has learned, and is still learning, how best to use and how wisely to develope the latent powers of its national life, how to adjust the balance of its social and political forces, and to adapt its constitutional forms to the varying conditions of the time. From the reign of Edward, in fact, we are face to face with modern England. King, Lords, Commons, the Courts of Justice, the forms of public administration, our local divisions and provincial jurisdictions, the relations of Church and State, in great measure the framework of society itself, have all taken the shape which they still essentially retain.

Judicial reforms

Much of this great change is doubtless attributable (o the general temper of the age, whose special task and object seemed to be that of reducing to distinct form the great principles which had sprung into a new and vigorous life during the century that preceded it. As the opening of the thirteenth century had been an age of founders, creators, discoverers, so its close was an age of lawyers ; the most illustrious men of the time were no longer such as Bacon, or Earl Simon, or Francis of Assisi, but men such as St. Lewis of France or Alfonso the Wise, organizers, administrators, framers of laws and institutions. It was to this class that Edward himself belonged. He had little of creative genius or political originality in his character, but he possessed in a high degree the faculty of organization, and his passionate love of law broke out even in the legal chicanery to which he sometimes stooped. In the judicial reforms to which so much of his attention was directed, he showed himself, if not an " English Justinian," at any rate a clear-sighted man of business, developing, reforming, bringing into a lasting shape the institutions of his predecessors. One of his first cares was to complete the judicial reforms begun by Henry II. The most important court of civil jurisdiction, the Sheriffs or County Court, remained unchanged, both in the extent of its jurisdiction, and the character (if the Sheriff as a royal officer. But the superior courts into which the King's Court had since the Great Charter divided itselfj

The three Common Law Courts

those of the King's Bench, Exchequer, and Common Pleas, now received a distinct staff of judges for each court. Of far greater importance than this change, which was in effect but the completion of a process of severance that had long been going on, was the establishment of an equitable jurisdiction side by side with that of the common law. In his reform of 1178 Henry the Second had broken up the older King's Court, which had till then served as the final Court of Appeal, by the severance of the purely legal judges who had been gradually added to it from the general body of his councillors. The judges thus severed from the Council retained the name and the ordinary jurisdiction of "the King's Court," while all cases in which they failed to do justice were reserved for the special cognizance of the royal Council itself. To this final jurisdiction of the King in Council Edward gave a wide developement. His assembly of the ministers, the higher permanent officials, and the law officers of the Crown, for the first time reserved to itself in its judicial capacity the correction of all breaches of the law which the lower courts had failed to repress, whether from weakness, partiality, or corruption, and especially of those lawless outbreaks of the more powerful baronage which defied the common authority of the judges. Though regarded with jealousy by Parliament, the jurisdiction of the Council seems to have been steadily put in force through the two centuries which followed ; in the reign of Henry the Seventh it took legal and statutory form in Ijie shape of the Court of Star Chamber, and its powers are still exercised in our own day by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Hut the same duty of the Crown to do justice where its courts fell short of giving due redress for wrong expressed itself in the jurisdiction of the Chancellor. This great officer of State, who had perhaps originally acted only as President of the Council when discharging its judicial functions, acquired at a very early date an independent judicial position of the same nature. It is by remembering the origin of the Court of Chancery that we understand the nature of the powers it gradually acquired. All grievances of the subject, especially those which sprang from the misconduct of government officials or of powerful oppressors, fell within its cognizance, as they fell within that of the Royal Council, and to these were added disputes respecting the wardship of infants, dower, rent-charges, or tithes. Its equitable jurisdiction sprang from the defective nature and the "ethnical and unbending rules of the common law. As the Council had given redress in cases where law became injustice, so the Court of Chancery interfered without regard to the rules of procedure adopted by the common law courts, on the petition of a party for whose grievance the common law provided no adequate remedy. An analogous extension of his powers enabled the Chancellor to afford relief in^a^s of fraud, accident, or abuse of trust, and this side of his jurisdiction was largely]

The King in Count il

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Edward's legislation

extended at a later time through the results of legislation on the tenure of land by ecclesiastical bodies. The separate powers of the Chancellor, whatever was the original date at which they were first exercised, seem to have been thoroughly established under Edward the First.

In legislation, as in his judicial reforms, Edward renewed and consolidated the principles which had been already brought into practical working by Henry the Second. Significant acts announced his determination to carry out Henry's policy of limiting the independent jurisdiction of the Church. He was resolute to force it to become thoroughly national by bearing its due part of the common national burthens, and to break its growing dependence upon Rome. The defiant resistance of the ecclesiastical body was answered in an emphatic way. By falling into the "dead hand" or "mortmain" of the
1279 Church land ceased to render its feudal services; and the Statute "of Mortmain" nowforbade the alienation of land to religious bodies in such wise that it should cease to render its due service to the King. The restriction was probably no beneficial one to the country at large, for Churchmen were the best landlords, and it was soon evaded by the ingenuity of the clerical lawyers; but it marked the growing jealousy of any attempt to set aside what was national from serving the general need and profit of the nation. Its immediate effect was to stir the clergy to a bitter resentment. But Edward remained firm, and when the bishops proposed to restrict the royal courts from dealing with cases of patronage or causes which touched the chattels of Churchmen he met
1283 their proposals by an instant prohibition. His care for the trading classes was seen in the Statute of Merchants, which provided for the registration of the debts of traders, and for their recovery by distraint of the debtor's goods and the imprisonment of his person. The Statute of Winchester, the greatest of Edward's measures for the
1285 enforcement of public order, revived and reorganized the old institutions of national police and national defence. It regulated the action of the hundred, the duty of watch and ward, and the gathering of the fyrd or militia of the realm as Henry the Second had moulded it into form in his Assize of Arms. Every man was bound to hold himself in readiness, duly armed, for the King's service in case of invasion or revolt, or to pursue felons when hue and cry were raised after them. Every district was made responsible for crimes committed within its bounds; the gates of each town were required to be closed at nightfall, and all strangers to give an account of themselves to its magistrates. As a security for travellers against sudden attacks from robbers, all brushwood was to be destroyed for a space of two hundred feet on either side the public highway, a provision which illustrates at once

Justices of the Peace 1285

the social and physical condition of the country at the time. To enforce the observance of this act knights were appointed in every shire

under the name of Conservators of the Peace, a name which, as the convenience of these local magistrates was more sensibly felt and their powers more largely extended, was changed for that which they still retain of "Justices of the Peace." The great measure which is commonly known as the Statute " Quia Emptores " is one of those legislative efforts which mark the progress of a wide social revolution in the country at large. The number of the greater barons was diminishing every day, while the number of the country gentry and of the more substantial yeomanry was increasing with the increase of the national wealth. This increase showed itself in the growing desire to become proprietors of land. Tenants of the greater barons received under-tenants on condition of their rendering them similar services to those which they themselves rendered to their lords; and the baronage, while duly receiving the services in compensation for which they had originally granted their lands in fee, saw with jealousy the feudal profits of these new under-tenants, the profits of wardship or of reliefs and the like, in a word the whole increase in the value of the estate consequent on its subdivision and higher cultivation, passing into other hands than their own. The purpose of the statute was to check this process by providing that in any case of alienation the sub-tenant should henceforth hold, not of the tenant, but directly of the superior lord. But its result was to promote instead of hindering the transfer and subdivision of land. The tenant who was before compelled to retain in any case so much of the estate as enabled him to discharge his feudal services to the over-lord of whom he held it, was now enabled by a process analogous to the modern sale of " tenant-right," to transfer both land and services to new holders. However small the estates thus created might be, the bulk were held directly of the Crown ; and this class of lesser gentry and freeholders grew steadily from this time in numbers and importance.

The Great Council of the Realm

It is to the same social revolution as well as to the large statesmanship of Edward the First that we owe our Parliament. Neither the Meeting of the Wise Men before the Conquest, nor the Great Council of the Barons after it, had been in any way representative bodies. The first theoretically included all free holders of land, but it shrank at an early time into a gathering of earls, higher nobles, and bishops, with the officers and thegns of the royal household. Little change was made in the composition of this assembly by the Conquest, for the Great Council of the Norman kings was held to include all tenants who held directly of the Crown, the bishops and greater abbots (whose character as independent spiritual members tended more and more to merge in their position as barons), and the great officers of the Court. But though its composition remained the same, the character of the assembly was essentially altered. From a free gathenrcr of "Wise Men" it sank to a Royal Court of feudal vassals Its functions seem

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to have become almost nominal, and its powers to have been restricted to the sanctioning, without debate or possibility of refusal, all grants demanded from it by the Crown. Its "counsel and consent," however, remained necessary for the legal validity of every great fiscal or political measure, and its very existence was an effectual protest against the imperial theories advanced by the lawyers of Henry the Second, theories which declared all legislative power to reside wholly in the sovereign. It was in fact under Henry that these assemblies became more regular, and their functions more important. The reforms which marked his reign were issued in the Great Council, and even financial matters were suffered to be debated there. But it was not till the grant of the Great Charter that its powers over taxation were formally recognized, and the principle established that no burthen beyond the customary feudal aids might be imposed "save by the Common Council of the Realm." The same great document first expressly regulated its form. In theory, as we have seen, the assembly consisted of all who held land directly of the Crown. But the same causes which restricted attendance at the Witenagemot to the greater nobles told on the actual composition of the Council of Barons. While the attendance of the ordinary tenants in chief, the Knights or "Lesser Barons," was burthensome from its expense to themselves, their numbers and their dependence on the higher nobles made their assembly dangerous to the Crown. As early, therefore, as the time of Henry the First we find a distinction recognized between the "Greater Barons," of whom the Council was usually composed, and the "Lesser Barons" who formed the bulk of the tenants of the Crown. But though the attendance of the latter had become rare, their right of attendance remained intact. While enacting that the prelates and greater barons should be summoned by special writs to each gathering of the Council, a remarkable provision of the Great Charter orders a general summons to be issued through the Sheriff to all direct tenants of the Crown. The provision was probably intended to rouse the lesser baronage to the exercise of rights which had practically passed into desuetude, but as the clause is omitted in later issues of the Charter we may doubt whether the principle it embodied ever received more than a very limited application. There are traces of the attendance of a few of the lesser knighthood, gentry perhaps of the neighbourhood where the assembly was held, in some of its meetings under Henry the Third, but till a late period in the reign of his successor the Great Council practically remained a gathering of the greater barons, the prelates, and the officers of the Crown. The change which the Great Charter had failed to accomplish was now, however, brought about by the social circumstances of the time. One of the most remarkable of these was the steady decrease in the number of the greater nobles,, The bulk of the earldoms had already lapsed

to the Crown through the extinction of the families of their possessors ; of the greater baronies, many had practically ceased to exist by their division among co-heiresses, many through the constant struggle of the poorer barons to rid themselves of their rank by a disclaimer, so as to escape the burthen of higher taxation and attendance in Parliament which it involved. How far this diminution had gone we may see from the fact that hardly more than a hundred barons sat in the earlier Councils of Edward's reign. But while the number of those who actually possessed the privilege of assisting in Parliament was rapidly diminishing, the numbers and wealth of the " lesser baronage," whose right of attendance had become a mere constitutional tradition, was as rapidly increasing. The long peace and prosperity of the realm, the extension of its commerce, and the increased export of wool, were swelling the ranks and incomes of the country gentry as well as of the freeholders and substantial yeomanry. We have already noticed the growing passion for the possession of land which makes this reign so critical a moment in the history of the English freeholder ; but the same tendency had to some extent existed in the preceding century, and it was a consciousness of the growing importance of this class of rural proprietors which induced the barons at the time of the Charter to make their fruitless attempt to induce them to take part in the deliberations of the Great Council. But while the barons desired their presence as an aid against the Crown, the Crown itself desired it as a means of rendering taxation more efficient. So long as the Great Council remained a mere assembly of magnates it was necessary for the King's ministers to treat separately with the other orders of the state as to the amount and assessment of their contributions. The grant made in the Great Council was binding only on the barons and prelates who made it ; but before the aids of the boroughs, the Church, or the shires could reach the royal treasury, a separate negotiation had to be conducted by the offices of the Exchequer with the reeves of each town, the sheriff and shire-court of each county, and the archdeacons of each diocese. Bargains of this sort would be the more tedious and disappointing as the necessities of the Crmvn increased in the later years of Edward, and it became a matter of fiscal expediency to obtain the sanction of any proposed taxation through the presence of these classes in the Great Council itself.

Knights of the Shire.

The effort, however, to revive the old personal attendance of the lesser baronage, which had broken down half a century before, could hardly be renewed at a time when the increase of their numbers made it more impracticable than ever ; but a means of escape from this difficulty was fortunately suggested by the very nature of the court through which alone a summons could be addressed to the landed knighthood. Amidst the many judicial reforms of HT*rrty or Edward the Shire Court remained unchanged. The IfJnmted mound or the

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borough and the officers of the Exchequer; and if the towns were driven to comply with what they considered an extortion, they could generally force the Crown by evasions and delays to a compromise and abatement of its original demands. The same financial reasons, therefore, existed for desiring the presence of their representatives in the Great Council as existed in the case of the shires; but it was the genius of Earl Simon which first broke through the older constitutional tradition, and dared to summon two burgesses from each town to the Parliament of 1265. Time had, indeed, to pass before the large and statesmanlike conception of the great patriot could meet with full acceptance. Through the earlier part of Edward's reign we find a few instances of the presence of representatives from the towns, but their scanty numbers and the irregularity of their attendance show that they were summoned rather to afford financial information to the Great Council than as representatives in it of an Estate of the Realm. But every year pleaded stronger and stronger for their inclusion, and in the Parliament of 1295 that of 1265 found itself at last reproduced. "It was from me that he learnt it," Earl Simon had cried, as he recognized the military skill of Edward's onset at Evesham; "It was from me that he learnt it," his spirit might have exclaimed, as he saw the King gathering at last two burgesses "from every city, borough, and leading town" within his realm to sit side by side with the knights, nobles, and barons of the Great Council. To the Crown the change was from the first an advantageous one. The grants of subsidies by the burgesses in Parliament proved more profitable than the previous extortions of the Exchequer. The proportion of their grant generally exceeded that of the other estates by a tenth. Their representatives too proved far more compliant with the royal will than the barons or knights of the shire; only on one occasion during Edward's reign did the burgesses waver from their general support of the Crown. It was easy indeed to control them, for the selection of boroughs to be represented remained wholly in the King's hands, and their numbers could be increased or diminished at the King's pleasure. The determination was left to the sheriff, and at a hint from the royal Council a sheriff of Wilts would cut j down the number of represented boroughs in his shire from eleven to three, or a sheriff of Bucks declare he could find but a single borough, i that of Wycomb, within the bounds of the county. Nor was this I exercise of the prerogative hampered by any anxiety on the part of the towns to claim representative privileges. It was difficult to suspect that a power before which the Crown would have to bow lay in the ranks of soberly clad traders, summoned only to assess the contributions of their boroughs, and whose attendance was as difficult to secure as it seemed burthensome to themselves and the towns who sent them[r],..,The mass of citizens took little or no part in their choice, for they were elected in the county court by a few of the principal

burghers deputed for the purpose ; but the cost of their maintenance, the two shillings a day paid to the burgess by his town, as four were paid to the knight by his county, was a burthen from which the boroughs made desperate efforts to escape. Some persisted in making no return to the sheriff. Some bought charters of exemption fiom the troublesome privilege. Of the 165 who were summoned by Edward the First more than a third ceased to send representatives after a single compliance with the royal summons. During the whole time from the reign of Edward the Third to the reign of Henry the Sixth the sheriff of Lancashire declined to return the names of any boroughs at all within that county, '* on account of their poverty." Nor were the representatives themselves more anxious to appear than their boroughs to send them. The busy country squire and the thrifty trader were equally reluctant to undergo the trouble and expense of a journey to Westminster. Legal measures were often necessary to ensure their presence. Writs still exist in abundance such as that by which Walter le Rous is "held to bail in eight oxen and four cart-horses to come before the King on the day specified" for attendance in Parliament. But in spite of obstacles such as these the presence of representatives from the boroughs maybe regarded as continuous from the Parliament of 1295. As the representation of the lesser barons had widened through a silent change into that of the shire, so that of the boroughs—restricted in theory to those in royal demesne—seems practically from Edward's time to have been extended to all who were in a collection to pay the cost of their representatives' support. By a change as silent within the Parliament itself the burgess, originally summoned to take part only in matters of taxation, was at last admitted to a full share in the deliberations and authority of the other orders of the State.

The early Parliaments

The admission of the burgesses and knights of the shire to the assembly of 1295 completed the fabric of our representative constitution. The Great Council of the Barons had become the Parliament of the Realm, a parliament in which every order of the state found itself represented, and took part in the grant of supplies, the work of legislation, and in the end the control of government. But though in all essential points the character of Parliament has remained the same from that time to this, there were some remarkable particulars in which this assembly of 1295 differed widely from the present Parliament at St. Stephen's. Some of these differences, such as those which sprang from the increased powers and changed relations of the different orders among themselves, we shall have occasion to consider at a later time. But a difference of a far more startling kind than these lay in the presence of the clergy. If there is any part in the Parliamentary scheme of Edward the First which can be regarded as especially his own, it is his project for the representation of the

Representation of the Clergy.

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ecclesiastical order. The King had twice at least summoned its "proctors" to Great Councils before 1295, but it was then only that the complete representation of the Church was definitely organized by the insertion of a clause in the writ which summoned a bishop to Parliament requiring the personal attendance of all archdeacons, deans, or priors of cathedral churches, of a proctor for each cathedral chapter, and two for the clergy within his diocese. The clause is repeated in the writs of the present day, but its practical effect was foiled almost from the first by the resolute opposition of those to whom it was addressed. What the towns failed in doing the clergy actually did. Even when forced to comply with the royal summons, as they seem to have been forced during Edward's reign, they sat jealously by themselves, and their refusal to vote supplies in any but their own provincial assemblies, or convocations, of Canterbury and York left the Crown without a motive for insisting on their continued attendance. Their presence indeed, though still occasionally granted on some solemn occasions, became so pure a formality that by the end of the fifteenth century it had sunk wholly into desuetude. In their anxiety to preserve their existence as an isolated and privileged order the clergy flung away a power which, had they retained it, would have ruinously hampered the healthy developement of the state. To take a single instance, it is difficult to see how the great changes of the Reformation could have been brought about had a good half of the House of Commons consisted purely of churchmen, whose numbers would have been backed by the weight of property as possessors of a third of the landed estates of the realm. A hardly less important difference may be found in the gradual restriction of the meetings of Parliament to Westminster. The names of the early statutes remind us of its convocation at the most various quarters, at Winchester, Acton Burnell, or Northampton. It was at a later time that Parliament became settled in the straggling village which had grown up in the marshy swamp of the Isle of Thorns, beside the palace whose embattled pile towered over the Thames and the great minster which was still rising in Edward's day on the site of the older church of the Confessor. It is possible that, while contributing greatly to its constitutional importance, this settlement of the Parliament may have helped to throw into the background its character as a supreme court of appeal. The proclamation by which it was called together invited "all who had any grace to demand of the King in Parliament, or any plaint to make of matters which could not be redressed or determined by ordinary course of law, or who had been in any way aggrieved by any of the King's ministers or justices or sheriffs, or their bailiffs, or any other officer, or have been unduly assessed, rated, charged, or surcharged to aids, subsidies, or taxes," to deliver their petitions to receivers who sat in the Great Hall of the Palace of Westminster,

Restriction of Parliament ta Westminster

Parliament as Court of Appeal

The petitions were forwarded to the King's Council, and it was probably the extension of the jurisdiction of that body, and the subsequent rise of the Court of Chancery, which reduced this ancient right of the subject to the formal election of "Triers of Petitions" at the opening of every new Parliament by the House of Lords, a usage which is still continued. But it must have been owing to some memory of the older custom that the subject always looked for redress against injuries from the Crown or its ministers to the Parliament of the realm.

THE CONQUEST *of* SCOTLAND **1290 TO 1305**

Section III.—The Conquest of Scotland, 1290—1305.

[Authorities.—Scotland itself has no contemporary chronicles for this period : the jingling rimes of Blind Harry are two hundred years later than the death of his hero Wallace. Those of England are meagre and inaccurate ; the most important are the "Annalcs Angliae et Scotire" and "Annales Regni Scotiae," Rishanger's Chronicle, his "Gesta Edwardi Primi," and three fragments of annals (all published in the Rolls Series). The portion of the so-called Walsingham's History which relates to this time is now attributed by its latest editor, Mr. Riley, to Rishanger's hand. But the main source of our information lies in the copious collection of state papers preserved in Rymer's "Foedera," in the "Rotuli Scotix," and in the "Documents and Records illustrative of the History of Scotland," edited by Sir F. Palgrave. Mr. Robertson, in his "Scotland under her Early Kings."" has admirably illustrated the ages before the quarrel, and Mr. Burton in his History of Scotland has stated the Quarrel itself with great accuracy and fairness. For Edward's side see the preface of Sir F. Palgrave to the work above, and Mr. Freeman's essay on "The Relations between the Crowns of England and Scotland."]

Edward the First 1272-1307

The personal character of Edward the First had borne a large part in the constitutional changes which we have described, but it becomes of the highest moment during the war with Scotland which covers the latter half of his reign.

In his own time, and amongst his own subjects, Edward was the object of almost boundless admiration. He was in the truest sense a national King. At the moment when the last trace of foreign conquest passed away, when the descendants of those who won and those who lost at Senlac blended for ever into an English people, England saw in her ruler no stranger, but an Englishman. The national tradition returned in more than the golden hair or the English name which linked him to our earlier Kings. Edward's very temper was English to the core. In good as in evil he stands out as the typical representative of the race he ruled, like them wilful and imperious, tenacious of his rights, indomitable in his pride, dogged, stubborn, slow of apprehension, narrow in sympathy, but like them, too, just in the main, unselfish, laborious, conscientious, haughtily observan of truth and self-respect, temperate, reverent of duty, religious. He inherited

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indeed from the Angevins their fierce and passionate wrath; his punishments, when he punished in anger, were without pity; and a priest who ventured at a moment of storm into his presence with a remonstrance dropped dead from sheer fright at his feet. But for the most part his impulses were generous, trustful, averse from cruelty, prone to forgiveness. "No man ever asked mercy of me," he said in his old age, "and was refused." The rough soldierly nobleness of his nature breaks out at Falkirk, where he lay on the bare ground among his men, or in his refusal during a Welsh campaign to drink of the one cask of wine which had been saved from marauders: "It is I who have brought you into this strait," he said to his thirsty fellow-soldiers, "and I will have no advantage of you in meat or drink." A strange tenderness and sensitiveness to affection lay in fact beneath the stern imperiousncss of his outer bearing. Every subject throughout his realm was drawn closer to the King who wept bitterly at the news of his father's death, though it gave him a crown; whose fiercest burst of vengeance was called out by an insult to his mother; whose crosses rose as memorials of his love and sorrow at every spot where his wife's bier rested. "I loved her tenderly in her lifetime," wrote Edward to Eleanor's friend, the Abbot of Cluny; "I do not cease to love her now she is dead." And as it was with mother and wife, so it was with his people at large. Ali the self-concentrated isolation of the earlier Angevins disappears in Edward. He was the first English king since the Conquest who loved his people with a personal love, and craved for their love back again. To his trust in them we owe our Parliament, to his care for them the great statute's which stand in the forefront of our laws. Even in his struggles with her England understood a temper which was so perfectly her own, and the quarrels between King and people during his reign are quarrels where, doggedly as they fought, neither disputant doubted for a moment the worth or affection of the other. Few scenes in our history are more touching than that which closes the long contest over the Charter, when Edward stood face to face with his people in Westminster Hall, and with a sudden burst of tears owned himself frankly in the wrong.

Influence of Chivalry

But it was just this sensitiveness, this openness to outer impressions and outer influences, that led to the strange contradictions which meet us in Edward's career. Under the first king whose temper was distinctly English a foreign influence told most fatally on our manners, our literature, our national spirit. The rise of France into a compact and organized monarchy from the time of Philip Augustus was now making its influence dominant in Western Europe. The "chivalry" so familiar in Froissart, that picturesque mimicry of high sentiment, of heroism, love, and courtesy, before which all depth and reality of nobleness disappeared to make room for the coarsest profligacy, the

narrowest caste-spirit, and a brutal indifference to human suffering, was specially of French creation. There was a nobleness in Edward's nature from which the baser influences of this chivalry fell away. His life was pure, his piety, save when it stooped to the superstition of the time, manly and sincere, while his high sense of duty saved him from the frivolous self-indulgence of his successors. But he was far from being wholly free from the taint of his age. His passionate desire was to be a model of the fashionable chivalry of his day. He had been famous from his very youth as a consummate general ; Earl Simon had admired the skill of his advance at Evesham, and in his Welsh campaign he had shown a tenacity and force of will which wrested victory out of the midst of defeat. He could head a furious charge of horse at Lewes, or organize a commissariat which enabled him to move army after army across the harried Lowlands. In his old age he was quick to discover the value of the English archery, and to employ it as a means of victory at Falkirk. But his fame as a general seemed a small thing to Edward when compared with his fame as a knight. He shared to the full his people's love of hard fighting. His frame, indeed, was that of a born soldier—tall, deep-chested, long of limb, capable alike of endurance or action. When he encountered Adam Gurdon, a knight of gigantic size and renowned prowess, after Evesham he forced him single-handed to beg for mercy. At the opening of his reign he saved his life by sheer fighting in a tournament at Challqfi. It was this love of adventure which lent itself to the frivolous unreality of the new chivalry. At his "Round Table of Kenilworth " a hundred lords and ladies, " clad all in silk," renewed the faded glories of Arthur's Court. The false air of romance which was soon to turn the gravest political resolutions into outbursts of sentimental feeling appeared in his " Vow of the Swan," when rising at the royal board he swore on the dish before him to avenge on Scotland the murder of Comyn. Chivalry exerted on him a yet more fatal influence in its narrowing of his sympathy to the noble class, and in its exclusion of the peasant and the craftsman from all claim to pity. " Knight without reproach" as he was, he looked calmly on at the massacre of the burghers of Berwick, and saw in William Wallace nothing but a common robber.

Influence of Legality

Hardly less powerful than the French notion of chivalry in its influence on Edward's mind was the new French conception of kingship, feudality, and law. The rise of a lawyer class was everywhere hardening customary into written rights, allegiance into subjection, loose ties such as commendation into a definite vassalage. But it was specially through French influence, the influence of St. Lewis and his successors, that the imperial theories of the Roman Law were brought to bear upon this natural tendency of the time. When the " sacred majestry " of the Caesars was transferred by a legal fiction to the r*oyal* head of a feudal

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baronage, every constitutional relation was changed. The " defiance " by which a vassal renounced service to his lord became treason, his after resistance " sacrilege." That Edward could appreciate what was sound and noble in the legal spirit around him was shown in his reforms of our judicature and our Parliament; but there was something as congenial to his mind in its definiteness, its rigidity, its narrow technicalities. He was never wilfully unjust, but he was too often captious in his justice, fond of legal chicanery, prompt to take advantage of the letter of the law. The high conception of royalty which he had borrowed from St. Lewis united with this legal turn of mind in the worst acts of his reign. Of rights or liberties unregistered in charter or roll Edward would know nothing, while his own good sense was overpowered by the majesty of his crown. It was incredible to him that Scotland should revolt against a legal bargain which made her national independence conditional on the terms extorted from a claimant of her throne; nor could he view in any other light but as treason the resistance of his own baronage to an arbitrary taxation which their fathers had borne. It is in the very anomalies of such a character, in its strange union of justice and wrong-doing, of nobleness and meanness, that we must look for any fair explanation of much that has since been bitterly blamed in Edward's conduct and policy.

Scotland

Fairly to understand his quarrel with the Scots, we must clear our minds of the ideas which we now associate with the words " Scotland/' or the " Scotch people." At the opening of the fourteenth century the kingdom of the Scots was composed of four districts, each of which had originally its different people, its different speech, or at least dialect, and its different history. The first of these was the Lowland

Saxony

district, at one time called Saxony, and which now bears the name of Lothian and the Merse (or border land), the space, roughly speaking, between the Forth and Tweed. We have seen that at the close of the English conquest of Britain the kingdom of Northumbria stretched from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, and of this kingdom the Lowlands formed simply the northern portion. The English conquest and the English colonization were as complete here as over the rest of Britain. Rivers and hills indeed retained their Celtic names, but the " tons "and "hams" scattered over the country told the story of its Teutonic settlement. Livings and Dodings left their names to Livingstone and Duddingstone; Elphinstone, Dolphinstone and Edmundstone preserved the memory of English Elphins, Dolphins, and Edmunds, who had raised their homesteads beyond the Teviot and the Tweed. To the northward and westward of this Northumbrian land lay the kingdoms of the conquered. Over the "Waste" or "Desert"—the range of barren moors which stretches from Derbyshire to the Cheviots

Cumbria

the Briton had sought a refuge in the long strip of coast between the

Clyde and the Dee which formed the earlier Cumbria. Against this kingdom the efforts of the Northumbrian rulers had been incessantly directed; the victory of Chester had severed it from the Welsh kingdoms to the south; Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland were already subdued by the time of Ecgfrith; while the fragment which was suffered to remain unconquered between the Firths of Solway and of Clyde, and to which the name of Cumbria is in its later use confined, owned the English supremacy. At the close of the seventh century it seemed likely that the same supremacy would extend over the Celtic tribes to the north. The district north of the Clyde and Forth was originally inhabited chiefly by the Picts, a Latin name for the people who seem to have called themselves the Cruithne. To these Highlanders the country south of the Forth was a foreign land, and significant entries in their rude chronicles tell us how in their forays "the Picts made a raid upon Saxony." But during the period of Northumbrian greatness they had begun to yield at least on their borders some kind of submission to its kings. Fad wine had built a fort at Dunedin, which became Edinburgh and looked menacingly across the Forth; and at Abercorn beside it was established an English prelate with the title of Bishop of the Picts. Ecgfrith, in whose hands the power of Northumbria reached its highest point, marched across the Forth to change this over-lordship into a direct dominion, and to bring the series of English victories to a close. His host poured burning and ravaging across the Tay, and skirted the base of the Grampians as far as the field of Nectansmere, where King Bruidi awaited them at the head of the Picts. The great battle which followed proved a turning-point in the history of the North; the invaders were cut to pieces, Ecgfrith himself being among the slain, and the power of Northumbria was broken for ever. On the other hand, the kingdom of the Picts started into new life with its great victory, and pushed its way in the hundred years that followed westward, eastward, and southward, till the whole country north of the Forth and the Clyde acknowledged its supremacy. But the hour of Pictish greatness was marked by the sudden extinction of the Pictish name. Centuries before, when the English invaders were beginning to harry the south coast of Britain, a fleet of coracles had borne a tribe of the Scots, as the inhabitants of Ireland were at that time called, from the black cliff-walls of Antrim to the rocky and indented coast of South Argyle. The little kingdom of Scot-land which these Irishmen founded jlumbered in obscurity among the lakes and mountains to the south of Loch Linnhe, now submitting to the over-lordship of Northumbria, now to that of the Picts, till the extinction of the direct Pictish line of sovereigns raised the Scot King, Kenneth Mac-Alpin, who chanced to be their nearest kinsman, to the vacant throne. For fifty years these rulers of Scottish blood. stilll call themselves "Kings of the Picts;" but with the opening of the tenth

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Scot-lana

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century the very name passes away, the tribe which had given its chief to the common throne gives its designation to the common realm, and "Pict-land" vanishes from the page of the chronicler or annalist to make way for the "land of the Scots."

It was even longer before the change made way among the people itself, and the real union of the nation with its kings was only effected by the common suffering of the Danish wars. In the north, as in the south of Britain, the invasion of the Danes brought about political unity. Not only were Picts and Scots thoroughly blended into a single people, but by the annexation of Cumbria and the Lowlands, their monarchs became rulers of the territory which we now call Scotland. The annexation was owing to the new policy of the English Kings. Their aim, after the long struggle of England with the northmen, was no longer to crush the kingdom across the Forth, but to raise it into a bulwark against the northmen who were still settled in Caithness and the Orkneys, and for whose aggressions Scotland was the natural highway. On the other hand, it was only in English aid that the Scot Kings could find a support for their throne against these Norse Jarls of Orkney and Caithness. It was probably this common hostility to a common foe which brought about the "commendation" by which the Scots beyond the Forth, with the Welsh of Strath-clyde, chose the English King, Eadward the Elder, "to father and lord." The choice, whatever weight after events may have given to it, seems to have been little more than the renewal of the loose English supremacy over the tribes of the North which had existed during the times of Northumbrian greatness; it certainly implied at the time nothing save a right on either side to military aid, though the aid then rendered was necessarily placed in the hands of the stronger party to the agreement. Such a connexion naturally ceased in the event of any war between the two contracting parties; it was in fact by no means the feudal vassalage of a later time, but rather a military convention. But loose as was the tie which bound the two countries, a closer tie soon bound the Scot King himself to his English overlord. Strath-clyde, which, after the defeat of Nectansmere, had shaken off the English yoke, and which at a later time had owned the supremacy of the Scots, rose into a temporary independence only to be conquered by the English Eadmund. By him it was granted to Malcolm of Scotland on condition that he should become his "fellow-worker" both by land and sea, and became from that time the appanage of the eldest son of the Scottish king. At a later time, under Eadgar or Cnut, the whole of Northern Northumbria, or what we now call the Lothians, was ceded to the Scottish sovereigns, but whether on the same terms of feudal dependence or on the same loose terms of "commendation" as already e/""ted for lands north of the Forth, we have no means of deciding. The retreat, however, of the bounds of the great

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Grant of Strath-clyde to the Scot King

Grant of Northern Northumbria

English bishopric of the North, the see of St. Cuthbert, as far southward as the Pentland Hills, would seem to imply a greater change in the political character of the ceded district than the first theory would allow.

THE CONQUEST OF SCOTLAND 1290 TO 1305 England and the Scot Kings

Whatever change these cessions may have brought about in the relation of the Scottish to the English Kings, they certainly affected in a very marked way their relation both to England and to their own realm. One result of the acquisition of the Lowlands was the ultimate fixing of the royal residence in their new southern dominion at Edinburgh; and the English civilization with which they were then surrounded changed the Scot Kings in all but blood into Englishmen. A way soon opened itself to the English crown by the marriage 1069
of Malcolm with Margaret, the sister of Eadgar yEtheling. Their children were regarded by a large party within England as representatives of the older royal race and as claimants of the throne, and this danger grew as William's devastation of the North not only drove fresh multitudes of Englishmen to settle in the Lowlands, but filled the Scotch court with English nobles who fled thither for refuge. So formidable, indeed, became the pretensions of the Scot Kings, that they forced the ablest of our Norman sovereigns into a complete change of policy. The Conqueror and William the Red had met the threats of the Scot sovereigns by invasions which ended again and again in an illusory homage; but the marriage of Henry the First with the Scottish Matilda not only robbed the claims of the Scottish line of much of their force, but enabled him to draw it into far closer relations with the Norman throne. King David not only abandoned *David* 1124-1153
the ambitious dreams of his predecessors to place himself later at the head of his niece Matilda's party in her contest with Stephen, but as Henry's brother-in-law he figured as the first noble of the English court, and found English models and English support in the work of organization which he attempted within his own dominions. As the marriage with Margaret had changed Malcolm from a Celtic chieftain into an English King, so that of Matilda converted David into a Norman and feudal sovereign. His court was filled with Norman nobles from the South, such as the Balliols and Bruces who were destined to play so great a part afterwards but who now for the first time obtained fiefs in the Scottish realm; and a feudal jurisprudence modelled on that of England was introduced into the Lowlands. A fresh connexion between the countries began with the grant of lordships in England to the Scot Kings or their sons. Homage was sometimes rendered, whether for these lordships, for the Lowlands, or for the whole Scottish realm, but it was the capture of William the Lion 1174
during the revolt of the English baronage which suggested to Henry the Second the project of a closer dependence*^ Scotland on the English Crown. To gain his freedom, William consented to hold

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his crown of Henry and his heirs, the prelates and lords of the Scotch kingdom did homage to Henry as to their direct lord, and a right of appeal in all Scotch causes was allowed to the superior court of the English suzerain. From this bondage, however, Scotland was soon freed by the prodigality of Richard, who allowed her to buy back the freedom she had forfeited, and from that time the difficulties of the older claim were evaded by a legal compromise. The Scot Kings repeatedly did homage to the English sovereign, but with a reservation of rights which were prudently left unspecified. The English King accepted the homage on the assumption that it was rendered to him as overlord of the Scottish realm, and this assumption was neither granted nor denied. For nearly a hundred years the relations of the two countries were thus kept peaceful and friendly, and the death of

1286 Alexander the Third seemed destined to remove even the necessity of protests by a closer union of the two kingdoms. Alexander had wedded his only daughter to the King of Norway, and after long negotiation the Scotch Parliament proposed the marriage of her child Margaret, "the Maid of Norway," with the son of Edward the First. It was, however, carefully provided in the marriage treaty of Brigham

1290 that Scotland should remain a separate and free kingdom, and that its laws and customs should be preserved inviolate. No military aid was to be claimed by the English King, no Scotch appeal to be carried to an English court. But this project was abruptly frustrated by the child's death on her voyage to Scotland, and with the rise of claimant after claimant of the vacant throne Edward was drawn into*far other relations to the Scottish realm.

The First Conquest 1290-1296

Of the thirteen pretenders to the throne of Scotland, only three could be regarded as serious claimants. By the extinction of the line of William the Lion the right of succession passed to the daughters of his brother David. The claim of John Balliol, Lord of Galloway, rested on his descent from the eldest of these; that of Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, on his descent from the second; that of John Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny, on his descent from the third. At this crisis the Norwegian King, the Primate of St. Andrew's, and seven of the Scotch Earls, had already appealed to Edward before Margaret's death; and the death itself was followed by the consent both of the claimants and the Council of Regency to refer the question of the succession to his decision in a Parliament at Norham. But the

May, 1291 over-lordship which the Scots acknowledged was something far less direct and definite than what Edward claimed at the opening of this conference. His claim was supported by excerpts from English monastic chronicles, and by the slow advance of an English army, while the Scotch lords, taken by surprise, found little help in the delay which was granted thern, and at last, in common with nine of the claimants themselves, formally admitted Edward's direct suzerainty.

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To the nobles, in fact, the concession must have seemed a small one, for like the principal claimants they were for the most part Norman in blood, with estates in both countries, and looking for honours and pensions from the English Court. From the Commons who were gathered with the nobles at Norham no admission of Edward's claims could be extorted ; but in Scotland, feudalized as it had been by David, the Commons were as yet of little weight, and their opposition was quietly passed by. All the rights of a feudal suzerain were at once assumed by the English King; he entered into the possession of the country as into that of a disputed fief to be held by its over-lord till the dispute was settled, his peace was sworn throughout the land, its castles delivered into his charge, while its bishops and nobles swore homage to him directly as their lord superior. Scotland was thus reduced to the subjection which she had experienced under Henry the Second, but the full discussion which followed over the various claims to the throne showed that, while exacting to the full what he believed to be his right, Edward desired to do justice to the country itself. The commissioners whom he named to report on the claims to the throne were mainly Scotch ; a proposal for the partition of the realm among the claimants was rejected as contrary to Scotch law ; and the claim of Balliol as representative of the elder branch was finally preferred to that of his rivals.

The castles were at once delivered to the new monarch, and Balliol did homage to Edward with full acknowledgement of the services due to him fPbm the realm of Scotland. For a time there was peace. Edward in fact seemed to have no desire to push farther the rights of his crown. Even allowing that Scotland was a dependent«kingdom, it was far from being an ordinary fief of the English crown. By feudal custom a distinction had always been held to exist between the relations of a dependent king to a superior lord and those of a vassal noble to his sovereign. At Balliol's homage Edward had disclaimed, in strict accordance with the marriage treaty of Brigham, any right to the ordinary incidents of a fief, those of wardship or marriage; but there were other customs of the realm of Scotland as incontestable as these. The Scot King had never been held bound to attend the council of the English baronage, to do service in English warfare, or to contribute on the part of his Scotch realm to English aids. No express acknowledgement of these rights had been given by Edward, but for a time they were practically observed. The claim of independent justice was more doubtful, as it was of higher import than these. It was certain that no appeal from a Scotch King's court to that of his supposed overlord had been allowed since the days of William the Lion, and the judicial independence of Scotland had been expressly reserved in the marriage treaty. But in feudaHurisprudence the right of ultimate appeal was the test of sovereignty. This right 1293

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of appeal Edward now determined to enforce, and Balliol at first gave way. It was alleged, however, that the resentment of his baronage and people forced him to resist; and while appearing formally at Westminster he refused to answer an appeal save by advice of his Council. He was in fact looking to France, which, as we shall afterwards see, was Jealously watching Edward's proceedings, and ready to force him into war. By a new breach of customary law Edward summoned the Scotch nobles to follow him in arms against this foreign foe. But the summons was disregarded, and a second and formal refusal of aid was followed by a secret alliance with France and by a Papal absolution of Balliol from his oath of fealty.

Edward was still reluctant to begin the war, when all hope of accommodation was ended by the refusal of Balliol to attend his Parliament at Newcastle, the rout of a small body of English troops, and the investment of Carlisle by the Scots. Orders were at once given for an advance upon Berwick. The taunts of its citizens stung the King to the quick. "Kynge Edward, waune thou havest Berwick, pike thee ; waune thou havest geten, dike thee," they shouted from behind the wooden stockade, which formed the only rampart of the town. But the stockade was stormed with the loss of a single knight, and nearly eight thousand of the citizens were mown down in a ruthless carnage, while a handful of Flemish traders who held the town-hall stoutly against all assailants were burned alive in it. The massacre only ceased when a procession of priests bore the host to the King's presence, praying for mercy, and Edward with a sudden and Characteristic burst of tears called off his troops ; but the town was ruined for ever, and the great merchant city of the North sank from that time into a petty seaport. At Berwick Edward received Balliol's defiance. "Has the fool done this folly?" the King cried in haughty scorn. "If he will not come to us, we will come to him." The terrible slaughter, however, had done its work, and his march was a triumphal progress. Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth opened their gates, Bruce joined the English army, and Balliol himself surrendered and passed without a blow from his throne to an English prison. No further punishment, however, was exacted from the prostrate realm. Edward simply treated it as a fief, and declared its forfeiture to be the legal consequence of BallioPs treason. It lapsed in fact to the overlord, and its earls, "barons, and gentry swore homage in Parliament at Berwick to Edward as their king. The sacred stone on which its older sovereigns had been installed, an oblong block of sandstone, which legend asserted to have been the pillow of Jacob as angels ascended and descended upon him, was removed from Scone and placed in Westminster by the shrine of the Confessor. It was enclosed by Edward's^-rxler in a stately seat, which became from that hour the coronation chair of English kings.

1296

THE CONQUEST OF SCOTLAND 1390 TO 1303

The Second Conquest 1297-1305

To the King himself the whole business must have seemed another and easier conquest of Wales, and the mercy and just government which had followed his first success followed his second also. The government of the new dependency was entrusted to Warenne, Earl of Surrey, at the head of an English Council of Regency. Pardon was freely extended to all who had resisted the invasion, and order and public peace were rigidly enforced. But both the justice and injustice of the new rule proved fatal to it; the wrath of the Scots, already kindled by the intrusion of English priests into Scotch livings, and by the grant of lands across the border to English barons, was fanned to fury by the strict administration of law, and the repression of feuds and cattle-lifting. The disbanding, too, of troops, which was caused by the penury of the royal exchequer, united with the licence of the soldiery who remained to quicken the national sense of wrong. The disgraceful submission of their leaders brought the people themselves to the front. In spite of a hundred years of peace the farmer of the Lowlands and the artisan of the towns remained stout-hearted Northumbrian Englishmen; they had never consented to Edward's supremacy, and their blood rose against the insolent rule of the stranger. The genius of an outlaw knight, William Wallace, saw in their smouldering discontent a hope of freedom for his country, and his daring raids on outlying parties of the English soldiery roused the country at last into revolt. Of Wallace himself, of his life or temper, we know little or nothing ; the very traditions of his gigantic stature and enormous strength are dim and unhistorical. But the instinct of the Scotch people has guided it aright in choosing Wallace for its national hero. He was the first to assert freedom as a national birthright, and amidst the despair of nobles and priests to call the people itself to arms. At the head of an army drawn principally from the coast districts north of the Tay, which were inhabited by a population of the same blood as that of the Lowlands, Wallace, in September, 1297, encamped near Stirling, the pass between the north and the south, and awaited the English advance. The offers of John of Warenne were scornfully rejected : " We have come," said the Scottish leader, " not to make peace, but to free our country." The position of Wallace, a rise of hills behind a loop of Forth, was in fact chosen with consummate skill. The one bridge which crossed the river was only broad enough to admit two horsemen abreast; and though the English army had been passing from daybreak, only half its force was across at noon when Wallace closed on it and cut it after a short combat to pieces in the sight of its comrades. The retreat of the Earl of Surrey over the border left Wallace head of the country he had freed, and for a time he acted as " Guardian of the Realm " in Balliol's name, and headed a wild foray into Northumberland. His reduction of Stirling Castle at last called Edward to the field. The, King, who marched

Battle of Stirling Sept. 1297

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northward with a larger host than had ever followed his banner, was enabled by treachery to surprise Wallace, as he fell back to avoid an engagement, and to force him to battle near Falkirk. The Scotch force consisted almost wholly of foot, and Wallace drew up his spearmen in four great hollow circles or squares, the outer ranks kneeling, and the whole supported by bowmen within, while a small force of horse were drawn up as a reserve in the rear. It was the formation of Waterloo, the first appearance in our history since the day of Senlac of " that unconquerable British infantry," before which chivalry was destined to go down. For a moment it had all Waterloo's success. " I have brought you to the ring, hop (dance) if you can/' are words of rough humour that reveal the very soul of the patriot leader, and the serried ranks answered well to his appeal. The Bishop of Durham, who led the English van, shrank wisely from the look of the squares. " Back to your mass, Bishop," shouted the reckless knights behind him, but the body of horse dashed itself vainly on the wall of spears. Terror spread through the English army, and its Welsh auxiliaries drew off in a body from the field. But the generalship of Wallace was met by that of the King. Drawing his bowmen to the front, Edward riddled the Scottish ranks with arrows, and then hurled his cavalry afresh on the wavering line. In a moment ail was over, and the maddened knights rode in and out of the broken ranks, slaying without mercy. Thousands fell on the field, and Wallace himself escaped with difficulty, followed by a handful of men. But ruined as the cause of freedom seemed, his work was clone. He had roused Scotland into life, and even a defeat like Falkirk left her unconquered. Edward remained master only of the ground he stood on ; want of supplies forced him to retreat ; and in the following year a regency of Scotch nobles under Bruce and Comyn continued the struggle for independence. Troubles at home and dangers from abroad stayed Edward's hand. The barons were pressing more and more vigorously for redress of their grievances and the heavy taxation brought about by the war. France was still menacing, and a claim advanced by Pope Boniface the Eighth, at its suggestion, to the feudal superiority over Scotland, arrested a fresh advance of the King. A quarrel, however, which broke out between Philippe le Bel and the Papacy removed all obstacles, and enabled Edward to defy Boniface and to wring from France a treaty in which Scotland was abandoned. In 1304 he resumed the work of invasion, and again the nobles flung down their arms as he marched to the North. Comyn, at the head of the Regency, acknowledged his sovereignty, and the surrender of Stirling completed the conquest of Scotland. The triumph of Edward was but the prelude to the full execution of his designs for knitting the two countries tog^her by a clemency and wisdom which reveal the greatness of his statesmanship. A general amnesty was extended to all

Battle of Falkirk *July,* 1298

1300

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who had shared in the revolt. Wallace, who refused to avail himself of Edward's mercy, was captured, and condemned to death at Westminster on charges of treason, sacrilege, and robbery. The head of the great patriot, crowned in mockery with a circlet of laurel, was placed upon London Bridge. But the execution of Wallace was the one blot on Edward's clemency. With a masterly boldness he entrusted the government of the country to a council of Scotch nobles, many of whom were freshly pardoned for their share in the war, and anticipated the policy of Cromwell by allotting ten representatives to Scotland in the Common Parliament of his realm. A Convocation was summoned at Perth for the election of these representatives, and a great judicial scheme which was promulgated in this assembly adopted the amended laws of King David as the base of a new legislation, and divided the country for judicial purposes into four districts, Lothian, Galloway, the Highlands, and the land between the Highlands and the Forth, at the head of each of which were placed two justiciars, the one English and the other Scotch.

Section IV.—The English Towns.

[Authorities.— For the general histoiy of London see its "Liber Albus" and "Liber Custumarum," in the series of the Master of the Rolls ; for its communal revolution, the " Liber de Antiquis Legibus," edited by Mr. Stapleton for the Camden Society ; for the rising of William Longbeard, the story in William of Newburgh. Jn his " Essay on English Municipal History" (1867), Mr. Thompson has given a useful account of the relations of Leicester with its Kails. A great store of documents will be found in the Charter Rolls published by the Record Commission, in Brady's work on English Boroughs, and (though rather for Parliamentary purposes) in Stephen's and Merewether's " History of Boroughs and Corporations." But the only full and scientific examination of our early municipal history, at least on one of its sides, is to be found in the Essay prefixed by Dr. Brentano to the " Ordinances of English Gilds," published by the Early English Text Society.]

• From scenes such as we have been describing, from the wrong and bloodshed of foreign conquest, we pass to the peaceful life and progress of England itself.

Through the reign of the three Edwards two revolutions, which have been almost ignored by our historians, were silently changing the whole character of Englifh society. The first of these, the rise of a new class of tenant-farmers, we shall have to notice hereafter in its connection with the great agrarian revolt which bears the name of Wat Tyler. The second, the rise of the craftsmen within our towns, and the struggle by which they won power and privilege from the older burghers, is the most remarkable event in the period of our national history at which wc have arrived.

SEC. IV.

THE ENGLISH TOWNS

The Early English Borough*

The English borough was originally a mere township or group of townships whose inhabitants happened, either for purposes of trade or protection, to cluster together more thickly than elsewhere. It is this characteristic of our boroughs which separates them at once from the cities of Italy and Provence, which had preserved the municipal institutions of their Roman past, from the German towns founded by Henry the Fowler with the special purpose of sheltering industry from the feudal oppression around them, or from the communes of northern France which sprang into existence in revolt against feudal outrage within their walls. But in England the tradition of Rome had utterly passed away, while feudal oppression was held fairly in check by the Crown. The English town, therefore, was in its beginning simply a piece of the general country, organized and governed precisely in the same manner as the townships around it. The burh or borough was probably a more defensible place than the common village; it may have had a ditch or mound about it instead of the quickset-hedge or "tun" from which the township took its name. But its constitution was simply that of the people at large. The obligations of the dwellers within its bounds were those of the townships round, to keep fence and trench in good repair, to send a contingent to the fyrd, and a reeve and four men to the hundred court and shire court; and the inner rule of the borough lay as in the townships about in the hands of its own freemen, gathered in "borough-moot" or "portmannimote." But the social change brought about by the Danish wars, the legal requirement that each man should have a lord, affected the towns, as it affected the rest of the country. Some passed into the hands of great thegns near to them; the bulk became known as in the demesne of the king. A new officer, the lord's or king's reeve, was a sign of this revolution. It was the reeve who now summoned the borough-moot and administered justice in it; it was he who collected the lord's dues or annual rent of the town, and who exacted the services it owed to its lord. To modern eyes these services would imply almost complete subjection. When Leicester, for instance, passed from the hands of the Conqueror into those of its Earls, its townsmen were bound to reap their lord's corn-crops, to grind at his mill, to redeem their strayed cattle from his pound. The great forest around was the Earl's, and it was only out of his grace that the little borough could drive its swine into the woods or pasture its cattle in the glades. The justice and government of the town lay wholly in its master's hands; he appointed its bailiffs, received the fines and forfeitures of his tenants, and the fees and tolls of their markets and fairs. But when once these dues were paid and these services rendered the English townsman was practically free. His rights were as rigidly defined by custom as those of his lord. Property and person alike were secured against arbitrary seizure. He could

demand a fair trial on any charge, and even if justice was administered by his master's reeve it was administered in the presence and with the assent of his fellow-townsmen. The bell which swung out from the town tower gathered the burgesses to a common meeting, where they could exercise rights of free speech and free deliberation on their own affairs. Their merchant-gild over its ale-feast regulated trade, distributed the sums due from the town among the different burgesses, looked to the due repairs of gate and wall, and acted, in fact, pretty much the same part as a town-council of to-day. Not only, too, were these rights secured by custom from the first, but they were constantly widening as time went on. Whenever we get a glimpse of the inner history of an English town, we find the same peaceful revolution in progress, services disappearing through disuse or omission, while privileges and immunities are being purchased in hard cash. The lord of the town, whether he were king, baron, or abbot, was commonly thriftless or poor, and the capture of a noble, or the campaign of a sovereign, or the building of some new minster by a prior, brought about an appeal to the thrifty burghers, who were ready to fill again their master's treasury at the price of the strip of parchment which rfave them freedom of trade, of justice, and of government. Somelimes a chance story lights up for us this work of emancipation. At Leicester one of the chief aims of its burgesses was to regain their old English trial by compurgation, the rough predecessor of trial by jury, which had been abolished by the Earls in favour of the foreign trial by battle.* " It chanced," says a charter of the place, " that two kinsmen, Nicholas the son of Aeon, and Geoffrey the son of Nicholas, waged a duel about a certain piece of land, concerning which a dispute had arisen between them ; and they fought from the first to the ninth hour, each conquering by turns. Then one of them fleeing from the other till he came to a certain little pit, as he stood on the brink of the pit, and was about to fall therein, his kinsman said to him ' Take care of the pit, turn back lest thou shouldest fall into it.' Thereat so much clamour and noise was made by the bystanders and those who were sitting around, that the Earl heard these clamours as far off as .the castle, and he inquired of some how it was there was such a clamour, and answer was made to him that two kinsmen were fighting about a certain piece of ground, and that one had fled till he reached a certain little pit, and that as he stood over the pit and was about to fall into it the other warned him. Then the townsmen being moved with pity made a covenant with the Earl that they should give him threepence yearly for each house in the High Street that had a gable, on condition that he should grant to them that the twenty-four jurors who were in Leicester from ancient times should from that time forward discuss and decide all pleas they might have among themselves" For the most part the liberties of our towns were bought >n this way, by sheer

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hard bargaining. The earliest English charters, save that of London, date from the years when the treasury of Henry the First was drained by his Norman wars ; and grants of municipal liberty made professedly by the Angevins are probably the result of their costly employment of mercenary troops. At the close, however, of the thirteenth century, this struggle for emancipation was nearly over. The larger towns had secured the administration of justice in their own borough-courts, the privilege of self-government, and the control of their own trade, and their liberties and charters served as models and incentives to the smaller communities which were struggling into life.

The Frith-Gilds

During the progress of this outer revolution, the inner life of the English town was in the same quiet and hardly conscious way developing itself from the common form of the life around it into a form especially its own. Within as without the ditch or stockade which formed the earliest boundary of the borough, land was from the first the test of freedom, and the possession of land was what constituted the townsman. We may take, perhaps, a foreign instance to illustrate this fundamental point in our municipal history. When Duke Berthold of Zahringen resolved to found Freiburg,his "free town," in the Brisgau, the mode he adopted was to gather a group of traders together, and to give each man a plot of ground for his freehold round what was destined to be the market-place of the new community. In England the landless man who dwelled in a borough had no share in its corporate life ; for purposes of government or property the town was simply an association of the landed proprietors within its bounds"; nor was there anything in this association, as it originally existed, which could be considered peculiar or exceptional. The constitution of the English town, however different its form may have afterwards become, was at first simply that of the people at large. We have seen that among the German races society rested on the basis of the family, that it was the family who fought and settled side by side, and the kinsfolk who were bound together in ties of mutual responsibility to each other and to the law. As society became more complex and less stationary it necessarily outgrew these simple ties of blood, and in England this dissolution of the family bond seems to have taken place at the very time when Danish incursions and the growth of a feudal temper among the nobles rendered an isolated existence most perilous for the freeman. His only resource was to seek protection among his fellow-freemen, and to replace the older brotherhood of the kinsfolk by a voluntary association of his neighbours for the same purposes of order and self-defence. The tendency to unite in such * frith-gilds' or peace-clubs became general throughout Europe during the ninth and tenth centuries, but on the Continent it was roughly met and repressed. The successors if Charles the Great enacted penalties of scourging, nose-slitting, and banishment against voluntary unions, and even a league

of the poor peasants of Gaul against the inroads of the northmen was suppressed by the swords of the Frankish nobles. In England the attitude of the Kings was utterly different. The system known at a later time as * frank-pledge/ or free engagement of neighbour for neighbour, was accepted after the Danish wars as the base of social order. Alfred recognized the common responsibility of the members of the 'frith-gild' side by side with that of the kinsfolk, and ./Ethelstan accepted 'frith-gilds' as a constituent element of borough life in the Dooms of London.

The Merchant Gilds

The frith-gild, then, in the earlier English town, was precisely similar to the frith-gilds which formed the basis of social order in the country at large. An oath of mutual fidelity among its members was substituted for the tie of blood, while the gild-feast, held once a month in the common hall, replaced the gathering of the kinsfolk round their family hearth. But within this new family the aim of the frith-gild was to establish a mutual responsibility as close as that of the old. "Let all share the same lot," ran its law; "if any misdo, let all bear it." A member could look for aid from his gild-brothers in atoning for any guilt incurred by mishap. He could call on them for assistance in case of violence or wrong: if falsely accused, they appeared in court as his compurgators; if poor they supported, and when dead they buried him. On the other hand, he was responsible to them, as they were to the State, for order and obedience to the laws. A wrong of brother against brother was also a wrong against the general body of the gild, and was punished by fine, or in the last resort by expulsion, which left the offender a 'lawless' man and an outcast. The one difference between these gilds in country and town was, that in the latter case, from their close local neighbourhood, they tended inevitably to coalesce. Under /Ethelstan the London gilds united into one for the purpose of carrying out more effectually their common aims, and at a later time we find the gilds of Berwick enacting "that where many bodies are found side by side in one place they may become one, and have one will, and in the dealings of one with another have a strong and hearty love." The process was probably a long and difficult one, for the brotherhoods naturally differed much in social rank, and even after the union was effected we see traces of the separate existence to a certain extent of some one or more of the wealthier or more aristocratic gilds. In London, for instance, the Cnihten-gild, which seems to have stood at the head of its fellows, retained for a long time its separate property, while its Alderman -as the chief officer of each gild was called -became the Alderman of the united gild of the whole city. In Canterbury we find a similar gild of thegns, from which the chief officers of the town seem commonly to have been selected. Imperfect, howevei, as the union might be, when once it was effected the towiT passed from a mere collection of brotherhoods into a powerful and organized com-

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munity, whose character was inevitably determined by the circumstances of its origin. In their beginnings our boroughs seem to have been mainly gatherings of persons engaged in agricultural pursuits; the first Dooms of London provide especially for the recovery of cattle belonging to the citizens. But as the increasing security of the country invited the farmer or the squire to settle apart in his own fields, and the growth of estate and trade told on the towns themselves, the difference between town and country became more sharply defined. London, of course, took the lead in this new developement of civic life. Even in y'Ethelstan's day every London merchant who had made three long voyages on his own account ranked as a thegn. Its 'lithsmen,' or shipments-gild, were of sufficient importance under Harthacnut to figure in the election of a king, and its principal street still tells of the rapid growth of trade, in the name of ' Cheap-side/ or the bargaining place. But at the Norman Conquest the commercial tendency had become universal. The name given to the united brotherhood is in almost every case no longer that of the 'town-gild/ but of the ' merchant-gild.'

This social change in the character of the townsmen produced important results in the character of their municipal institutions. In becoming a merchant-gild the body of citizens who formed the ' town' enlarged their powers of civic legislation by applying them to the control of their internal trade. It became their special business to obtain from the Crown, or from their lords, wider commercial privileges, rights of coinage, grants of fairs, and exemption from tolls ; while within the town itself they framed regulations as to the sale and quality of goods, the control of markets, and the recovery of debts. A yet more important result sprang from the increase of population which the growth of wealth and industry brought with it. The mass of the new settlers, composed as they were of escaped serfs, of traders without landed holdings, of families who had lost their original lot in the borough, and generally of the artisans and the poor, had no part in the actual life of the town. The right of trade and of the regulation of trade, in common with all other forms of jurisdiction, lay wholly in the hands of the landed burghers whom we have described. By a natural process, too, their superiority in wealth produced a fresh division between the' burghers' of the merchant-gild and the unenfranchised mass around them. The same change which severed at Florence the seven Greater Arts, or trades, from the fourteen Lesser Arts, and which raised the three occupations of banking, the manufacture and the dyeing of cloth, to a position of superiority even within the privileged circle of the seven, told, though with less force, ou the English boroughs. The burghers of the merchant-gild gradually concentrated themselves on the greater operations of commerce, CHI trades which required a larger capital, while the meaner employments of general.traffic were abandoned to their poorer neigh-

bours. This **advance** in the division **of labour** is marked by such severances as we note in the thirteenth century of the cloth merchant from the tailor, or the leather merchant from the butcher. But the result of this severance was all-important in its influence on the constitution of our towns. The members of the trades thus abandoned by the wealthier burghers formed themselves into Craft-gilds, which soon rose into dangerous rivalry with the original Merchant-gild of the town. A seven years' apprenticeship formed the necessary prelude to full membership of any trade-gild. Their regulations were of the minutest character ; the quality and value of work was rigidly prescribed, the hours of toil fixed "from day-break to curfew," and strict provision made against competition in labour. At each meeting of these gilds their members gathered round the Craft-box, which contained the rules of their Society, and stood with bared heads as it was opened. The warden and a quorum of gild-brothers formed a court which enforced the ordinances of the gild, inspected all work done by its members, confiscated unlawful tools or unworthy goods; and disobedience to their orders was punished by fines, or in the last resort by expulsion, which involved the loss of right to trade. A common fund was raised by contributions among the members, which not only provided for the trade objects of the gild, but sufficed to found chantries and masses, and set up painted windows in the church of their patron saint. Even at the present day the arms of the craft-gild may often be seen blazoned in cathedrals side by side with those of prelates and of kings. But it was only by slow degrees that they rose to such a height as this. The first steps in their existence were the most difficult, for to enable a trade-gild to carry out its objects with any success, it was first necessary that the whole body of craftsmen belonging to the trade should be compelled to belong to it, and secondly, that a legal control over the trade itself should be secured to it. A royal charter was indispensable for these purposes, and over the grant of these charters took place the first struggle with the merchant-gild, which had till then solely exercised jurisdiction over trade within the boroughs. The weavers, who were the first trade-gild to secure royal sanction in the reign of Henry the First, were still engaged in the contest for existence as late as the reign of John, when the citizens of London bought for a time the suppression of their gild. Even under the house of Lancaster, Exeter was engaged in resisting the establishment of a tailors' gild. From the eleventh century, however, the spread of these societies went steadily on, and the control of trade passed from the merchant-gilds to the craft-gilds.

The Greater and Lesser Folk

It is this struggle, to use the technical terms of the time, of the "greater folk" against the "lesser folk," or of the " cemmune," the general mass of the inhabitants, against the " priu'homines," or " wiser "

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few, which brought about, as it passed from the regulation of trade to the general government of the town, the great civic revolution of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On the Continent, and especially along the Rhine, the struggle was as fierce as the supremacy of the older burghers had been complete. In Koln the craftsmen had been reduced to all but serfage, and the merchant of Brussels might box at his will the ears of " the man without heart or honour who lives by his toil." Such social tyranny of class over class brought a century of bloodshed to the cities of Germany; but in England the tyranny of class over class had been restrained by the general tenor of the law, and the revolution took for the most part a milder form. The longest and bitterest strife of all was naturally at London. Nowhere had the territorial constitution struck root so deeply, and nowhere had the landed oligarchy risen to such a height of wealth and influence. The city was divided into wards, each of which was governed by an alderman drawn from the ruling class. In some, indeed, the office seems to have become hereditary. The " magnates," or " barons," of the merchant-gild advised alone on all matters of civic government or trade regulation, and distributed or assessed at their will the revenues or burthens of the town. Such a position afforded an opening for corruption and oppression of the most galling kind ; and it seems to have been the general impression of the unfair assessment levied on the poor, and the undue burthens which were thrown on the unenfranchised

1196 classes, which provoked the first serious discontent. William of the Long Beard, himself one of tne governing body, placed himself at the head of a conspiracy which numbered, in the terrified fancy of the

I burghers, fifty thousand of the craftsmen. His eloquence, his bold defiance of the aldermen in the town-mote, gained him at any rate a wide popularity, and the crowds who surrounded him hailed him as " the saviour of the poor." One of his addresses is luckily preserved to us by a hearer of the time. In mediaeval fashion he began with a text from the Vulgate," Ye shall draw water with joy from the fountain of the Saviour." " I , " he began, "am the saviour of the poor. Ye poor men who have felt the weight of rich men's hands, draw from my fountain waters of wholesome instruction and that with joy, for the time of your visitation is at hand. For I will divide the waters from the waters. It is the people who are the waters, and I will divide the lowly and faithful folk from the proud and faithless folk ; I will part the chosen from the reprobate as light from darkness." But it was in vain that by appeals to the King he strove to win royal favour for the popular cause. The support of the moneyed classes was essential to Richard in the costly wars with Philip of France, and the Justiciar, Archbishop Hubert,

I after a moment of hesitation, issued orders for his arrest. William felled with *-an* axe the first soldier who advanced to seize him.
j and taking refuge with a few followers in the tower of St. Mary-le-

Bow, summoned his adherents to rise. Hubert, however, who had already flooded the city with troops, with bold contempt of the right of sanctuary, set fire to the tower and forced William to surrender. A burgher's son, whose father he had slain, stabbed him as he came forth, and with his death the quarrel slumbered for more than fifty years.

The Commune

No further movement, in fact, took place till the outbreak of the Barons' war, but the city had all through the interval been seething with discontent ; the unenfranchised craftsmen, under pretext of preserving the peace, had united in secret frith-gilds of their own, and mobs rose from time to time to sack the houses of foreigners and the wealthier burghers. But it was not till the civil war began that the open contest recommenced. The craftsmen forced their way into the town-mote, and setting aside the opinion of the magnates, chose Thomas Fitz-Thomas for their mayor. Although dissension still raged during the reign of the second Edward, we may regard this election as marking the final victory of the craft-gilds. Under his successor all contest seems to have ceased : charters had been granted to every trade, their ordinances formally recognized and ?nrolled in the mayor's court, and distinctive liveries assumed to which they owed the name of "Livery Companies" which they still retain. The wealthier citizens, who found their old power broken, regained influence by enrolling themselves as members of the trade-gilds, and Edward the Third himself humoured the current of civic feeling by becoming a member of the gild of Armourers. This event marks the time when the government of our towns had become more really popular than it ever again became till the Municipal Reform Act of our own days. It had passed from the hands of an oligarchy into those of the middle classes, and there was nothing as yet to foretell the reactionary revolution by which the trade-gilds themselves became an oligarchy as narrow as that which they had deposed.

1261

Section V.-The King and the Baronage, **1290—1327.**

{Authorities.—For Filward I. as before. For Edward 11. we have three important contemporaries : on the King's side, Thomas de Ia More (in Camden, "Anglica, BrittamVa, ete.") ; on that of the Barons, Trokelowe's Annals (publifhed by the Master of the Rolls), and the Fife by a monk of Malmesbury, printed by Ilearne. The short Chronicle by Murimuth is also contemporary in date. Ilallam ("Middle Ages") has illustrated the constitutional aspect of the time.]

England tinder Edward I.

If we turn again to the tonblitutional history of England from the accession of Edward the First we find a progress not less real but chequered with darker vicissitudes than the progress *oi* our towns. A great transfer of power had been brought ab<wtby the long struggle

for the Charter, by the reforms of Earl Simon, and by the earlier legislation of Edward himself. His conception of kingship indeed was that of a just and religious Henry the Second, but his England was as different from-the England *of* Henry as the Parliament of the one was different from the Great Council of the other. In the rough rimes of Robert of Gloucester we read the simple political creed of the people at large.

" When the land through God's grace to good peace was brought
For to have the old laws the high men turned their thought :
For to have, as we said erst, the good old Law,
The King made his charter and granted it with sawe."

But the power which the Charter had wrested from the Crown fell not to the people but to the Baronage. The farmer and the artisan, though they could fight in some great crisis for freedom, had as yet no wish to interfere in the common task of government. The vast industrial change in both town and country, which had begun during the reign of Henry the Third, and which continued with increasing force during that of his son, absorbed the energy and attention of the trading classes. In agriculture, the inclosure of common lands and the introduction of the system of leases on the part of the great proprietors, coupled with the subdivision of estates which was facilitated by Edward's legislation, was gradually creating out of the masses of rural bondsmen a new class of tenant farmers, whose whole energy was absorbed in their own great rise to social freedom. The very causes which rendered the growth of municipal liberty so difficult, increased the wealth of the towns. To the trade with Norway and the Hanse towns of North Germany, the wool-trade with Flanders, and the wine trade with Gascony, was now added a fast increasing commerce with Italy and Spain. The great Venetian merchant galleys appeared on the English coast, Florentine traders settled in the southern ports, the bankers of Florence and Lucca followed those of Cahors, who had already dealt a death-blow to the usury of the Jews. But the wealth and industrial energy of the country was shown, not only in the rise of a capitalist class, but in a crowd of civil and ecclesiastical buildings which distinguished this period. Christian architecture reached its highest beauty in the opening of Edward's reign, a period marked by the completion of the abbey church of Westminster and the exquisite cathedral church at Salisbury. An English noble was proud to be styled "an incomparable builder," while some traces of the art which was rising across the Alps perhaps flowed in with the Italian ecclesiastics whom the Papacy was forcing on the English Church. In the abbey of Westminster the shrine of the Confessor, the mosaic pavement, and the paintings on the walls of minster and chapter-house, remind us of.the schools which were springing up under Giotto and the Pisans.

SEC. V.

THE KING AND THE BARONAGE

1290 TO 1327

The Baronage and its rule

But even had this industrial distraction been wanting the trading classes had no mind to claim any direct part in the actual work of government. It was a work which, in default of the Crown, fell naturally, according to the ideas of the time, to the Baronage. Constitutionally the position of the English nobles had now become established. A King could no longer make laws or levy taxes or even make war without their assent. And in the Baronage the nation reposed an unwavering trust. The nobles of England were no more the brutal foreigners from whose violence the strong hand of a Norman ruler had been needed to protect his subjects; they were as English as the peasant or the trader. They had won English liberty by their swords, and the tradition of their order bound them to look on themselves as its natural guardians. At the close of the Barons' war, the problem which had so long troubled the realm, the problem of how to ensure its government in accordance with the Charter, was solved by the transfer of the business of administration into the hands of a standing committee of the greater prelates and barons, acting as chief officers of state in conjunction with specially appointed ministers of the Crown. The body thus composed was known as the Continual Council; and the quiet government of the kingdom by the Council in the long interval between the death of Henry the Third and his son's return shows how effective this rule of the nobles was. It is significant of the new relation which they were to strive to establish between themselves and the Crown that in the brief which announced Edward's accession the Council afserted that the new monarch mounted his throne "by the will of the peers." The very form indeed of the new Parliament, in which the barons were backed by the knights of the shire, elected for the most part under their influence, and by the representatives of the towns, still true to the traditions of the Barons[1] war; the increased frequency of these Parliamentary assemblies which gave opportunity for counsel, for party organization, and a distinct political base of action; above all, the new financial power which their control over taxation enabled them to exert on the throne, ultimately placed the rule of the nobles on a basis too strong to be shaken by the utmost efforts of even Edward himself.

Law and the Baronage

From the first the King struggled fruitlessly against this overpowering influence; and his sympathies must have been stirred by the revolution on the other s'de of the Channel, where the French kings were crushing the power of the feudal baronage, and erecting a royal despotism on its ruins. Edward watched jealously over the ground which the Crown had already gained against the nobles. Following the policy of Henry II., at the very outset of his reign he instituted a commission of enquiry into the judicial franchises still existing, and on its report itinerant justices were sent to discover hy what right these franchises were held. The writs of '^quo warranto" were 1278

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roughly met here and there. Earl Warenne bared a rusty sword, and flung it on the justices' table. "This, sirs," he said, "is my warrant. By the sword our fathers won their lands when they came over with the Conqueror, and by the sword we will keep them." But the King was far from limiting himself to the plans of Henry I L; he aimed further at neutralizing the power of the nobles by raising the whole body of landowners to the same level; and a royal writ ordered all freeholders who held land of the value of twenty pounds to receive

1278 knighthood at the King's hands. While the political influence of the baronage as a leading element in the nation mounted, in fact, the personal and purely feudal power of each individual on his estates as steadily fell. The hold which the Crown had gained on every noble family by its rights of wardship and marriage, the circuits of the royal judges, the ever narrowing bounds within which baronial justice was circumscribed, the blow dealt by scutage at their military power, the prompt intervention of the Council in their feuds, lowered the nobles more and more to the level of their fellow subjects. Much yet remained to be done. Different as the English baronage, taken as a whole, was from a feudal *noblesse* like that of Germany or France, there is in every military class a natural drift towards violence and lawlessness, which even the stern justice of Edward found it difficult to repress. Throughout his reign his strong hand was needed to enforce order on warring nobler Great earls, such as those of Gloucester and Hereford, carried on private war; in Shropshire the Earl of Arundel waged his feud with Fulk Fitz Warine. To the lesser and poorer nobles the wealth of the trader, the long wain of goods as it passed along the highway, was a tempting prey. Once, under cover of a mock tournament of monks against canons, a band of country gentlemen succeeded in introducing themselves into the great merchant fair at Boston; at nightfall every booth was on fire, the merchants robbed and slaughtered, and the booty carried off to ships which lay ready at the quay. Streams of gold and silver, ran the tale of popular horror, flowed melted down the gutters to the sea; "all the money in England could hardly make good the loss." Even at the close of Edward's reign lawless bands of "trail-bastons," or club-men, maintained themselves by general outrage, aided the country nobles in their feuds, and wrested money and goods by threats from the great tradesmen. The King was strong enough to fine and imprison the Earls, to hang the chief of the Boston marauders, and to suppress the outlaws by rigorous commissions. During Edward's absence of three

1286-1289 years from the realm, the judges, who were themselves drawn from the lesser baronage, were charged with violence and corruption. After a careful investigation the judicial abuses were recognized and amended; two of the chief justices were banished from the country, and their colleagues imprisonecj and fined.

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Edward and the Jews

The next year saw a step which remains the great blot upon Edward's reign. Under the Angevins the popular hatred of the Jews had grown rapidly in intensity. But the royal protection had never wavered. Henry the Second had granted them the right of burial outside of every city where they dwelt. Richard had punished heavily a massacre of the Jews at York, and organized a mixed court of Jews and Christians for the registration of their contracts. John suffered none to plunder them save himself, though he once wrested from them a sum equal to a year's revenue of his realm. The troubles of the next reign brought in a harvest greater than even the royal greed could reap ; the Jews grew wealthy enough to acquire estates, and only a burst of popular feeling prevented a legal decision which would have en; led them to own freeholds. Their pride and contempt of the superstitions around them broke out in the taunts they levelled at processions as they passed their Jewries, sometimes as at Oxford in actual attacks upon them. Wild stories floated about among the people of children carried off to Jewish houses, to be circumcised or crucified, and a boy of Lincoln who was found slain in a Jewish house was canonized by popular reverence as " St. Hugh." The first work of the Friars was to settle in the Hebrew quarters and attempt their conversion, but the tide of popular fury rose too fast for these gentler means of reconciliation. When the Franciscans saved seventy Jews from death by their pxuyets to Henry the Third the pupulace angrily refused the brethren alms. The sack of Jewry after Jewry was the sign of popular hatred during the Barons' war. With its close, fell on the Jews the more terrible persecution of the law. Statute after statute hemmed them in. They were forbidden to hold real property, to employ Christian servants, to move through the streets without the two white tablets of wool on their breasts which distinguished their race. They were prohibited from building new synagogues, or eating with Christians, or acting as physicians to them. Their trade, already crippled by the rivalry of the bankers of Cahors, was annihilated by a royal order, which bade them renounce usury under pain of death. At last persecution could do no more, and on the eve of his struggle with Scotland, Edward, eager at the moment to find supplies for his treasury, and himself swayed by the fanaticism of his subjects, bought the grant of a fifteenth from clergy and laity by consenting to drive the Jews from his realm. Of the sixteen thousand who preferred exile to apostasy few reached the shores of France. Many were wrecked, others robbed and flung overboard. One shipmaster turned out a crew of wealthy merchants on to a sandbank, and bade them call a new Moses to save them from the sea. From the time of Edward to that of Cromwell no Jew touched English ground.

1290

Edward and the Baronage

No share in the enormities which accompanied the expulsion of the Jews can fall upon Edward, for he not only suffered the fugitives to

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take their wealth with them, but punished with the halter those who plundered them at sea. Hut the expulsion was none the less cruel, and the grant of a fifteenth made by the grateful Parliament proved but a poor substitute for the loss which the royal treasury had sustained. The Scotch war more than exhausted the aids granted by the Parliament. The treasury was utterly drained ; the costly fight with the French in Gascony called for supplies, while the King was planning a yet costlier attack on northern France with the aid of Flanders. It was sheer want which drove Edward to tyrannous extortion. His first

1294 blow fell on the Church ; he had already demanded half their annual income from the clergy, and so terrible was his wrath at their resistance, that the Dean of St. Paul's, who had stood forth to remonstrate, dropped dead of sheer terror at his feet. " If any oppose the King's demand," said a royal envoy, in the midst of the Convocation, "let him stand up that he may be noted as an enemy to the King's peace." The outraged churchmen fell back on an untenable plea that their aid was due solely to Rome, and pleaded a bull of exemption, issued by Pope Boniface VIII., as a ground for refusing to comply with further taxation. Edward met their refusal by a general outlawry of the whole

1297 order. The King's courts were closed, and all justice denied to those who refused the King aid. By their actual plea the clergy had put thembelves formally in the wrong, and the outlawry soon forced them to submission, but their aid did little to recruit the exhausted treasury, while the pressure of the war steadily increased. Far wider measures of arbitrary taxation were needful to equip an expedition which Edward prepared to lead in person to Flanders. The country gentlemen were compelled to take up knighthood, or to compound for exemption from the burthensome honour. Forced contributions of cattle and corn were demanded from the counties, and the export duty on wool—now the staple produce of the country—was raised to six times its former amount. Though he infringed no positive charter or statute, the work of the Great Charter and the Barons' war seemed suddenly to have been undone. But the blow had no sooner been struck than Edward found himself powerless within his realm. The baronage roused itself to resistance, and the two greatest of the English nobles,

1297 Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, placed themselves at the head of the opposition. Their protest against the war and the financial measures by which it was carried on, took the practical form of a refusal to lead a force to Gascony as Edward's lieutenants, while he himself sailed for Flanders. They availed themselves of the plea that they were not bound to foreign service save in attendance on the King. " By God, Sir Earl," swore the King to Bigod, " you shall either go or hang ! " " By God, Sir King," was the cool reply, " I will neither go nor hang ! " Ere the Parliament he had convened could meet, Edward had discovered his own powerlessness, and, with one of

those sudden revulsions of feeling of which his nature was capable, he stood before his people in Westminster Hall and owned, with a burst of tears, that he had taken their substance without due warrant of law. His passionate appeal to their loyalty wrested a reluctant assent to the prosecution of the war, but the crisis had taught the need of further securities against the royal power. While Edward was still struggling in Flanders, the Primate, Winchelsey, joined the two Earls and the citizens of London in forbidding any further levy of supplies till Edward at Ghent solemnly confirmed the Charter with the new clauses added to it prohibiting the King from raising taxes save by general consent of the realm. At the demand of the barons he renewed the Confirmation in 1299, when his attempt to add an evasive clause saving the rights of the Crown proved the justice of their distrust. Two years later a fresh gathering of the barons in arms wrested from him the full execution of the Charter of Forests. The bitterness of his humiliation preyed on him; he evaded his pledge to levy no new taxes on merchandize by the sale to merchants of certain privileges of trading; and a formal absolution from his promises which he obtained from the Pope showed his intention of re-opening the questions he had yielded. His hand was stayed, however, by the fatal struggle with Scotland which revived in the rising of Robert Bruce, and the King's death bequeathed the contest to his worthless son.

1297

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Worthless, however, as lui ward the Second morally might be, he was far from being destitute of the intellectual power which seemed hereditary in the Plantagenets. It was his settled purpose to fling off the yoke of the baronage, and the means by which he designed accomplishing his purpose was the choice of a minister wholly dependent on the Crown. We have already noticed the change by which the "clerks of the king's chapel," who had been the ministers of arbitrary government under the Normans and Angevins, had been quietly superseded by the prelates and lords of the Continual Council. At the close of his father's reign, a direct demand on the part of the Barons to nominate the great officers of state had been curtly rejected; but the royal choice had been practically limited in the selection of its ministers to the class of prelates and nobles, and, however closely connected with royalty, such officers always to a great extent shared the feelings and opinions of their order. It seems to have been the aim of the young King to undo the change which had been silently brought about, and to imitate the policy of the contemporary sovereigns of France by choosing as his ministers men of an inferior position, wholly dependent on the Crown for their power, and representatives of nothing but the policy and interests of their master. Piers Gaveston, a foreigner sprung from a family of Guienne, had been his friend and companion during his father's reign, at the close of which he had been banished from the realm for his share in intrigues which had divided

Edward tne Second 1307-I327

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Edward from his son. At the new King's accession he was at once recalled, created Earl of Cornwall, and placed at the head of the administration. Gay, genial, thriftless, Gaveston showed in his first acts the quickness and audacity of Southern Gaul; the older ministers were dismissed, all claims of precedence or inheritance set aside in the distribution of offices at the coronation, while taunts and defiances goaded the proud baronage to fury. The favourite was a fine soldier, and his lance unhorsed his opponents in tourney after tourney. His reckless wit flung nicknames about the Court; the Earl of Lancaster was "the Actor/' Pembroke "the Jew," Warwick "the Black Dog." But taunt and defiance broke helplessly against the iron mass of the baronage. After a few months of power the demand of the Parliament for his dismissal could not be resisted, and he was formally banished from the realm. In the following year it was only by conceding the rights which his father had sought to establish of imposing import duties on the merchants by their own assent, that Edward procured a subsidy for the Scotch war. The firmness of the baronage sprang from their having found a head in the Earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund Crouchback. His weight proved irresistible. When Edward at the close of the Parliament recalled Gaveston, Lancaster withdrew from the royal Council, and a Parliament which met in 1310 resolved that the affairs of the realm should be entrusted for a year to a body of twenty-one " Ordainers."

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The Lords Ordainers

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A formidable list of "Ordinances" drawn up by the twenty one met Edward on his return from a fruitless warfare with ..he Scots. By this long and important statute Gaveston was banished, other advisers were driven from the Council, and the Florentine bankers whose loans had enabled Edward to hold the baronage at bay sent out of the realm. The customs duties imposed by Edward the First were declared to be illegal. Parliaments were to be called every year, and in these assemblies the King's servants were to be brought, if need weie, to justice. The great officers of state were to be appointed with the counsel and consent of the baronage, and to be sworn in Parliament. The same consent of the barons in Parliament was to be needful ere the King could declare war or absent himself from the realm. As the Ordinances show, the baronage still looked on Parliament rather as a political organization of the nobles than as a gathering of the three Estates of the realm. The lower clergy pass unnoticed ; the Commons arc regarded as mere tax-payers whose part was still confined to the presentation of petitions of grievances and the grant of money. But even in this imperfect fashion the Parliament was a real representation of the country, and Edward was forced to assent to the Ordinances after a long and obstinate struggle. The exile of Gaveston was the sign of the barons' triumph ; his recall a few months later renewed a strife which was only ended by his capture in Scarborough. The

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"Black Dog" of Warwick had sworn that the favourite should feel his teeth ; and Gaveston, who flung himself in vain at the feet of the Earl of Lancaster, praying for pity " from his gentle lord," was beheaded in defiance of the terms of his capitulation on Blacklow Hill. The King's burst of grief was as fruitless as his threats of vengeance; a feigned submission of the conquerors completed the royal humiliation, and the barons knelt before Edward in Westminster Hall to receive a pardon which seemed the deathblow of the royal power. But if Edward was powerless to conquer the baronage he could still, by evading the observance of the Ordinances, throw the whole realm into confusion. The six years that follow Gaveston's death are among the darkest in our history. A terrible succession of famines intensified the suffering which sprang from the utter absence of all rule during the dissension between the barons and the King. The overthrow of Bannockburn, and the ravages of the Scots in the North, brought shame on England such as it had never known. At last the capture of Berwick by Robert Bruce forced Edward to give way, the Ordinances were formally accepted, an amnesty granted, and a small number of peers belonging to the Barons' party added to the great officers of state.

1312

1318

The Despensers

The Earl of Lancaster, by the union of the four earldoms of Lincoln, Leicester, Derby, and Lancaster, as well as by his royal blood (for like the King he was a grandson of Henry the Third), stood at the head of the English baronage, and the issue of the long struggle with Edward raised him for the moment to supreme power in the realm. But his character seems to have fallen far beneath the greatness of his position. Incapable of governing, he could do little but regard with jealousy the new advisers on whom the King now leaned, the older and the younger Hugh Le Despcnser. The rise of the younger, on whom the King bestowed the county of Glamorgan with the hand of its heiress, was rapid enough to excite general jealousy, and Lancaster found little difficulty in extorting by force of arms his exile from the kingdom. But the tide of popular sympathy, already wavering, was turned to the royal cause by an insult offered to the Queen, against whom Lady Badlesmere had closed the doors of Ledes Castle, and the unexpected energy shown by Edward in avenging the insult gave fresh strength to his cause. He found himself strong enough to recall Dcspenser, and when Lancaster convoked the baronage to force him again into exile, the weakness of their party was shown by the treasonable negotiations into which the Earl entered with the Scots, and by his precipitate retreat to the north on the advance of the royal army. At Boroughbridge his forces were arrested and dispersed, and the Earl himself, brought captive before Edward at Pontefract, was tried and condemned to death as a traitor. "Have mercy on me, King of Heaven/[7] cried Lancaster, as mounted on a grey pony without a bridle he was hurried to execution, " for ihy earthly King has

1321

Fall of La Hi ils ter 1322

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forsaken me." His death was followed by that of a number of his adherents and by the captivity of others; while a Parliament at York annulled the proceedings against the Despensers, and repealed the Ordinances. It is to this Parliament however, and perhaps to the victorious confidence of the royalists, that we owe the famous provision which reveals the policy of the Despensers, the provision that all laws concerning " the estate of the Crown, or of the realm and people, shall be treated, accorded, and established in Parliaments by our Lord the King and by the consent of the prelates, earls, barons, and commonalty of the realm, according as hath been hitherto accustomed." It would seem from the tenor of this remarkable enactment that much of the sudden revulsion of popular feeling had been owing to the assumption of all legislative action by the baronage alone. But the arrogance of the Despensers, the utter failure of a fresh campaign against Scotland, and the humiliating truce for thir-

1323 teen years which Kdward was forced to conclude with Robert Bruce, soon robbed the Crown of its temporary popularity, and led the way to the sudden catastrophe which closed this disastrous reign. It had been arranged that the Queen, a sister of the King of France, should re-visit her home to conclude a treaty between the two countries, whose quarrel was again verging upon war; and her son, a boy of twelve years old, followed her to do homage in his father's stead for the duchies of Cascony and Aquitaine. Neither threats nor prayers, however, could induce either wife or child t£ return to his court ; and the Queen's connexion with a secret conspiracy of the baronage was revealed when the primate and nobles hurried to

1326 her standard on her landing at Orwell. Deserted by all, and repulsed by the citizens of London whose aid he implored, the King fled hastily to the west and embarked with the Despensers for Lundy Isle ; but contrary winds flung the fugitives again on the Welsh coast, where they fell into the hands of the new Earl of Lancaster. The younyer Despenser was at once hanged on a gibbet fifty feet high, and the King placed in ward at Kenilworth till his fate could be de-

1327 cided by a Parliament summoned for that purpose at Westminster.

Deposition ?/ Edward The Peers who assembled fearlessly revived the constitutional usage of the earlier English freedom, and asserted their right to depose a king who had proved himself unworthy to rule. Not a voice was raised in Edward's behalf, and only four prelates protested when the young Prince was proclaimed King by acclamation, and presented as their sovereign to the multitudes without. The revolution soon took legal form in a bill which charged the captive monarch with indolence, incapacity, the loss of Scotland, the violation of his coronation oath, and oppression of the Church and baronage; and on the approval of this it was resolved that the reign of Edward of Caernarvon had ceased and that the*crown had passed to his son, Edward of Windsor,

A deputation of the Parliament proceeded to Kenilworth to procure the assent of the discrowned King to his own deposition, and Edward, "clad in a plain black gown," submitted quietly to his fate. Sir William Trussel at once addressed him in words which better than any other mark the true nature of the step which the Parliament had taken. "I, William Trussel, proctor of the earls, barons, and others, having for this full and sufficient power, do render and give back to you, Edward, once King of England, the homage and fealty of the persons named in my procuracy; and acquit and discharge them thereof in the best manner that law and custom will give. And I now make protestation in their name that they will no longer be in your fealty and allegiance, nor claim to hold anything of you as king, but will account you hereafter as a private person, without any manner of royal dignity." A significant act followed these emphatic words. Sir Thomas Blount, the steward of the household, broke his staff of office, a ceremony only used at a king's death, and declared that all persons engaged in the royal service were discharged. In the following September the King was murdered in Berkeley Castle.

Section VI.-The Scotch War *of* **Independence, 1306 134-2.**

[Authorities.- -Mainly the contemporary English Chroniclers and state documents for the reigns of the three Edwards. John Harbour's "Bruce," the great legendary storehouse for his hero's adventures, is historically worthless. Mr. fiurton s is throughout the best modern account of the time.]

The Scotch Revolt

To obtain a clear view of the constitutional struggle between the kings and the baronage, we have deferred to its close an account of the great contest which raged throughout the whole period in the north.

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With the Convocation of Perth the conquest and settlement of Scotland seemed complete. Edward I., in fact, was preparing for a joint Parliament of the two nations at Carlisle, when the conquered country suddenly sprang again to arms under Robert Bruce, the grandson of one of the original claimants of the crown. The Norman house of Bruce formed a part of the Yorkshire baronage, but it had acquired through intermarriages the Earldom of Carrick and the Lordship of Annandale. Both the claimant and his son had been pretty steadily on the English side in the contest with Balliol and Wallace, and Robert had himself been trained in the English court, and stood high in the King's favour. But the withdrawal of Balliol gave a new force to his claims upon the crown, and the discovery of an intrigue which he had set on foot with the Bishop of St. Andrews so roused Edward's jealousy that Bruce fled for his life across the border. 1306
In the church of the Grey Friars at Dumfries he met Comyn, the Lord of Badenoch, to whose treachery he attributed the disclosure of

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1306 TO 1342

his plans, and after the interchange of a few hot words struck him with his dagger to the ground. It was an outrage that admitted of no forgiveness, and Bruce for very safety was forced to assume the crown six weeks after in the Abbey of Scone. The news roused Scotland again to arms, and summoned Edward to a fresh contest with his unconquerable foe. But the murder of Comyn had changed the King's mood to a terrible pitilessness ; he threatened death against all concerned in the outrage, and exposed the Countess of Buchan, who had set the crown on Brace's head, in a cage or open chamber built for the purpose in one of the towers of Berwick. At the solemn feast which celebrated his son's knighthood Edward vowed on the swan, which formed the chief dish at the banquet, to devote the rest of his days to exact vengeance from the murderer himself. But even at the moment of the vow, Bruce was already flying for his life to the western islands. " Henceforth," he had said to his wife at their coronation, " thou art queen of Scotland and I king." " I fear," replied Mary Bruce, " we are only playing at royalty, like children in their games." The play was soon turned into bitter earnest. A small English force under Aymcr de Valence sufficed to rout the disorderly levies which gathered round the new monarch, and the flight of Bruce left his followers at Edward's mercy. Noble after noble was hurried to the block. The Earl of Athole pleaded kindred with royalty ; " His only privilege," burst forth the King, " shall be that of being hanged on a higher gallows than the rest." Knights and priests wem strung up side by side by the English justiciars ; while the wife and daughter of Robert Bruce were flung into prison. Bruce himself had offered to capitulate to Prince Edward, but the offer only roused the old King to fury. " Who is so bold," he cried, " as to treat with our traitors without our knowledge ?" and rising from his sick-bed he led his army northwards to complete the conquest. But the hand of death was upon him, and in the very sight of Scotland the old man breathed his last at Burgh-upon-Sands.

1307

Robert Brace

The death of Edward arrested only for a moment the advance of his army to the north. The Earl of Pembroke led it across the border, and found himself master of the country without a blow. Bruce's career became that of a desperate adventurer, for even the Highland chiefs in whose fastnesses he found shelter were bitterly hostile to one who claimed to be King of their foes in the Lowlands. It was this adversity that transformed the murderer of Comyn into the noble leader of a nation's cause. Strong and of commanding presence, brave and genial in temper, Bruce bore the hardships of his career with a courage and hopefulness which never failed. In the legends which clustered round his name we see him listening in Highland glens to the bay of the bloodhounds on his track, or holding single-handed a pass against a ctowd of savage clansmen. Sometimes the little

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band which clung to him were forced to support themselves by hunting or fishing, sometimes to break up for safety as their enemies tracked them to the lair. Bruce himself had more than once to fling off his shirt of mail and scramble barefoot for very life up the crags. Little by little, however, the dark sky cleared. The English pressure relaxed, as the struggle between Edward and his barons grew fiercer. James Douglas, the darling of Scotch story, was the first of the Lowland barons to rally again to the Bruce, and his daring gave heart to the King's cause. Once he surprised his own house, which had been given to an Englishman, ate the dinner which had been prepared for its new owner, slew his captives, and tossed their bodies on to a pile of wood gathered at the castle gate. Then he staved in the wine-vats that the wine might mingle with their blood, and set house and woodpile on fire. A terrible ferocity mingled with heroism in the work of freedom, but the revival of the country went steadily on. Brace's " harrying of Buchan " after the defeat of its Earl, who had joined the English army, at last fairly turned the tide of success. Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Perth, and most of the Scotch fortresses felt one by one into King Robert's hands. The clergy met in council and owned him as their lawful lord. Gradually the Scotch barons who still held to the English cause were coerced into submission, and Bruce found himself strong enough to invest Stirling, the last and the most important of the Scotch fortresses which held out for Edward.

1313

Bannock burn *June* 24, 13H

Stirling «vas in fact the key of Scotland, and its danger roused England out of its civil strife to a vast effort for the recovery of its prey. Thirty thousand horsemen formed the fighting part of the great army which followed Edward to the north, and a host of wild marauders had been summoned from Ireland and Wales to its support. The army which Bruce had gathered to oppose the inroad was formed almost wholly of footmen, and was stationed to the south of Stirling on a rising ground flanked by a little brook, the Bannock burn which gave its name to the engagement. Again two systems of warfare were brought face to face as they had been brought at Falkirk, for Robert, like Wallace, drew up his force in solid squares or circles of spearmen. The English were dispirited at the very outset by the failure of an attempt to relieve Stirling, and by the issue of a single combat between Bruce and Henry de Bohun, a knight who bore down upon him as he was riding peacefully along the front of his army. Robert was mounted on a small hackney and held only a light battle-axe in his hand, but, warding off his opponent's spear, he cleft his skull with so terrible a blow that the handle of the axe was shattered in his grasp. At the opening of the battle the English archers were thrown forward to rake the Scottish squares, but they were without support and were easily dispersed by a handful of horse whom Bruce had held in reserve for the purpose. The body of men-at-arms next flung themselves on

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the Scottish front, but their charge was embarrassed by the narrow space along which the line was forced to move, and the steady resistance of the squares soon threw the knighthood into disorder. "The horses that were stickit," says an exulting Scotch writer, "rushed and reeled right rudely." In the moment of failure the sight of a body of camp-followers, whom they mistook for reinforcements to the enemy, spread panic through the English host. It broke in a headlong rout. Its thousands of brilliant horsemen were soon floundering in pits which had guarded the level ground to Bruce's left, or riding in wild haste for the border. Few however were fortunate enough to reach it. Edward himself, with a body of five hundred knights, succeeded in escaping to Dunbar and the sea. But the flower of his knighthood fell into the hands of the victors, while the Irishry and the footmen were ruthlessly cut down by the country folk as they fled. For centuries after, the rich plunder of the English camp left its traces on the treasure and vestment rolls of castle and abbey throughout the Lowlands.

The Independence of Scotland

Terrible as was the blow England could not humble herself to relinquish her claim on the Scottish crown. With equal pertinacity Bruce refused all negotiation while the royal title was refused to him, and steadily pushed on the recovery of his southern dominions. Berwick was at last forced to surrender, and held against a desperate
1318 attempt at its recapture; while barbarous forays of the borderers under Douglas wasted Northumberland. Again the strife between the
1319 Crown and the baronage was suspended to allow the march of a great English army to the north; but Bruce declined an engagement till the wasted Lowlands starved the invaders into a ruinous retreat. The
1323 failure forced England to stoop to a truce for thirteen years, in the negotiation of which Bruce was suffered to take the royal title. But the truce ceased legally with Edward's deposition. Troops gathered on either side, and Edward Balliol, a son of the former king John, was solemnly received as a vassal-king of Scotland at the English court. Robert was disabled by leprosy from taking the field in person, but the insult roused him to hurl his marauders again over the border under Douglas and Randolph. An eye-witness has painted for us the Scotch army, as it appeared in this campaign: "It consisted of four thousand men-at-arms, knights and esquires, well mounted, besides twenty thousand men bold and hardy, armed after the manner of their country, and mounted upon little hackneys that are never tied up or dressed, but turned immediately after the day's march to pasture on the heath or in the fields. . . . They bring no carriages with them on account of the mountains they have to pass in Northumberland, neither do they carry with them any provisions of bread and wine, for their habits of sobriety are such in time of war that they will live for a long time on flesh* half-sodden without bread, and drink the river

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water without wine. They have therefore no occasion for pots or pans, for they dress the flesh of the cattle in their skins after they have flayed them, and being sure to find plenty of them in the country which they invade, they carry none with them. Under the flaps of his saddle each man carries a broad piece of metal, behind him a little bag of oatmeal: when they have eaten too much of the sodden flesh and their stomach appears weak and empty, they set this plate over the fire, knead the meal with water, and when the plate is hot put a little of the paste upon it in a thin cake like a biscuit which they eat to warm their stomachs. It is therefore no wonder that they perform a longer day's march than other soldiers." Against such a foe the English troops who marched under their boy-king to protect the border were utterly helpless. At one time the army lost its way in the vast border waste ; at another all traces of the enemy had disappeared, and an offer of knighthood and a hundred marks was made to any who could tell where the Scots were encamped. But when found their position behind the Wear proved unassailable, and after a bold sally on the English camp Douglas foiled an attempt at intercepting him by a clever retreat. The English levies broke hopelessly up, and a fresh foray on Northumberland forced the English court to submit to peace. By the Treaty of Northampton the independence of Scotland was formally recognized, and Bruce acknowledged as its king. 1328

Scotland and **Edward the Third**

The pride of England, however, had been too much aroused by the struggle If) bear easily its defeat. The first result of the treaty was the overthrow of the government which concluded it, a result hastened by the pride of its head, Roger Mortimer, and by his exclusion of the rest of the nobles from all share in the administration of the realm. The first efforts to shake Roger's power were unsuccessful: a league headed by the Earl of Lancaster broke up without result ; and the King's uncle, the Earl of Kent, was actually brought to the block, before the young King himself interfered in the struggle. Entering the Council chamber in Nottingham Castle, with a force which he had introduced through a secret passage in the rock on which it stands, Edward arrested Mortimer with his own hands, hurried him to execution, and assumed the control of affairs. His first care was to restore good order throughout the country, which under the late government had fallen into ruin, and to free his hands by a peace with France for further enterprises in the North. Fortune indeed, seemed at last to have veered to the English side ; the death of Bruce only a year after the Treaty of Northampton left the Scottish throne to a child of but eight years old, and the internal difficulties of the realm broke out in civil strife. To the great barons on cither side the border the late peace involved serious losses, for many of the Scotch houses held large estates in England, as many of the English lords held

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1332 large estates in Scotland; and although the treaty had provided for their claims, they had in each case been practically set aside. It is this discontent of the barons at the new settlement which explains the sudden success of Edward Balliol in his snatch at the Scottish throne. In spite of King Edward's prohibition, he sailed from England at the head of a body of nobles who claimed estates in the north, landed on the shores of Fife, and, after repulsing with immense loss an army which attacked him near Perth, was crowned at Scone, while David Bruce fled helplessly to France. Edward had given no open aid to the enterprise, but the crisis tempted his ambition, and he demanded and obtained from Balliol an acknowledgement of the English suzerainty. The acknowledgement, however, was fatal to Balliol himself. He was at once driven from his realm, and Berwick, which he had agreed to surrender to Edward, was strongly garrisoned against an English attack. The town was soon besieged, but a Scotch army under the

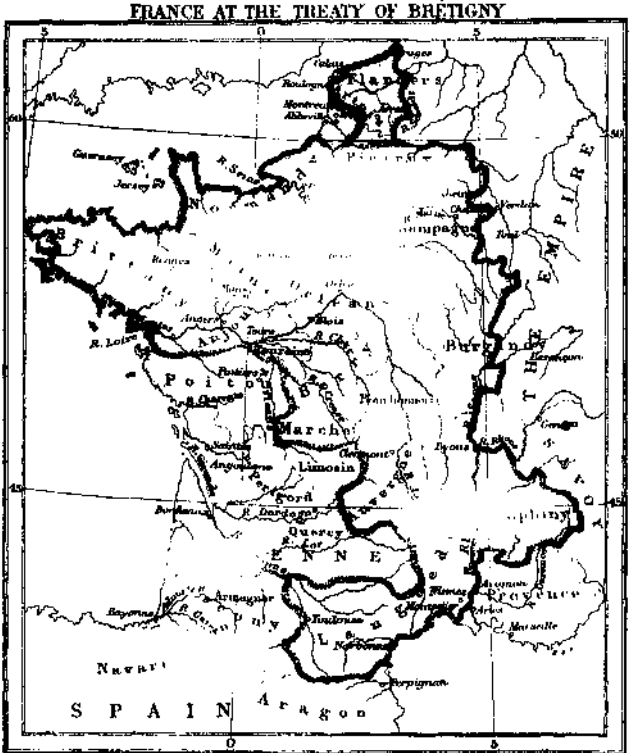
1333 regent Douglas, brother to the famous Sir James, advanced to its relief, and attacked a covering force, which was encamped on the strong position of Halidon Hill. The English bowmen, however, vindicated the fame they had first won at Falkirk, and were soon to crown in the victory of Crecy; and the Scotch only struggled through the marsh which covered the English front to be riddled with a storm of arrows, and to break in utter rout. The battle decided the fate of Berwick, and from that time the town remained the one part of Edward's conquests which was preserved by the English crown. Fragment as it was, it was always viewed legally as representing the realm of which it had once formed a part. As Scotland, it had its chancellor, chamberlain, and other officers of State ; and the peculiar heading of Acts of Parliament enacted for England " and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed" still preserves the memory of its peculiar position. Balliol was restored to his throne by the conquerors, and his formal cession of the Lowlands to England rewarded their aid. During the next three years Edward persisted in the line of policy he had adopted, retaining his hold over Southern Scotland, and aiding his sub-king Balliol in campaign after campaign against the despairing efforts of the nobles who still adhered to the house of Bruce. His perseverance was all but crowned with success, when the outbreak of

1337 war with France saved Scotland by drawing the strength of England across the Channel. The patriot party drew again together. Balliol

1339 found himself at last without an adherent and withdrew to the Court of Edward, while David returned to his kingdom, and won back the

1342 chief fastnesses of the Lowlands. The freedom of Scotland was, in fact, secured. From a war of conquest and patriotic resistance the struggle died into a petty strife between two angry neighbours, which became a mere episode in the larger contest between England and France.

FRANCE AT THE TREATY OF BRÉTIGNY



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CHAPTER V.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

1336—14-31.

Section I.—Ed-ward the Third, 1336—1360.

[Authorities.—The concluding part of the chronicle of Walter of Heminburgh or Hemingford seems to have been jotted down as news of the passing events reached its author ; it ends at the battle of Crecy. llearne has published another contemporary account by Robert of Avesbury, which closes in 1356. A third account by Knyghton, a canon of Leicester, will be found in the collection of Twysden. At the end of this century and the beginning of the next the annals that had been carried on in the Abbey of St. Albans were thrown together by Walsingham in the " llistoria Anglicana " which bears his name, a compilation whose history is given in the prefaces *to* the "Chronica Monasterii S. Albani " (Rolls Series). Rymer's Fcedera is rich in documents for this period, and from this time we have a storehouse of political and social information in the Parliamentary Rolls. For the French war itself our primaiy authority is the Chronicle of Jehan le Bel, a canon of S. Lambert of Liege, who had himself served in Edward's campaign against the Scots, and spent the rest of^his life at the court of John of Hainault. Up to the Treaty of Bre'tigny, where it closes, Froissart has done little more than copy this work, making however large additions from his own inquiries, especially in the Flemish and Breton campaigns and the account of Crecy. A Hainaulter of Valenciennes, Froissart held a post in Queen Philippa's household from 1361 to 1369 ; and under this influence produced in 1373 the first edition of his well-known Chronicle. A later edition is far less English in lone, and a third version, begun by him in his old age after long absence from England, is distinctly French in its sympathies. Froissart's vivacity and picturesqueness blind us to the inaccuracy of his details ; as an historical authority he is *of* little value. The incidental mention of Crecy and the later English expeditions by Villani in his great Florentine Chronicle are important. The best modern account of this period is that by Mr. W. Longman, "History of Edward 111." Mr. Morley ("English Writers'[1]) has treated in great detail of Chaucer.]

[Dr. Stubbs' "(Constitutional History" (vol. ii.), published since this chapter was written, deals with the whole period. —*Ed.* J

England under Edward III.

IN the middle of the fourteenth century the great movement towards national unity which had begun under the last of the Norman Kings seemed to have reached its end, and the perfect fusion of conquered and conquerors into an English people was marked by the disuse, even amongst the nobler classes, of the French tongue. In spite of the efforts of the grammar schools, and of the strength of fashion, English was winning its way throughout the reign of Ed^vard the Third to its

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final triumph in that of his grandson. " Children in school/' says a writer of the earlier reign, " against the usage and manner of all other nations, be compelled for to leave their own language, and for to construe their lessons and their things in French, and so they have since Normans first came into England. Also gentlemen's children be taught to speak French from the time that they be rocked in their cradle, and know how to speak and play with a child's toy ; and uplandish (or country) men will liken themselves to gentlemen, and strive with great busyness to speak French for to be more told of." " This manner," adds a translator of Richard's time, " was much used before the first murrain (the plague of 1349), and is since somewhat changed ; for John Cornwal, a master of grammar, changed the lore in grammar school and construing of French into English ; and Richard Pencrych learned this manner of teaching of him, as others did of Pencrych. So that now, the year of our Lord, 1385, and of the second King Richard after the Conquest nine, in all the grammar schools of England children leaveth French, and construeth and learneth in English." A more formal note of the change is found when English was ordered to be used in courts of law in 1362 "because the French tongue is much unknown ;" and in the following year it was employed by the Chancellor in opening Parliament. Bishops began to preach in English, and the English tracts of Wyclif made it once more a literary tongue. This drift towards a general use of the national tongue told powerfully on literature. The influence of the French romances everywhere tended to make French the one literary language at the opening of the fourteenth century, and in England this influence had been backed by the French tone of the court of Plenty the Third and the three Edwards. But at the close of the reign of Edward the Third the long French romances needed to be translated even for knightly hearers. " Let clerks indite in Latin," says the author of the " Testament of Love," " and let Frenchmen in their French also indite their quaint terms, for it is kindly to their mouths ; and let us show our fantasies in such wordes as we learned of our mother's tongue." But the new national life afforded nobler material than " fantasies" now for English literature. With the completion of the work of national unity had come the completion of the work of national freedom. Under the first Edward the Parliament had vindicated its right to the control of taxation, under the second it had advanced from the removal of ministers to the deposition of a King, under the third it gave its voice on questions of peace and war, controlled expenditure, and regulated the course of civil administration. The vigour of English life showed itself socially in the wide extension of commerce, in the rapid growth of the woollen trade, and the increase of manufactures after the settlement of Flemish weavers on the eastern coast; in the progress of the towns, fresh as they were from the victory of the craft-gilds ; and in

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the developement of agriculture through the division of lands, and the rise of the tenant farmer and the freeholder. It gave nobler signs of its activity in the spirit of national independence and moral earnestness which awoke at the call of Wyclif. New forces of thought and feeling, which were destined to tell on every age of our later history, broke their way through the crust of feudalism in the socialist revolt of the Lollards, and a sudden burst of military glory threw its glamour over the age of Cre'cy and Poitiers.

Chaucer 1340-1400

It is this new gladness of a great people which utters itself in the verse of Geoffrey Chaucer. Chaucer was born about 1340, the son of a London vintner who lived in Thames Street ; and it was in London that the bulk of his life was spent. His family, though not noble, seems to have been of some importance, for from the opening of his career we find Chaucer in close connexion with the Court. At sixteen he was made page to the wife of Lionel of Clarence ; at nineteen he first bore arms in the campaign of 1359. But he was luckless enough to be made prisoner ; and from the time of his release after the treaty of Brdtigny he took no further share in the military enterprises of his time. He seems again to have returned to service about the Court, and it was now that his first poems made their appearance, and from this time John of Gaunt may be looked upon as his patron. He was employed in seven diplomatic missions which were probably connected with the financial straits of the Crown, and three of these, in 1372, 1374, and 1378, carried him to Italy. He visited Genoa and the brilliant court of the Visconti at Milan ; at Florence, where the memory of Dante, the "great master" whom he commemorates so reverently in his verse, was still living, he may have met Boccaccio ; at Padua, like his own clerk of Oxenford, he possibly caught the story of Griseldis from the lips of Petrarca. He was a busy, practical worker ; Comptroller of the Customs in 1374, of the Petty Customs in 1382, a member of the Commons in the Parliament of 1386, and from 1389 to 1391 Clerk of the Royal Works, busy with building at Westminster, Windsor, and the Tower. A single portrait has preserved for us his forked beard, his dark-coloured dress, the knife and pen-case at his girdle, and we may supplement this portrait by a few vivid touches of his own. The sly, elvish face, the quick walk, the plump figure and portly waist were those of a genial and humorous man ; but men jested at his silence, his love of study. " Thou lookest as thou wouldest find an hare," laughs the Host, in the " Canterbury Tales," "and ever on the ground I see thee stare." He heard little of his neighbours' talk when office work was over. " Thou goest home to thy own house anon, and also dumb as any stone thou sittest at another book till fully dazed is thy look, and livest thus as an heremite, although," he adds slyly, " thy abstinence is lite " (little). But of this abstraction from his fellows there is no trace in his verse. No poetry

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was ever more human than Chaucer's ; none **ever** came more **frankly** and genially home to its readers. The first note of his song is a **note** of freshness and gladness. " Of ditties and of songes glad, the which he for my sake made, the land fulfilled is over all," Gower makes Love say in his lifetime; and the impression of gladness remains just as fresh now that four hundred years have passed away. The historical character of Chaucer's work lies on its surface. It stands out in vivid contrast with the poetic literature from the heart of which it sprang. The long French romances were the product of an age of wealth and ease, of indolent curiosity, of a fanciful and self-indulgent sentiment. Of the great passions which gave life to the Middle Ages, that of religious enthusiasm had degenerated into the pretty conceits of Mariolatry, that of war into the extravagances of Chivalry. Love, indeed, remained ; it was the one theme of troubadour and trouvere, but it was a love of refinement, of romantic follies, of scholastic discussions, of sensuous enjoyment—a plaything rather than a passion. Nature had to reflect the pleasant indolence of man ; the song of the minstrel moved through a perpetual May-time; the grass was ever green ; the music of the lark and the nightingale rang out from field and thicket. There was a gay avoidance of all that is serious, moral, or reflective in man's life : life was too amusing to be serious, too piquant, too sentimental, too full of interest and gaiety and chat. 11 was an age of talk: " mirth is none," says the Host, " to ride on by the way dumb as a stone ;" and the trouv6re aimed simply at being the most agreeable talker of his day. His romances, his rimes of Sir Tristram, his Romance of the Rose, are full of colour and fantasy, endless in detail, but with a sort of gorgeous idleness about their very length, the minuteness of their description of outer things, the vagueness of their touch when it passes to the subtler inner world. It was with this literature that Chaucer had till now been familiar, and it was this which he followed in his earlier work. But from the time of his visits to Milan and Genoa his sympathies drew him not to the dying verse of France, but to the new and mighty upgrowth of poetry in Italy. Dante's eagle looks at him from the sun. " Fraunces Petrark, the laureat poete," is to him one " whose rethorique sweete
1382 enlumyned al Itail of poetrie." The " Troilus " is an enlarged English version of Boccaccio's " Filostrato," the Knight's Tale bears slight traces of his Teseidc. It was, indeed, the "Decameron" which suggested the very form of the " Canterbury Tales." But even while changing, as it were, the front of English poetry, Chaucer preserves his own distinct personality. If he quizzes in the rime of Sir Thopaz the wearisome idleness of the French romance, he retains all that was worth retaining of the French temper, its rapidity and agility of movement, its lightness and brilliancy of touch, its airy mockery, its gaiety and good humour, its critical coolness and self-control. The

French wit quickens in him more than in any English writer the sturdy sense and shrewdness of our national disposition, corrects its extravagance, and relieves its somewhat ponderous morality. If, on the other hand, he echoes the joyous carelessness of the Italian tale, he tempers it with the English seriousness. As he follows Boccaccio, all his changes are on the side of purity ; and when the Troilus of the Florentine ends with the old sneer at the changeableness of woman, Chaucer bids us "look Godward," and dwells on the unchangeableness of Heaven.

The Canterbury Tales

But the genius of Chaucer was neither French nor Italian, whatever element it might borrow from either literature, but English to the core, and from 1384 all trace of foreign influence dies away. The great poem on which his fame must rest, the "Canterbury Tales," was begun after his first visits to Italy, and its best tales were written between 1384 and 1391. The last ten years of his life saw a few more tales added ; but his power was lessening, and in 1400 he rested from his labours in his last home, a house in the garden of St. Mary's Chapel at Westminster. The framework— that of a pilgrimage from London to Canterbury—not only enabled him to string together a number of tales, composed at different times, but lent itself admirably to the peculiar characteristics of his poetic temper, his dramatic versatility, and the universality of his sympathy. His tales cover the whole field of mediaeval poetry ; the legend of the priest, the knightly romance, the wonder-tale of the traveller, the broad humour of the fabliau, allegory and apologue are all there. He finds a yet wider scope for his genius in the persons who tell these stories, the thirty pilgrims who start in the May morning from the Tabard in Southwark—thirty distinct figures, representatives of every class of English society from the noble to the ploughman. We see the "verray perfight gentil knight" in cassock and coat of mail, with his curly-headed squire beside him, fresh as the May morning, and behind them the brown-faced yeoman, in his coat and hood of green, with the good bow in his hand. A group of ecclesiastics light up for us the mediaeval church —the brawny hunt-loving monk, whose bridle jingles as loud and clear as the chapel-bell—the wanton friar, first among the beggars and harpers of the country side—the poor parson, threadbare, learned, and devout ("Christ's lore and His apostles twelve he taught, and first he followed it himself")—the summoner with his fiery face—the pardoner with his wallet "bret-full of pardons, come from Rome all **hot**"—the lively prioress with her courtly French lisp, her soft little red mouth, and "Amor vincit omnia" graven on her brooch. Learning is there in the portly person of the doctor of physic, rich with the profits of the pestilence—the busy serjeant-of-law, "that ever seemed busier than he was"—the hollow-cheeked clerk of Oxford, with his love of books, and short sharp sentences that disguise a latent tender-

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ness which breaks out at last in the story of Griseldis. Around them crowd types of English industry; the merchant; the franklin, in whose house "it snowed of meat and drink;" the sailor fresh from frays in the Channel; the buxom wife of Bath; the broad-shouldered miller; the haberdasher, carpenter, weaver, dyer, tapestry-maker, each in the livery of his craft; and last, the honest ploughman, who would dyke and delve for the poor without hire. It is the first time in English poetry that we are brought face to face not with characters or allegories or reminiscences of the past, but with living and breathing men, men distinct in temper and sentiment as in face or costume or mode of speech; and with this distinctness of each maintained throughout the story by a thousand shades of expression and action. It is the first time too, that we meet with the dramatic power which not only creates each character, but combines it with its fellows, which not only adjusts each tale or jest to the temper of the person who utters it, but fuses all into a poetic unity. It is life in its largeness, its variety, its complexity, which surrounds us in the "Canterbury Tales." In some of the stories, indeed, composed no doubt at an earlier time, there is the tedium of the old romance or the pedantry of the schoolman; but taken as a whole the poem is the work not of a roan of letters, but of a man of action. Chaucer has received his training from war, courts, business, travel—a training not of books, but of life. And it is life that he loves—the delicacy of its sentiment, the breadth of its farce, its laughter and its tears, the tenderness of its Ganseldis or the Smollett-like adventures of the miller and the clerks. It is this largeness of heart, this wide tolerance, which enables him to reflect man for us as none but Shakspere has ever reflected him, and to do this with a pathos, a shrewd sense and kindly humour, a freshness and joyousness of feeling, that even Shakspere has not surpassed.

It is strange that such a voice as this should have awakened no echo in the singers who follow; but the first burst of Knglish song died as suddenly and utterly with Chaucer as the hope and glory of his age. The hundred years which follow the brief sunshine of Cre*cy and the "Canterbury Tales" are years of the deepest gloom; no age of our history is more sad and sombre than the age which we traverse from the third Edward to Joan of Arc. The throb of hope and glory which pulsed at its outset through every class of English society died at its close into inaction or despair. Material life lingered on indeed, commerce still widened, but its progress was dissociated from all the nobler elements of national well-being. The towns sank again into close oligarchies; the bondsmen struggling forward to freedom fell back into a serfage which still leaves its trace on the soil. Literature reached its lowest ebb. The religious revival of the Lollard was trodden out in blood, while the Church shrivelled into a self-seeking

secular priesthood. In the clash of civil strife political freedom was all but extinguished, and the age which began with the Good Parliament ended with the despotism of the Tudors.

The secret of the change is to be found in the fatal war which for more than a hundred years drained the strength and corrupted the temper of the English people. We have followed the attack on Scotland to its disastrous close, but the struggle ere it ended, had involved England in a second contest, to which we must now turn back, a contest yet more ruinous than that which Edward the First had begun. From the war with Scotland sprang the hundred years' struggle with France. From the first France had watched the successes of her rival in the north, partly with a natural jealousy, but still more as likely to afford her an opening for winning the great southern Duchy of Guicnne and Gascony—the one fragment of Eleanor's inheritance which remained to her descendants. Scotland had no sooner begun to resent the claims of her over-lord, Edward the First, than a pretext for open quarrel was found by France in the rivalry between the mariners of Normandy and those of the Cinque Ports, which culminated at the moment in a great sea-fight that proved fatal to 8,000 Frenchmen. So eager was Edward to avert a quarrel with France, that his threats roused the English seamen to a characteristic defiance. " Be the King's Council well advised," ran the remonstrance of the mariners, " that if wrong or grievance be done them in any fashion against right, they will sooner forsake wives, children, and all that they have, and go seek through the seas where they shall think to make their profit." In spite, therefore, of Edward's efforts the contest continued, and Philip found an opportunity to cite the King before his court at Paris for wrongs done to him as suzerain. Again Edward endeavoured to avert the conflict by a formal cession of Guienne into Philip's hands during forty days, but the refusal of the French sovereign to restore the province left no choice for him but war. The refusal of the Scotch barons to answer his summons to arms, and the revolt of Balliol, proved that the French outrage was but the first blow in a deliberate and long-planned scheme of attack ; Edward had for a while no force to waste on France, and when the first conquest of Scotland freed his hands, his league with Planders for the recovery of Guienne was foiled by the strife with his baronage. A truce with Philip set him free to meet new troubles in the north ; but even after the victory of Falkirk Scotch independence was still saved for six years by thethreatsof France and the intervention of its ally, Boniface the Eighth ; and it was only the quarrel of these two confederates which allowed Edward to complete its subjection. But the rising under Bruce was again backed by French aid and by the renewal of the old quarrel over Guienne—a quarrel which hampered England through the reign of Edward the Second, and which incjirectly brought about

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his terrible fall. The accession of Edward the Third secured a momentary peace, but the fresh attack on Scotland which marked the opening of his reign kindled hostility anew; the young King David found refuge in France, and arms, money, and men were despatched from its ports to support his cause. It was this intervention of France which foiled Edward's hopes of the submission of Scotland at the very moment when success seemed in his grasp; the solemn announcement by Philip of Valois that his treaties bound him to give effective help to his old ally, and the assembly of a French fleet in the Channel drew the King from his struggle in the north to face a storm which his negotiations could no longer avert.

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The Opening of the War 1337

From the first the war took European dimensions. The weakness of the Empire, the captivity of the Papacy at Avignon, left France without a rival among European powers. In numbers, in wealth, the French people far surpassed their neighbours over the Channel. England can hardly have counted four millions of inhabitants, France boasted of twenty. Edward could only bring eight thousand men-at-arms into the field. Philip, while a third of his force was busy elsewhere, could appear at the head of forty thousand. Edward's whole energy was bent on meeting the strength of France by a coalition of powers against her; and his plans were helped by the dread which the great feudatories of the Empire who lay nearest to him felt of French annexation, as well as by the quarrel of the Empire with the Papacy. Anticipating the later policy of Godolphin ..and Pitt, Edward became the paymaster of the poorer princes of Germany; his subsidies purchased the aid of Hainault, Gelders, and Jiilich; sixty thousand crowns went to the Duke of Brabant, while the Emperor himself was induced by a promise of three thousand gold florins to furnish two thousand men-at-arms. Negotiations and profuse expenditure, however, brought the King little fruit save the title of Vicar-General of the Empire on the left of the Rhine; now the Emperor hung back, now the allies refused to move; and when the host at last crossed the border, Edward found it impossible to bring the French king to an engagement. But as hope from the Imperial alliance faded away, a fresh hope dawned on the King from another quarter. Flanders was his natural ally. England was the great wool-producing country of the west, but few woollen fabrics were woven in England. The number of weavers' gilds shows that the trade was gradually extending, and at the very outset of his reign Edward had taken steps for its encouragement. He invited Flemish weavers to settle in his country, and took the new immigrants, who chose the eastern counties for the seat of their trade, under his royal protection. But English manufactures were still in their infancy, and nine-tenths of the English wool went to the looms of Bruges or of Ghent. We may see the rapid growth of this export .trade in the fact that the King received in a

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Single year more than ^30,000 from duties levied on wool alone. A stoppage of this export would throw half the population of the great Flemish towns out of work ; and Flanders was drawn to the English alliance, not only by the interest of trade, but by the democratic spirit of the towns which jostled roughly with the feudalism of France. A treaty was concluded with the Duke of Brabant and the Flemish towns, and preparations were made for a new campaign. Philip gathered a fleet of two hundred vessels at Sluys to prevent his crossing the Channel, but Edward with a far smaller force utterly destroyed the French ships, and marched to invest Tournay. Its siege however proved fruitless ; his vast army broke up, and want of money forced him to a truce for a year. A quarrel of succession to the Duchy of Brittany, which broke out in 1341, and in which of the two rival claimants one was supported by Philip and the other by Edward, dragged on year after year. In Flanders things went ill for the English cause, and the death of the great statesman Van Arteveldt in 1345 proved a heavy blow to Edward's projects. The King's difficulties indeed had at last reached their height. His loans from the great bankers of Florence amounted to half a million of our money; his overtures for peace were contemptuously rejected ; the claim which he advanced to the French crown found not a single adherent save among the burghers of Ghent. To establish such a claim, indeed, was difficult enough. The three sons of Philip the Fair had died without male issue, and Edward claimed as the son of Philip's daughter Isabella. *But though her brothers had left no sons, they had left daughters ; and if female succession were admitted, these daughters of Philip's sons would precede a son of Philip's daughter. Isabella met this difficulty by contending that though females could transmit the right of succession they could not themselves possess it, and that her son, as the nearest living male descendant of Philip, and born in his lifetime, could claim in preference to females who were related to Philip in as near a degree. But the bulk of French jurists asserted that only male succession gave right to the throne. On such a theory the right inheritable from Philip.was exhausted; and the crown passed to the son of his brother Charles of Valois, who in fact peacefully mounted the throne as Philip the Sixth. Edward's claim seems to have been regarded on both sides as a mere formality ; the King, in fact, did full and liege homage to his rival for his Duchy of Guienne ; and it was not till his hopes from Germany had been exhausted, and his claim was found to be useful in securing the loyal aid of the Flemish towns, that it was brought seriously to the front.

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The failure of his foreign hopes threw Edward on the resources of England itself, and it was with an army of thirty thousand men that he landed at La Hogue, and commenced a march which was to change the whole face of the war. The French forces were engaged in hold-

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ing in check an English army which had landed in Guienne ; and panic seized the French King as Edward now marched through Normandy, and rinding the bridges on the lower Seine broken, pushed straight on Paris, rebuilt the bridge of Poissy and threatened the capital. At this crisis, however, France found an unexpected help in a body of German knights. The Pope having deposed the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, had crowned as his successor a son of King John of Bohemia, the well-known Charles IV. of the Golden Bull. But against this Papal assumption of a right to bestow the German Crown, Germany rose as one man, and Charles, driven to seek help from Philip, now found himself in France with his father and a troop of five hundred knights. Hurrying to Paris this German force formed the nucleus of an army which assembled at St. Denys; and which was soon reinforced by 15,000 Genoese cross-bowmen who had been hired from among the soldiers of the Lord of Monaco on the sunny Riviera, and arrived at this hour of need. The French troops too were called from Guienne to the rescue. With this host rapidly gathering in his front Edward abandoned his march on Paris, and threw himself across the Seine to join a Flemish force gathered at Gravelines, and open a campaign in the north. But the rivers in his path were carefully guarded, and it was only by surprising the ford of Blanche-Taque on the Somme, that Edward escaped the necessity of surrendering to the vast host which was now hastening in pursuit. His communications, however, were no sooner secured than he halted at the village of Cre'cy, in Ponthieu, and resolved to give battle. Half of his army, now greatly reduced in strength by his rapid marches, consisted of the light-armed footmen of Ireland and Wales ; the bulk of the remainder was composed of English bowmen. The King ordered his men-at-arms to dismount, and drew up his forces on a low rise sloping gently to the south-east, with a windmill on its summit from which he could overlook the whole field of battle. Immediately beneath him lay his reserve, while at the base of the slope was placed the main body of the army in two divisions, that to the right commanded by the young Prince of Wales, Edward the Black Prince as he was called, that to the left by the Earl of Northampton. A small ditch protected the English front, and behind it the bowmen were drawn up "in the form of a harrow," with small bombards between them " which, with fire, threw little iron balls to frighten the horses"—the first instance of the use of artillery in field warfare. The halt of the English army took Philip by surprise, and he attempted for a time to check the advance of his army, but the disorderly host rolled on to the English front. The sight of his enemies, indeed, stirred the King's own blood to fury, " for he hated them," and at vespers the fight began. The Genoese crossbowmen were ordered to begin the attack, but the men were weary with the march; a sudden storm

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wetted and rendered useless their bowstrings; and the loud shouts with which they leapt forward to the encounter were met with dogged silence in the English ranks. Their first arrow-flight, however, brought a terrible reply. So rapid was the English shot, " that it seemed as if it snowed." " Kill me these scoundrels," shouted Philip, as the Genoese fell back; and his men-at-arms plunged butchering into their broken ranks, while the Counts of Alencon and Flanders, at the head of the French knighthood, fell hotly on the Prince's line. For the instant his small force seemed lost, but Edward refused to send him aid. " Is he dead or unhorsed, or so wounded that he cannot help himself?" he asked the envoy. " No, Sir," was the reply, " but he is in a hard passage of arms, and sorely needs your help." " Return to those that sent you, Sir Thomas," said the King, " and bid them not send to me again so long as my son lives ! Let the boy win his spurs ; for if God so order it, I will that the day may be his, and that the honour may be with him and them to whom I have given it in charge." Edward could see, in fact, from his higher ground, that all went well. The English bowmen and men-at-arms held their ground stoutly, while the Welshmen stabbed the French horses in the mele'e, and brought knight after knight to the ground. Soon the French host was wavering in a fatal confusion. "You are my vassals, my friends," cried the blind King John of Bohemia, who had joined Philip's army, to the German nobles around him : "I pray and beseech you to lead me so far#nto the fight that I may strike one good blow with this sword of .mine !" Linking their bridles together, the little company plunged into the thick of the combat to fall as their fellows were falling. The battle went steadily against the French: at last Philip himself hurried from the field, and the defeat became a rout: 1,200 knights and 30,000 footmen—a number equal to the whole English force—lay dead upon the ground.

Calais

" God has punished us for our sins," cries the chronicler of St Denys, in a passion of bewildered grief, as he tells the rout of the j^reat host which he had seen mustering beneath his abbey walls. But the fall of France was hardly so sudden or so incomprehensible as the ruin at a single blow of a system of warfare, and of the political and social fabric which rested on it. Feudalism depended on the superiority of the mounted noble to the unmounted churl; its fighting power lay in its knighthood. But the English yeomen and small freeholders who bore the bow in the national fyrd had raised thei* weapon into a terrible engine of war ; in the English archers Edward carried a new class of soldiers to the fields of France. The churl had struck down the noble ; the yeoman proved more than a match in sheer hard fighting for the knight. From the day of Cre'cy feudalism tottered slowly but surely to its grave. To England the day was the beginning of a career of military glrfry, which, fatal as it

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was destined to prove to the higher sentiments and interests of the nation, gave it for the moment an energy such as it had never known before. Victory followed victory. A few months after Cr£cy a Scotch army which had burst into the north was routed at Neville's Cross, and its King, David Bruce, taken prisoner ; while the withdrawal of the French, from the Garonne enabled the English to recover Poitou. Edward meanwhile turned to strike at the naval superiority of France by securing the mastery of the Channel. Calais was a great pirate-haven ; in one year alone, twenty-two privateers had sailed from its port; while its capture promised the King an easy base of communication with Flanders, and of operations against France. The siege lasted a year, and it was not till Philip had failed to relieve it that the town was starved into surrender. Mercy was granted to the garrison and the people on condition that six of the citizens gave themselves unconditionally into the King's hands. "On them," said Edward, with a burst of bitter hatred, "I will do my will." At the sound of the town bell, Jehan le Bel tells us, the folk of Calais gathered round the bearer of these terms, "desiring to hear their good news, for they were all mad with hunger. When the said knight told them his news, then began they to weep and cry so loudly that it was great pity. Then stood up the wealthiest burgess of the town, Master Eustachede S. Pierre by name, and spake thus before all: 'My masters, great grief and mishap it were for all to leave such a people as this is to die by famine or otherwise; and great charity and grace would he win from our Lord who could defend them from dying. For me, I have great hope in the Lord that if I can save this people by my death, I shall have pardon for my faults, wherefore will I be the first of the six, and of my own will put myself barefoot in my shirt and with a halter round my neck in the mercy of King Edward.'" The list of devoted men was soon made up, and the six victims were led before the King. "All the host assembled together ; there was great press, and many bade hang them openly, and many wept for pity. The noble King came with his train of counts and barons to the place, and the Queen followed him, though great with child, to see what there would be. The six citizens knelt down at once before the King, and Master Eustache said thus: 'Gentle King, here be we six who have been of the old bourgeoisie of Calais and great merchants ; we bring you the keys of the town and castle of Calais, and render them to you at your pleasure. We set ourselves in such wise as you see purely at your will, to save the remnant of the people that has suffered much pain. So may you have pity and mercy on us for your high nobleness' sake.' Certes, there was then in that place neither lord nor knight that wept not for pity, nor who could speak.for pity ; but the King had his heart so hardened by wrath, that for a long while he could not reply ; then he commanded to cut off their heads. All the knights and lords

prayed him with tears, as much as they could, to have pity on them, but he would not hear. Then spoke the gentle knight, Master Walter de Maunay, and said, * Ha, gentle sire ! bridle your wrath ; you have the renown and good fame of all gentleness ; do not a thing whereby men can speak any villany of you ! If you have no pity, all men will say that you have a heart full of all cruelty to put these good citizens to death that of their own will are come to render themselves to you to save the remnant of their people.' At this point the King changed countenance with wrath, and said, ' Hold your peace, Master Walter ! it shall be none otherwise. Call the headsman ! They of Calais have made so many of my men die, that they must die themselves !' Then did the noble Queen of England a deed of noble lowliness, seeing she was great with child, and wept so tenderly for pity, that she could no longer stand upright; therefore she cast herself on her knees before her lord the King, and spake on this wise : ' Ah, gentle sire ! from the day that I passed over sea in great peril, as you know, I have asked for nothing: now pray I and beseech you, with folded hands, for the love of our Lady's Son, to have mercy upon them.' The gentle King waited for a while before speaking, and looked on the Queen as she knelt before him bitterly weeping. Then began his heart to soften a little, and he said, ' Lady, I would rather you had been otherwhere ; you pray so tenderly, that I dare not refuse you ; and though I do it against my will, nevertheless take them, I give them to you.' Then took he the six citizens by the halters and delivered them to the Queen, and released from death all those of Calais for the love of her ; and the good lady bade them clothe the six burgesses and make them good cheer."

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Poitiers.

Edward now stood at the height of his renown. He had won the greatest victory of his age. France, till now the first of European states, was broken and dashed from her pride of place at a single blow. A naval picture of Froissart sketches Edward for us as he sailed to meet a Spanish fleet which was sweeping the narrow seas. We see the King sitting on deck in his jacket of black velvet, his head covered by a black beaver hat " which became him well," and calling on Sir John Chandos to troll out the songs he had brought with him from Germany, till the Spanish ships heave in sight and a furious fight begins which ends in a victory trr.t leaves Edward " King of the Seas." But peace with France was as far off as ever. Even the truce which for seven years was forced on both countries by sheer exhaustion became at last impossible. Edward prepared three armies to act at once in Normandy, Brittany, and Guienne, but the plan of the campaign broke down. The Black Prince, as the hero of Crccy was called, alone won a disgraceful success. Unable to pay his troops, he staved off their demands by a campaign of sheer pillage. Northern and central France had by this time fallen into utter ruin ; the royal

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treasury was empty, the fortresses unoccupied, the troops disbanded for want of pay, the country swept by bandits. Only the south remained at peace, and the young Prince led his army of freebooters up the Garonne into "what was before one of the fat countries of the world, the people good and simple, who did not know what war was; indeed, no war had been waged against them till the Prince came. The English and Gascons found the country full and gay, the rooms adorned with carpets and draperies, the caskets and chests full of fair jewels. But nothing was safe from these robbers. They, and especially the Gascons, who are very greedy, carried off everything." The capture of Narbonne loaded them with booty, and they fell back to Bordeaux, "their horses so laden with spoil that they could hardly move." The next year a march of the Prince's army on the Loire pointed straight upon Paris, and a French army under John, who had succeeded Philip of Valois on the throne, hurried to check his advance. The Prince gave orders for a retreat, but as he approached Poitiers he found the French, who now numbered 60,000 men, in his path. He at once took a strong position in the fields of Maupertuis, his front covered by thick hedges, and approachable only by a deep and narrow lane which ran between vineyards. The Prince lined the vineyards and hedges with bowmen, and drew up his small body of men-at-arms at the point where the lane opened upon the higher plain where he was encamped. His force numbered only 8,000 men, and the danger was great enough to force him to offer the surrender of his prisoners and of the places he had taken, and an oath not to fight against France for seven years, in exchange for a free retreat. The terms were rejected, and three hundred French knights charged up the narrow lane. It was soon choked with men and horses, while the front ranks of the advancing army fell back before a galling fire of arrows from the hedgerows. In the moment of confusion a body of English horsemen, posted on a hill to the right, charged suddenly on the French flank, and the Prince seized the opportunity to fall boldly on their front. The English archery completed the disorder produced by this sudden attack; the French King was taken, desperately fighting; and at noontide, when his army poured back in utter rout to the gates of Poitiers, 8,000 of their number had fallen on the field, 3,000 in the flight, and 2,000 men-at-arms, with a crowd of nobles, were taken prisoners. The royal captive entered London in triumph, and a truce for two years seemed to give healing-time to France. But the miserable country found no rest in itself. The routed soldiery turned into free companies of bandits, while the captive lords procured the sums needed for their ransom by extortion from the peasantry, who were driven by oppression and famine into wild insurrection, butchering their lords, and firing the castles; while Paris, impatient of the weakness and misrule of the Regency, rose in arms against the

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THE GOOD PARLIAMENT

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Crown. The " **Jacquerie/**' as **the** peasant rising was called, had hardly been crushed, when Edward again poured ravaging over the wasted **land.** Famine, however, proved its best defence. " I could not believe," said Petrarch of this time, " that this was the same France which I had seen so rich and flourishing. Nothing presented itself to my eyes but a fearful solitude, an utter poverty, land uncultivated, houses in ruins. Even the neighbourhood of Paris showed everywhere marks of desolation and conflagration. The streets are deserted, the roads overgrown with weeds, the whole is a vast solitude." The misery of the land at last bent Charles to submission, and in May a treaty was concluded at Bre'tigny, a small place to the eastward of Chartres. By this treaty the English King waived his claims on the crown of France and on the Duchy of Normandy. On the other hand, his Duchy of Aquitaine, which included Gascony, Poitou, and Saintonge, the Limousin and the Angoumois, Pe'rigord and the counties of Bigorre and Rouergue, was not only restored but freed from its obligations as a French fief, and granted in full sovereignty with Ponthieu, Edward's heritage from the second wife of Edward the First, as well as with Guisnes and his new conquest of Calais.

Treaty of Britigny May **1360**

Section II.—The Good Parliament, 1360-1377.

[Authorities.—As in the last period. An anonymous; chronicler whose work is printed in the " Archaeologia " (vol. 22) gives the story of the Good Parliament ; another account is preserved in the "Chronica Angliae from 1328 to **1388** " (Rolls Series), and fresh light has been recently thrown on the time by the publication of a Chronicle by Adam of Usk from 1377 to 1404.]

The Two Houses

If we turn from the stirring but barren annals of foreign warfare to the more fruitful field of constitutional progress, we are at once struck with **a** marked change which takes place during this period in the composition of Parliament. The division, with which we are so familiar, into a House of Lords and a House of Commons, formed no part of the original plan of Edward the First; in the earlier Parliaments, each of the four orders of clergy, barons, knights, and burgesses met, deliberated, and made their grants apart from each other. This isolation, however, of the Estates soon showed signs of breaking down. While the clergy, as we have seen, held steadily aloof from any real union with its fellow-orders, the knights of the shire were drawn by **the** similarity of their social position into a close connexion with the lords. They seem, in fact, to have been soon admitted by the baronage to an almost equal position with themselves, whether as legislators or counsellors of the Crown. The burgesses, on the other hand, took little part at iirst in Parliamentary proceedings, save in those which related to the taxation of their class. But their position was raised

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by the strifes of the reign of Edward the Second, when their aid was needed by the baronage in its struggle with the Crown; and their right to share fuily in all legislative action was asserted in the famous statute of 1322. Gradually too, through causes with which we are imperfectly acquainted, the knights of the shire drifted from their older connexion with the baronage into so close and intimate a union with the representatives of the towns that at the opening of the reign of Edward the Third the two orders are found grouped formally together,

1332 under the name of "The Commons"; and by 1341 the final decision of Parliament into two Houses was complete. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of this change. Had Parliament remained broken up into its four orders of clergy, barons, knights, and citizens, its power would have been neutralized at every great crisis by the jealousies and difficulty of co-operation among its component parts. A permanent union of the knighthood and the baronage, on the other hand, would have converted Parliament into a mere representative of an aristocratic caste, and would have robbed it of the strength which it has drawn from its connexion with the great body of the commercial classes. The new attitude of the knighthood, their social connexion as landed gentry with the baronage, their political union with the burgesses, really welded the three orders into one, and gave that unity of feeling and action to our Parliament on which its power has ever since mainly depended. From the moment of this change, indeed, we see a marked increase of parliamentary activity. The need of continual grants during the war brought about an assembly of Parliament year by year; and with each supply some step was made to greater political influence. A crowd of enactments for the regulation of trade, whether wise or unwise, and for the protection of the subject against oppression or injustice, as well as the great ecclesiastical provisions of this reign, show the rapid widening of the sphere of parliamentary action. The Houses claimed an exclusive right to grant supplies, and asserted the principle of ministerial responsibility to Parliament. But the Commons long shrank from meddling with purely administrative matters. Edward in his anxiety to shift from his

1354 shoulders the responsibility of the war with France, referred to them for counsel on the subject of one of the numerous propositions of peace. "Most dreaded lord," they replied, "as to your war and the equipment necessary for it, we are so ignorant and simple that we know not how, nor have the power, to devise: wherefore we pray your Grace to excuse us in this matter, and that it please you, with advice of the great and wise persons of your Council, to ordain what seems best to you for the honour and profit of yourself and of your kingdom; and whatsoever shall be thus ordained by assent and agreement on the part of you and your lords we readily assent to, and will hold it firmly established-" J3ut while shrinking from so wide an.

extension of their responsibility, the Commons wrested from the Crown a practical reform of the highest value. As yet their petitions, if granted, were often changed or left incomplete in the statute or ordinance which professed to embody them, or were delayed till the session had closed. Thus many provisions made in Parliament had hitherto been evaded or set aside. But the Commons now met this abuse by a demand that on the royal assent being given their petitions should be turned without change into statutes of the realm, and derive force of law from their entry on the rolls of Parliament.

The Loss of Aquitaine 1360-1396

The political responsibility which the Commons evaded was at last forced on them by the misfortunes of the war. In spite of quarrels in Brittany and elsewhere, peace was fairly preserved in the nine years which followed the treaty of Bre'tigny ; but the shrewd eye of Charles the Fifth, the successor of John, was watching keenly for the moment of renewing the struggle. He had cleared his kingdom of the freebooters by despatching them into Spain, and the Black Prince had plunged into the revolutions of that country only to return from his fruitless victory of Navarete in broken health, and impoverished by the expenses of the campaign. The anger caused by the taxation which this necessitated was fanned by Charles into revolt. He listened, in spite of the treaty, to an appeal from the lords of Aquitaine, and summoned the Black Prince to his Court. "I will come," replied the Prince, "but helmet on head, and with sixty thousand men at my back." War, however, had hardly been declared before the ability with which Charles had laid his plans was seen in his seizure of Ponthieu, and in a rising of the whole country south of the Garonne. The Black Prince, borne on a litter to the walls of Limoges, recovered the town, which had been surrendered to the French, and by a merciless massacre sullied the fame of his earlier exploits ; but sickness recalled him home, and the war, protracted- by the caution of Charles, who forbade his armies to engage, did little but exhaust the energy and treasures of England. At last, however, the error of the Prince's policy was seen in the appearance of a Spanish fleet in the Channel, and in a decisive victory which it won over an English convoy off Rochelle. The blow was in fact fatal to the English cause ; it wrested from Edward the mastery of the seas, and cut off his communication with Aquitaine. Charles was roused to new exertions. Poitou, Saintonge, and the Angoumois yielded to his general Du Guesclin, and Rochelle was surrendered by its citizens. A great army under the King's third son, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, penetrated fruitlessly into the heart of France. Charles had forbidden any fighting. "If a storm rages over the land," said the King, coolly, "it disperses of itself; and so will it be with tlv English." Winter, in fact, overtook the Duke in the mountains of Auvergne, and a mere fragment of his host reached Bordeaux. The failure was the signal for a general defection, ai^d ere the summer of J

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1374 had closed the two towns of Bordeaux and Bayonne were all that remained of the English possessions in southern France.

It was a time of shame and suffering such as England had never known. Her conquests were lost, her shores insulted, her fleets annihilated, her commerce swept from the seas; while within she was exhausted by the long and costly war, as well as by the ravages of pestilence. In the hour of distress the eyes of the hard-pressed nobles and knighthood turned greedily on the riches of the Church. Never had her spiritual or moral hold on the nation been less ; never had her wealth been greater. Out of a population of some three millions, the ecclesiastics numbered between twenty and thirty thousand. Wild tales of their riches floated about. They were said to own in landed property alone more than a third of the soil, their "spiritualities" in dues and offerings amounting to twice the King's revenue. The throng of bishops round the council-board was still more galling to the feudal baronage, flushed as it was with a new pride by the victories of Cre*cy and Poitiers. On the renewal of the war the Parliament prayed that the chief offices of state might be placed in lay hands. William of
1371 Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, resigned the Chancellorship, another prelate the Treasury, to lay dependents of the great nobles ; and the panic of the clergy was seen in large grants which they voted in Convocation. The baronage found a leader in John of Gaunt; but even the promise to pillage the Church failed to win for the Duke and his party the goodwill of the lesser gentry and of the burgesses ; while the corruption and the utter failure of the new administration and the calamities of the war left it powerless before the Parliament of
T/te Good Parliament April, 1376 1376. The action of this Parliament marks a new stage in the character of the national opposition to the misrule of the Crown. Till now the task of resistance had devolved on the baronage, and had been earned out through risings of its feudal tenantry ; but the misgovernment was now that of a main part of the baronage itself in actual conjunction with the Crown. Only in the power of the Commons lay any adequate means of peaceful redress. The old reluctance of the Lower House to meddle with matters of State was roughly swept away therefore by the pressure of the time. The Black Prince, sick as he was to death and anxious to secure his child's succession by the removal of John of Gaunt, the prelates with William of Wykeham at their head, resolute again to take their place in the royal councils 0 d to check the projects of ecclesiastical spoliation, alike found in it a body to oppose to the Duke's administration. Backed by powers such as these, the action of the Commons showed none of their old timidity or self-distrust. The knights of the shire united with the burgesses in a joint attack on the royal council. "Trusting in God, and standing with his followers before the nobles, whereof the chief was John, Duke of Lancaster, whose goings were ever contrary," their speaker, Sir

Peter de Ia Mare, denounced the mismanagement of the war, the oppressive taxation, and demanded an account of the expenditure. "What do these base and ignoble knights attempt?" cried John of Gaunt. "Do they think they be kings or princes of the land?" But even the Duke was silenced by the charges brought against the government, and the Parliament proceeded to the impeachment and condemnation of two ministers, Latimer and Lyons. The King himself had sunk into dotage, and was wholly under the influence of a mistress named Alice Perrers; she was banished, and several of the royal servants driven from the Court. One hundred and forty petitions were presented which embodied the grievances of the realm. They demanded the annual assembly of Parliament, and freedom of election for the knights of the shire, whose choice was now often tampered with by the Crown; they protested against arbitrary taxation and Papal inroads on the liberties of the Church; petitioned for the protection of trade, the enforcement of the statute of labourers, and the limitation *of* the powers of chartered crafts. At the death of the Black Prince his little son Richard was brought into Parliament and acknowledged an heir. But the Houses were no sooner dismissed than Lancaster resumed his power. His haughty will flung aside all restraints of law. He dismissed the new lords and prelates from the Council. He called back Alice Perrers and the disgraced ministers. He declared the Good Parliament no parliament, and did not suffer its petitions to be enrolled as statutes. He imprisoned Peter de Ia Mare, and confiscated the possessions of William of Wykeham. His attack on this prelate was an attack on the clergy at large. Fresh projects of spoliation were openly canvassed, and it is his support of these plans of confiscation which now brings us across the path of John Wyclif.

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July 6

Section III.—John Wyclif.

{Authorities.—The "Fasciculi Zi/aniorum" in the Rolls Scries, with the documents appended to it, is a work of primary authority for the history of Wyclif and his followers. A selection from his English tracts has been made by Mr. T. Arnold for the University of Oxford, which has also published his "Trias." The version of the Bible that bears his name has been edited with a valuable preface by Rev. J. Forshall and Sir F. Madden. There are lives of Wyclif by Lewis and Vaughan; and Milmnn ("Latin Christianity/' vol. vi.) has given a brilliant summary of the Lollard movement.]

Wyclif

Nothing is more remarkable than the contrast between the obscurity of Wyclif's earlier life and the fulness and vividness of our knowledge of him during the twenty years which preceded its close. Born in the earlier part of the fourteenth century, he had already passed middle age when he was appointed to the mastership of Balliol College in the University of Oxford, and recognized as first among the schoolmen of

JOHN WYCLIF

1324?-1361

his clay. Of all the scholastic doctors those of England had been throughout the keenest and the most daring in philosophical speculation ; a reckless audacity and love of novelty was the common note of Bacon, Duns Scotus, and Ockham, as against the sober and more disciplined learning of the Parisian schoolmen, Albert and Aquinas. But the decay of the University of Paris during the English wars was transferring her intellectual supremacy to Oxford, and in Oxford Wyclif stood without a rival. From his predecessor, Bradwardine, whose work as a scholastic teacher he carried on in the speculative treatises he published during this period, he inherited the tendency to a predestinarian Augustinianism which formed the groundwork of his later theological revolt. His debt to Ockham revealed itself in his earliest efforts at Church reform. Undismayed by the thunder and excommunications of the Church, Ockham had not shrunk in his enthusiasm for the Empire from attacking the foundations of the Papal supremacy or from asserting the rights of the civil power. The spare, emaciated frame of Wyclif, weakened by study and by asceticism, hardly promised a Reformer who would carry on the stormy work of Ockham; but within this frail form lay a temper quick and restless, an immense energy, an immovable conviction, an unconquerable pride. The personal charm which ever accompanies real greatness only deepened the influence he derived from the spotless purity of his life. As yet indeed even Wyclif himself can hardly have suspected the immense range of his intellectual power. It was only the struggle that lay before him which revealed in the dry and subtle schoolman the founder of our later English prose, a master of popular invective, of irony, of persuasion, a dexterous politician, an audacious partisan, the organizer of a religious order, the unsparing assailant of abuses, the boldest and most indefatigable of controversialists, the first Reformer who dared, when deserted and alone, to question and deny the creed of the Christendom around him, to break through the tradition of the past, and with his last breath to assert the freedom of religious thought against the dogmas of the Papacy.

England and the papacy

The attack of Wyclif began precisely at the moment when the Church of the middle ages had sunk to its lowest point of spiritual decay. The transfer of the Papacy to Avignon robbed it of half the awe in which it had been held by Englishmen, for not only had the Popes sunk into creatures of the French King, but their greed and extortion produced almost universal revolt. The claim of first fruits and annates from rectory and bishoprick, the assumption of a right to dispose of all benefices in ecclesiastical patronage, the direct taxation of the clergy, the intrusion of foreign "priests into English livings, the opening a mart for the disposal of pardons, dispensations, and indulgences, and the encouragement of appeals to the Papal court produced a widespread national irritation which never slept till the

Reformation. The people scorned a " French Pope," and threatened his legates with stoning when they landed. The wit of Chaucer flouted the wallet of " pardons hot from Rome." Parliament vindicated the right of the State to prohibit any questioning of judgements rendered in the King's courts, or any prosecution of a suit in foreign courts, b> the Statute of Praemunire ; and denied the Papal claim to dispose of benefices by that of Provisors. But the effort was practically foiled by the treacherous diplomacy of the Crown. The Pope waived indeed his alleged right to appoint foreigners ; but by a compromise, in which Pope and King combined for the enslaving of the Church, bishopricks, abbacies, and livings in the gift of Churchmen still continued to receive Papal nominees who had been first chosen by the Crown, so that the treasuries of King and Pope profited by the arrangement. The protest of the Good Parliament is a record of the ill-success of its predecessors' attempts. It asserted that the taxes levied by the Pope amounted to five times the amount of those levied by the King, that by reservation during the life of actual holders the Pope disposed of the same bishoprick four or five times over, receiving each time the first fruits. " The brokers of the sinful city of Rome promote for money unlearned and unworthy caitiffs to benefices of the value of a thousand marks, while the poor and learned hardly obtain one of twenty. So decays sound learning. They present aliens who neither see nor care to see their parishioners, despise God's services, convey away the treasure of the realm, and are worse than Jews or Saracens. The Pope's revenue from England alone is larger than that of any prince in Christendom. God gave his sheep to be pastured, not to be shaven and shorn." The grievances were no trifling ones. At this very time the deaneries of Lichfield, Salisbury and York, the archdeaconry of Canterbury, which was reputed the wealthiest English benefice, together with a host of prebends and preferments, were held by Italian cardinals and priests, while the Pope's collector from his office in London sent twenty thousand marks a year to the Papal treasury.

England and the Church

If extortion and tyranny such as this severed the English clergy from the Papacy, their own selfishness severed them from the nation ;-t large. Immense as was their wealth, they bore as little as they could of the common burthens 01 the realm. They were still resolute to assert their exemption from the common justice of the land, and the mild punishments of the ecclesiastical courts carried little dismay into the mass of disorderly clerks. Privileged as they were against all interference from the lay world without, the clergy penetrated by their control over wills, contracts, divorce, by the dues they exacted, as well as by directly religious offices, into the very heart of the social life around them. No figure was better known or more hated than the summoner who enforced the jurisdiction and levied the dues of their courts. On the other hand, their moral authority was rapidly passing

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away ; the wealthiest churchmen, with curled hair and hanging sleeves, aped the costume of the knightly society to which they really belonged. We have already seen the general impression of their worldliness in Chaucer's picture of the hunting monk and the courtly prioress with her love-motto on her brooch. Over the vice of the higher classes they exerted no influence whatever ; the King paraded his mistress as a Queen of Beauty through London, the nobles blazoned their infamy in court and tournament. "In those days," says a chronicler of the time, "arose a great rumour and clamour among the people, that wherever there was a tournament there came a great concourse of ladies of the most costly and beautiful, but not of the best in the kingdom, sometimes forty or fifty in number, as if they were a part of the tournament, in diverse and wonderful male apparel, in parti-coloured tunics, with short caps and bands wound cord-wise round their head, and girdles bound with gold and silver, and daggers in pouches across their body, and then they proceeded on chosen coursers to the place of tourney, and so expended and wasted their goods and vexed their bodies with scurrilous wantonness that the rumour of the people sounded everywhere ; and thus they neither feared God nor blushed at the chaste voice of the people." They were not called on to blush at the chaste voice of the Church. The clergy were in fact rent by their own dissensions. The higher prelates were busy with the cares of political office, and severed from the lower priesthood by the scandalous inequality between the revenues of the wealthier ecclesiastics and the "poor parson" of the country. A bitter hatred divided the secular clergy from the regular; and this strife went fiercely on in the Universities. Fitz-Ralf, the Chancellor of Oxford, attributed to the Friars the decline in the number of academical students, and the University checked by statute their admission of mere children into their orders. The older religious orders in fact had sunk into mere landowners, while the enthusiasm of the Friars had in great part died away and left a crowd of impudent mendicants behind it. Wyclif could soon with general applause denounce them as sturdy beggars, and declare that "the man who gives alms to a begging friar is ipso facto excommunicate."

Wyclif and Church Reform

Without the ranks of the clergy stood a world of earnest men who, like "Piers the Ploughman," denounced their worldliness and vice, sceptics like Chaucer laughing at the jingling bells of their hunting abbots, and the brutal and greedy baronage under John of Gaunt, eager to drive the prelates from office and to seize on their wealth. Worthless as the last party seems to us, it was with John of Gaunt that Wyclif allied himself in his effort for the reform of the Church. As yet his quarrel was not with the doctrines of Rome but with its practice, and it was on the principles of Ockham that he de-

1366 fended the Parliament's indignant refusal of the "tribute" which was

claimed by the Papacy. But his treatise on " The Kingdom of God " (*De* Dominio Divino) shows how different his aims really were from the selfish aims of the men with whom he acted. In this, the most famous of his works, Wyclif bases his action on a distinct ideal of society. All authority, to use his own expression, is " founded in grace." Dominion in the highest sense is in God alone ; it is God who, as the suzerain of the universe, deals out His rule in fief to rulers in their various stations on tenure of their obedience to Himself. It was easy to object that in such a case " dominion " could never exist, since mortal sin is a breach of such a tenure, and all men sin. But, as Wyclif urged it, the theory is a purely ideal one. In actual practice he distinguishes between dominion and power, power which the wicked may have by God's permission,and to which the Christian must submit from motives of obedience to God. In his own scholastic phrase, so strangely perverted afterwards, here on earth " God must obey the devil." But whether in the ideal or practical view of the matter, all power or dominion was of God. It was granted by Him not to one person. His Vicar on earth, as the Papacy alleged, but to all. The King was as truly God's Vicar as the Pope. The royal power was as sacred as the ecclesiastical, and as complete over temporal things, even the temporalities of the Church, as that of the Church over spiritual things. On the question of Church and State therefore the distinction between the ideal and practical view of " dominion" was of little account. Wyclif s application of the theory to the individual conscience was of far higher%nd wider importance. Obedient as each Christian might be to king or priest, he himself, as a possessor of " dominion," held immediately of God. The throne of God Himself was the tribunal of personal appeal. What the Reformers of the sixteenth century attempted to do by their theory of Justification by Faith, Wyclif attempted to do by his theory of " dominion." It was a theory which in establishing a direct relation between man and God swept away the whole basis of a mediating priesthood on which the mediaeval Church was built; but for a time its real drift was hardly perceived. To Wyclif s theory of Church and State, his subjection of their temporalities to the Crown, his contention that like other property they might be seized and employed for national purposes, his wish for their voluntary abandonment and the return of the Church to its original poverty, the clergy were more sensitive. They were bitterly galled when he came forward as the theological bulwark of the Lancastrian party at a time when they were writhing under the attack on Wykeham by the nobles; and in the prosecution of Wyclif, they resolved to return blow for blow. He was summoned before Bishop Courtenay of London to answer for his heretical propositions concerning the wealth of the Church. The Duke of Lancaster accepted the challenge as really given to himself, and stood by Wyclif s side in the Consistory

Court at St. Paul's. But no trial took place. Fierce words passed between the nobles and the prelate ; the Duke himself was said to have threatened to drag Courtenay out of the church by the hair of his head, and at last the London populace, to whom John of Gaunt was hateful, burst in to their Bishop's rescue, and Wyclif s life was saved with difficulty by the aid of the soldiery. But his courage only grew with the danger. A Papal bull which was procured by the bishops, directing the University to condemn and arrest him, extorted from him a bold defiance. In a defence circulated widely through the kingdom and laid before Parliament, Wyclif broadly asserted that no man could be excommunicated by the Pope " unless he were first excommunicated by himself." He denied the right of the Church to exact or defend temporal privileges by spiritual censures, declared that a Church might justly be deprived by the King or lay lords of its property for defect of duty, and defended the subjection" of ecclesiastics to civil tribunals. Bold as the defiance was, it won the support of the people and of the Crown. When he appeared at the close of the year in Lambeth Chapel to answer the Archbishop's summons, a message from the Court forbade the Primate to proceed, and the Londoners broke in and dissolved the session.

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The First Protestant

Wyclif was still working hand in hand with John of Gaunt in advocating his plans of ecclesiastical reform, when the great insurrection of the peasants, which we shall soon have to describe, broke out under Wat Tyler. In a few months the whole of his work was undone. Not only was the power of the Lancastrian party on which Wyclif had relied for the moment annihilated, but the quarrel between the baronage and the Church, on which his action had hitherto been grounded, was hushed in the presence of a common danger. His " poor preachers " were looked on as missionaries of socialism. The Friars charged him with being a " sower of strife, who by his serpent-like instigation has set the serf against his lord," and though Wyclif tossed back the charge with disdain, he had to bear a suspicion which was justified by the conduct of some of his followers. John Ball, who had figured in the front rank of the revolt, was claimed as one of his adherents, and was alleged to have denounced in his last hour the conspiracy of the " Wyclifites." His most prominent scholar, Nicholas Herford, was said to have openly approved the brutal murder of Archbishop Sudbury. Whatever belief such charges might gain, it is certain that from this moment all plans for the reorganization of the Church were confounded in the general odium which attached to the projects of the peasant leaders, and that any hope of ecclesiastical reform at the hands of the baronage and the Parliament was at an end. But even if the Peasant Revolt had not deprived Wyclif of the support of the aristocratic party with whom he had hitherto co-operated, their alliance must have been dissohed by the new theological position which he had

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already taken up. Some months before the outbreak of the insurrection, he had by one memorable step passed from the position of a reformer of the discipline and political relations of the Church to that of a protester against its cardinal beliefs. If there was one doctrine upon which the supremacy of the Mediaeval Church rested, it was the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It was by his exclusive right to the performance of the miracle which was wrought in the mass that the lowliest priest was raised high above princes. With the formal denial of the doctrine of Transubstantiation which Wyclif issued in the spring of 1381 began that great movement of revolt which ended, more than a century after, in the establishment of religious freedom, by severing the mass of the Teutonic peoples from the general body of the Catholic Church. The act was the bolder that he stood utterly alone. The University, in which his influence had been hitherto all-powerful, at once condemned him. John of Gaunt enjoined him to be silent. Wyclif was presiding as Doctor of Divinity over some disputations in the schools of the Augustinian Canons when his academical condemnation was publicly read, but though startled for the moment he at once challenged Chancellor or doctor to disprove the conclusions at which he had arrived. The prohibition of the Duke of Lancaster he met by an open avowal of his teaching, a confession which closes proudly with the quiet words, " I believe that in the end the truth will conquer." For the moment his courage dispelled the panic around him. The University responded to his appeal, and by displacing his opponents from office tacitly adopted his cause. But Wyclif no longer looked for support to the learned or wealthier classes on whom he had hitherto relied. He appealed, and the appeal is memorable as the first of such a kind in our history, to England at large. With an amazing industry he issued tract after tract in the tongue of the people itself. The dry, syllogistic Latin, the abstruse and involved argument which the great doctor had addressed to his academic hearers, were suddenly flung aside, and by a transition which marks the wonderful genius of the man the schoolman was transformed into the pamphleteer. If Chaucer is the father of our later English poetry, Wyclif is the father of our later English prose. The rough, clear, homely English of his tracts, the speech of the ploughman and the trader of the day, though coloured with the picturesque phraseology of the Bible, is in its literary use as distinctly a creation of his own as the style in which he embodied it, the terse vehement sentences, the stinging sarcasms, the hard antitheses which roused the dullest mind like a whip. Once fairly freed from the trammels of unquestioning belief, Wyclif s mind worked fast in its career of scepticism. Pardons, indulgences, absolutions, pilgrimages to the shrines of the saints, worship of their images, worship of the saints themselves, were successively denied. A formal appeal to the Bible as the one ground

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of faith, coupled with an assertion of the right of every instructed man to examine the Bible for himself, threatened the very groundwork of the older dogmatism with ruin. Nor were these daring denials confined to the small circle of the scholars who still clung to him; with the practical ability which is so marked a feature of his character, Wyclif had organized some few years before an order of poor preachers, " the Simple Priests," whose coarse sermons and long russet dress moved the laughter of the clergy, but who now formed a priceless organization for the diffusion of their master's doctrines. How rapid their progress must have been we may see from the panic-struck exaggerations of their opponents. A few years later they complained that the followers of Wyclif abounded everywhere and in all classes, among the baronage, in the cities, among the peasantry of the country-side, even in the monastic cell itself. " Every second man one meets is a Lollard."

Oxford and the Lollards

" Lollard," a word which probably means " idle babbler," was the nickname of scorn with which the orthodox Churchmen chose to insult their assailants. But this rapid increase changed their scorn into vigorous action. Courtenay, now become Archbishop, summoned a council at Blackfriars, and formally submitted twenty-four propositions drawn from Wyclif s works. An earthquake in the midst of the proceedings terrified every prelate but the resolute Primate ; the expulsion of ill humours from the earth, he said, was of good omen for the expulsion of ill humours from the Church ; and the condemnation was pronounced. Then the Archbishop turned fiercely upon Oxford as the fount and centre of the new heresies. In an English ^sermon at St. Frideswide's, Nicholas Herford had asserted the truth of Wyclif s doctrines, and Courtenay ordered the Chancellor to silence him and his adherents on pain of being himself treated as a heretic. The Chancellor fell back on the liberties of the University, and appointed as preacher another Wyclifite, Repyngdon, who did not hesitate to style the Lollards "holy priests," and to affirm that they were protected by John of Gaunt. Party spirit meanwhile ran high among the students; the bulk of them sided with the Lollard leaders, and a Carmelite, Peter Stokes, who had procured the Archbishop's letters, cowered panic-stricken in his chamber while the Chancellor, protected by an escort of a hundred townsmen, listened approvingly to Repyngdon's defiance. " I dare go no further," wrote the poor Friar to the Archbishop, " for fear of death ; " but he soon mustered

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I courage to descend into the schools where Repyngdon was now maintaining that the clerical order was "better when it was but nine years old than now that it has grown to a thousand years and more." The appearance, however, of scholars in arms again drove Stokes to j fly in despair to Lambeth, while a new heretic in open Congregation maintained Wyclif s denial of Transubstantiation. " There is no I idolatry," cried William James, " save in the Sacrament of the Altar,"

" You speak like a wise man," replied the Chancellor, Robert Rygge. Courtenay however was not the man to bear defiance tamely, and his summons to Lambeth wrested a submission from Rygge which was only accepted on his pledge to suppress the Lollardism of the University. " I dare not publish them, on fear of death," exclaimed the Chancellor when Courtenay handed him his letters of condemnation. " Then is your University an open *fautor* of heretics," retorted the Primate, " i f it suffers not the Catholic truth to be proclaimed within its bounds." The royal council supported the Archbishop's injunction, but the publication of the decrees at once set Oxford on fire. The scholars threatened death against the Friars, " crying that they wished to destroy the University." The masters suspended Henry Crump from teaching, as a troubler of the public peace, for calling the Lollards " heretics." The Crown however at last stepped roughly in to Courtcnay's aid, and a royal writ ordered the instant banishment of all favourers of Wyclif, with the seizure and destruction of all Lollard books, on pain of forfeiture of the University's privileges. The threat produced its effect. Herford and Repyngdon appealed in vain to John of Gaunt for protection ; the Duke himself denounced them as heretics against the Sacrament of the Altar, and after much evasion they were forced to make a formal submission. Within Oxford itself the suppression of Lollardism was complete, but with the death of religious freedom all trace of intellectual life suddenly disappears. The century which followed the triumphs of Courtenay is the most barren in its annals, nor was the sleep of the University broken till the advent of the New Learning restored to it seme of | the life and liberty which the Primate had so roughly trodden out.

JOHN Wveui*

Nothing marks more strongly the grandeur of Wyclif s position as the last of the great schoolmen, than the Reluctance of so bold a man as Courtenay even after his triumph over Oxford to take extreme measures against the head of Lollardry. Wyclif, though summoned, had made no appearance before the " Council of the Earthquake." " Pontius Pilate and Herod are made friends to-day," was his bitter comment on the new union which proved to have sprung up between the pi elates and the monastic orders who had so long been at variance with each other ; " since they have made a heretic of Christ, it is an easy inference for them to count simple Christians heretics." He seems indeed to have been sick at the moment, but the announcement of the final sentence roused him to life again. " I shall not die," he is said to have cried at an earlier time when in grievous peril," but live and declare the works of the Friars." He petitioned the King and Parliament that he might be allowed freely to prove the doctrines he had put forth, and turning with characteristic energy to the attack of his assailants, he asked that all religious vows might be suppressed, that tithes might be diverted to the maintenance of the poor and the clergy maintained by the free alms of their flocks, that the Statutes of

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Provisors and Praemunire might be enforced against the Papacy, that churchmen might be declared incapable of secular offices, and imprisonment for excommunication cease. Finally, in the teeth of the council's condemnation, he demanded that the doctrine of the Kucharist which he advocated might be freely taught. If he appeared in the following year before the Convocation at Oxford, it was to perplex his opponents by a display of scholastic logic which permitted him to retire without any retractation of his sacramental heresy. For the time his opponents seemed satisfied with his expulsion from the University, but in his retirement at Lutterworth he was forging during these troubled years the great weapon which, wielded by other hands than his own, was to produce so terrible an effect on the triumphant hierarchy. An earlier translation of the Scriptures, in part of which he was aided by his scholar Herford, was being revised and brought to the second form, which is better known as "Wyclifs Bible," when death drew near. The appeal of the prelates to Rome was answered at last by a brief ordering him to appear at the Papal Court. His failing strength exhausted itself in the cold sarcastic reply which explained that his refusal to comply with the summons simply sprang from broken health. " I am always glad," ran the ironical answer, " to explain my faith to any one, and above all to the Bishop of Rome ; for I take it for granted that if it be orthodox he will confirm it, if it be erroneous he will correct it. I assume, too, that as chief Vicar of Christ upon earth the Bishop of Rome is of all mortal men most bound to the law of Christ's Gospel, for among the disciples of Christ a majority is not reckoned by simply counting h&ids in the fashion of this world, but according to the imitation of Christ on either side. Now Christ during His life upon earth was of all men the poorest, casting from Him all worldly authority. I deduce from these premisses, as a simple counsel of my own, that the Pope should surrender all temporal authority to the civil power and advise his clergy to do the same." The boldness of his words sprang perhaps from a knowledge that his end was near. The terrible strain on energies enfeebled by age and study had at last brought its inevitable result, and a stroke of paralysis while Wyclif was hearing mass in his parish church of Lutterworth was followed on the next day by his death.

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Dec. 31 1384

Section IV.-The Peasant Revolt, 1377-1381.

[Authorities.—For the condition of land and labour at this time see the " History of Prices," by Professor Thorold Rogers, the " Domesday Book of St. Paul's" (Camden Society) with Archdeacon Hale's valuable introduction, and Mr. Seebohm's " Essays on the Black Death " *{Fortnightly Review,* 1865). Among the chroniclers Knyghton and Walsingham are the fullest and most valuable. The great Labour Statutes will be found in the Parliamentary Rolls.]

The English Manor

The religious revolution which we have been describing gave fresh impulse to a revolution of even greater importance, which had for a

long time been changing the whole face of the country. The manorial system, on which the social organization of every rural part of England rested, had divided the land, for the purposes of cultivation and of internal order, into a number of large estates ; a part of the soil was usually retained by the owner of the manor as his demesne or home-farm, while the remainder was distributed among tenants who were bound to render service to their lord. Under the kings of /Elfred's house, the number of absolute slaves, and the number of freemen, had alike diminished. The slave class, never numerous, had been reduced by the efforts of the Church, perhaps by the general convulsion of the Danish wars. Hut these wars had often driven the ceorl or freeman to "commend" himself to a thegn who pledged him his protection in consideration of a labour-payment. It is probable that these dependent ceorls are the "villeins" of the Norman epoch, men sunk indeed from pure freedom and bound both to soil and lord, but as yet preserving much of their older rights, retaining their land, free as against all men but their lord, and still sending representatives to hundred-moot and shire-moot. They stood therefore far above the "landless man," the man who had never possessed even under the old constitution political rights, whom the legislation of the English kings had forced to attach himself to a lord on pain of outlawry, and who served as household servant or as hired labourer, or at the best as rent-paying tenant of land which was not his own? The Norman knight or lawyer however saw little distinction between these classes ; and the tendency of legislation under the Angevins was to blend all in a single class of serfs. While the pure "thcow" or absolute slave disappeared, therefore, the ceorl or villein sank lower in the social scale. But though the rural population was undoubtedly thrown more together and fused into a more homogeneous class, its actual position corresponded very imperfectly with the view of the lawyers. All indeed were dependents on a lord. The manor-house became the centre of every English village. The manor-court was held in its hall ; it was here that the lord or his steward received homage, recovered fines, held the view of frank-pledge, or enrolled the villagers in their timing. Here too, if the lord possessed criminal jurisdiction, was held his justice court, and without its doors stood his gallows. Around it lay the demesne or home-farm, and the cultivation of this rested wholly with the "villeins" of the manor. It was by them that the great barn of the lord was filled with sheaves, his sheep shorn, his grain malted, the wood hewn for his hall fire. These services were the labour-rent by which they held their lands, and it was the nature and extent of this labour-rent which parted one class of the population from another. The "villein," in the strict sense of the word, was bound only to gather in his lord's harvest and to aid in the Ploughing and sowing of autumn and Lent. Th/ cottar, the bordar,

and the labourer were bound to help in the work of the home-farm throughout the year. But these services and the time of rendering them were strictly limited by custom, not only in the case of the ceori or villein, but in that of the originally meaner "landless man." The possession of his little homestead with the ground around it, the privilege of turning out his cattle on the waste of the manor, passed quietly and insensibly from mere indulgences that could be granted or withdrawn at a lord's caprice into rights that could be pleaded at law. The number of teams, the fines, the reliefs, the services that a lord could claim, at first mere matter of oral tradition, came to be entered on the court-roll of the manor, a copy of which became the title-deed of the villein. It was to this that he owed the name of "copy-holder'" which at a later time superseded his older title. Disputes were settled by a reference to this roll or on oral evidence of the custom at issue, but a social arrangement which was eminently characteristic of the ii-nglish spirit of compromise generally secured a fair adjustment of the claims of villein and lord. It was the duty of the lord's bailiff to exact their due services from the villeins, but his coadjutor in this office, the reeve or foreman of the manor, was chosen by the tenants themselves and acted as representative of their interests and rights.

The Farmer and the Labourer

The first disturbances of the system of tenure which we have described sprang from the introduction of leases. The lord of the manor, instead of cultivating the demesne through his own bailiff, often found it more convenient and profitable to let the manor to a tenant at a given rent, payable either in money or in kind. Thus we find the manor of Sandon leased by the Chapter of St. Paul's at a very early period on a rent which comprised the payment of grain both for bread and ale, of alms to be distributed at the cathedral door, of wood to be used in its bakehouse and brewery, and of money to be spent in wages. It is to this system of leasing, or rather to the usual term for the rent it entailed (feorm, from the *Latin Jirma)*, that we owe the words, "farm" and "farmer," the growing use of which marks the first step in the rural revolution which we are examining. It was a revolution which made little direct change in the manorial system, but its indirect effect in breaking the tie on which the feudal organization of the manor rested, that of the tenant's personal dependence on his lord, and in affording an opportunity by which the wealthier among the tenantry could rise to a position of apparent equality with their older masters and form a new class intermediate between the larger proprietors and the customary tenants, was of the highest importance. This earlier step, however, in the modification of the manorial system, by the rise of the Farmer-class, was soon followed by one of a far more serious character in the rise of the Free Labourer. Labour, whatever right it might have attained in other ways, was as yet in the strictest sense bound to the soil Neither villein **nor** serf had any

choice, either of a master or of a sphere of toil. He was born, in fact, to his holding and to his lord ; he paid head-money for licence to remove from the estate in search of trade or hire, and a refusal to return on recall by his owner would have ended in his pursuit as a fugitive outlaw. But the advance of society and the natural increase of population had for a long time been silently freeing the labourer from this local bondage. The influence of the Church had been exerted in promoting emancipation, as a work of piety, on all estates but its own. The fugitive bondsman found freedom in a flight to chartered towns, where a residence during a year and a day conferred franchise. A fresh step towards freedom was made by the growing tendency to commute labour-services for money-payments. The population was slowly increasing, and as the law of gavel-kind which was applicable to all landed estates not held by military tenure divided the inheritance of the tenantry equally among their sons, the holding of each tenant and the services due from it became divided in a corresponding degree. A labour-rent thus became more difficult to enforce, while the increase of wealth among the tenantry, and the rise of a new spirit of independence, made it more burthensome to those who rendered it. It was probably from this cause that the commutation of the arrears of labour for a money payment, which had long prevailed on every estate, gradually developed into a general commutation of services. We have already witnessed the silent progress of this remarkable change in the case of St. Edmundsbury, but the practice soon became universal, and " malt-silver," " wood-silver," and " larder-silver," gradually took the place of the older personal services on the court-rolls. The process of commutation was hastened by the necessities of the lords themselves. The luxury of the castle-hall, the splendour and pomp of chivalry, the cost of campaigns, drained the purses of knight and baron, and the sale of freedom to a serf or exemption from services to a villein afforded an easy and tempting mode of refilling them. In this process even kings took part. Edward the Third sent commissioners to royal estates for the especial purpose of selling manumissions to the King's serfs ; and we still possess the names of those who were enfranchised with their families by a payment of hard cash in aid of the exhausted exchequer.

Death

By this entire detachment of the serf from actual dependence on the land, the manorial system was even more radically changed than by the rise of the serf into a copyholder. The whole social condition of the country, in fact, was modified by the appearance of a new class. The rise of the free labourer had followed that of the farmer, labour was no longer bound to one spot or one master : it was free to hire itself to what employer, and to choose what field of employment it would. At the moment we have reached, in fact, the lord of a manor had been reduced over a large part of England to the position of

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a modern landlord, receiving a rental in money from his tenants, and dependent for the cultivation of his own demesne on paid labourers. But a formidable difficulty now met the landowners who had been driven by the process of enfranchisement to rely on hired labour. Hitherto this supply had been abundant and cheap; but this abundance suddenly disappeared. The most terrible plague which the world ever witnessed advanced at this juncture from the East, and after devastating Europe from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Baltic, swooped at the close of 1348 upon Britain. The traditions of its destructiveness, and the panic-struck words of the statutes which followed it, have been more than justified by modern research. Of the three or four millions who then formed the population of England, more than one-half were swept away in its repeated visitations. Its ravages were fiercest in the greater towns, where filthy and undrained streets afforded a constant haunt to leprosy and fever. In the burial-ground which the piety of Sir Walter Maunay purchased for the citizens of London, a spot whose site was afterwards marked by the Charter House, more than fifty thousand corpses are said to have been interred. Thousands of people perished at Norwich, while in Bristol the living were hardly able to bury the dead. But the Black Death fell on the villages almost as fiercely as on the towns. More than one-half of the priests of Yorkshire are known to have perished; in the diocese of Norwich two-thirds of the parishes changed their incumbents. The whole^organization of labour was thrown out of gear. The scarcity of hands made it difficult for the minor tenants to perform the services due for their lands, and only a temporary abandonment of half the rent by the landowners induced the farmers to refrain from the abandonment of their farms. For a time cultivation became impossible. "The sheep and cattle strayed through the fields and corn," says a contemporary, "and there were none left who could drive them." Even when the first burst of panic was over, the sudden rise of wages consequent on the enormous diminution in the supply of free labour, though accompanied by a corresponding rise in the price of food, rudely disturbed the course of industrial employments; harvests rotted on the ground, and fields were left untilled, not merely from scarcity of hands, but from the strife which now for the first time revealed itself between capital and labour.

1349

The Statutes of Labourer*

While the landowners of the country and the wealthier craftsmen of the town were threatened with ruin by what seemed to their age the extravagant demands of the new labour class, the country itself was torn with riot and disorder. The outbreak of lawless self-indulgence which followed everywhere in the wake of the plague told especially upon the "landless men," wandering in search of work, and for the first time masters of the labour market; and the wandering labourer or

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artizan turned easily into the "sturdy beggar," or the bandit of the woods. A summary redress for these evils was at once provided by the Crown in a royal ordinance which was subsequently embodied in the Statute of Labourers. "Every man or woman," runs this famous provision, "of whatsoever condition, free or bond, able in body, and within the age of threescore years, . . . and not having of his own whereof he may live, nor land of his own about the tillage of which he may occupy himself, and not serving any other, shall be bound to serve the employer who shall require him to do so, and shall take only the wages which were accustomed to be taken in the neighbourhood where he is bound to serve" two years before the plague began. A refusal to obey was punished by imprisonment. But sterner measures were soon found to be necessary. Not only was the price of labour fixed by Parliament in the Statute of 1351, but the labour class was once more tied to the soil. The labourer was forbidden to quit the parish where he lived in search of better-paid employment; if he disobeyed he became a "fugitive," and subject to imprisonment at the hands of the justices of the peace. To enforce such a law literally must have been impossible, for corn had risen to so high a price that a day's labour at the old wages would not have purchased wheat enough for a man's support. But the landowners did not flinch from the attempt. The repeated re-enactment of the law shows the difficulty of applying it, and the stubbornness of the struggle which it brought about. The fines and forfeitures which were levied for infractions of its provisions formed a large source of royal revenue, but so ineffectual were the original penalties that the runaway labourer was at last ordered to be branded with a hot iron on the forehead, while the harbouring of serfs in towns was rigorously put down. Nor was it merely the existing class of free labourers which was attacked by this reactionary movement. The increase of their numbers by a commutation of labour services for money payments was suddenly checked, and the ingenuity of the lawyers who were employed as stewards of each manor was exercised in striving to restore to the landowners that customary labour whose loss was now severely felt. Manumissions and exemptions which had passed without question were cancelled on grounds of informality, and labour services from which they held themselves freed by redemption were again demanded from the villeins. The attempt was the more galling that the cause had to be pleaded in the manor-court itself, and to be decided by the very officer whose interest it was to give judgement in favour of his lord. We can see the growth of a fierce spirit of resistance through the statutes which strove in vain to repress it. In the towns, where the system of forced labour was applied with even more rigour than in the country, strikes and combinations became frequent among the lower craftsmen. In the country the free labourers found allies in the villeins whose freedom

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from manorial service was questioned. These were often men of position and substance, and throughout the eastern counties the gatherings of "fugitive serfs" were supported by an organized resistance and by large contributions of money on the part of the wealthier tenantry. A statute of later date throws light on their resistance. It tells us that "villeins and holders of lands in villeinage withdrew their customs and services from their lords, having attached themselves to other persons who maintained and abetted them; and who, under colour of exemplifications from Domesday of the manors and villages where they dwelt, claimed to be quit of all manner of services, either of their body or of their lands, and would suffer no distress or other course of justice to be taken against them; the villeins aiding their maintainers by threatening the officers of their lords with peril to life and limb, as well by open assemblies as by confederacies to support each other." It would seem not only as if the villein was striving to resist the reactionary tendency of the lords of manors to regain his labour service, but that in the general overturning of social institutions the copyholder was struggling to become a freeholder, and the farmer to be recognized as proprietor of the demesne he held on lease.

John Ball 1360

A more terrible outcome of the general suffering was seen in a new revolt against the whole system of social inequality which had till then passed unquestioned as the divine order of the world. The cry of the poor found a terrible utterance in the words of "a mad priest of Kent," as the courtly Froissart calls him^, who for twenty years found audience for his sermons, in defiance of interdict and imprisonment, in the stout yeomen who gathered in the Kentish churchyards. "Mad" as the landowners called him, it was in the preaching of John Ball that England first listened to a declaration of natural equality and the rights of man. "Good people," cried the preacher, "things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? On what grounds have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfage? If we all came of the same father and mother, of Adam and Eve, how can they say or prove that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend in their pride? They are clothed in velvet, and warm in their furs and their ermines, while we are covered with rags. They have wine and spices and fair bread; and we oat-cake and straw, and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labour, the rain and the wind in the fields.- And yet it is of us and of our toil that these men hold their state." It was the tyranny of property that then as ever roused the defiance of socialism. A spirit fatal to the whole system of the Middle Ages breathed in the popular rime which condensed the levelling doctrine of John

Ball: "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was **then** the gentleman **?** "

The rime was running from lip to lip when a fresh instance of public oppression fanned **the** smouldering discontent into a flame. Edward **the** Third died in **a** dishonoured old age, robbed on his death-bed even of his finger-rings by the vile mistress to whom he had clung ; and the accession of **the** child of the Black Prince, Richard the Second, revived the hopes of what in a political sense we must still call **the** popular party in the Legislature. The Parliament of 1377 took up the work of reform, and boldly assumed the control of a new subsidy by assigning two of their number to regulate its expenditure: that of 1378 demanded and obtained an account of the mode in which the subsidy had been spent. But the real strength of Parliament was directed, as we have seen, to the desperate struggle in which the proprietary classes, whom they exclusively represented, were striving to reduce the labourer into a fresh serfage. Meanwhile the shame of defeat abroad was added to the misery and discord at home. The French war ran its disastrous course : one English fleet was beaten by the Spaniards, a second sunk by a storm ; and a campaign in the heart of France ended, like its predecessors, in disappointment and ruin. It was to defray the heavy expenses of the war that the Parliament of 1380 renewed a grant made three years before, to be raised by means of a poll-tax on every person in the realm. The tax brought under contribution a class which had hitherto escaped, men such as the labourer, the village smith, the village tiler; it goaded into action precisely the class which was already seething with discontent, and its exaction set England on fire from sea to sea. As spring went on quaint rimes passed through the country, and served as summons to the revolt which soon extended from the eastern and midland counties over all England south of the Thames. "John Ball," ran one, "greeteth you all, and doth for to understand he hath rung your bell. Now right and might, will and skill, God speed every dele." "Help truth," ran another, "and truth shall help you ! Now reigneth pride in price, and covetise is counted wise, and lechery withouten shame, and gluttony withouten blame. Envy reigneth with treason, and sloth is take in great season. God do bote, for now is tymc !" We recognise Ball's hand in the yet more stirring missives of "Jack the Miller" and "Jack the Carter."[1] "Jack Miller asketh help to turn his mill aright. He hath grounden small, small : the King's Son of Heaven he shall pay for all. Look thy mill go aright with the four sailes, and the post stand with steadfastness. With right and with might, with skill and with will; let might help right, and skill go before will, and right before might, so goeth our mill aright." "Jack Carter," ran the companion missive, "prays **you all that ye make a good end of that ye have begun,** and **do**

The Peasant Rising

1379

1381

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well, and aye better and better: for at the even men heareth the day." " Falseness and guile," sang Jack Trewman, " have reigned too long, and truth hath been set under a lock, and falseness and guile reigneth in every stock. No man may come truth to, but if he sing [1] si dedero.' True love is away that was so good, and clerks for wealth work them woe. God do bote, for now is tyme." In the rude jingle of these lines began for England the literature of political controversy : they are the first predecessors of the pamphlets of Milton and of Burke. Rough as they are, they express clearly enough the mingled passions which met in the revolt of the peasants : their longing for a right rule, for plain and simple justice ; their scorn of the immorality of the nobles and the infamy of the court ; their resentment at the perversion of the law to the cause of oppression. The revolt spread like wildfire over the country ; Norfolk and Suffolk, Cambridge and Hertfordshire rose in arms ; from Sussex and Surrey the insurrection extended as far as Devon. But the actual outbreak began in Kent, where a tiler killed a tax-collector in vengeance for an outrage on his daughter. The county rose in arms. Canterbury, where " the whole town was of their mind," threw open its gates to the insurgents, who plundered the Archbishop's palace and dragged John Ball from its prison, while a hundred thousand Kentish-men gathered round Wat Tyler of Essex and John Hales of Mailing. In the eastern counties the levy of the poll-tax had already gathered crowds of peasants together, armed with clubs, rusty swords, and bows, and the royal.,commissioners sent to repress the tumult were driven from the field- While the Essex-men marched upon London on one side of the river, the Kentish-men marched on the other. Their grievance was mainly political, for villeinage was unknown in Kent; but as they poured on to Blackheath, every lawyer who fell into their hands was put to death ; "not till all these were killed would the land enjoy its old freedom again," the peasants shouted as they fired the houses of the stewards and flung the records of the manor-courts into the flames. The whole population joined them as they marched along, while the nobles were paralyzed with fear. The young King—he was but a boy of fifteen-addressed them from a boat on the river; but the refusal of his Council under the guidance of Archbishop Sudbury to allow him to land kindled the peasants to fury, and with cries of "Treason" the great mass rushed on London. Its gates were flung open by the poorer artizans within the city, and the stately palace of John of Gaunt at the Savoy, the new inn of the lawyers at the Temple, the houses of the foreign merchants, "were soon in a blaze. But the insurgents, as they proudly boasted, were " seekers of truth and justice, not thieves or robbers," and a plunderer found carrying *oft* a silver vessel from the sack of the Savoy was flung with his spoil into the flames. The general terror was shown ludicrously enough on

feasant revolt *June* 5

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the following day, when a daring band *of* peasants, under Tyler himself, forced their way into the Tower, and taking the panic-stricken knights of the royal household in rough horse-play by the beard, promised to be their equals and good comrades in the time to come. But the horse-play changed into dreadful earnest when they found the King had escaped their grasp, and when Archbishop Sudbury and the Prior of St. John were discovered in the chapel; the primate was dragged from his sanctuary and beheaded, and the same vengeance was wreaked on the Treasurer and the Chief Commissioner for the levy of the hated poll-tax. Meanwhile the King had ridden from the Tower to meet the mass of the Essex-men, who had encamped without the city at Mile-end, while the men of Hertfordshire and St. Albans occupied Highbury. " 1 am your King and Lord, good people," the boy began with a fearlessness which marked his bearing throughout the crisis ; " what will ye ?" " We will that you free us for ever," shouted the peasants, " us and our lands ; and that we be never named nor held for serfs." " I grant it," replied Richard ; and he bade them go home, pledging himself at once to issue charters of freedom and amnesty. A shout of joy welcomed the promise. Throughout the day more than thirty clerks were busied writing letters of pardon and emancipation, and with these the mass of the Kssex and Hertfordshire men withdrew quietly to their homes. It was with such a charter that William Grindecobbe returned to St. Albans, and breaking at the head of the burghers into the abbey precincts, summoned the abbot to deliver up the charters which bound the town in bondage to his house. But a more striking proof of servitude remained in the millstones, which after a long suit at law had been adjudged to the abbey, and placed within its cloister as a triumphant witness that no townsman might grind corn within the domain of the abbey save at the abbot's will. Bursting into the cloister the burghers now tore the millstones from the floor, and broke them into small pieces, " like blessed bread in church," so that each might have something to show of the day when their freedom was won again.

Suppression of the Revolt

Many of the Kentish-men dispersed at the news of the King's pledge to the men of Essex, but thirty thousand men still surrounded Wat Tyler when Richard by a mere chance encountered him the next morning at Smithfield. Hot words passed between his train and the peasant leader, who advanced to confer with the King ; and a threat from Tyler brought on a brief struggle in which the Mayor of London, William Walworth, struck him with his dagger to the ground. " Kill, kill," *June* 15 shouted the crowd, " they have slain our captain." " What need ye, my masters ?" cried the boy-king, as he rode boldly to the front, " 1 am your Captain and your King ! Follow me." The hopes of the peasants centred in the young sovereign: one aim of their rising had been to free him from the evil counsellors who, as/hey believed, abused

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his youth, and they now followed him with a touching loyalty and trust till he entered the Tower. His mother welcomed him with tears of joy. " Rejoice and praise God," the boy answered, " for I have recovered to-day my heritage which was lost, and the realm of England." But he was compelled to give the same pledge of freedom as at Mile-end$_5$ and it was only after receiving his letters of pardon and emancipation that the Kentish-men dispersed to their homes. The revolt, indeed. was far from being at an end. South of the Thames it spread as far as Devonshire ; there were outbreaks in the north ; the eastern counties were in one wild turmoil of revolt. A body of peasants occupied St. Albans. A maddened crowd forced the gates of St. Edmundsbury and wrested from the trembling monks pledges for the confirmation of the liberties of the town. John the Litster, a dyer of Norwich, headed a mass of peasants, under the title of King of the Commons, and compelled the nobles he captured to act as his meat-tasters and to serve him on their knees during his repast. But the withdrawal of the peasant armies with their letters of emancipation gave courage to the nobles. The warlike Bishop of Norwich fell lance in hand on Litster's camp, and scattered the peasants of Norfolk at the first shock: while the King, with an army of 40,000 men, spread terror by the ruthlessness of his executions as he marched in triumph through Kent and Essex. At Waltham he was met by the display of his own recent charters and a protest from the Essex-men that " they were so far as freedom went the peers of their lords." But they were to learn the ^yorth of a king's word. "Villeins you were," answered Richard, "and villeins you are. In bondage you shall abide, and that not your old bondage, but a worse !" But the stubborn resistance which he met showed the temper of the people. The villagers of Billericay threw themselves into the woods and fought two hard fights before they were reduced to submission. It was only by threats of death that verdicts of guilty could be wrung from the Essex jurors when the leaders of the revolt were brought before them. Grindecobbe was offered his life if he would persuade his followers at St. Albans to restore the charters they had wrung from the monks. He turned bravely to his fellow-townsmen and bade them take no thought for his trouble. " If I die," he said, " I shall die for the cause of the freedom we have won, counting myself happy to end my life by such a martyrdom. Do then to-day as you would have done had I been killed yesterday." But the stubborn will of the conquered was met by as stubborn a will in their conquerors. Through the summer and autumn seven thousand men are said to have perished on the gallows or the field. The royal council indeed showed its sense of the danger of a mere policy of resistance by submitting the question of enfranchisement to the Parliament which assembled on the suppression of the revolt, with words which suggested a compromise. " If you desire to enfranchise and

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set at liberty the said serfs," ran the royal message, " by your common assent, as the King has been informed that some of you desire, he will consent to your prayer." But no thoughts of compromise influenced the landowners in their reply. The King's grant and letters, the Parliament answered with perfect truth, were legally* null and void: their serfs were their goods, and the King could not take their goods from them but by their own consent. " And this consent," they ended, " we have never given and never will give, were we all to die in one day."

Section v.—Richard the Second, 1381—1399.

[Authorities.—The " Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti," published by the Master of the Rolls, are our main authority. They form the basis of the St. Albans compilation which bears the name of Walsingham, and from which the Life of Richard by a monk of Evesham is for the most part derived. The same violent Lancastrian sympathy runs through Walsingham and the fifth book of Knyghton's Chronicle. The French authorities, on the other hand, are vehemently on Richard's side. Froissart, who ends at this time, is supplemented by the metrical history of Creton (" A[r]cha?ologia," vol. xx.) and the "Chronique de Ia Traison et Mort de Richart" (English Historical Society), both the works of French authors, and published in France in the time of Henry the Fourth, probably with the aim of arousing French feeling against the House of Lancaster and the war-policy it had revived. The popular feeling in England may be seen in "Political Songs from Edward III. to Richard III." (Rolls Series). The "Foedera" and Rolls of Parliament are indispensable for -this period : its constitutional importance has been ably illustrated bf Mr. Ilallam ("Middle Ages "). William Longland's poem, the "Complaint of Piers the Ploughman (edited by Mr. Skeat for the Early English Text Society), throws a flood of light on the social condition of England at the time; a poem on "The Deposition of Richard IL," which has been published by the Camden Society, is now ascribed to the same author. The best modern work on Richard II. is that of M. Wallon (" Richard II." Paris, 1864).]

Piers the Plough-man

All the darker and sterner aspects of the age which we have been viewing, its social revolt, its moral and religious awakening, the misery of the poor, the protest of the Lollard, are painted with a terrible fidelity in the poem of William Longland. Nothing brings more vividly home to us the social chasm which in the fourteenth century severed the rich from the poor than the contrast between the " Complaint of Piers the Ploughman " and the " Canterbury Tales." The world of wealth and ease and laughter through which the courtly Chaucer moves with eyes downcast as in a pleasant dream is a far-off world of wrong and of ungodliness to the gaunt poet of the poor. Born probably in Shropshire, where he had been put to school and received minor orders as a clerk, " Long Will," as Longland was nicknamed for his tall stature, found his way at an early age to London, and earned a miserable livelihood there by singing "placebos" and "diriges" in the stately funerals of his day. Men took the moody clerk for a

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at the time when he wrote there were seasons of the year during which employment for the floating mass of labour was hard to find. In the long interval between harvest-tide and harvest-tide, work and food were alike scarce in the mediaeval homestead. "I have no penny," says Piers the Ploughman in such a season, in lines which give us the picture of a farm of the day, "pullets for to buy, nor neither geese nor pigs, but two green cheeses, a few curds and cream, and an oaten cake, and two loaves of beans and bran baken for my children. I have no salt bacon, nor no cooked meat collops for to make, but I have parsley and leeks and many cabbage plants, and eke a cow and a calf, and a cart-mare to draw a-field my dung while the drought lasteth, and by this livelihood we must all live till Lammas-tide (August), and by that I hope *to* have harvest in my croft," But it was not till Lammas-tide that high wages and the new corn bade "Hunger go to sleep," and during the long spring and summer the free labourer, and the "waster that will not work but wander about, that will eat no bread but the finest wheat, nor drink but of the best and brownest ale," was a source of social and political danger. "He grieveth him against God and grudgeth against Reason, and then curseth he the King and all his Council after such law to allow labourers to grieve." The terror of the landowners expressed itself in legislation which was a fitting sequel to the Statutes of Labourers. They forbade the child of any tiller of the soil to be

1381 apprenticed in a town. They prayed Richard to ordain "that no bondman or bondwoman shall place their children at sclfool, as has been done, so as to advance their children in the world by their going into the Church." The new colleges which were being founded at the two Universities at this moment closed their gates upon villeins. It was the failure of such futile efforts to effect their aim which drove the energy of the great proprietors into a new direction, and in the end revolutionized the whole agricultural system of the country. Sheep-farming required fewer hands than tillage, and the scarcity and high price of labour tended to throw more and more land into sheep-farms. In the decrease of personal service, as villeinage died away, it became the interest of the lord to diminish the number of tenants on his estate as it had been before his interest to maintain it, and he did this by massing the small allotments together into larger-holdings. By this course of eviction the number of the free-labour class was enormously increased while the area of employment was diminished ; and the social danger from vagabondage and the "sturdy beggar" grew every day greater till it brought about the despotism of the Tudors.

Lollardry

This social danger mingled with the yet more formidable religious peril which sprang from the party violence of the later Lollardry. The { persecution of Courtenay had deprived the religious reform of its

more learned adherents and of the support of the Universities, while Wyclif s death had robbed it of its head at a moment when little had been done save a work of destruction. From that moment Lollardry ceased to be in any sense an organized movement, and crumbled into a general spirit of revolt. All the religious and social discontent of the times floated instinctively to this new centre ; the socialist dreams of the peasantry, the new and keener spirit of personal morality, the hatred of the friars, the jealousy of the great lords towards the prelacy, the fanaticism of the reforming zealot, were blended together in a common hostility to the Church and a common resolve to substitute personal religion for its dogmatic and ecclesiastical system. But it was this want of organization, this looseness and fluidity of the new movement, that made it penetrate through every class of society. Women as well as men became the preachers of the new sect. Lollardry had its own schools, its own books; its pamphlets were passed everywhere from hand to hand; scurrilous ballads which revived the old attacks of " Golias " in the Angevin times upon the wealth and luxury of the clergy were sung at every corner. Nobles, like the Earl of Salisbury, and at a later time Sir John Oldcastle, placed themselves openly at the head of the cause and threw open their gates as a refuge for its missionaries. London in its hatred of the clergy became fiercely Lollard, and defended a Lollard preacher who had ventured to advocate the new doctrines from the pulpit of St. Paul's. One of its mayors, John of Northampton, showed the influence of the new morality by the Puritan spirit in which he dealt with the morals of the city. Compelled to act, as he said, by the remissness of the clergy, who connived for money at every kind of debauchery, he arrested the loose women, cut off their hair, and carted them through the streets as an object of public scorn. But the moral spirit of the new movement, though infinitely its grander side, was less dangerous to the Church than its open repudiation of the older doctrines and systems of Christendom. Out of the floating mass of opinion which bore the name of Lollardry one great faith gradually evolved itself, a faith in the sole authority of the Bible as a source of religious truth. The translation of Wyclif did its work. Scripture, complains a canon of Leicester, " became a vulgar thing, and more open to lay folk and women that knew how to read than it is wont to be to clerks themselves." Consequences which Wyclif had perhaps shrunk from drawing were boldly drawn by his disciples. The Church was declared to have become apostate, its priesthood was denounced as no priesthood, its sacraments as idolatry. It was in vain that the clergy attempted to stifle the new movement by their old weapon of persecution. The jealousy entertained by the baronage and gentry of every pretension of the Church to secular power foiled its efforts to make persecution effective. At the moment of the Peasant Revolt, Courtenay procured the enactment of a statute which commissioned the sheriffs to

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seize all persons convicted before the bishops of preaching heresy. But the statute was repealed in the next session, and the Commons added to the bitterness of the blow by their protest that they considered it "in nowise their interest to be more under the jurisdiction of the prelates or more bound by them than their ancestors had been in times past." Heresy indeed was still a felony by the common law, and if as yet we meet with no instances of the punishment of heretics by the fire it was because the threat of such a death was commonly followed by the recantation of the Lollard. But the restriction of each bishop's jurisdiction within the limits of his own diocese made it almost impossible to arrest the wandering preachers of the new doctrine, and the civil punishment—even if it had been sanctioned by public opinion—seems to have long fallen into desuetude. Experience proved to the prelates that few sheriffs would arrest on the mere warrant of an ecclesiastical officer, and that no royal court would issue the writ "for the burning of a heretic" on a bishop's requisition. But powerless as the efforts of the Church were for purposes of repression, they were effective in rousing the temper of the Lollards into a bitter fanaticism. The Lollard teachers directed their fiercest invectives against the wealth and secularity of the great Churchmen. In a formal petition to Parliament they mingled denunciations of the riches of the clergy with an open profession of disbelief in transubstantiation, priesthood, pilgrimages, and image worship, and a demand, which illustrates the strange medley of opinions which jostled together in the new movement, that war might be declared unchristian, and that trades such as niose of the goldsmith or the armourer, which were contrary to apostolical poverty, might be banished from the realm. They contended (and it is remarkable that a Parliament of the next reign adopted the statement) that from the superfluous revenues of the Church, if once they were applied to purposes of general utility, the King might maintain fifteen earls, fifteen hundred knights, and six thousand squires, besides endowing a hundred hospitals for the relief of the poor.

1395

The French Wars

The distress of the landowners, the general disorganization of the country, in every part of which bands of marauders were openly defying the law, the panic of the Church and of society at large as the projects of the Lollards shaped themselves into more daring and revolutionary forms, added a fresh keenness to the national discontent at the languid and inefficient prosecution of the war. The junction of the French and Spanish fleets had made them masters of the seas; what fragments were left of Guienne lay at their mercy, and the northern frontier of England itself was flung open to France by the alliance of the Scots. The landing of a French force in the Forth roused the whole country to a desperate effort, and a large and well-equipped army of Englishmen penetrated as far as Edinburgh in the vain hope of bringing their enemy to battle. A more terrible blow had been struck in the re-

*&S

duction of Ghent by the French troops, and the loss of the one remaining market for English commerce; while the forces which should have been employed in saving it, and in the protection of the English shores against the threat of invasion, were squandered by John of Gaunt on the Spanish frontier in pursuit of a visionary crown, which he claimed in his wife's right, the daughter of Pedro the Cruel. The enterprise showed that the Duke had now abandoned the hope of directing affairs at home. Robert de Vere and Michael de Ia Pole, the Earl of Suffolk, had stood since **the** suppression of the revolt at the head of the royal councils, and their steady purpose was to drive the Duke of Lancaster from power. But the departure of John of Gaunt only called to the front his brother and his son, the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Derby; while the lukewarm prosecution of the war, the profuse expenditure of the Court, and above all the manifest will of the King to free himself from Parliamentary control, estranged the Lower House. The Parliament impeached Suffolk for corruption, and appointed a commission of regency for a year, of which Gloucester was the leading spirit. The attempt of the young King at the close of the session to reverse these measures was crushed by the appearance of Gloucester and his friends in arms ; in the Merciless Parliament a charge of high treason hurried into exile or to death Suffolk with his supporters, the five judges who had pronounced the commission to be in itself illegal were banished, and four members of the royal household sent to the block. But hardly a y^r had passed when Richard found himself strong enough to break down by a word the government against which he had struggled so vainly. Entering the Council he suddenly asked his uncle to tell him how old he was. " Your Highness," replied Gloucester, " is in your twenty-fourth year." " Then I am old enough to manage my own affairs," said Richard coolly. " I have been longer under guardianship than any ward in my realm. I thank you for your past services, my lords, but I need them no longer."

1386
1388
1389

Richard the Second
1389-1397

For eight years the King wielded the power which thus passed quietly into his hands with singular wisdom and good fortune. On the one hand he carried his peace policy into effect by negotiations with France, which brought about a truce renewed year by year till it was prolonged in 1394 for four years, and this period of rest was lengthened for twenty-five years by a subsequent agreement on his marriage with Isabella, the daughter of Charles the Sixth. On the other he announced his resolve to rule by the advice of his Parliament, submitted to its censure, and consulted it on all matters of importance. In a short campaign he pacified Ireland; and the Lollard troubles which had threatened during his absence died away on his return. But the brilliant abilities which Richard shared with the rest of the Plantagenets were marred by a fitful inconstancy, an insane pride, and a craving for absolute power. His **uncle, the** Duke of **Gloucester** remained **at** the head of **the** opposition;

SEC. V. RICHARD THE SECOND 1381 TO 1399

while the King had secured the friendship of John of Gaunt, and of his son Henry, Earl of Derby. The readiness with which Richard seized on an opportunity of provoking a contest shows the bitterness with which during the long years that had passed since the flight of Suffolk he had brooded over his projects of vengeance. The Duke bf Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick were arrested on a charge of conspiracy. A Parliament packed with royal partizans was used to crush Richard's opponents. The pardons granted nine years before were recalled ; the commission of regency declared to have been illegal, and its promoters guilty of treason. The blow was ruthlessly followed up. The Duke was saved from a trial by a sudden death in his prison at Calais ; while his chief supporter, Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was impeached and banished, and the nobles of his party condemned to death and imprisonment. The measures introduced into the Parliament of the following year showed that besides his projects of revenge Richard's designs had widened into a definite plan of absolute government. It declared null the proceedings of the Parliament of 1388. He was freed from Parliamentary control by the grant to him of a subsidy upon wool and leather for the term of his life. His next step got rid of Parliament itself. A committee of twelve peers and six commoners was appointed in Parliament, with power to continue their sittings after its dissolution and to "examine and determine all matters and subjects which had been moved in the presence of the King, with all the dependences of those not determined." The aim of Richard was to supersede by means of this permanent commission the body from which it originated: he at once employed it to determine causes and carry out his will, and forced from every tenant of the Crown an oath to recognize the validity of its acts and to oppose any attempts to alter or revoke them. With such an engine at his command the King was absolute, and with the appearance of absolutism the temper of his reign suddenly changed. A system of forced loans, the sale of charters of pardon to Gloucester's adherents, the outlawry of seven counties at once on the plea that they had supported his enemies and must purchase pardon, a reckless interference with the course of justice, roused into new life the social and political discontent which was threatening the very existence of the Crown.

1397

The Lancastrian Revolution

By his good government and by his evil government alike, Richard had succeeded in alienating every class of his subjects. He had estranged the nobles by his peace policy, the landowners by his refusal to sanction the insane measures of repression they directed against the labourer, the merchant class "by his illegal exactions, and the Church by his want of zeal against the Lollards. Richard himself had no sympathy with the Lollards, and the new sect as a social danger was held firmly at bay. But the royal officers showed little «sal in aiding the bishops to seize or punish the heretical teachers, and

Loilardry found favour in the very precincts of the Court; it was through the patronage of Richard's first queen, Anne of Bohemia, that the tracts and Bible of the Reformer had been introduced into her native land, to give rise to the remarkable movement which found its earliest leaders in John Huss and Jerome of Prague. Richard stood almost alone in fact in his realm, but even this accumulated mass of hatred might have failed to crush him had not an act of jealousy and tyranny placed an able and unscrupulous leader at the head of the national discontent. Henry, Earl of Derby and Duke of Hereford, the eldest son of John of Gaunt, though he had taken part against his royal cousin in the earlier troubles of his reign, had loyally supported him in his recent measures against Gloucester. No sooner, however, were these measures successful than Richard turned his new power against the more dangerous House of Lancaster, and availing himself of a quarrel between the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, in which each party bandied accusations of treason against the other, banished both from the realm. Banishment was soon followed by the annulling of leave which had been given to Henry to receive his inheritance on John of Gaunt's death, and the King himself seized the Lancastrian estates. At the moment when he had thus driven his cousin to despair, Richard crossed into Ireland to complete the work of conquest and organization which he had begun there ; and Archbishop Arundel, an exile like himself, urged the Duke to take advantage of the King's absence for the recovery of his rights. Eluding the vigilance of the French Court, at which he had taken shelter, Henry landed with a handful of men on the coast of Yorkshire, where he was at once joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the heads of the great houses of the Percies and the Nevilles ; and, with an army which grew as he advanced, entered triumphantly into London. The Duke of York, whom the King had left regent, submitted, and his forces joined those of Henry; and when Richard landed at Milford Haven he found the kingdom lost. His own army dispersed as it landed, and the deserted King fled in disguise to North Wales, to find a second force which the Earl of Salisbury had gathered for his support already disbanded. Invited to a conference with the Duke of Lancaster at Flint, he saw himself surrounded by the rebel forces. " I am betrayed," he cried, as the view of his enemies burst on him from the hill; " there are pennons and banners in the valley." But it was too late for retreat. Richard was seized and brought before his cousin. " I am come before my time," said Lancaster, " but I will show you the reason. Your people, my lord, complain that for the space of twenty years you have ruled them harshly : however, if it please God, I will help you to rule them better." " Fair cousin," replied the King, " since it pleases you, it pleases me well." But Henry's designs went far beyond a share **in the government** of **the** realm. The Parliament which **assembled in**

SEC. V. RICHARD THE SECOND 1381 TO 1300

Westminster Hall received with shouts of applause a formal paper in which Richard resigned the crown as one incapable of reigning and worthy for his great demerits to be deposed. The resignation was confirmed by a solemn Act of Deposition. The coronation oath was read, and a long impeachment, which stated the breach of the promises made in it, was followed by a solemn vote of both Houses which removed Richard from the state and authority of King. According to the strict rules of hereditary descent as construed by the feudal lawyers, by an assumed analogy with the descent of ordinary estates, the crown would now have passed to a house which had at an earlier period played a leading part in the revolutions of the Edwards. The great grandson of the Mortimer who brought about the deposition of Edward the Second had married the daughter and heiress of Lionel of Clarence, the third son of Edward the Third. The childlessness of Richard and the death of Edward's second son without issue placed Edmund, his grandson by this marriage, first among the claimants of the crown; but he was a child of six years old, the strict rule of hereditary descent had never received any formal recognition in the case of the crown, and precedent had established the right of Parliament to choose in such a case a successor among any other members of the Royal House. Only one such successor was in fact possible. Rising from his seat and crossing himself, Henry of Lancaster solemnly challenged the crown " as that I am descended by right line of blood coming from the good lord King Henry the Third, a^d through that right that God of His grace hath sent me with help of my kin and of my friends to recover it: the which realm was in point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of good laws." Whatever defects such a claim might present were more than covered by the solemn recognition of Parliament. The two Archbishops, taking the new sovereign by the hand, seated him upon the throne, and Henry in emphatic words ratified the compact between himself and his people. " Sirs," he said to the prelates, lords, knights, and burgesses gathered round him, " I thank God and you, spiritual and temporal, and all estates of the land: and do you to wit it is not my will that any man think that by way of conquest I would disinherit any of his heritage, franchises, or other rights that he ought to have, nor put him out of the good that he has and has had by the good laws and customs of the realm, except those persons that have been against the good purpose and the common profit of the realm."

Section VI.—The House of Lancaster, 1399—1422.

[Authorities.—For Henry IV. the " Annales Henrici Quarti" and Walsingham, as before. For his successor, the *' Acta Henrici Quinti" by Titus Livius, a chaplain in the royal army (English Historical Society); a life by Elrnham, Prior of Lenton, simoler in style but identical in arrangement and facts with

the former work ; a biography by Robert Redman ; a metrical Chronicle by Elmham (published in Rolls Series in " Memorials of Henry V."); and the meagre chronicles of Hardyng and Otterbourne. Monstrelet is the most important French authority for this period ; for the Norman campaigns see M. Puiseux's "Siege de Rouen" (Caen, 1867). Lord Brougham has given a vigorous and, in a constitutional point of view, valuable sketch of this period in his " History of England under the House of Lancaster."]

The Suppression of Lollardry

Raised to the throne by a Parliamentary revolution and resting its claims on a Parliamentary title, the House of Lancaster was precluded by its very position from any resumption of the late struggle for independence on the part of the Crown which had culminated in the bold effort of Richard the Second. During no period of our early history were the powers of the two Houses so frankly recognized. The tone of Henry the Fourth till the very close of his reign is that of humble compliance with the prayers of the Parliament, and even his imperious successor shrank almost with timidity from any conflict with it. But the Crown had been bought by other pledges less noble than that of constitutional rule. The support of the nobles had been partly won by the hope of a renewal of the fatal war with France. The support of the Church had been purchased by the more terrible promise of persecution. The last pledge was speedily redeemed. In the first Convocation of his reign Henry declared himself the protector of the Church and ordered the prelates to take measures for the suppression of heresy and of the wandering preachers. His declaration was but a prelude to the Statute oj Heresy which was passed at the opening of 14.01. By the provisions of this infamous Act the hindrances which had till now neutralized the efforts of the bishops were taken away. Not only were they permitted to arrest all preachers of heresy, all schoolmasters infected with heretical teaching, all owners and writers of heretical books, and to imprison them, even if they recanted, at the King's pleasure,but a refusal to abjure or a relapse after abjuration enabled them to hand over the heretic to the civil officers, and by these—so ran the first legal enactment of religious bloodshed which denied our Statute-book—he was to be burned on a high place before the people. The statute was hardly passed when William Sautre, a parish priest at Lynn, became its first victim. Nine years later a layman, John Badby, was committed to the flames in the presence of the Prince of Wales for a denial of transubstantiation. The groans of the sufferer were taken for a recantation, and the Prince ordered the fire to be plucked away ; but the offer of life and of a pension failed to break the spirit of the Lollard, and he was hurled back to his doom. The enmity of France, and the fierce resentment of the Reformers, added danger to the incessant revolts which threatened the throne of Henry. The mere maintenance of his power through the troubled years of his reign is the best proof of the King's ability. A conspiracy of Richard's kinsmen, the Earls of Huntingdon and Kent, was suppressed, and was at once followed by

SEC. VI. THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER 1399 TO 1488

Richard's death in prison. The Percies broke out in rebellion, and Hotspur, the son of the Earl of Northumberland, leagued himself with the Scots and with the insurgents of Wales. He was defeated and slain in an obstinate battle near Shrewsbury ; but two years later his father rose in a fresh insurrection, and though the seizure and execution of his fellow-conspirator Scrope, the Archbishop of York, drove Northumberland over the border, he remained till his death in a later inroad a peril to the throne. Encouraged meanwhile by the

1400 weakness of England, "Wales, so long tranquil, shook off the yoke of her conquerors, and the whole country rose at the call of Owen Glyndwr or Glendower, a descendant of its native princes. Owen left the invaders, as of old, to contend with famine and the mountain storms ; but they had no sooner retired than he sallied out from his inaccessible fastnesses to win victories which were followed by the adhesion of all North Wales and great part of the South to his cause,

1407 while a force of French auxiliaries was despatched by Charles of France to his aid. It was only the restoration of peace in England which enabled Henry to roll back the tide of Glyndwr's success. By slow and deliberate campaigns continued through four years the Prince of Wales wrested from him the South ; his subjects in the North, discouraged by successive defeats, gradually fell away from his standard; and the repulse of a bold descent upon Shropshire drove Owen at last to take refuge among the mountains of Snowdon,

1410 where he seems to have maintained the contest, single-handed, till his death. With the close of the Welsh rising the Lancastrian throne felt itself secure from without, but the danger from the Lollards remained as great as ever within. The new statute and its terrible penalties were boldly defied. The death of the Earl of Salisbury in the first of the revolts against Henry, though his gory head was welcomed into London by a procession of abbots and bishops who went out singing psalms of thanksgiving to meet it, only transferred the leadership of the party to one of the foremost warriors of the time. Sir John Oldcastle, whose marriage raised him to the title of Lord Cobham, threw open his castle of Cowling to the Lollards as their head-quarters, sheltered their preachers, and set the prohibitions and sentences of the bishops at defiance. When Henry the Fourth died in 1413

Death of Henry If. 1413 worn out with the troubles of his reign, his successor was forced to deal with this formidable question. The bishops demanded that Cobham should be brought to justice, and though the King pleaded for delay in the case of one who was so close a friend, his open defiance at last forced him to act. A body of royal troops arrested Lord Cobham and carried him to the Tower. His escape was the signal for a vast revolt. A secret order summoned the Lollards to assemble in St. Giles's fields outside London. We gather, if not the real aims of the rising, at least the terror that it caused, from Henry's statement that

its purpose was " to destroy himself, his brothers, and several of the spiritual and temporal lords;" but the vigilance of the young King prevented the junction of the Lollards of London with their friends in the country, and those who appeared at the place of meeting were dispersed by the royal forces. On the failure of the rising the law was rendered more rigorous. Magistrates were directed to arrest all Lollards and hand them over to the bishops ; a conviction of heresy was made to entail forfeiture of blood and of estate ; and thirty-nine prominent Lollards were brought to execution. Cobham escaped, and for four years longer strove to rouse revolt after revolt. He was at last captured on the Welsh border and burned as a heretic.

1418 Agrin-coort

With the death of Oldcastle the political activity of Lollardry came suddenly to an end, while the steady persecution of the bishops, if it failed to extinguish it as a religious movement, succeeded in destroying the vigour and energy which it had shown at the outset of its career. But the House of Lancaster had, as yet, only partially accomplished the aims with which it mounted the throne. In the eyes of the nobles, one of Richard's crimes had been his policy of peace, and the aid which they gave to the revolution sprang partly from their hope of a renewal of the war. The energy of the war-party was seconded by the temper of the nation at large, already forgetful of the sufferings of the past struggle and longing only to wipe out its shame. The internal calamities of France offered at this moment a tempting opportunity for aggression. Its King, Charles the Sixth, was a maniac, while its* princes and nobles were divided into two great parties, the one headed by the Duke of Burgundy and bearing his name, the other by the Duke of Orleans and bearing the title of Armagnacs. The struggle had been jealously watched by Henry the Fourth, but his attempt to feed it by pushing an English force into France at once united the combatants. Their strife, however, recommenced more bitterly than ever when the claim of the I'rench crown by Henry the Fifth on his accession declared his purpose of renewing the war. No claim could have been more utterly baseless, for the Parliamentary title by which the House of Lancaster held England could give it no right over France, and the strict law of hereditary succession which Edward asserted could be pleaded, if pleaded at all, only by the House of Mortimer. Not only the claim, indeed, but the very nature of the war itself was wholly different from that of Edward the Third. Edward had been forced into the struggle against his will by the ceaseless attacks of France, and his claim of the crown was a mere afterthought to secure the alliance of Flanders. The war of Henry, on the other hand, though in form a renewal of the earlier struggle on the expiration of the truce made by Richard the Second, was in fact a wanton aggression on the part of a nation tempted by the helplessness of its opponent and galled by the memory of former defeat. Its one excuse

THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER 1399 TO 1428

indeed lay in the attacks which France for the past fifteen years had directed against the Lancastrian throne, its encouragement of every enemy without and of every traitor within. In the summer of 1415 the King sailed for the Norman coast, and his first exploit was the capture of Harfleur. Dysentery made havoc in his ranks during the siege, and it was with a mere handful of men that he resolved to insult the enemy by a daring march, like that of Edward, upon Calais. The discord, however, on which he probably reckoned for security, vanished before the actual appearance of the invaders in the heart of France ; and when his weary and half-starved force succeeded in crossing the Somme, it found sixty thousand Frenchmen encamped on the field of Agincourt right across its line of march. Their position, flanked on either side by woods, but with a front so narrow that the dense masses were drawn up thirty men deep, was strong for purposes of defence but ill suited for attack ; and the French leaders, warned by the experience of Cre*cy and Poitiers, resolved to await the English advance. Henry, on the other hand, had no choice between attack and unconditional surrender. His troops were starving, and the way to Calais lay across the French army. But the King's courage rose with the peril. A knight in his train wished that the thousands of stout warriors lying idle that night in England had been standing in his ranks. Henry answered with a burst of scorn. " I would not have a single man more," he replied. [c] If God give us the victory, it will be plain that we owe it to His grace. If not, the fewer we are, the less[f] loss for England." Starving and sick as were the handful of men whom he led, they shared the spirit of their leader. As the chill rainy night passed away, his archers bared their arms and breasts to give fair play to " the crooked stick and the grey goose wing," but for which—as the rime ran—" England were but a fling," and with a great shout sprang forward to the attack. The sight of their advance roused the fiery pride of the French ; the wise resolve of their leaders was forgotten, and the dense mass of men-at-arms plunged heavily forward through miry ground on the English front. But at the first sign of movement Henry had halted his line, and fixing in the ground the sharpened stakes with which each man was furnished, his archers poured their fatal arrow flights into the hostile ranks. The carnage was terrible, but the desperate charges of the French knighthood at last drove the English archers to the neighbouring woods, from which they were still able to pour their shot into the enemy's flanks, while Henry, with the men-at-arms around him, flung himself on the French line. In the terrible struggle which followed the King bore off the palm of bravery: he was felled once by a blow from a French mace, and the crown on his helmet was cleft by the sword of the Duke of Alen^on ; but the enemy was at last broken, and the defeat of the main body of the French was followed at once by the rout of their reserve. The triumph **was**

Agincourt Oct. 25, 1415

more complete, as the odds were even greater, than at Cre'cy. Eleven thousand Frenchmen lay dead on the field, and more than a hundred princes and great lords were among the fallen.

The immediate result of the battle of Agincourt was small, for the English army was too exhausted for pursuit, and it made its way to Calais only to return to England. The war was limited to a contest for the command of the Channel, till the increasing bitterness of the strife between the Burgundians and Armagnacs encouraged Henry to resume his attempt to recover Normandy. Whatever may have been his aim in this enterprise—whether it were, as has been suggested, to provide a refuge for his house, should its power be broken in England, or simply to acquire a command of the seas—the patience and skill with which his object was accomplished raise him high in the rank of military leaders. Disembarking with an army of 40,000 men. near the mouth of the Touque, he stormed Caen, received the surrender of Bayeux, reduced Alengon and Falaise, and detaching his brother the Duke of Gloucester to occupy the Cotentin, made himself master of Avranches and Domfront. With Lower Normandy wholly in his hands, he advanced upon Evreux, captured Louviers, and, seizing Pont-de-1'Arche, threw his troops across the Seine. The end of these masterly movements was now revealed. Rouen was at this time the largest and wealthiest of the towns of France ; its walls were defended by a powerful artillery; Alan Blanchard, a brave and resolute patriot, infused the fire of his own temper into the vast population ; and the garrison, already strong, was backed by fifteen thousand citizens in arms. But the genius of Henry was more than equal to the difficulties with which he had to deal. He had secured himself from an attack on his rear by the reduction of Lower Normandy, his earlier occupation of Harfleur severed the town from the sea, and his conquest of Pont-de-FArche cut it off from relief on the side of Paris. Slowly but steadily the King drew his lines of investment round the doomed city ; a flotilla was brought up from Harfleur, a bridge of boats thrown over the Seine above the town, the deep trenches of the besiegers protected by posts, and the desperate sallies of the garrison stubbornly beaten back. For six months Rouen held resolutely out, but famine told fast on the vast throng of country folk who had taken refuge within its walls. Twelve thousand of these were at last thrust out of the city gates, but the cold policy of the conqueror refused them passage, and they perished between the trenches and the walls. In the hour of their agony women gave birth to infants, but even the new-born babes which were drawn up in baskets to receive baptism were lowered again to die on their mothers' breasts. It was little better within the town itself. As winter drew on one-half of the population wasted away. " War," said the terrible King, " has three handmaidens ever waiting

The Conquest of Normandy

1417

1418

Sue. VI.

THE HOUSE OK LANCASTER 1399 TO 1422

on her, Fire, Blood, and Famine, and I have chosen the meekest maid of the three." But his demand of unconditional surrender nerved the citizens to a resolve of despair ; they determined to fire the city and fling themselves in a mass on the English lines; and Henry, fearful lest his prize should escape him at the last, was driven to offer terms. Those who rejected a foreign yoke were suffered to leave the city, but his vengeance reserved its victim in Alan Blanchard, and the brave patriot was at Henry's orders put to death in cold blood.

The Conquest of France

A few sieges completed the reduction of Normandy. The King's designs were still limited to the acquisition of that province; and pausing in his career of conquest, he strove to win its loyalty by a remission of taxation and a redress of grievances, and to seal its possession by a formal peace with the French Crown. The conferences, however, which were held for this purpose at Pontoise failed through the temporary reconciliation of the French factions, while the length and expense of the war began to rouse remonstrance and

1419 discontent at home. The King's difficulties were at their height when the assassination of the Duke of Burgundy at Montereau, in the very presence of the Dauphin with whom he had come to hold conference, rekindled the fires of civil strife. The whole Burgundian party, with the new Duke, Philip the Good, at its head, flung itself in a wild thirst for revenge into Henry's hands. The mad King, Charles the Sixth, with his Queen and daughters, were in Philip's power; and in his resolve to exclude the Dauphin from the throne the Duke stooped to buy English aid by giving Catharine, the eldest of the French princesses, in marriage to Henry, by conferring on him the Regency during the life of Charles, and by recognizing his succession to

1420 the crown at that sovereign's death. The treaty was solemnly ratified by Charles himself in a conference at Troyes, and Henry, who in his new capacity of Regent had undertaken to conquer in the name of his father-in-law the territory held by the Dauphin, reduced the towns of the Upper Seine and entered Paris in triumph side by side with the King. The States-General of the realm were solemnly convened to the capital ; and strange as the provisions of the Treaty of Troyes must have seemed, they were confirmed without a murmur, and Henry was formally recognized as the future sovereign of France. A defeat of his brother Clarence in Anjou called him back to the war. His reappearance in the field was marked by the capture of Dreux, and a repulse before Orleans was redeemed by his success in the long and obstinate siege of Meaux. At no time had the fortunes of

1422 Henry reached a higher pitch than at the moment when he felt the touch of death. But the rapidity of his disease baffled the skill of physicians, and with a strangely characteristic regret that he had not lived to achieve the conquest of Jerusalem, the great conqueror passed away.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NE W MONARCH Y

1422-1540.

Section I.—Joan of Arc, 1422-14-51.

[Authorities.—The " Wars of the English in France," and Blondel's work " De Reductione Normanniae," both published by the Master of the Rolls, give ample information on the military side of this period. Monstrelet remains our chief source of knowledge on the French side. The " Proces de Jeanne d'Arc" (published by the Societe de l'Histoire de France) is the only real authority for her history. For English affairs we are reduced to the meagre accounts of William of Worcester, of the Continuator of the Cropland Chronicle, and of Fabyan. Fabyan, a London alderman with a strong bias in favour of the House of Lancaster, is useful for London only. The Continuator is one of the best of his class, and though connected with the House of York, the date of his work, which appeared soon after Bosworth Field, makes him fairly impartial; but he is sketchy and deficient in actual facts. The more copious narrative of Polydore Vergil is far superior to these in literary ability, but of later date and strongly Lancastrian in tone. The Rolls of Parliament and Rymer's " Fcedera" are of high value. Among modern writers M. Michelet, in his " Hfttory of France " (vol. v.), has given a portrait of the Maid of Orleans at once exact and full of a tender poetry. Lord Brougham (" England under the House of Lancaster") is still useful on constitutional points.]

[Dr. Stubbs' "Constitutional History," vol. iii., published since these pages were written, illustrates this period.—*Ed.]*

AT the moment when death so suddenly stayed his course the greatness of Henry the Fifth had reached its highest point. He had won the Church by his orthodoxy, the nobles by his warlike prowess, the whole people by his revival of the glories of Cre*cj and Poitiers. In France his cool policy had transformed him from a foreign conqueror into a legal heir to the crown ; his title of Regent and of successor to the throne rested on the formal recognition of the estates of the realm ; and his progress to the very moment of his death promised a speedy mastery of the whole country.

Disfranchisement of the Com* mom

But the glory of Agincourt and the genius of Henry the Fifth hardly veiled at the close of his reign the weakness and humiliation of the Crown when the succession passed to his infant son. The long minority of Henry the Sixth, who was a boy of nine months old at his father's death, as well as the personal weakness which marked his after-rule, left the House of Lancaster at the mercy of the Parliament. But the Parliament was fast dying down into a mere representation

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JOAN OF ARC 1422 TO 1451

of the baronage and the great landowners. The Commons indeed retained the right of granting and controlling subsidies, of joining in all statutory enactments, and of impeaching ministers. But the Lower House was ceasing to be a real representative of the "Commons" whose name it bore. The borough franchise was suffering from the general tendency to restriction and privilege which in the bulk of towns was soon to reduce it to a mere mockery. Up to this time all freemen settling in a borough and paying their dues to it became by the mere settlement its burgesses; but from the reign of Henry the Sixth this largeness of borough life was roughly curtailed. The trade companies which vindicated civic freedom from the tyranny of the older merchant gilds themselves tended to become a narrow and exclusive oligarchy. Most of the boroughs had by this time acquired civic property, and it was with the aim of securing their own enjoyment of this against any share of it by "strangers" that the existing burgesses, for the most part, procured charters of incorporation from the Crown, which turned them into a close body, and excluded from their number all who were not burgesses by birth or who failed henceforth to purchase their right of entrance by a long apprenticeship. In addition to this narrowing of the burgess-body, the internal government of the boroughs had almost universally passed, since the failure of the Communal movement in the thirteenth century, from the free gathering of the citizens in borough-mote into the hands of Common Councils, either self-elected or elected by the wealthier burgesses; and it was to these councils, or to a yet more restricted number of "select men "'belonging to them, that clauses in the new charters generally confined the right of choosing their representatives in Parliament. It was with this restriction that the long process of degradation began which ended in reducing the representation of our boroughs to a mere mockery. Great nobles, neighbouring landowners, the Crown itself seized on the boroughs as their prey, and dictated the choice of their representatives. Corruption did whatever force failed to do; and from the Wars of the Roses to the days of Pitt the voice of the people had to be looked for, not in the members for the towns, but in the knights of the counties. The restriction of the county franchise on the other hand was the direct work of the Parliament itself. Economic changes were fast widening the franchise in the counties. The number of freeholders increased with the subdivision of estates and the social changes which we have already examined, while the increase of independence was marked by the "riots and divisions between the gentlemen and other people," which the statesmen of the day attributed to the excessive number of the voters. In many counties the power of the great lords undoubtedly enabled them to control elections through the number of their retainers. In Cade's revolt the Kentishmen complained that "the people of the shire are

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Restriction of County Franchise

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not allowed to have their free elections in the choosing of knights for the shire, but letters have been sent from divers estates to the great nobles of the county, the which enforceth their tenants and other people by force to choose other persons than the common will is." It was primarily to check this abuse that a statute of the reign of Henry the Sixth restricted in 1430 the right of voting in shires to freeholders holding land worth forty shillings (a sum equal in our money to at least twenty pounds) a year, and representing a far higher proportional income at the present time. This "great disfranchising statute/' as it has been justly termed, was aimed, in its own words, against voters "of no value, whereof every of them pretended to have a voice equivalent with the more worthy knights and esquires dwelling within the same counties." But in actual working the statute was interpreted in a far more destructive fashion than its words were intended to convey. Up to this time all suitors who found themselves at the Sheriff's Court had voted without question for the Knight of the Shire, but by the new statute the great bulk of the existing voters, every leaseholder and every copyholder, found themselves implicitly deprived of their franchise. A later statute, which seems, however, to have had no practical effect, showed the aristocratic temper, as well as the social changes against which it struggled, in its requirement that every Knight of the Shire should be " a gentleman born."

England under the Nobles

The death of Henry the Fifth revealed in its bare reality the secret of power. The whole of the royal authority vested without a struggle in a council composed of great lords and Churchmen representing the baronage, at whose head stood Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, a legitimated son of John of Gaunt by his mistress Catharine Swynford. In the presence of Lollardry and socialism, the Church had at this time ceased to be a great political power and sunk into a mere section of the landed aristocracy. Its one aim was to preserve its enormous wealth, which was threatened at once by the hatred of the heretics and by the greed of the nobles. Lollardry still lived, in spite of the steady persecution, as a spirit of religious and moral revolt; and nine years after the young King's accession we find the Duke of Gloucester traversing England with men-at-arms for the purpose of repressing its risings and hindering the circulation of its invectives against the clergy. The violence and anarchy which had always clung like a taint to the baronage had received a new impulse from the war with France. Long before the struggle was over it had done its fatal work on the mood of the English noble. His aim had become little more than a lust for gold, a longing after plunder, after the pillage of farms, the sack of cities, the ransom of captives. So intense was the greed of gain that only a threat of death could keep the fighting men in their ranks, and the results of victory after victory were lost by the anxiety of the conquerors to deposit their plunder and captives safely

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at home. The moment the firm hand of great leaders such as Henry the Fifth or Bedford was removed, the war died down into mere massacre and brigandage. " If God had been a captain now-a-days," exclaimed a French general, " He would have turned marauder." The, nobles were as lawless and dissolute at home as they were greedy and cruel abroad. The Parliaments, which became mere sittings of their retainers and partizans, were like armed camps to which the great lords came with small armies at their backs. That of 1426 received its name of the " Club Parliament/' from the fact that when arms were prohibited the retainers of the barons appeared with clubs on their shoulders. When clubs were forbidden, they hid stones and balls of lead in their clothes. The dissoluteness against which Lollardry had raised its great moral protest reigned now without a check. A gleam of intellectual light was breaking on the darkness of the time, but only to reveal its hideous combination of mental energy with moral worthlessness. The Duke of Gloucester, whose love of letters was shown in the noble library he collected, was the most selfish and profligate prince of his day. The Earl of Worcester, a patron of Caxton, and one of the earliest scholars of the Revival of Letters, earned his title of "butcher" by the cruelty which raised him to a pre-eminence of infamy among the bloodstained leaders of the Wars of the Roses. All spiritual life seemed to have been trodden out in the ruin of the Lollards. Never had English literature fallen so low. A few tedious moralists alone preserved the name of poetry. History died down into the barest and most worthless fragments and annals, ^ven the religious enthusiasm of the people seemed to have spent itself, or to have been crushed out by the bishops' courts. The one belief of the time was in sorcery and magic. Eleanor Cobham, the wife of the Duke of Gloucester, was convicted of having practised magic against the King's life with a priest, and condemned to do penance in the streets of London. The mist which wrapped the battle-field of Barnet was attributed to the incantations of Friar Bungay. The one pure figure which rises out of the greed, the lust, the selfishness, and unbelief of the time, the figure of Joan of Arc, was regarded by the doctors and priests who judged her as that of a sorceress.

Joan of Arc

Jeanne d'Arc was the child of a labourer of Domre*my, a little village in the neighbourhood of Vaucouleurs on the borders of Lorraine and Champagne. Just without the cottage where she was born began the great woods of the Vosges, where the children of Domremy drank in poetry and legend from fairy ring and haunted well, hung their flower garlands on the sacred trees, and sang songs to the "good people" who might not drink of the fountain because of their sins. Jeanne loved the forest; its birds and beasts came lovingly to her at her childish call. But at home men saw nothing in her but "a good girl, simple and pleasant in her ways," spinning and sewing by her

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mother's side while the other girls went to the fields, tender to the poor and sick, fond of church, and listening to the church-bell with a dreamy passion of delight which never left her. The quiet life was soon broken by the storm of war as it at last came home to Domr£my. The death of King Charles, which followed hard on that of Henry the Fifth, brought little change. The Dauphin at once proclaimed himself Charles the Seventh of France: but Henry the Sixth was owned as Sovereign over the whole of the territory which Charles had actually ruled; and the incursions which the partizans of Charles, now reinforced by Lombard soldiers from the Milanese and by four thousand Scots under the Earl of Douglas, made with fresh vigour across the Loire were easily repulsed by Duke John of Bedford, the late King's brother, who had been named in his will Regent of France. In genius for war as in political capacity John was hardly inferior to Henry himself. Drawing closer by marriage and patient diplomacy his alliances with the Dukes of Burgundy and Britanny, he completed the conquest of Northern France, secured his communications with Normandy by the capture of Meulan, made himself master of the line of the Yonne by a victory near Auxerre, and pushed forward into the country near Macon. It was to arrest his progress that the Constable of Buchan advanced boldly from the Loire to the very borders of Normandy and attacked the English army at Verneuil. But a repulse hardly less disastrous than that of Agincourt left a third of the French knighthood on the field ; and the Regent was preparing to cross the Loire when he was hindered by the intrigues of his brother the Duke of Gloucester. The nomination of Gloucester to the Regency in England by the will of the late King had been set aside by the Council, and sick of the powerless Protectorate with which they had invested him, the Duke sought a new opening for his restless ambition in the Netherlands, where he supported the claims of Jacqueline, the Countess in her own right of Holland and Hainault, whom he had married on her divorce from the Duke of Brabant. His enterprise roused the jealousy of the Duke of Burgundy, who regarded himself as heir to the Duke of Brabant, and the efforts of Bedford were paralyzed by the withdrawal of his Burgundian allies as they marched northward to combat his brother. Though Gloucester soon returned to England, the ruinous struggle went on for three years, during which Bedford was forced to remain simply on the defensive, till the cessation of war again restored to him the aid of Burgundy. Strife at home between Gloucester and Beaufort had been even more fatal in diverting the supplies of men and money needed for the war in France, but with temporary quiet in England and peace in Holland Bedford was once more able to push forward to the conquest of the South. The delay, however, brought little help to France, and Charles saw Orleans invested by ten thousand of the allies without power to march to its relief. The war had long

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since reached the borders of Lorraine. The north of France, indeed, was being fast reduced to a desert. The husbandmen fled for refuge to the towns, till these in fear of famine shut their gates against them. Then in their despair they threw themselves into the woods and became brigands in their turn. So terrible was the devastation, that two hostile bodies of troops at one time failed even to find one another in the desolate Beauce. The towns were in hardly better case, for misery and disease killed a hundred thousand people in Paris alone. As the outcasts and wounded passed by Domre'my the young peasant girl gave them her bed and nursed them in their sickness. Her whole nature summed itself up in one absorbing passion : she " had pity," to use the phrase for ever on her lip, " on the fair realm of France." As her passion grew she recalled old prophecies that a maid from the Lorraine border should save the land ; she saw visions; St. Michael appeared to her in a flood of blinding light, and bade her go to the help of the King and restore to him his realm. " Messire," answered the girl, " I am but a poor maiden ; I know not how to ride to the wars, or to lead men-at-arms." The archangel returned to give her courage, and to tell her of "the pity" that there was in heaven for the fair realm of France. The girl wept, and longed that the angels who appeared to her would carry her away, but her mission was clear. It was in vain that her father when he heard her purpose swore to drown her ere she should goto the field with men-at-arms. It was in vain that the priest, the wise people of the village, the captain of Vaucouleurs, doubted and refused to aid her. " I must go to the King," persisted the peasant girl, " even if I wear my limbs to the very knees." " I had far rather rest and spin by my mother's side," she pleaded with a touching pathos, " for this is no work of my choosing, but I must go and do it, for my Lord wills it/' "And who," they asked, "is your Lord?" " He is God." Words such as these touched the rough captain at last: he took Jeanne by the hand and swore to lead her to the King. When she reached Chinon she found hesitation and doubt. The theologians proved from their books that they ought not to believe her. *il* There is more in God's book than in yours," Jeanne answered simply. At last Charles received her in the midst of a throng of nobles and soldiers. " Gentle Dauphin," said the girl, " my name is Jeanne the Maid. The Heavenly King sends me to tell you that you shall be anointed and crowned in the town of Rheims, and you shall be lieutenant of the Heavenly King who is the King of France."

The Relief of Orleans

Orleans had already been driven by famine to offers of surrender when Jeanne appeared in the French Court. Charles had done nothing for its aid but shut himself up at Chinon and weep helplessly. The long series of English victories had in fact so demoralized the French soldiery that a mere detachment of archers under Sir John Fastolfe had repulsed an army, in what was called the " Battle

of the Herrings," and conducted the convoy of provisions to which it owed its name in triumph into the camp before Orleans. Only three thousand Englishmen remained there in the trenches after a new withdrawal of their Burgundian allies, but though the town swarmed with men-at-arms not a single sally had been ventured upon during the six months' siege. The success however of the handful of English besiegers depended wholly on the spell of terror which they had cast over France, and the appearance of Jeanne at once broke the spell. The girl was in her eighteenth year, tall, finely formed, with all the vigour and activity of her peasant rearing, able to stay from dawn to nightfall on horseback without meat or drink. As she mounted her charger, clad in white armour from head to foot, with the great white banner studded with fleur-de-lys waving over her head, she seemed " a thing wholly divine, whether to see or hear." The ten thousand men-at-arms who followed her from Blois, rough plunderers whose only prayer was that of La Hire, " Sire Dieu, 1 pray you to do for La Hire what La Hire would do for you, were you captain-at-arms and he God," left off their oaths and foul living at her word and gathered round the altars on their march. Her shrewd peasant humour helped her to manage the wild soldiery, and her followers laughed over their camp-fires at the old warrior who had been so puzzled by her prohibition of oaths that she suffered him still to swear by his baton. In the midst of her enthusiasm her good sense never left her. The people crowded r^nind her as she rode along, praying her to work miracles, and bringing crosses and chaplets to be blest by her touch. " Touch them yourself," she said to an old Dame Margaret; "your touch will be just as good as mine." But her faith in her mission remained as firm as ever. " The Maid prays and requires you," she wrote to Bedford, " to work no more distraction in France, but to come in her company to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the Turk." " I bring 1429
you," she told Dunois when he sallied out of Orleans to meet her, "the best aid ever sent to any one, the aid of the King of Heaven." The besiegers looked on overawed as she entered Orleans, and, riding round the walls, bade the people look fearlessly on the dreaded forts which surrounded them. Her enthusiasm drove the hesitating generals to engage the handful of besiegers, and the enormous disproportion of forces at once made itself felt. Fort after fort was taken, till only the strongest remained, and then the council of war resolved to adjourn the attack. "You have taken your counsel," replied Jeanne, "and I take mine." Placing herself at the head of the men-at-arms, she ordered the gates to be thrown open, and led them against the fort. Few as they were, the English fought desperately, and the Maid, who had fallen wounded while endeavouring to scale its walls, was borne into a vineyard, while Dunois sounded **the** retreat. "Wait a while!" the girl imperiously pleaded, "eat

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and drink ! so soon as my standard touches the wall you shall enter the fort." It touched, and the assailants burst in. On the next day the siege was abandoned, and the force which had conducted it withdrew in good order to the north. In the midst of her triumph Jeanne still remained the pure, tender-hearted peasant girl of the Vosges. Her first visit as she entered Orleans was to the great church, and there, as she knelt at mass, she wept in such a passion of devotion that " all the people wept with her." Her tears burst forth afresh at her first sight of bloodshed and of the corpses strewn over the battle-field. She grew frightened at her first wound, and only threw off the touch of womanly fear when she heard the signal for retreat. Yet more womanly was the purity with which she passed through the brutal warriors of a mediaeval camp. It was her care for her honour that had led her to clothe herself in a soldier's dress. She wept hot tears when told of the foul taunts of the English, and called passionately on God to witness her chastity. " Yield thee, yield thee, Glasdale," she cried to the English warrior whose insults had been foulest, as he fell wounded at her feet, " you called me harlot! I have great pity on your soul." But all thought of herself was lost in the thought of her mission. It was in vain that the French generals strove to remain on the Loire. Jeanne was resolute to complete her task, and while the English remained panic-stricken around Paris the army followed her from Gien through Troyes, growing in number as it advanced, till it reached the gates of Rheims. With the coronation of Charles, the Maid felt her errand to be over. " O gentle King, the pleasure of God is done," she cried, as she flung herself at the feet of Charles the Seventh and asked leave to go home. " Would it were His pleasure," she pleaded with the Archbishop as he forced her to remain, " that I might go and keep sheep once more with my sisters and my brothers : they would be so glad to see me again!"

Death of the Maid

The policy of the French Court detained her while the cities of the north of France opened their gates to the newly-consecrated King. Bedford, however, who had been left without money 01 men, had now received reinforcements, and Charles, after a repulse before the walls of Paris, fell back behind the Loire ; while the towns on the Oise submitted again to the Duke of Burgundy. In this later struggle Jeanne fought with her usual bravery, but with the fatal consciousness that her mission was at an end, and during the defence of Compiegne she fell into the power of the Bastard of Venddme, to be sold by her captor into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy and by the Duke into the hands of the English. To the English her triumphs were victories of sorcery, and after a year's imprisonment she was brought to trial on a charge of heresy before an ecclesiastical court with the Bishop of Beauvais at its head. Throughout the long process which followed every art was employed to entangle her in her

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talk. But the simple shrewdness of the peasant girl foiled the efforts of her judges. "Do you believe," they asked, "that you are in a state of grace?" "If I am not," she replied, "God will put me in it. If I am, God will keep me in it." Her capture, they argued, showed that God had forsaken her. "Since it has pleased God that I should be taken," she answered meekly, "it is for the best." "Will you submit," they demanded at last, "to the judgement of the Church Militant?" "I have come to the King of France," Jeanne replied, "by commission from God and from the Church Triumphant above: to that Church I submit." "I had far rather die," she ended, passionately, "than renounce what I have done by my Lord's command." They deprived her of mass. "Our Lord can make me hear it without your aid," she said, weeping. "Do your voices," asked the judges, "forbid you to submit to the Church and the Pope?" "Ah, no! Our Lord first served." Sick, and deprived of all religious aid, it was no wonder that as the long trial dragged on and question followed question Jeanne's firmness wavered. On the charge of sorcery and diabolical possession she still appealed firmly to God. "I hold to my Judge," she said, as her earthly judges gave sentence against her, "to the King of Heaven and Earth. God has always been my Lord in all that I have done. The devil has never had power over me." It was only with a view to be delivered from the military prison and transferred to the prisons of the Church that she consented to a formal abjuration of heresy. She feared in fact among the English soldiery those outrages to her honour, to guard against which she had from the first assumed the dress of a man. In the eyes of the Church her dress was a crime and she abandoned it; but a renewed insult forced her to resume the one safeguard left her, and the return to it was treated as a relapse into heresy which doomed her to death. A great pile was raised in the market-place of Rouen where her statue stands now. Even the brutal soldiers who snatched the hated "witch" from the hands of the clergy and hurried her to her doom were hushed as she reached the stake. One indeed passed to her a rough cross he had made from a stick he held, and she clasped it to her bosom. "Oh! Rouen, Rouen," she was heard to murmur, as her eyes ranged over the city from the lofty scaffold, "I have great fear lest you suffer for my death." "Yes! my voices were of God!" she suddenly cried as the last moment came; "they have never deceived me!" Soon the flames reached her, the girl's head sank on her breast, there was one cry of "Jesus!"—"We are lost," an English soldier muttered as the crowd broke up, "we have burned a Saint."

The Loss of Franco

The English cause was indeed irretrievably lost. In spite of a pompous coronation of the boy-king Henry at Paris, Bedford, with the cool wisdom of his temper, seems to have abandoned all hope of permanently retaining France, and to have fallen back on his brother's

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original plan of securing Normandy. Henry's Court was established for a year at Rouen, a university founded at Caen, and whatever rapine and disorder might be permitted elsewhere, justice, good government, and security for trade were steadily maintained through the favoured provinces. At home Bedford was resolutely backed by the Bishop of Winchester, who had been raised in 1426 to the rank of Cardinal,

1431 and who now again governed England through the Royal Council in spite of the fruitless struggles of the Duke of Gloucester. Even when he had been excluded from the Council by Gloucester's intrigues, Beaufort's immense wealth was poured without stint into the exhausted Treasury till his loans to the Crown amounted to half-a-million ; and he had unscrupulously diverted an army which he had raised at his own cost for the Hussite Crusade in Bohemia to the relief of Bedford after the deliverance of Orleans. The Cardinal's diplomatic ability was seen in the truces he wrung from Scotland, and in his personal efforts to prevent the reconciliation of Burgundy with France. In 1435 however the Duke of Burgundy concluded a formal treaty with Charles ; and his desertion was followed by a yet more fatal blow to the English cause in the death of Bedford. Paris rose suddenly against its English garrison and declared for King Charles. Henry's dominion shrank at once to Normandy and the outlying fortresses of Picardy and Maine. But reduced as they were to a mere handful, and fronted by a whole nation in arms, the English soldiers struggled on with as desperate a bravery as in their days of triumph. Lord Talbot, the mostfdaring of their chiefs, forded the Somme with the waters up to his chin to relieve Crotoy, and threw his men across the Oise in the face of a French army to relieve Pontoise. The Duke of York, who succeeded Bedford as Regent, by his abilities stemmed for a time the tide of ill-fortune, but the jealousy shown to him by the King's counsellors told fatally on the course of the war. A fresh effort for peace was made by the Earl of Suffolk, who swayed the Council after age forced Beaufort to retire to Winchester, and who negotiated for his master a marriage with Margaret, the daughter of Duke Rene* of Anjou. Not only Anjou, of which England possessed nothing, but Maine, the bulwark of Normandy,

'445 were ceded to Duke Rene' as the price of a match which Suffolk regarded as the prelude to peace. But the terms of the treaty and the delays which still averted a final peace gave new strength to the war-party with Gloucester at its head. The danger was roughly met.

1447 Gloucester was arrested as he rode to Parliament on a charge of secret conspiracy; and a few days later he was found dead in his lodging. But the difficulties he had raised foiled Suffolk in his negotiations ; and though Charles extorted the surrender of Le Mans by a threat of war, the provisions of the treaty remained for the most part unfulfilled. The struggle, however, now became a hopeless one. In two months from

1449 the resumption of the war half Normandy was in the hands of Dunois >

Rouen rose against her feeble garrison and threw open her gates to Charles; and the defeat of an English force at Fourmigny was the signal for revolt throughout the rest of the province. The surrender of Cherbourg in 1450 left Henry not a foot of Norman ground, and the next year the last fragment of the Duchy of Guienne was lost. Gascony indeed once more turned to the English Crown on the landing of an English force under Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. But ere the twenty thousand men whose levy was voted by Parliament for his aid could cross the Channel Shrewsbury suddenly found himself face to face with the whole French army. His men were mown down by its guns, and the Earl himself left dead on the field. The surrender of fortress after fortress secured the final expulsion of the English from the soil of France. The Hundred Years' War had ended, not only in the loss of the temporary conquests made since the time of Edward the Third, with the exception of Calais, but in the loss of the great southern province which had remained in English hands ever since the marriage of its Duchess, Eleanor, to Henry the Second, and in the building up of France into a far greater power than it had ever been before.

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1453

Section II.—The Wars of the Roses, 1450—14-71.

[Authorities.—No period, save the last, is scantier in historical authorities. We still possess William of Worcester, Fabyan, and the Crowland Continuator, and for the struggle between Warwick and Edward, the valuable narrative of " The Arrival of Edward IV.," edited for the Camden Society, which may be taken as the official account on the royal side. " The Paston Letters " (edited by Mr. Gairdner) are the first instance in English history of a family correspondence, and throw great light on the social history of the time. Cade's rising has hcen illustrated in two papers, lately reprinted, by Mr. Durrant Cooper. The Rolls of Parliament are, as before, of the highest value.]

Cade's Revolt

1449

The ruinous issue of the great struggle with France roused England to a burst of fury against the wretched government to whose weakness and credulity it attributed its disasters. Suffolk was impeached, and murdered as he crossed the sea into exile. When the Bishop of Chichester was sent to pay the sailors at Portsmouth, and strove to put them off with less than their due, they fell on him and slew him. In Kent, the great manufacturing district of the day, seething with a busy population, and especially concerned with the French contests through the piracy of the Cinque Ports, where every house showed some spoil from the wars, the discontent broke into open revolt. The rising spread from Kent over Surrey and Sussex. A military levy of the yeomen of the three shires was organized ; the insurgents were joined by more than a hundred esquires and gentlemen, and two great landowners of Sussex, the Abbot of Battle and the Prior of Lewes, openly favoured their cause. John Cade, a soldier of some experience in the French wars, took the significant name of Mortimer, and placed

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THE WARS OF THE ROSES
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himself at their head; and the army, now twenty thousand men strong, marched on Blackheath. The "Complaint of the Commons of Kent[5]" which they laid before the Royal Council, is of high value in the light which it throws on the condition of the people. Not one of the demands touches on religious reform. The question of villeinage and serfage finds no place in the "Complaint" of 1450. In the seventy years which had intervened since the last peasant rising, villeinage had died naturally away before the progress of social change. The Statutes of Apparel, which from this time encumber the Statute-Book, show in their anxiety to curtail the dress of the labourer and the farmer the progress of these classes in comfort and wealth; and from the language of the statutes themselves, it is plain that as wages rose both farmer and labourer went on clothing themselves better in spite of sumptuary provisions. With the exception of a demand for the repeal of the Statute of Labourers, the programme of the Commons was now not social, but political. The "Complaint" calls for administrative and economical reforms, for a change of ministry, a more careful expenditure of the royal revenue, and for the restoration of freedom of election, which had been broken in upon by the interference both of the Crown and the great landowners. The refusal of the Council to receive the "Complaint" was followed by a victory of the Kentishmen over the royal forces at Sevenoaks; the entry of the insurgents into London, coupled with the execution of Lord Say, the most unpopular of the royal ministers, broke the obstinacy of his colleagues. The "Complaint" was received, pardons were granted to all who had joined in the rising; and the insurgents dispersed to their homes. Cade, who had striven in vain to retain them in arms, sought to form a new force by throwing open the gaols; but his men quarrelled, and Cade himself was slain by the sheriff of Kent as he fled into Sussex. The "Complaint" was quietly laid aside. No attempt was made to redress the grievances which it stated, and the main object of popular hate, the Duke of Somerset, took his place at the head of the Royal Council.

June, 1450

York and the Beauforts

Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, as the grandson of John of Gaunt and his mistress Catharine Swynford, was the representative of a junior branch of the House of Lancaster, whose claims to the throne Henry IV. had barred by a clause in the Act which legitimated their line, but whose hopes of the Crown were roused by the childlessness of Henry VI. He found a rival in the Duke of York, heir of the houses of York, of Clarence, and of Mortimer, who boasted of a double descent from Edward III. In addition to other claims which York as yet refrained from urging, he claimed as descendant of Edmund of Langley, Edward's fifth son, to be regarded as heir presumptive to the throne. Popular favour seems to have been on his side, but in 1453 the birth of the King's son promised to free the Crown from the turmoil of warring factions; Henry, however, at the same time sank into a state of idiotcy

which made his rule impossible, and York was appointed Protector of the Realm. But on Henry's recovery the Duke of Somerset, who had been impeached and committed to the Tower by his rival, was restored to power, and supported with singular vigour and audacity by the Queen. York at once took up arms, and backed by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the heads of the great House of Neville, he advanced with 3,000 men upon St. Albans, where Henry was encamped. A successful assault upon the town was crowned by the death of Somerset; and a return of the King's malady brought the renewal of York's Protectorate. Henry's recovery, however, again restored the supremacy of the House of Beaufort, and after a temporary reconciliation between the two parties there was a fresh outbreak of war. Salisbury defeated Lord Audley at Bloreheath, and York with the two Earls raised his standard at Ludlow. The King marched rapidly on the insurgents, and a decisive battle was only averted by the desertion of a part of the Yorkist army and the disbanding of the rest. The Duke himself fled to Ireland, the Earls to Calais, while the Queen, summoning a Parliament at Coventry, pressed on their attainder. But the check, whatever its cause, had been merely a temporary one. In the following Midsummer the Earls again landed in Kent, and backed by a general rising of the county, entered London amidst the acclamations of its citizens. The royal army was defeated in a hard-fought action at Northampton, Margaret fled to Scotland, and Henry was left a prisoner in the hands of the Duke of York.

H55

1458

Northampton I46O

The position of York as heir presumptive to the crown by descent from Edmund of Langley had ceased with the birth of a son to Henry ; but the victory of Northampton no sooner raised him to the supreme control of affairs than he ventured to assert the far more dangerous claims which he had secretly cherished, and to their consciousness of which was owing the bitter hostility of Henry and his Queen. As the descendant of Edmund of Langley he stood only next in succession to the House of Lancaster, but as the descendant of Lionel, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, he stood in strict hereditary right before it. We have already seen how the claims of Lionel had passed to the House of Mortimer: it was through Anne, the heiress of the Mortimers, who had wedded his father, that they passed to the Duke. There was, however, no constitutional ground for any limitation of the right of Parliament to set aside an elder branch in favour of a younger, and in the Parliamentary Act which placed the House of Lancaster on the throne the claim of the House of Mortimer had been deliberately set aside. Possession, too, told against the Yorkist pretensions. To modern minds the best reply to their claim lay in the words used at a later time by Henry himself. " My father was King ; his father also was King; I myself have worn the crown forty years from my cradle ; you have all sworn fealty to me as your sovereign, and your

The **Wars of** the **Roses**

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fathers have done the like to mine. How then can my right be disputed?" Long and undisturbed possession, as well as a distinctly legal title by free vote of Parliament, was in favour of the House of Lancaster. But the persecution of the Lollards, the interference with elections, the odium of the war, the shame of the long misgovernment, told fatally against the weak and imbecile King, whose reign had been a long battle of contending factions. That the misrule had been serious was shown by the attitude of the commercial class. It was the rising of Kent, the great manufacturing district of the realm, which brought about the victory of Northampton. Throughout the struggle which followed, London and the great merchant towns were steady for the House of York. Zeal for the Lancastrian cause was found only in Wales, in northern England, and in the south-western shires. It is absurd to suppose that the shrewd traders of Cheapside were moved by an abstract question of hereditary right, or that the wild Welshmen believed themselves to be supporting the right of Parliament to regulate the succession. But it marks the power which Parliament had now gained that the Duke of York felt himself compelled to convene the two Houses, and to lay his claim before the Lords as a petition of right. Neither oaths nor the numerous Acts which had settled and confirmed the right to the crown in the House of Lancaster could destroy, he pleaded, his hereditary claim. The baronage received the petition with hardly concealed reluctance, and solved the question, as they hoped, by a compromise. They refused to dethrone the King, but they had sworn no fealty to his child, and at Henry's death they agreed to receive the Duke as successor to the crown. But the open display of York's pretensions at once united the partizans of the royal House, and the deadly struggle which received the name of the Wars of the Roses, from the white rose which formed the badge of the House of York and the red rose which was the cognizance of the House of Lancaster, began in the gathering of the North round Lord Clifford, and of the West round the new Duke of Somerset. York, who had hurried to meet the first with a far inferior force, was defeated and slain at Wakefield, and the passion of civil war broke fiercely out on the field. The Earl of Salisbury was hurried to the block, and the head of Duke Richard, crowned in mockery with a diadem of paper, is said to have been impaled on the walls of York. His second son, Lord Rutland, fell crying for mercy on his knees before Clifford. But Clifford's father had been the first to fall in the battle of St. Albans which opened the struggle. "As your father killed mine," cried the savage baron while he plunged his dagger in the young noble's breast, "I will kill you!" The brutal deed was soon to be avenged. Duke Richard's eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, hurried from the West, and, routing a body of Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross, struck boldly upon London. A

Wakefield
1460

force of Kentishmen under the Earl of Warwick barred the march of the Lancastrian army on the capital, but after a desperate struggle at St. Albans the Yorkist forces broke under cover of night. An immediate advance of the conquerors might have decided the contest, but Queen Margaret paused to sully her victory by a series of bloody executions, and the rough northerners who formed the bulk of her army scattered to pillage, while Edward appeared before London. The citizens rallied at his call, and cries of "Long live King Edward" rang round the handsome young leader as he rode through the streets. A council of Yorkist lords, hastily summoned, resolved that the compromise agreed on in Parliament was at an end and that Henry of Lancaster had forfeited the throne. The final issue, however, now lay, not with Parliament, but with the sword. Disappointed of London, the Lancastrian army fell rapidly back on the North, and Edward hurried as rapidly in pursuit.

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1461

The two armies encountered one another at Towton Field, near Tadcaster. In the numbers engaged, as well as in the terrible obstinacy of the struggle, no such battle had been seen in England since the fight of Senlac. The armies numbered together nearly 120,000 men. The day had just broken when the Yorkists advanced through a thick snow-fall, and for six hours the battle raged with desperate bravery on either side. At one critical moment Warwick saw his men falter, and stabbing his horse before them, swore on the cross of his sword to win or die on the field. The battle was turned by the arrival of Norfolk with a fresh force. At last the Lancastrians gave way, a river in their rear turned the retreat into a rout, and the flight and carnage, for no quarter was given on either side, went on through the night and the morrow. Edward's herald counted more than 20,000 Lancastrian corpses on the field, and the losses of the conquerors were hardly less heavy. But their triumph was complete. The Earl of Northumberland was slain ; the Earls of Devonshire and Wiltshire were taken and beheaded ; the Duke of Somerset fled into exile. Henry himself with his Queen was forced to fly over the border and to find a refuge in Scotland. The cause of the House of Lancaster was lost: and with the victory of Towton the crown of England passed to Edward of York. A vast bill of attainder wrapped in the same ruin and confiscation the nobles and gentry who still adhered to the House of Lancaster. The struggles of Margaret only served to bring fresh calamities on her adherents. A new rising in the North was crushed by the Earl of Warwick, and a legend which lights up the gloom of the time with a gleam of poetry told how the fugitive Queen, after escaping with difficulty from a troop of bandits, found a new brigand in the depths of the wood. With the daring of despair she confided to him her child. "I trust to your loyalty," she said, "the son of your King." Margaret and her child escaped over the border under the robber's

Towton Field

March **29, 1461**

1463

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guidance; but on the defeat of a new revolt in the battle of Hexham, Henry, after helpless wanderings, was betrayed into the hands of his enemies. His feet were tied to the stirrups, he was led thrice round the pillory, and then conducted as a prisoner to the Tower.

Ruined as feudalism really was by the decline of the baronage, the extinction of the greater houses, and the break-up of the great estates, which had been steadily going on, it had never seemed more powerful than in the years which followed Towton. Out of the wreck of the baronage a family which had always stood high amongst its fellows towered into unrivalled greatness. Lord Warwick was by descent Earl of Salisbury, a son of the great noble whose support had been mainly instrumental in raising the House of York to the throne. He had doubled his wealth and influence by his acquisition of the Earldom of Warwick through a marriage with the heiress of the Beauchamps. His services to the Yorkists were munificently rewarded by the grant of vast estates from the confiscated lands of Lancastrians, and by his elevation to the highest posts in the service of the State. He was captain of Calais, admiral of the fleet in the Channel, and Warden of the Western Marches. This personal power was backed by the power of the House of Neville, of which he was the head. The command of the northern border lay in the hands of his brother, Lord Montagu, who received as his share of the spoil the forfeited Earldom of Northumberland and the estates of his hereditary rivals, the Percies. A younger brother, George Neville, was raised to the See of York and the post of Lord f hancellor. Lesser rewards fell to his uncles, Lords Falconberg, Abergavenny, and Latimer. The vast power which such an accumulation of wealth and honours placed at the Earl's disposal was wielded with consummate ability. In outer seeming Warwick was the very type of the feudal baron. He could raise armies at his call from his own earldoms. Six hundred liveried retainers followed him to Parliament. Thousands of dependants feasted in his courtyard. But few men were really further from the feudal ideal. Active and ruthless warrior as he was, his enemies denied to the Earl the gift of personal daring. In war he was rather general than soldier. His genius in fact was not so much military as diplomatic ; what he excelled in was intrigue, treachery, the contrivance of plots, and sudden desertions. And in the boy-king whom he had raised to the throne he met not merely a consummate general, but a politician whose subtlety and rapidity of conception was destined to leave a deep and enduring mark on the character of the monarchy itself. Edward was but nineteen at his accession, and both his kinship (for he was the King's cousin by blood) and his recent services rendered Warwick during the first three years of his reign all-powerful in the State.

1464 But the final ruin of Henry's cause in the battle of Hexham gave the signal for a silent struggle between the Earl and his young Sovereign. Edward's first step was to avow his union with the widow of a slain

Lancastrian, Dame Elizabeth Grey, at the very moment when Warwick was negotiating for him a French marriage. Her family, the Woodvilles, were raised to greatness as a counterpoise to the Nevilles; her father, Lord Rivers, became treasurer and constable; her son by the first marriage was betrothed to the heiress of the Duke of Exeter, whom Warwick sought for his nephew. Warwick's policy lay in a close connexion with France; foiled in his first project, he now pressed for a marriage of the King's sister, Margaret, with a French prince, but in 1467, while he crossed the sea to treat with Lewis, Edward availed himself of his absence to deprive his brother of the seals, and prepared to wed Margaret to the sworn enemy both of France and of Warwick, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. Warwick replied to Edward's challenge by a plot to rally the discontented Yorkists round the King's brother, the Duke of Clarence. Secret negotiations ended in the marriage of his daughter to Clarence; and a revolt which instantly broke out threw Edward into the hands of his great subject. But the bold scheme broke down. The Yorkist nobles demanded the King's liberation. Warwick could look for support only to the Lancastrians, but the Lancastrians demanded Henry's restoration as the price of their aid. Such a demand was fatal to the plan for placing Clarence on the throne, and Warwick was thrown back on a formal reconciliation with the King. A new rising broke out in the following spring in Lincolnshire. The King, however, was now ready for the strife. A rapid march to the north ended in the rout of the insurgents, and Edward turned on the instigators of the revolt. But Clarence arfd the Earl could gather no force to meet him. Yorkist and Lancastrian alike held aloof, and they were driven to flight. Calais, though held by Warwick's deputy, repulsed them from its walls, and the Earl's fleet was forced to take refuge in France, where the Burgundian connexion of Edward secured his enemies the support of Lewis the Eleventh. But the unscrupulous temper of the Earl was seen in the alliance which he at once concluded with the partizans of the House of Lancaster. On the promise of Queen Margaret to wed her son to his daughter Anne, Warwick engaged to restore the crown to the royal captive whom he had flung into the Tower; and choosing a moment when Edward was busy with a revolt in the North, and when a storm had dispersed the Burgundian fleet which defended the Channel, he threw himself boldly on the English shore. His army grew as he pushed northward, and the desertion of Lord Montagu, whom Edward still trusted, drove the King in turn to seek shelter over sea. While Edward fled with a handful of adherents to beg help from Charles the Bold, Henry of Lancaster was again conducted from his prison to the throne, but the bitter hate of the party Warwick had so ruthlessly crushed found no gratitude for the "King Maker." His own conduct, as well as that of his party, when Edward again disembarked in the spring at Ravenspur, showed a weariness of the new alliance, quickened perhaps by their

dread of Margaret, whose return to England was hourly expected. Passing through the Lancastrian districts of the North with a declaration that he waived all right to the crown and sought only his own hereditary dukedom, Edward was left unassailed by a force which Montagu had collected, and was joined on his march by his brother Clarence, who had throughout acted in concert with Warwick. Encamped at Coventry, the Earl himself contemplated a similar treason, but the coming of two Lancastrian leaders put an end to the negotiations. When Montagu joined his brother, Edward marched on London, followed by Warwick's army ; its gates were opened by the perfidy of the Earl's brother, Archbishop Neville ; and Henry of Lancaster passed anew to the Tower. The battle of Barnet, a medley of carnage and treachery which lasted three hours, ended with the fall of Warwick, who was charged with cowardly flight. Margaret had landed too late to bring aid to her great partizan, but the military triumph of Edward was completed by the skilful strategy with which he forced her army to battle at Tewkesbury, and by its complete overthrow. The Queen herself became a captive; her boy fell on the field, stabbed—as was affirmed—by the Yorkist lords after Edward had met his cry for mercy by a buffet from his gauntlet ; and the death of Henry in the Tower crushed the last hopes of the House of Lancaster.

Section III.—The New Monarchy. 1471—1509.

[Authorities.—Edward V. is the subject of a work attributed to Sir Thomas More, and which almost certainly derives much of its information from Archbishop Morton. Whatever its historical wortli may be, it is remarkable in its English form as the first historical work of any literary value which we possess written in our modern prose. The "Letters and Tapers of Richard III. and Henry VII./' some "Memorials of Henry VII.," including his life by Bernard Andre of To ouse, and a volume of "Materials" for a history of his reign have been edited for the Rolls Series. A biography of Henry is among the works of Lord Bacon. Halle's Chronicle extends fr 0111 Henry IV. to Henry VIII. Miss Halstead, in her "Life of Richard III.," has elaborately illustrated a reign of some constitutional importance. For Caxton, see the biography by Mr. Blades.]

There are few periods in our annals from which we turn with such weariness and disgust as from the Wars of the Roses. Their savage battles, their ruthless executions, their shameless treasons, seem all the more terrible from the pure selfishness of the ends for which men fought, the utter want of all nobleness and chivalry in the struggle itself, of all great result in its close. But even while the contest was raging the cool eye of a philosophic statesman could find in it matter for other feelings than those of mere disgust. England presented to Philippe de Commines the rare spectacle of a land where, brutal as was the civil strife, "there are no buildings destroyed or demolished

by war, and where the mischief of it falls on those who make the war." The ruin and bloodshed were limited, in fact, to the great lords and their feudal retainers. Once or twice indeed, as at Towton, the towns threw themselves into the struggle, but for the most part the trading and agricultural classes stood wholly apart from it. Slowly but surely the foreign commerce of the country, hitherto conducted by the Italian, the Hanse merchant, or the trader of Catalonia or southern Gaul, was passing into English hands. English merchants were settled at Florence and at Venice. English merchant ships appeared in the Baltic. The first "faint upgrowth of manufactures was seen in a crowd of protective statutes which formed a marked feature in the legislation of Edward the Fourth. The general tranquillity of the country at large, while the baronage was dashing itself to pieces in battle after battle, was shown by the remarkable fact that justice remained wholly undisturbed. The law courts sate at Westminster. The judges rode on circuit as of old. The system of jury-trial took more and more its modern form by the separation of the jurors from the witnesses. But if the common view of England during these Wars as a mere chaos of treason and bloodshed is a false one, still more false is the common view of the pettiness of their result. The Wars of the Roses did far more than ruin one royal house or set up another on the throne. If they did not utterly destroy English freedom, they arrested its progress for more than a hundred years. They found England, in the words of Commines, "among all the world's lordships of which I have knowledge, that where the public weal is best ordered, and where least violence reigns over the people." A King of England—the shrewd observer noticed—" can undertake no enterprise of account without assembling his Parliament, which is a thing most wise and holy, and therefore are these Kings stronger and better served" than the despotic sovereigns of the Continent. The English kingship, as a judge, Sir John Fortescue, could boast when writing at this time, was not an absolute but a limited monarchy ; the land was not a land where the will of the prince was itself the law, but where the prince could neither make laws nor impose taxes save by his subjects' consent. At no time had Parliament played so constant and prominent a part in the government of the realm. At no time had the principles of constitutional liberty seemed so thoroughly understood and so dear to the people at large. The long Parliamentary contest between the Crown and the two Houses since the days of Edward the First had firmly established the great securities of national liberty—the right of freedom from arbitrary taxation, from arbitrary legislation, from arbitrary imprisonment, and the responsibility of even the highest servants of the Crown to Parliament and to the law. But with the close of the struggle for the succession this liberty suddenly disappears. We enter on an epoch of constitutional retrogression in which the

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THE NEW MONARCHY

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slow work of the age that went before it was rapidly undone. Parliamentary life was almost suspended, or was turned into a mere form by the overpowering influence of the Crown. The legislative powers of the two Houses were usurped by the royal Council. Arbitrary taxation re-appeared in benevolences and forced loans. Personal liberty was almost extinguished by a formidable spy-system and by the constant practice of arbitrary imprisonment. Justice was degraded by the prodigal use of bills of attainder, by the wide extension of the judicial power of the Royal Council, by the servility of judges, by the coercion of juries. So vast and sweeping was the change that to careless observers of a later day the constitutional monarchy of the Edwards and the Henries seemed suddenly to have transformed itself under the Tudors into a despotism as complete as the despotism of the Turk. Such a view is no doubt exaggerated and unjust. Bend and strain the law as he might, there never was a time when the most wilful of English rulers failed to own the restraints of law; and the obedience of the most servile among English subjects lay within bounds, at once political and religious, which no theory of King-worship could bring them to overpass. But even if we make these reserves, the character of the Monarchy from the time of Edward the Fourth to the time of Elizabeth remains something strange and isolated in our history. It is hard to connect the kingship of the old English, of the Norman, the Angevin, or the Plantagenet Kings, with the kingship of the House of York or of the House of Tudor.

The Causes of the new Monarchy

If we seek a reason for so sudden and complete a revolution, we find it in the disappearance of that organization of society in which our constitutional liberty had till now found its security. Freedom had been won by the sword of the Baronage. Its tradition had been watched over by the jealousy of the Church. The new class of the Commons which had grown from the union of the country squire and the town trader was widening its sphere of political activity as it grew. But at the close of the Wars of the Roses these older checks no longer served as restraints upon the action of the Crown. The baronage had fallen more and more into decay. The Church lingered helpless and perplexed, till it was struck down by Thomas Cromwell. The traders and the smaller proprietors sank into political inactivity. On the other hand, the Crown, which only fifty years before had been the sport of every faction, towered into solitary greatness. The old English kingship, limited by the forces of feudalism or of the religious sanctions wielded by the priesthood, or by the progress of constitutional freedom, faded suddenly away, and in its place we see, all-absorbing and unrestrained, the despotism of the new Monarchy. Revolutionary as the change was, however, we have already seen in their gradual growth the causes which brought it about. The social organization from which our political constitution had hitherto sprung and on which it still rested

had been silently sapped by the progress of industry, by the growth of spiritual and intellectual enlightenment, and by changes in the art of war. Its ruin was precipitated by the new attitude of men towards the Church, by the disfranchisement of the Commons, and by the decline of the Baronage. Of the great houses some were extinct, others lingered only in obscure branches which were mere shadows of their former greatness. With the exception of the Poles, the Stanleys, and the Howards, themselves families of recent origin, hardly a fragment of the older baronage interfered from this time in the work of government. Neither the Church nor the smaller proprietors of the country, who with the merchant classes formed the Commons, were ready to take the place of the ruined nobles. Imposing as the great ecclesiastical body still seemed from the memories of its past, its immense wealth, its tradition of statesmanship, it was rendered powerless by a want of spiritual enthusiasm, by a moral inertness, by its antagonism to the deeper religious convictions of the people, and its blind hostility to the intellectual movement which was beginning to stir the world. Somewhat of their old independence lingered indeed among the lower clergy and the monastic orders, but it was through its prelates that the Church exercised a directly political influence, and these showed a different temper from the clergy. Driven by sheer need, by the attack of the barons on their temporal possessions, and of the Lollards on their spiritual authority, into dependence on the Crown, they threw their weight on the side of the King with the simple view of averting by means of che Monarchy the pillage of the Church. But in any wider political sense the influence of the body to which they belonged was insignificant. It is less obvious at first sight why the Commons should share the political ruin of the Church and the Lords, for the smaller county proprietors were growing fast, both in wealth and numbers, while the burgess class, as we have seen, was deriving fresh riches from the developement of trade. But the result of the narrowing of the franchise and of the tampering with elections was now felt in the political insignificance of the Lower House. Reduced by these measures to a virtual dependence on the baronage, it fell with the fall of the class to which it looked for guidance and support. And while its rival forces disappeared, the Monarchy stood ready to take their place. Not only indeed were the churchman, the squire, and the burgess powerless to vindicate liberty against the Crown, but the very interests of self-preservation led them at this moment to lay freedom at its feet. The Church still trembled at the progress of heresy. The close corporations of the towns needed protection for their privileges. The landowner shared with the trader a profound horror of the war and disorder which they had witnessed, and an almost reckless desire to entrust the Crown with any power which would prevent its return. But above all, the landed and monied classes clung passionately to the

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Monarchy, as the one great force left which could save them from social revolt. The rising of the Commons of Kent shows that the troubles against which the Statutes of Labourers had been directed still remained as a formidable source of discontent. The great change in the character of agriculture indeed, which we have before described, the throwing together of the smaller holdings, the diminution of tillage, the increase of pasture lands, had tended largely to swell the numbers and turbulence of the floating labour class. Jhe riots against " enclosures," of which ve first hear in the time of Henry the Sixth, and which became a constant feature of the Tudor period, are indications not only of a constant strife going on in every quarter between the landowner and the smaller peasant class, but of a mass of social discontent which was constantly seeking an outlet in violence and revolution. And at this moment the break-up of the military households of the nobles, and the return of wounded and disabled soldiers from the wars, added a new element of violence and disorder to the seething mass. It was in truth this social danger which lay at the root of the Tudor despotism. For the proprietary classes the repression of the poor was a question of life and death. Employer and proprietor were ready to surrender freedom into the hands of the one power which could preserve them from social anarchy. It was to the selfish panic of the landowners that England owed the Statute of Labourers and its terrible heritage of pauperism. It was to the selfish panic of both landowner and merchant that she owed the despotism of the Monarchy.

Edward the Fourth

The founder of the new Monarchy was Edward the Fourth. As a mere boy he showed himself among the ablest and the most pitiless of the warriors of the civil war. In the first flush of manhood he looked on with a cool ruthlessness while grey-haired nobles were hurried to the block. In his later race for power he had shown himself more subtle in his treachery than even Warwick himself. His triumph was no sooner won however than the young King seemed to abandon himself to a voluptuous indolence, to revels with the city-wives of London and the caresses of mistresses like Jane Shore. Tall in stature and of singular beauty, his winning manners and gay carelessness of bearing secured him a popularity which had been denied *to* nobler kings. But his indolence and gaiety were mere veils beneath which Edward shrouded a profound political ability. No one could contrast more utterly in outward appearance with the subtle sovereigns of his time, with Louis the Eleventh or Ferdinand of Aragon, but his work was the same as theirs, and it was done as completely. While jesting with aldermen, or dallying with his mistresses, or idling over the new pages from the* printing-press at Westminster, Edward was silently laying the foundations of an absolute rule. The almost total discontinuance of Parliamentary life was in itself a revolution. Up

to this moment the two Houses had played a part which became more and more prominent in the government of the realm. Under the two first Kings of the House of Lancaster Parliament had been summoned almost every year. Not only had the right of self-taxation and initiation of laws been yielded explicitly to the Commons, but they had interfered with the administration of the State, had directed the application of subsidies, and called royal ministers to account by I repeated instances of impeachment. Under Henry the Sixth an im- j portant step in constitutional progress had been made by abandoning the old form of presenting the requests of the Parliament in the form of petitions which were subsequently moulded into statutes by the Royal Council; the statute itself, in its final form, was now presented for the royal assent, and the Crown was deprived of its former privilege of modifying it. But with the reign of Edward the Fourth not only does this progress cease, but the very action of Parliament itself comes almost to an end. For the first time since the days of John not a single law which promoted freedom or remedied the abuses of power was even proposed. The necessity for summoning the two Houses had, in fact, been removed by the enormous tide of wealth which the confiscations of the civil war poured into the royal treasury. In the single bill of attainder which followed the victory of Towton, twelve great nobles and more than a hundred knights and squires were stripped of their estates to the King's profit. It was said that nearly a fifth of the land had passed into the royal possession at one period or another of the civil war. A grant of the customs was given to the King for life. Edward added to his resources by trading on a vast scale. The royal ships, freighted with tin, wool, and cloth, made the name of the merchant-king famous in the ports of Italy and Greece. The enterprises he planned against France, though frustrated by the refusal of Charles of Burgundy to co-operate with him in them, afforded a fresh financial resource; and the subsidies granted for a war which never took place swelled the royal exchequer. But the pretext of war enabled Edward not only to increase his hoard, but to J deal a deadly blow at the liberty which the Commons had won. Setting aside the usage of contracting loans by the authority of Parliament, Edward called before him the merchants of London and requested from each a gift or "benevolence," in proportion to the i royal needs. The exaction was bitterly resented even by the classes ! with whom the King had been most popular, but for the moment resistance was fruitless, and the system of "benevolence" was soon to be developed into the forced loans of Wolsey and of Charles the First. It was to Edward that his Tudor successors owed the introduction of an elaborate spy-system, the use of the rack, and the practice of interference with the purity of justice. In the history of intellectual progress alone his reign takes a brighter colour and the founder of

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a new despotism presents a claim to our regard as the patron of Caxton.

Literature indeed seemed at this moment to have died as utterly as freedom itself. The genius of Chaucer, and of the one or more poets whose works have been confounded with Chaucer's, defied for a while the pedantry, the affectation, the barrenness of their age; but the sudden close of this poetic outburst left England to a crowd of poetasters, compilers, scribblers of interminable moralities, rimers of chronicles, and translators from the worn-out field of French romance. Some faint trace of the liveliness and beauty of older models lingers among the heavy platitudes of Gower, but even this vanished from the didactic puerilities, the prosaic commonplaces, of Occleve and Lydgate. The literature of the Middle Ages was dying out with the Middle Ages themselves; in letters as in life their thirst for knowledge had spent itself in the barren mazes of the scholastic philosophy, their ideal of warlike nobleness faded away before the gaudy travestie of a spurious chivalry, and the mystic enthusiasm of their devotion shrank at the touch of persecution into a narrow orthodoxy and a flat morality. The clergy, who had concentrated in themselves the intellectual effort of the older time, were ceasing to be an intellectual class at all. The monasteries were no longer seats of learning. " I found in them," said Poggio, an Italian traveller twenty years after Chaucer's death, " men given up to sensuality in abundance, but very few lovers of learning, and those of a barbarous sort, skilled more in quibbles and sophisms than in literature." The erection of colleges, which was beginning, failed to arrest the quick decline of the universities both in the numbers and learning of their students. Those at Oxford amounted to only a fifth *of* the scholars who had attended its lectures a century before, and " Oxford Latin" became proverbial for a jargon in which the very tradition of grammar had been lost. All literary production was nearly at an end. Historical composition lingered on indeed in compilations of extracts from past writers, such as make up the so-called works of Walsingham, in jejune monastic annals, or worthless popular compendiums. But the only real trace of mental activity is to be found in the numerous treatises on alchemy and magic, on the elixir of life or the philosopher's stone, a fungous growth which most unequivocally witnesses to the progress of intellectual decay. On the other hand, while the older literary class was dying out, a glance beneath the surface shows us the stir of a new interest in knowledge among the masses of the people itself. The correspondence of the Paston family, which has been happily preserved, not only displays a fluency and vivacity as well as a grammatical correctness which would have been impossible in familiar letters a few years before, but shews country squires discussing about books and gathering libraries. The very

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character of the authorship of the time, its love of compendiums and abridgements of the scientific and historical knowledge of its day, its dramatic performances or mysteries, the commonplace morality of its poets, the popularity of its rimed chronicles, are additional proofs that literature was ceasing to be the possession of a purely intellectual class and was beginning to appeal to the people at large. The increased use of linen paper in place of the costlier parchment helped in the popularization of letters. In no former age had finer copies of books been produced ; in none had so many been transcribed. This increased demand for their production caused the processes of copying and illuminating manuscripts to be transferred from the scriptoria of the religious houses into the hands of trade-gilds, like the Gild of St. John at Bruges, or the Brothers of the Pen at Brussels. It was, in fact, this increase of demand for books, pamphlets, or fly-sheets, especially of a grammatical or religious character, in the middle of the fifteenth century that brought about the introduction of printing. We meet with it first in rude sheets simply struck off from wooden blocks, " block-books " as they are now called, and later on in works printed from separate and moveable types. Originating at Maintz with the three famous printers, Gutenberg, Fust, and Schoeffer, the new process travelled southward to Strasburg, crossed the Alps to Venice, where it lent itself through the Aldi to the spread of Greek literature in Europe, and then floated down the Rhine to the towns of Flanders. It was probably at the press of Colard Mansion, in a little room ove^ the porch of St. Donat's at Bruges, that Caxton learnt the art which he was the first to introduce into England.

A Kentish boy by birth, but apprenticed to a London mercer, William Caxton had already spent thirty years of his manhood in Flanders, as Governor of the English gild of Merchant Adventurers there, when we find him engaged as copyist in the service of Edward's sister, Duchess Margaret of Burgundy. But the tedious process of copying was soon thrown aside for the new art which Colard Mansion had introduced into Bruges. " For as much as in the writing of the same/' Caxton tells us in the preface to his first printed work, the Tales of Troy, " my pen is worn, my hand weary and not steadfast, mine eyes dimmed with over much looking on the white paper, and my courage not so prone and ready to labour as it hath been, and that age creepeth on me daily and feebleth all the body, and also because I have promised to divers gentlemen and to my friends to address to them as hastily as I might the said book, therefore I have practised and learned at my great charge and dispense to ordain this said book in print after the manner and form as ye may see, and is not written with pen and ink as other books be, to the end that every man may have them at once, for all the books of this story here emprynted as ye see were begun in one day and also finished in one day," The printing press

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was the precious freight he brought back to England, after an absence of five-and-thirty years. Through the next fifteen, at an age when other men look for ease and retirement, we see him plunging with characteristic energy into his new occupation. His "red pale," or heraldic shield marked with a red bar down the middle, invited buyers to the press established in the Almonry at Westminster, a little enclosure containing a chapel and almshouses near the west front of the church, where the alms of the abbey were distributed to the poor. " I f it please any man, spiritual or temporal," runs his advertisement, " to buy any pyes of two or three commemorations of Salisbury all emprynted after the form of the present letter, which be well and truly correct, let him come to Westminster into the Almonry at the red pale, and he shall have them good chepe." He was a practical man of business, as this advertisement shows, no rival of the Venetian Aldi or of the classical printers of Rome, but resolved to get a living from his trade, supplying priests with service books, and preachers with sermons, furnishing the clerk with his " Golden Legend," and knight and baron with "joyous and pleasant histories of chivalry." But while careful to win his daily bread, he found time to do much for what of higher literature lay fairly to hand. He printed all the English poetry of any moment which was then in existence. His reverence for " that worshipful man, Geoffry Chaucer," who " ought to be eternally remembered," is shown not merely by his edition of the " Canterbury Tales," but by his reprint of them when a purer text of the poem offered itself. The poems of Lydgate and Gower were added to those of Chaucer. The Chronicle of Brut and Higden's " Polychronicon " were the only available works of an historical character then existing in the English tongue, and Caxton not only printed them but himself continued the latter up to his own time. A translation of Boethius, a version of the vEneid from the French, and a tract or two of Cicero, were the stray first-fruits of the classical press in England.

Caxton's Translations

Busy as was Caxton's printing-press, he was even busier as a translator than as a printer. More than four thousand of his printed pages are from works of his own rendering. The need of these translations shows the popular drift of literature at the time ; but keen as the demand seems to have been, there is nothing mechanical in the temper with which Caxton prepared to meet it. A natural, simple-hearted literary taste and enthusiasm, especially for the style and forms of language, breaks out in his curious prefaces. " Having no work in hand," he says in the preface to his Eneid, " I sitting in my study where as lay many divers pamphlets and books, happened that to my hand came a little book in French, which late was translated out of Latin by some noble clerk of France—which book is named Eneydos, and made in Latin by that noble poet and great clerk Vergyl—in

which book I had great pleasure by reason of the fair and honest termes and wordes in French which I never saw to-fore-like, none so pleasant nor so well-ordered, which book as me seemed should be much requisite for noble men to see, as well for the eloquence as the* histories ; and when I had advised me to this said book I deliberated and concluded to translate it into English, and forthwith took a pen and ink and wrote a leaf or twain." But the work of translation involved a choice of English which made Caxton's work important in the history of our language. He stood between two schools of translation, that of French affectation and English pedantry. It was a moment when the character of our literary tongue was being settled, and it is curious to see in his own words the struggle over it which was going on in Caxton's time. " Some honest and great clerks have been with me and desired me to write the most curious j terms that I could find;" on the other hand, " some gentlemen of late blamed me, saying that in my translations I had over many curious terms which could not be understood of common people, and desired me to use old and homely terms in my translations." " Fain would I please every man," comments the good-humoured printer, but his sturdy sense saved him alike from the temptations of the court and the schools. His own taste pointed to English, but " to the common terms that be daily used" rather than to the English of his antiquarian advisers. " I took an old book and read therein, and certainly the English was so rude and broad I could not well understand it," while the Old-English charters which the Abbot of Westminster lent as models from the archives of his house seemed " more like to Dutch than to English." On the other hand, to adopt current phraseology was by no means easy at a time when even the speech of common talk was in a state of rapid flux. " Our language now used varieth far from that which was used and spoken when I was born." Not only so, but the tongue of each shire was still peculiar to itself, and hardly intelligible to men of another county. " Common English that is spoken in one shire varieth from another so much, that in my days happened that certain merchants were in a ship in Thames, for to have sailed over the sea into Zealand, and for lack of wind they tarried at Foreland, and went on land for to refresh them. And one of them, named Sheffield, a mercer, came into a house and asked for meat, and especially he asked them after eggs. And the good wife answered that she could speak no French. And the merchant was angry, for he also could speak no French, but would have had eggs, but she understood him not. And then at last another said he would have eyren, then the good wife said she understood him well. Lo! what should a man in these days now write," adds the puzzled printer, " eggs or eyren ? certainly it is hard to please every man by cause of diversity and change of language." His own mother-

tongue too was that of " Kent in the Weald, where I doubt not is spoken as broad and rude English as in any place in England ;" and coupling this with his long absence in Flanders, we can hardly wonder at the confession he makes over his first translation, that " when all these things came to fore me, after that I had made and written a five or six quires, I fell in despair of this work, and purposed never to have continued therein, and the quires laid apart, and in two years after laboured no more in this work."

Literature and the Nobles

He was still, however, busy translating when he died. All difficulties, in fact, were lightened by the general interest which his labours aroused. When the length of the " Golden Legend " makes him " half desperate to have accomplished it" and ready to " lay it apart," the Earl of Arundel solicits him in nowise to leave it and promises a yearly fee of a buck in summer and a doe in winter, once it were done. " Many noble and divers gentle men of this realm came and demanded many and often times wherefore 1 have not made and imprinted the noble history of the ' San Graal.'" We see his visitors discussing with the sagacious printer the historic existence of Arthur. Duchess Margaret of Somerset lent him her " Blanchardine and Eglantine ;" an Archdeacon of Colchester brought him his translation of the work called " Cato ; " a mercer of London pressed him to undertake the " Royal Book" of Philip le Bel. The Queen's brother, Earl Rivers, chatted with him over his own translation of the " Sayings of the Philosophers." Even kings showed their interest in his work ; his " Tully " vy^is printed under the patronage of Edward the Fourth, his " Order of Chivalry" dedicated to Richard the Third, his " Fayts of Arms " published at the desire of Henry the Seventh. The fashion of large and gorgeous libraries had passed from the French to the English princes of his day : Henry the Sixth had a valuable collection of books ; that of the Louvre was seized by Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, and formed the basis of the fine library which he presented to the University of Oxford. Great nobles took an active and personal part of the literary revival. The warrior, Sir John Fastolf, was a well-known lover of books. Earl Rivers was himself one of the authors of the day ; he found leisure in the intervals of pilgrimages and politics to translate the " Sayings of the Philosophers" and a couple of religious tracts for Caxton's press. A friend of far greater intellectual distinction, however, than these was found in John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester. He had wandered during the reign of Henry the Sixth in search of learning to Italy, had studied at her universities, and become, a teacher at Padua, where the elegance of his Latinity drew tears from the most learned of the Popes, Pius the Second, better known as Æneas Sylvius. Caxton can find no words warm enough to express his admiration of one " which in his time flowered in virtue and cunning, to whom I know none like among the lords of the temporality in science and moral virtue." But the

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ruthlessness of the Renascence appeared in Tiptoft side by side with its intellectual vigour, and the fall of one whose cruelty had earned him the surname of "the Butcher" even amidst the horrors of civil war was greeted with sorrow by none but the faithful printer. "What great loss was it," he says in a preface long after his fall, "of that noble, virtuous, and well-disposed lord; when I remember and advertise his life, his science, and his virtue, me thinketh (God not displeased) over great a loss of such a man, considering his estate and cunning."

Richard the Third

Among the nobles who encouraged the work of Caxton we have already seen the figure of the King's youngest brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Ruthless and subtle as Edward himself, the Duke at once came to the front with a scheme of daring ambition when the succession of a boy of thirteen woke again the fierce rivalries of the Court. On the King's death Richard hastened to secure the person of his nephew, Edward the Fifth, to overthrow the power of the Queen's family, and to receive from the council the office of Protector of the realm. Little more than a month had passed, when suddenly entering the Council chamber, he charged Lord Hastings, the chief adviser of the late King and loyal adherent of his sons, with sorcery and designs upon his life. As he dashed his hand upon the table the room was filled with soldiers. "I will not dine," said the Duke, addressing Hastings, "till they have brought me your head;" and the powerful minister was hurried to instant execution in the court-yard of the Tower. The Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely were thrown into prison, and every check on Richard's designs was removed. Only one step remained to be taken, and two months after his brother's death the Duke consented after some show of reluctance to receive a petition presented by a body of lords and others in the name of the three estates, which, setting aside Edward's children as the fruit of an unlawful marriage and those of Clarence as disabled by his attainder, besought him to take the office and title of King. His young nephews, Edward V. and his brother the Duke of York, were flung into the Tower, and there murdered, as was alleged, by their uncle's order; while the Queen's brother and son, Lord Rivers and Sir Richard Grey, were hurried to execution. Morton, the Bishop of Ely, imprisoned under Buckingham in Wales, took advantage of the disappearance of the two boys to found a scheme which was to unite the discontented Yorkists with what remained of the Lancastrian party, and to link both bodies in a wide conspiracy. All the descendants of Henry IV. had passed away, but the line of John of Gaunt still survived. The Lady Margaret Beaufort, the last representative of the House of Somerset, had married the Earl of Richmond, Edmund Tudor, and become the mother of Henry Tudor. In the act which legitimated the Beauforts an illegal clause had been inserted by Henry IV. which barred their

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Henry Tudor

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succession to the crown; but as the last remaining scion of the line of Lancaster Henry's claim was acknowledged by the partizans of his House, and he had been driven to seek a refuge in Brittany from the jealous hostility of the Yorkist sovereigns. Morton's plan was the marriage of Henry Tudor with Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of Edward IV., and with Buckingham's aid a formidable revolt was organized. The outbreak was quickly put down. But daring as was Richard's natural temper, it was not to mere violence that he trusted in his seizure of the throne. During his brother's reign he had watched keenly the upgrowth of public discontent as the new policy of the monarchy developed itself, and it was as the restorer of its older liberties that he appealed for popular support. "We be determined," said the citizens of London in a petition to the King, "rather to adventure and to commit us to the peril of our lives and jeopardy of death, than to live in such thraldom and bondage as we have lived long time heretofore, oppressed and injured by extortions and new impositions against the laws of God and man and the liberty and laws of this realm, wherein every Englishman is inherited." Richard met the appeal by again convoking Parliament, which, as we have seen, had been all but discontinued under Edward, and by sweeping measures of reform. In the one session of his brief reign the practice of extorting money by "benevolences" was declared illegal, while grants of pardons and remission of forfeitures reversed in some measure the policy of terror by which Edward at once held the country in awe and filled his treasury. Numerous statutes broke the slumbers of Parliamentary legislation. A series of mercantile enactments strove to protect the growing interests of English commerce. The King's love of literature showed itself in the provision that no statutes should act as a hindrance "to any artificer or merchant stranger, of what nation or country he be, for bringing unto this realm or selling by retail or otherwise of any manner of books, written or imprinted." His prohibition of the iniquitous seizure of goods before conviction of felony, which had prevailed during Edward's reign, his liberation of the bondmen who still remained unenfranchised on the royal domain, and his religious foundations, show Richard's keen anxiety to purchase a popularity in which the bloody opening of his reign might be forgotten. But as the news of the royal children's murder slowly spread, the most pitiless stood aghast at this crowning deed of blood. The pretence of constitutional rule, too, was soon thrown off, and a levy of benevolences in defiance of the statute which had just been passed woke general indignation. The King felt himself safe; he had even won the Queen-mother's consent to his marriage with Elizabeth; and Henry, alone and in exile, seemed a small danger. But a wide conspiracy at once revealed itself when Henry landed at Milford Haven, and advanced through Wales. He no sooner encountered the royal army

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Bosworth Fietd 1485

at Bosworth Field in Leicestershire than treachery decided the day. Abandoned ere the battle began by a division of his forces under Lord Stanley, and as it opened by a second body under the Earl of Northumberland, Richard dashed, with a cry of "Treason, Treason," into the thick of the fight. In the fury of his despair he had already flung the Lancastrian standard to the ground and hewed his way into the very presence of his rival, when he fell overpowered by numbers, and the crown which he had worn, and which was found as the struggle ended lying near a hawthorn bush, was placed on the head of the conqueror.

Henry the Seventh

With the accession of Henry the Seventh ended the long bloodshed of the civil wars. The two warring lines were united by his marriage with Elizabeth: his only dangerous rivals were removed by the successive deaths of the nephews of Edward the Fourth, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, a son of Edward's sister, who had been acknowledged as his successor by Richard the Third; and the Earl of Warwick, a son of Edward's brother the Duke of Clarence, and next male heir of the Yorkist line. Two remarkable impostors succeeded for a time in exciting formidable revolts, Lambert Simnel, under the name of the Earl of Warwick, and Perkin Warbeck, who personated the Duke of York, the second of the children murdered in the Tower. Defeat, however, reduced the first to the post of scullion in the royal kitchen; and the second, after far stranger adventures, and the recognition of his claims by the Kings of Scotland and France, as well as by the Duchess-Dowager of Burgundy, whom he claimed as his aunt, was captured and four years later hanged at Tyburn. Revolt only proved more clearly the strength which had been given to the New Monarchy by the revolution which had taken place in the art of war. The introduction of gunpowder had ruined feudalism. The mounted and heavily-armed knight gave way to the meaner footman. Fortresses which had been impregnable against the attacks of the Middle Ages crumbled before the new artillery. Although gunpowder had been in use as early as Cre^cy, it was not till the accession of the House of Lancaster that it was really brought into effective employment as a military resource. But the revolution in warfare was immediate. The wars of Henry the Fifth were wars of sieges. The "Last of the Barons," as Warwick has picturesquely been styled, relied mainly on his train of artillery. It was artillery that turned the day at Barnet and Tewkesbury, and that gave Henry the Seventh his victory over the formidable dangers which assailed him. The strength which the change gave to the crown was, in fact, almost irresistible. Throughout the Middle Ages the call of a great baron had been enough to raise a formidable revolt. Yeomen and retainers took down the bow from their chimney corner, knights buckled on their armour, and in a few days an army threatened the throne. But without artillery such an army was now helpless, and the one train of artillery in the

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kingdom lay at the disposal of the King. It was the consciousness of his strength which enabled the new sovereign to quietly resume the policy of Edward the Fourth. He was forced, indeed, by the circumstances of his descent to base his right to the throne on a Parliamentary title. Without reference either to the claim of blood or conquest, the Houses enacted simply "that the inheritance of the Crown should be, rest, remain, and abide in the most Royal person of their sovereign lord, King Henry the Seventh, and the heirs of his body lawfully ensuing." But the policy of Edward was faithfully followed, and Parliament was but twice convened during the last thirteen years of Henry's reign. The chief aim, indeed, of the King was the accumulation of a treasure which would relieve him from the need of ever appealing for its aid. Subsidies granted for the support of wars which Henry evaded formed the base of a royal treasure, which was swelled by the revival of dormant claims of the crown, by the exaction of fines for the breach of forgotten tenures, and by a host of petty extortions. A dilemma of his favourite minister, which received the name of "Morton's fork," extorted gifts to the exchequer from men who lived handsomely on the ground that their wealth was manifest, and from those who lived plainly on the plea that economy had made them wealthy. Still greater sums were drawn from those who were compromised in the revolts which chequered the King's rule. So successful were these efforts that at the end of his reign Henry bequeathed a hoard of two millions to his successor. The same imitation of Edward's policy was seen in Henry's civil government. Broken as was the strength of the baronage, there still remained lords whom the new monarch watched with a jealous solicitude. Their power lay in the hosts of disorderly retainers who swarmed round their houses, ready to furnish a force in case of revolt, while in peace they became centres of outrage and defiance to the law. Edward had ordered the dissolution of these military households in his Statute of Liveries, and the statute was enforced by Henry with the utmost severity. Cn a visit to the Earl of Oxford, one of the most devoted adherents of the Lancastrian cause, the King found two long lines of liveried retainers drawn up to receive him. "I thank you for your good cheer, my Lord," said Henry as they parted, "but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." The Earl was glad to escape with a fine of ;£ 10,000. It was with a special view to the suppression of this danger that Henry employed the criminal jurisdiction of the Royal Council. He appointed a committee of his Council as a regular court, to which the place where it usually sat gave the name of the Court of Star Chamber. The King's aim was probably little more than a purpose to enforce order on the land by bringing the great nobles before his own judgment-seat; but the establishment of the court as a regular and no longer an exceptional tribunal, whose

Court of Star Chamber

traditional powers were confirmed by Parliamentary statute, and where the absence of a jury cancelled the prisoner's right to be tried by his peers, furnished his son with his readiest instrument of tyranny. But j though the drift of Henry's policy was steady in the direction of despotism, his temper seemed to promise the reign of a poetic dreamer rather than of a statesman. The spare form, the sallow face, the quick eye, the shy, solitary humour broken by outbursts of pleasant converse or genial sarcasm, told of an inner concentration and enthusiasm. His tastes were literary and artistic ; he was a patron of the new printing press, a lover of books and of art. But life gave Henry little leisure for dreams or culture. Wrapt in schemes of foreign intrigue, struggling with dangers at home, he could take small part in the one movement which stirred England during his reign, the great intellectual revolution which bears the name of the Revival of Letters.

Section IV.—**The** New Learning:. **1509**-1520.

[Authorities.—The general literary history of this period is fully and ac- I curately given by Mr. Hallam (" Literature of Europe"), and in a confused but interesting way by Warton ("History of English Poetry"). The most accessible edition of the typical book of the Revival, More's "Utopia," is the Elizabethan translation, published by Mr. Arber ("English Reprints," 1869). The history of Erasmus in England must be followed in his own entertaining Letters, abstracts of some of which will be found in the well-known biography by Jortin. Colet's work and the theological aspect of the Revival has been described **fey** Mr. Seebohm (" The Oxford Reformers of 1498"); for Warham's share, I have ventured to borrow a little from a paper of mine on ** Lambeth and the Archbishops," in " Stray Studies."]

The New Learning

Great as were the issues of Henry's policy, it shrinks into littleness if we turn from it to the weighty movements which were now stirring the minds of men. The world was passing through changes more momentous than any it had witnessed since the victory of Christianity i and the fall of the Roman Empire. Its physical bounds were suddenly ; enlarged. The discoveries of Copernicus revealed to man the secret | of the universe. Portuguese mariners doubled the Cape of Good Hope and anchored their merchant fleets in the harbours of India. Columbus crossed the untraversed ocean to add a New World to the Old. Sebastian Cabot, starting from the port of Bristol, threaded his way among the icebergs of Labrador. This sudden contact with new lands, new faiths, new races of men quickened the slumbering intelligence of Europe into a strange curiosity. The first book of voyages that told of the Western World, the Travels of Amerigo Vespucci, was soon "in everybody's hands." The "Utopia" of More, in its wide range of speculation on every subject of human thought and action, tells us how roughly and utterly the narrowness and limitation of human life had been broken up. The capture of Constantinople by

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the Turks, and the flight of its Greek scholars to the shores of Italy, opened anew the science and literature of the older world at the very hour when the intellectual energy of the Middle Ages had sunk into exhaustion. The exiled Greek scholars were welcomed in Italy, and Florence, so long the home of freedom and of art, became the home of an intellectual revival. The poetry of Homer, the drama of Sophocles, the philosophy of Aristotle and of Plato woke again to life beneath the shadow of the mighty dome with which Brunelleschi had just crowned the City by the Arno. All the restless energy which Florence had so long thrown into the cause of liberty she flung, now that her liberty was reft from her, into the cause of letters. The galleys of her merchants brought back manuscripts from the East as the most precious portion of their freight. In the palaces of her nobles fragments of classic sculpture ranged themselves beneath the frescoes of Ghirlandajo. The recovery of a treatise of Cicero's or a tract of Sallust's from the dust of a monastic library was welcomed by the group of statesmen and artists who gathered in the Rucellai gardens with a thrill of enthusiasm. Foreign scholars soon flocked over the Alps to learn Greek, the key of the new knowledge, from the Florentine teachers. Grocyn, a fellow of New College, was perhaps the first Englishman who studied under the Greek exile, Chalcondylas ; and the Greek

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lectures which he delivered in Oxford on his return mark the opening of a new period in our history. Physical as well as literary activity awoke with the re-discovery of the teachers of Greece, and the continuous progress of English science may be dated from the uay when Linacre, another Oxford student, returned from the lectures of the Florentine Politian to revive the older tradition of medicine by his translation of Galen.

Colet at Oxford

But from the first it was manifest that the revival of letters would take a tone in England very different from the tone it had taken in Italy, a tone less literary, less largely human, but more moral, more religious, more practical in its bearings both upon society and politics. The awakening of a rational Christianity, whether in England or in the Teutonic world at large, began with the Italian studies of John Colet; and the vigour and earnestness of Colet were the best proof of the strength with which the new movement was to affect English religion. He came back to Oxford utterly untouched by the Platonic mysticism or the semi-serious infidelity which characterized the group of scholars round Lorenzo the Magnificent. He was hardly more influenced by their literary enthusiasm. The knowledge of Greek seems to have had one almost exclusive end for him, and this was a religious end. Greek was the key by which he could unlock the Gospels and the New Testament, and in these he thought that he could find a new religious standing-ground. It was this resolve of Colet to fling aside the traditional dogmas of his day and to discover a rational

and practical religion in the Gospels themselves, which gave its peculiar stamp to the theology of the Renascence. His faith stood simply on a vivid realization of the person of Christ. In the prominence which such a view gave to the moral life, in his free criticism of the earlier Scriptures, in his tendency to simple forms of doctrine and confessions of faith, Colet struck the key-note of a mode of religious thought as strongly in contrast with that of the later Reformation as with that of Catholicism itself. The allegorical and mystical theology on which the Middle Ages had spent their intellectual vigour to such little purpose fell at one blow before his rejection of all but the historical and grammatical sense of the Biblical text. The great fabric of belief built up by the mediaeval doctors seemed to him simply "the corruptions of the Schoolmen." In the life and sayings of its Founder he found a simple and rational Christianity, whose fittest expression was the Apostles' creed. "About the rest," he said with characteristic impatience, "let divines dispute as they will." Of his attitude towards the coarser aspects of the current religion his behaviour at a later time before the famous shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury gives us a rough indication. As the blaze of its jewels, its costly sculptures, its elaborate metal-work burst on Colet's view, he suggested with bitter irony that a saint so lavish to the poor in his lifetime would certainly prefer that they should possess the wealth heaped round him since his death. With ^petulant disgust he rejected the rags of the martyr which were offered for his adoration, and the shoe which was offered for his kiss. The earnestness, the religious zeal, the very impatience and want of sympathy with the past which we see in every word and act of the man, 1497 burst out in the lectures on St. Paul's Epistles which he delivered at Oxford. Even to the most critical among his hearers he seemed "like one inspired, raised in voice, eye, his whole countenance and mien, out of himself." Severe as was the outer life of the new teacher, a severity marked by his plain black robe and the frugal table which he preserved amidst his later dignities, his lively conversation, his frank simplicity, the purity and nobleness of his life, even the keen outbursts of his troublesome temper, endeared him to a group of scholars among whom Erasmus and Thomas More stood in the foremost rank.

Erasmus in England

"Greece has crossed the Alps," cried the exiled Argyropulos on hearing a translation of Thucydides by the German Reuchlin; but the glory, whether of Reuchlin or of the Teutonic scholars who followed him, was soon eclipsed by that of Erasmus. His enormous industry, the vast store of classical learning which he gradually accumulated, Erasmus shared with others of his day. In patristic reading he may have stood beneath Luther; in originality and profoundness of thought he was certainly inferior to More. His theology, though he made a far greater mark on the world by it than even by

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his scholarship, he derived almost without change from Colet. But his combination of vast learning with keen observation, of acuteness of remark with a lively fancy, of genial wit with a perfect good sense—his union of as sincere a piety and as profound a zeal for rational religion as Colet's with a dispassionate fairness towards older faiths, a large love of secular culture, and a genial freedom and play of mind—this union was his own, and it was through this that Erasmus embodied for the Teutonic peoples the quickening influence of the New Learning during the long scholar-life which began at Paris and ended amidst darkness and sorrow at Basel. At the time of Colet's return from Italy Erasmus was young and comparatively unknown, but the chivalrous enthusiasm of the new movement breaks out in his letters from Paris, whither he had wandered as a scholar. " I have given up my whole soul to Greek learning," he writes, " and as soon as I get any money I shall buy Greek books—and then I shall buy some clothes." It was in despair of reaching Italy that the young scholar made his way to Oxford, as the one place on this side the Alps where he would be enabled through the teaching of Grocyn to acquire a knowledge of Greek. But he had no sooner arrived there than all feeling of regret vanished away. " I have found in Oxford/' he writes, " so much polish and learning that now I hardly care about going to Italy at all, save for the sake of having been there. When I listen to my friend Colet it seems like listening to Plato himself. Who does not wonder at the wide range *of* Grocyn's knowledge? What can be more searching, deep, and refined than the judgement of Linacre? When did Nature moulS a temper more gentle, endearing, and happy than the temper of Thomas More?"

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Revival of Learning:

But the new movement was far from being bounded by the walls of Oxford. The silent influences of time were working, indeed, steadily for its cause. The printing press was making letters the common property of all. In the last thirty years of the fifteenth century ten thousand editions of books and pamphlets are said to have been published throughout Europe, the most important half of them of course in Italy ; and all the Latin authors were accessible to every student before it closed. Almost all the more valuable authors of Greece were published in the first twenty years of the century which followed. The profound influence of this burst of the two great classic literatures upon the world at once made itself felt. " For the first time," to use the picturesque phrase of M. Taine, " men opened their eyes and saw." The human mind seemed to gather new energies at the sight of the vast field which opened before it. It attacked every province of knowledge, and it transformed all. Experimental science, the science of philology, the science of politics, the critical investigation of religious truth, all took their origin from the Renascence—this ' New Birth' of the world. Art, rf it lost much in purity and propriety, gained in scope and in the fearlessness of its love of Nature. Literature, if

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crushed for the moment by the overpowering attraction of the great models of Greece and Rome, revived with a grandeur of form, a large spirit of humanity, such as it had never known since their day. In England the influence of the new movement extended far beyond the little group in which it had a few years before seemed concentrated. The great churchmen became its patrons. Langton, Bishop of Winchester, took delight in examining the young scholars of his episcopal family every evening, and sent all the most promising of them to study across the Alps. Learning found a yet warmer friend in the Archbishop of Canterbury. Immersed as Archbishop Warham was in the business of the state, he was no mere politician. The eulogies which Erasmus lavished on him while he lived, his praises of the Primate's learning, of his ability in business, his pleasant humour, his modesty, his fidelity to friends, may pass for what eulogies of living men are commonly worth. But it is difficult to doubt the sincerity of the glowing picture which he drew of him when death had destroyed all interest in mere adulation. The letters indeed which passed between the great churchman and the wandering scholar, the quiet, simple-hearted grace which amidst constant instances of munificence preserved the perfect equality of literary friendship, the enlightened piety to which Erasmus could address the noble words of his preface to St. Jerome, confirm the judgement of every good man of Warham's day. In the simplicity of his life the Archbishop offered a striking contrast to the luxurious nobles of his time. He cared nothing for the pomp, the sensual pleasures, the hunting and dicing in which they too commonly indulged. An hour's pleasant reading, a quiet chat with some learned new-comer, alone broke the endless round of civil and ecclesiastical business. Few men realized so thoroughly as Warham the new conception of an intellectual and moral equality before which the old social distinctions of the world were to vanish away. His favourite relaxation was to sup among a group of scholarly visitors, enjoying their fun and retorting with fun of his own. But the scholar-world found more than supper or fun at the Primate's board. His purse was ever open to relieve their poverty. "Had I found such a patron in my youth," Erasmus wrote long after, "I too might have been counted among the fortunate ones/' It was with Grocyn that Erasmus on a second visit to England rowed up the river to Warham's board at Lambeth, and in spite of an unpromising beginning the acquaintance turned out wonderfully well. The Primate loved him, Erasmus wrote home, as if he were his father or his brother, and his generosity surpassed that of all his friends. He offered him a sinecure, and when he declined it he bestowed on him a pension of a hundred crowns a year. When Erasmus wandered to Paris it was Warham's invitation which recalled him to England. When the rest of his patrons left him to starve on the sour beer of Cambridge it was Warham who sent him fifty angels. "I wish

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there were thirty legions of them," the Primate puns in his good-humoured way.

Real however as this progress was, the group of scholars who represented the New Learning in England still remained a little one through the reign of Henry the Seventh. But a "New Order," to use their own enthusiastic term, dawned on them with the accession of his son. Henry the Eighth had hardly completed his eighteenth year when he mounted the throne, but the beauty of his person, his vigour and skill in arms, seemed matched by a frank and generous temper and a nobleness of political aims. He gave promise of a more popular system of government by checking at once the extortion which had been practised under colour of enforcing forgotten laws, and by bringing his father's financial ministers, Empson and Dudley, to trial on a charge of treason. No accession ever excited higher expectations among a people than that of Henry the Eighth. Pole, his bitterest enemy, confessed at a later time, that the King was of a temper at the beginning of his reign "from which all excellent things might have been hoped." Already in stature and strength a King among his fellows, taller than any, bigger than any, a mighty wrestler, a mighty hunter, an archer of the best, a knight who bore down rider after rider in the tourney, the young monarch combined with his bodily lordliness a largeness and versatility of mind which was to be the special characteristic of the age that had begun. His sympathies were known to be heartily with the New Learning; for Henry was not only himself a fair scholar, but even in boyhood had roused by his wit and attainments the wonder of Erasmus. The great scholar hurried back to England to pour out his exultation in the "Praise of Folly," a song of triumph over the old world of ignorance and bigotry which was to vanish away before the light and knowledge of the new reign. Folly, in his amusing little book, mounts a pulpit in cap and bells and pelts with her satire the absurdities of the world around her, the superstition of the monk, the pedantry of the grammarian, the dogmatism of the doctors of the schools, the selfishness and tyranny of kings.

The New Learning and Education

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The irony of Erasmus was backed by the earnest effort of Colet. Four years before he had been called from Oxford *to* the Deanery *of* St. Paul's, when he became the great preacher of his day, the predecessor of Latimer in his simplicity, his directness, and his force. He seized the opportunity to commence the work of educational reform by the foundation of his own Grammar School, beside St. Paul's. The bent of its founder's mind was shown by the image of the Child Jesus over the master's chair, with the words* "Hear ye Him "graven beneath it. "Lift up your little white hands for me," wrote the Dean to his scholars, in words which show the tenderness that lay beneath the stem outer seeming of the man,—"for me which prayeth for you to God."

All the educational designs of the reformers were carried out in the new-foundation. The old methods of instruction were superseded by fresh grammars composed by Erasmus and other scholars for its use. Lilly, an Oxford student who had studied Greek in the East, was placed at its head. The injunctions of the founder aimed at the union of rational religion with sound learning, at the exclusion of the scholastic logic, and at the steady diffusion of the two classical literatures. The more bigoted of the clergy were quick to take alarm. " No wonder," More wrote to the Dean, "your school raises a storm, for it is like the wooden horse in which armed Greeks were hidden for the ruin of barbarous Troy." But the cry of alarm passed helplessly away. Not only did the study of Greek creep gradually into the schools which existed, but the example of Colet was followed by a crowd of imitators. More grammar schools, it has been said, were founded in the latter years of Henry than in the three centuries before. The impulse grew only stronger as the direct influence of the New Learning passed away. The grammar schools of Edward the Sixth and of Elizabeth, in a word the system of middle-class education which by the close of the century had changed the very face of England, were amongst the results of Colet's foundation of St. Paul's. But the " armed Greeks " of More's apologue found a yet wider field in the reform of the higher education of the country. On the Universities the influence of the New Learning was like a passing from death to life. Erasmus gives us a picture of what happened at Cambridge, where he was himself for a time a teacher of Greek. " Scarcely thirty years ago nothing was taught here 1516
but the *Parva Logicalia,* Alexander, antiquated exercises from Aristotle, and the *Quastiones* of Scotus. As time went on better studies were added, mathematics, a new, or at any rate a renovated, Aristotle, and a knowledge of Greek literature. What has been the result ? The University is now so flourishing that it can compete with the best universities of the age." Latimer and Croke returned from Italy and carried on the work of Erasmus at Cambridge, where Fisher, Bishop of Rochester^ himself one of the foremost scholars of the new movement, lent it his powerful support. At Oxford the Revival met with a fiercer opposition. The contest took the form of boyish frays, in which the young partizans and opponents of the New Learning took sides as Greeks and Trojans. The King himself had to summon one of its fiercest enemies to Woodstock, and to impose silence on the tirades which were delivered from the University pulpit. The preacher alleged that he was carried away by the Spirit. "Yes," retorted the King, " by the spirit, not of wisdom, but of folly." But even at Oxford the contest was soon at an end. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, established the first Greek lecture there in his new 1520
college of Corpus Christi, and a Professorship of Greek was at a later time established by the Crown. " The students," wrote an eye-

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witness," rush to Greek letters, they endure watching, fasting, toil, and hunger in the pursuit of them." The work was crowned at last by the munificent foundation of Cardinal College, to share in whose teaching Wolsey invited the most eminent of the living scholars of Europe, and for whose library he promised to obtain copies of all the manuscripts in the Vatican.

The New Learning: and the Church

From the reform of education the New Learning pressed on to the reform of the Church. Warham still flung around the movement his steady protection, and it was by his commission that Colet was enabled to address the Convocation of the Clergy in words which set before them with unsparing severity the religious ideal of the New Learning. "Would that for once," burst forth the fiery preacher,

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" you would remember your name and profession and take thought for the reformation of the Church! Never was it more necessary, and never did the state of the Church need more vigorous endeavours." " We are troubled with heretics," he went on, "but no heresy of theirs is so fatal to us and to the people at large as the vicious and depraved lives of the clergy. That is the worst heresy of all." It was the reform of the bishops that must precede that of the clergy, the reform of the clergy that would lead to a general revival of religion in the people at large. The accumulation of benefices, the luxury and worldliness of the priesthood, must be abandoned. The prelates ought to be busy preachers, to forsake the Court and labour in their own dioceses. Care should be taken for the ordination and promotion of worthier ministers, residence should be enforced, the low standard of clerical morality should be raised. It is plain that the men of the New Learning looked forward, not to a reform of doctrine, but to a reform of life, not to a revolution which should sweep away the older superstitions which they despised, but to a regeneration of spiritual feeling before which they would inevitably vanish. Colet was soon charged with heresy by the Bishop of London. Warham however protected him, and Henry, to whom the Dean was denounced, bade him go boldly on. " Let every man have his own doctor," said the young King, after a long interview," and let every man favour his own, but this man is the doctor for me."

Henry and France

But for the success of the new reform, a reform which could only be wrought out by the tranquil spread of knowledge and the gradual enlightenment of the human conscience, the one thing needful was peace; and the young King to whom the scholar-group looked was already longing for war. Long as peace had been established between the two countries, the designs of England upon the French crown had never been really waived, and Henry's pride dwelt on the older claims of England to Normandy and Guienne. Edward the Fourth and Henry the Seventh had each clung to a system of peace, only broken by the vain efforts to save Britanny from

French invasion. But the growth of the French monarchy in extent and power through the policy of Lewis the Eleventh, his extinction of the great feudatories, and the administrative centralization he introduced, raised his kingdom to a height far above that of its European rivals. The power of France, in fact, was only counterbalanced by that of Spain, which had become a great state through the union of Castile and Aragon, and where the cool and wary Ferdinand of Aragon was building up a vast power by the marriage of his daughter and heiress to the Archduke Philip, son of the Emperor Maximilian. Too weak to meet France single-handed, Henry the Seventh saw in an alliance with Spain a security against his "hereditary enemy," and this alliance had been cemented by the marriage of his eldest son, Arthur, with Ferdinand's daughter, Catharine of Aragon. 1501
This match was broken by the death of the young bridegroom ; but by the efforts of Spain a Papal dispensation was procured which enabled Catharine to wed the brother of her late husband. Henry, however, anxious to preserve a balanced position between the battling powers of France and Spain, opposed the union ; but Henry the »5°9
Eighth had no sooner succeeded his father on the throne than the marriage was carried out. Throughout the rirst years of his reign, amidst the tournaments and revelry which seemed to absorb his whole energies, Henry was in fact keenly watching the opening which the ambition of France began to afford for a renewal of the old struggle. Under the successors of Lewis the Eleventh the efforts of me French monarchy had been directed to the conquest of Italy. The passage of the Alps by Charles the Eighth and the mastery which he won over Italy at a single blow lifted France at once above the states around her. Twice repulsed from Naples, she remained under the successor of Charles, Lewis the Twelfth, mistress of Milan and of the bulk of Northern Italy ; and the ruin of Venice in the league oi Cambray crushed the last Italian state which could oppose her designs on the whole peninsula. A Holy League, as it 1511
was called from the accession to it of the Pope, to drive France from the Milanese was formed by the efforts of Ferdinand, aided as he was by the kinship of the Emperor, the support of Venice and Julius the Second, and the warlike temper of Henry the Eighth. "The barbarians," to use the phrase of Julius "were chased beyond the Alps ; " but Ferdinand's unscrupulous adroitness only used the English force, which had landed at Fontarabia with the view of attacking Guienne, to cover his own conquest of Navarre. The troop mutinied and sailed home ; men scoffed at the English as useless for war. Henry's spirit, however, rose with the need. He landed in person in the north of France, and a sudden rout of the French cavalry in an engagement near Guinegate, which received from his bloodless charactei the name of the Battle of the

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Spurs, gave him the fortresses of Te*rouanne and Tournay. The young conqueror was eagerly pressing on to the recovery of his "heritage of France," when he found himself suddenly left alone by the desertion of Ferdinand and the dissolution of the league. Henry had indeed gained much. The might of France was broken. The Papacy was restored to freedom. England had again figured as a great power in Europe. But the millions left by his father were exhausted, his subjects had been drained by repeated subsidies, and, furious as he was at the treachery of his Spanish ally, Henry was driven to conclude a peace.

The Peace and the New Learning

To the hopes of the New Learning this sudden outbreak of the spirit of war, this change of the monarch from whom they had looked for a "new order" into a vulgar conqueror, proved a bitter disappointment. Colet thundered from the pulpit of St. Paul's that "an unjust peace is better than the justest war," and protested that "when men out of hatred and ambition fight with and destroy one another, they fight under the banner, not of Christ, but of the Devil." Erasmus quitted Cambridge with a bitter satire against the "madness" around him. "It is the people," he said, in words which must have startled his age,—"it is the people who build cities, while the madness of princes destroys them." The sovereigns of his time appeared to him like ravenous birds pouncing with beak and claw on the hard-won wealth and knowledge of mankind. "Kings who are scarcely men," he exclaimed in bitter irony, "are called *divine ;' they are 'invincible' though they fly from every battle-field ; 'serene' though they turn the world upside down in a storm of war ; 'illustrious' though they grovel in ignorance of all that is noble ; 'Catholic' though they follow anything rather than Christ. Of all birds the Eagle alone has seemed to wise men the type of royalty, a bird neither beautiful nor musical nor good for food, but murderous, greedy, hateful to all, the curse of all, and with its great powers of doing harm only surpassed by its desire to do it." It was the first time in modern history that religion had formally dissociated itself from the ambition of princes and the horrors of war, or that the new spirit of criticism had ventured not only to question but to deny what had till then seemed the primary truths of political order. We shall soon see to what further length the new speculations were pushed by a greater thinker, but for the moment the indignation of the New Learning was diverted to more practical ends by the sudden peace. However he had disappointed its hopes, Henry still remained its friend. Through all the changes of his terrible career his home was a home of letters. His boy, Edward the Sixth, was a fair scholar in both the classical languages. His daughter Mary wrote good Latin letters. Elizabeth began every day with an hour's reading in the Greek Testament, the tragedies of Sophocles, or the orations of Demosthenes. The ladies of the court caught the royal fashion, and were found poring over the pages of Plato. Widelv as Henry's ministers differed from each other, they all agreed

in sharing and fostering the culture around them. The panic of the scholar-group therefore soon passed away. The election of Leo the Tenth, the fellow-student of Linacre, the friend of Erasmus, seemed to give to the New Learning control of Christendom. The age of the turbulent, ambitious Julius was thought to be over, and the new Pope declared for a universal peace. "Leo," wrote an English agent at his Court, in words to which after-history lent a strange meaning, "would favour literature and the arts, busy himself in building, and enter into no war save through actual compulsion." England, under the new ministry of Wolsey, withdrew from any active interference in the struggles of the Continent, and seemed as resolute as Leo himself for peace. Colet toiled on with his educational efforts; Erasmus forwarded to England the works which English liberality was enabling him to produce abroad. Warham extended to him as generous an aid as the protection he had afforded to Colet. His edition of the works of St-Jerome had been begun under Warham's encouragement during the great scholar's residence at Cambridge, and it appeared with a dedication to the Archbishop on its title-page. That Erasmus could find protection in Warham's name for a work which boldly recalled Christendom to the path of sound Biblical criticism, that he could address him in words so outspoken as those of his preface, shows how fully the Primate sympathized with the highest efforts of the New Learning. Nowhere had the spirit of inquiry so firmly set itself against the claims of authority. "Synods and decrees, and even councils," wrote Erasmus, "are by no means in my judgement the fittest modes of repressing error, unless truth depend simply on authority. But on the contrary, the more dogmas there are, the more fruitful is the ground in producing heresies. Never was the Christian faith purer or more undefiled than when the world was content with a single creed, and that the shortest creed we have." It is touching even now to listen to such an appeal of reason and of culture against the tide of dogmatism which was soon to flood Christendom with Augsburg Confessions and Creeds of Pope Pius and Westminster Catechisms and Thirty-nine Articles. The principles which Erasmus urged in his "Jerome" were urged with far greater clearness and force in a work which laid the foundation of the future Reformation, the edition of the Greek Testament on which he had been engaged at Cambridge, and whose production was almost wholly due to the encouragement and assistance he received from English scholars. In itself the book was a bold defiance of theological tradition. It set aside the Latin version of the Vulgate, which had secured universal acceptance in the Church. Its method of interpretation was based, not on received dogmas, but on the literal meaning of the text. Its real end was the end at which Colet had aimed in his Oxford lectures. Erasmus desired to set Christ himself in the place of the Church, to recall men from the teachings of Christian theologians

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The Jerome of Erasmus

New Testament of Erasmus

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to the teachings of the Founder of Christianity. The whole value of the Gospels to him lay in the vividness with which they brought home to their readers the personal impression of Christ himself. "Were we to have seen him with our own eyes, we should not have so intimate a knowledge as they give us of Christ, speaking, healing, dying, rising again, as it were in our very presence." All the superstitions of mediaeval worship faded away in the light of this personal worship of Christ. "If the footprints of Christ are shown us in any place, we kneel down and adore them. Why do we not rather venerate the living and breathing picture of him in these books? We deck statues of wood and stone with gold and gems for the love of Christ. Yet they only profess to represent to us the outer form of his body, while these books present us with a living picture of his holy mind." In the same way the actual teaching of Christ was made to supersede the mysterious dogmas of the older ecclesiastical teaching. "As though Christ taught such subtleties/' burst out Erasmus: "subtleties that can scarcely be understood even by a few theologians—or as though the strength of the Christian religion consisted in man's ignorance of it! It may be the safer course," he goes on, with characteristic irony, "to conceal the state-mysteries of kings, but Christ desired his mysteries to be spread abroad as openly as was possible." In the diffusion, in the universal knowledge *of* the teaching of Christ the foundation of a reformed Christianity had still, he urged, to be laid. With the tacit approval of the Primate of a Church which from the time of Wyclif had held the translation and reading of the Bible in the common tongue to be neresy and a crime punishable with the fire, Erasmus boldly avowed his wish for a Bible open and intelligible to all. "I wish that even the weakest woman might read the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. I wish that they were translated into all languages, so as to be read and understood not only by Scots and Irishmen, but even by Saracens and Turks. But the first step to their being read is to make them intelligible to the reader. I long for the day when the husbandman shall sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough, when the weaver shall hum them to the tune of his shuttle, when the traveller shall while away with their stories the weariness of his journey." The New Testament of Erasmus became the topic of the day; the Court, the Universities, every household to which the New Learning had penetrated, read and discussed it. But bold as its language may have seemed, Warham not only expressed his approbation, but lent the work—as he wrote to its author—"to bishop after bishop." The most influential of his suffragans, Bishop Fox of Winchester, declared that the mere version was worth ten commentaries: one of the most learned, Fisher of Rochester, entertained Erasmus at his house.

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Thomas More

Paring and full of promise as were these efforts of the New Learning

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in the direction of educational and religious reform, its political and social speculations took a far wider range in the " Utopia " of Thomas More. Even in the household of Cardinal Morton, where he had spent his childhood, More's precocious ability had raised the highest hopes. " Whoever may live to see it," the grey-haired statesman used to say, " this boy now waiting at table will turn out a marvellous man." We have seen the spell which his wonderful learning and the sweetness of his temper threw over Colet and Erasmus at Oxford, and young as he was, More no sooner quitted the University than he was known throughout Europe as one of the foremost figures in the new movement. The keen, irregular face, the grey restless eye, the thin mobile lips, the tumbled brown hair, the careless gait and dress, as they remain stamped on the canvas of Holbein, picture the inner soul of the man, his vivacity, his restless, all-devouring intellect, his keen and even reckless wit, the kindly, half-sad humour that drew its strange veil of laughter and tears over the deep, tender reverence of the soul within. In a higher, because in a sweeter and more loveable form than Colet, More is the representative of the religious tendency of the New Learning in England. The young law-student who laughed at the superstition and asceticism of the monks of his day wore a hair shirt next his skin, and schooled himself by penances for the cell he desired among the Carthusians. It was characteristic of the man that among all the gay, profligate scholars of the Italian Renascence he chose as the object of his admiration the disciple of Savonarola, Pico di Mirandola* Free-thinker as the bigots who listened to his daring speculations termed him, his eye would brighten and his tongue falter as he spoke with friends of heaven and the after-life. When he took office, it was with the open stipulation " first to look to God, and after God to the King." But in his outer bearing there was nothing of the monk or recluse. The brightness and freedom of the New Learning seemed incarnate in the young scholar, with his gay talk, his winsomeness of manner, his reckless epigrams, his passionate love of music, his omnivorous reading, his paradoxical speculations, his gibes at monks, his schoolboy fervour of liberty. But events were soon to prove that beneath this sunny nature lay a stern inflexibility of conscientious resolve. The Florentine scholars who penned declamations against tyrants had covered with their flatteries the tyranny of the house of Medici. More no sooner entered Parliament than his ready argument and keen sense of justice led to the rejection of the Royal demand for a heavy subsidy. [u] A beardless boy," said the courtiers,— and More was only twenty-six,—"has disappointed the King's purpose ;" and during the rest of Henry the Seventh's reign the young lawyer found it prudent to withdraw from public life. But the withdrawal had little effect on his buoyant activity. He rose at once into repute at the bar. He wrote his " Life of Edward the Fifth,"

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the first work in which what we may call modern English prose appears written with purity and clearness of style and a freedom either from antiquated forms of expression or classical pedantry. His ascetic dreams were replaced by the affections of home. It is when we get a glimpse of him in his house at Chelsea that we understand the endearing epithets which Erasmus always lavishes upon More. The delight of the young husband was to train the girl he had chosen for his wife in his own taste for letters and for music. The reserve which the age exacted from parents was thrown to the winds in More's intercours with his children. He loved teaching them, and lured them to th-ir deeper studies by the coins and curiosities he had gathered in his cabinet. He was as fond of their pets and their games as his children themselves, and would take grave scholars and statesmen into the garden to see his girls' rabbit-hutches or to watch the gambols of their favourite monkey. " I have given you kisses enough," he wrote to his little ones in merry verse when far away on political business, " but stripes hardly ever." The accession of Henry the Eighth dragged him back into the political current. It was at his house that Erasmus penned the " Praise of Folly," and the work, in its Latin title, " Moriae Encomium," embodied in playful fun his love of the extravagant humour of More. More " tried as hard to keep out of Court," says his descendant, " as most men try to get into it." When the charm of his conversation gave so much pleasure to the young sovereign, " that he could not once in a month get leave to go home to his wife or children, whose company he much desired, . . . he began thereupon to dissemble his nature, and so, little by little, from his former mirth to dissemble himself." More shared to the full the disappointment of his friends at the sudden outbreak of Henry's warlike temper, but the peace again drew him to Henry's side, and he was soon in the King's confidence both as a counsellor and as a diplomatist.

1516

It was on one of his diplomatic missions that More describes himself as hearing news of the Kingdom of " Nowhere." " On a certain day when I had heard mass in Our Lady's Church, which is the fairest, the most gorgeous and curious church of building in all the city of Antwerp, and also most frequented of people, and service being over I was ready to go home to my lodgings, I chanced to espy my friend Peter Gilles talking with a certain stranger, a man well stricken in age, with a black sun-burnt face, a large beard, and a cloke cast trimly about his shoulders, whom by his favour and apparell forthwith I judged to be a mariner." The sailor turned out to have been a companion of Amerigo Vespucci in those voyages to the New World " that be now in print and abroad in every man's hand," and on More's invitation he accompanied him to his house, and "there in my garden upon a bench covered with green turves we sate down, talking

together "of the man's marvellous adventures, his desertion in America by Vespucci, his wanderings over the country under the equinoctial line, and at last of his stay in the Kingdom of" Nowhere." It was the story of" Nowhere," or Utopia, which More embodied in the wonderful book which reveals to us the heart of the New Learning. As yet the movement had been one of scholars and divines. Its plans of reform had been almost exclusively intellectual and religious. But in More the same free play of thought which had shaken off the old forms of education and faith turned to question the old forms of society and politics. From a world where fifteen hundred years of Christian teaching had produced social injustice, religious intolerance, and political tyranny, the humourist philosopher turned to a " Nowhere" in which the mere efforts of natural human virtue realized those ends of security, equality, brotherhood, and freedom for which the very institution of society seemed to have been framed. It is as he wanders through this dreamland of the new reason that More touches the great problems which were fast opening before the modern world, problems of labour, of crime, of conscience, of government. Merely to have seen and to have examined questions such as these would prove the keenness of his intellect, but its far-reaching originality is shown in the solutions which he proposes. Amidst much that is the pure play of an exuberant fancy, much that is mere recollection of the dreams of bygone dreamers, we find again and again the most important social and political discoveries of later times anticipated by the genius of Thomas More. In some points, such as his treatment of the question of Labour, he still remains far in advance of current opinion. The whole system of society around him seemed to him "nothing but a conspiracy of the rich against the poor." Its economic legislation was simply the carrying out of such a conspiracy by process of law. " The rich are ever striving to pare away something further from the daily wages of the poor by private fraud and even by public law, so that the wrong already existing (for it is a wrong that those from whom the State derives most benefit should receive least reward) is made yet greater by means of the law of the State." " The rich devise every means by which they may in the first place secure to themselves what they have amassed by wrong, and then take to their own use and profit at the lowest possible price the work and labour of the poor. And so soon as the rich decide on adopting these devices in the name of the public, then they become law." The result was the wretched existence to which the labour-class was doomed, " a life so wretched that even a beast's life seems enviable." No such cry of pity for the poor, of protest against the system of agrarian and manufacturing tyranny which found its expression in the Statute-book, had been heard since the days of Piers Ploughman. But from Christendom More turns with a smile to " Nowhere." In " Nowhere "

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the aim of legislation is to secure the welfare, social, industrial, intellectual, religious, of the community at large, and of the labour-class as the true basis of a well-ordered commonwealth. The end of its labour-laws was simply the welfare of the labourer. Goods were possessed indeed in common, but work was compulsory with all. The period of toil was shortened to the nine hours demanded by modern artizans, with a view to the intellectual improvement of the worker. "In the institution of the weal public this end is only and chiefly pretended and minded that what time may possibly be spared from the necessary occupations and affairs of the commonwealth, all that the citizens should withdraw from bodily service to the free liberty *of* the mind and garnishing of the same. For herein they conceive the felicity of this life to consist." A public system of education enabled the Utopians to avail themselves of their leisure. While in England half of the population could read no English, every child was well taught in "Nowhere." The physical aspects of society were cared for as attentively as its moral. The houses of Utopia "in the beginning were very low and like homely cottages or poor shepherd huts made at all adventures of every rude piece of timber that came first to hand, with mud walls and ridged roofs thatched over with straw." The picture was really that of the common English town of More's day, the home of squalor and pestilence. In Utopia however they had at last come to realize the connexion between public morality and the health which springs f-om light, air, comfort, and cleanliness. "The streets were twenty *feet* broad; the houses backed by spacious gardens, and curiously builded after a gorgeous and gallant sort, with their stories one after another. The outsides of the walls be made either of hard flint, or of plaster, or else of brick; and the inner sides be well strengthened by timber work. The roofs be plain and flat, covered over with plaster so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it, and withstanding the violence of the weather better than any lead. They keep the wind out of their windows with glass, for it is there much used, and sometimes also with fine linen cloth dipped in oil or amber, and that for two commodities, for by this means more light cometh in and the wind is better kept out."

The same foresight which appears in More's treatment of the questions of Labour and the Public Health is yet more apparent in his treatment of the question of Crime. He was the first to suggest that punishment was less effective in suppressing it than prevention. "If you allow your people to be badly taught, their morals to be corrupted from childhood, and then when they are men punish them for the very crimes to which they have been trained in childhood—what is this but to make thieves, and then to punish them?" He was the first *to* plead for proportion between the punishment and the crime, and to

point out the folly of the cruel penalties of his day. " Simple theft is not so great an offence as to be punished with death." If a thief and a murderer are sure of the same penalty, More shows that the law is simply tempting the thief to secure his theft by murder. " While we go about to make thieves afraid, we are really provoking them to kill good men." The end of all punishment he declares to be reformation, " nothing else but the destruction of vice and the saving of men." He advises " so using and ordering criminals that they cannot choose but be good ; and what harm soever they did before, the residue of their lives to make amends for the same." Above all, he urges that to be remedial punishment must be wrought out by labour and hope, so that " none is hopeless or in despair to recover again his former state of freedom by giving good tokens and likelihood of himself that he will ever after that live a true and honest man." It is not too much to say that in the great principles More lays down he anticipated every one of the improvements in our criminal system which have distinguished the last hundred years. His treatment of the religious question was even more in advance of his age. If the houses of Utopia were strangely in contrast with the halls of England, where the bones from every dinner lay rotting in the dirty straw which strewed the floor, where the smoke curled about the rafters, and the wind whistled through the unglazed windows ; if its penal legislation had little likeness to the gallows which stood out so frequently against our English sky ; the religion of " Nowhere" was in yet stronger conflict with the faith of Christendom. It rested simply on nature and reason. It held that God's design was the happiness of man, and that the ascetic rejection of human delights, save for the common good, was thanklessness to the Giver. Christianity, indeed, had already reached Utopia, but it had few priests ; religion found its centre rather in the family than in the congregation : and each household confessed its faults to its own natural head. A yet stranger characteristic was seen in the peaceable way in which it lived side by side with the older religions. More than a century before William of Orange, More discerned and proclaimed the great principle of religious toleration. In " Nowhere" it was lawful to every man to be of what religion he would. Even the disbelievers in a Divine Being or in the immortality of man, who by a single exception to its perfect religious indifference were excluded from public office, were excluded, not on the ground of their religious belief, but because their opinions were deemed to be degrading to mankind, and therefore to incapacitate those who held them from governing in a noble temper. But even these were subject to no punishment, because the people of Utopia were "persuaded that it is not in a man's power to believe what he list." The religion which a man held he might propagate by argument, though not by violence or insult to the religion of others. But while each sect performed its rites

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in private, all assembled for public worship in a spacious temple, where the vast throng, clad in white, and grouped round a priest clothed in fair raiment wrought marvellously out of birds' plumage, joined in hymns and prayers so framed as to be acceptable to all. The importance of this public devotion lay in the evidence it afforded that liberty of conscience could be combined with religious unity.

Section V.-Wolaey. 1515-1531.

{Authorities.—The chronicler Halle, who wrote under Edward the Sixth, has been copied for Henry the Eighth's reign by Grafton, and followed by Holinshed. But for any real knowledge of Wolsey's administration we must turn to the invaluable prefaces which Professor Brewer has prefixed to the Calendars of State Papers for this period, and to the State Papers themselves.]

The New Learning and the Reformation

" There are many things in the commonwealth of Nowhere, which I rather wish than hope to see adopted in our own." It was with these words of characteristic irony that More closed THE first work which embodied the dreams of the New Learning. Destined as they were to fulfilment in the course of ages, its schemes of social, religious, and political reform broke helplessly against the temper of the time. At the very moment when More was pleading the cause of justice between rich and poor, social discontent was being fanned by exactions into a fiercer flame. While he aimed sarcasm after sarcasm at king-worship, despotism was being organized into a system. His advocacy of the two principles of religious toleration and Christian comprehension coincides almost to a year with the opening of the strife between the Reformation and the Papacy.

1517 "That Luther has a fine genius," laughed Leo the Tenth, when he heard that a German Professor had nailed some Propositions denouncing the abuse of Indulgences, or of the Papal power to remit certain penalties attached to the commission of sins, against the doors of a church at Wittenberg. But the " Quarrel of Friars," as the controversy was termed contemptuously at Rome, soon took larger proportions. If at the outset Luther flung himself "prostrate at the feet" of the Papacy, and owned its voice as the voice of Christ, the sentence of Leo no sooner confirmed the doctrine of Indulgences than their opponent appealed to a future Council of the Church. Two years later the rupture was complete. A Papal Bull formally condemned the errors of the Reformer. The condemnation was met with defiance, and Luther publicly consigned the Bull to the flames. A second condemnation expelled him from the bosom of the Church, and the ban of the Empire was soon added to that of the Papacy. " Here stand I ; I can none other," Luther replied to the young Emperor, Charles the Fifth, as he pressed him to recant in the Diet of Worms; and from

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the hiding-place in the Thuringian Forest where he was sheltered by the Elector of Saxony he denounced not merely, as at first, the abuses of the Papacy, but the Papacy itself. The heresies of Wyclif were revived ; the infallibility, the authority of the Roman See, the truth of its doctrines, the efficacy of its worship, were denied and scoffed at in vigorous pamphlets which issued from his retreat, and were dispersed throughout the world by the new printing-press. The old resentment of Germany against the oppression of Rome, the moral revolt in its more religious minds against the secularity and corruption of the Church, the disgust of the New Learning at the superstition which the Papacy now formally protected, combined to secure for Luther a wide-spread popularity and the protection of the northern princes of the Empire. In England however his protest found as yet no echo. England and Rome were drawn to a close alliance by the difficulties of their political position. The young King himself, a trained theologian and proud of his theological knowledge, entered the lists against Luther with an "Assertion of the Seven Sacraments," for which he was rewarded by Leo with the title of "Defender of the Faith." The insolent abuse of the Reformer's answer called More and Fisher into the field. As yet the New Learning, though scared by Luther's intemperate language, had steadily backed him in his struggle. Erasmus pleaded for him with the Emperor ; Ulrich von Hutten attacked the friars in satires and invectives as violent as his own. But tfie temper of the Renascence was even more antagonistic to the temper of Luther than that of Rome itself. From the golden dream of a new age, wrought peaceably and purely by the slow progress of intelligence, the growth of letters, the developement of human virtue, the Reformer of Wittemberg turned away with horror. He had little or no sympathy with the new culture. He despised reason as heartily as any Papal dogmatist could despise it. He hated the very thought of toleration or comprehension. He had been driven by a moral and intellectual compulsion to declare the Roman system a false one, but it was only to replace it by another system of doctrine just as elaborate, and claiming precisely the same infallibility. To degrade human nature was to attack the very base of the New Learning ; but Erasmus no sooner advanced to its defence than Luther declared man to be utterly enslaved by original sin and incapable through any efforts of his own of discovering truth or of arriving at goodness. Such a doctrine not only annihilated the piety and wisdom of the classic past, from which the New Learning had drawn its larger views of life and of the world; it trampled in the dust reason itself, the very instrument by which More and Erasmus hoped to regenerate both knowledge and religion. To More especially, with hi9 keener perception of its future effect, this sudden revival of a purely theological and dogmatic spirit, severing Christendom into

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warring camps, and annihilating all hopes of union and tolerance, was especially hateful. The temper which hitherto had seemed so "endearing, gentle, and happy," suddenly gave way. His reply to Luther's attack upon the King sank to the level of the work it answered. That of Fisher was calmer and more argumentative; but the divorce of the New Learning from the Reformation was complete.

WoUey

Nor were the political hopes of the "Utopia" destined to be realized by the minister who at the close of Henry's early war with France mounted rapidly into power. Thomas Wolsey was the son of a wealthy townsman of Ipswich, whose ability had raised him into notice at the close of the preceding reign, and who had been taken by Bishop Fox into the service of the Crown. His extraordinary powers hardly perhaps required the songs, dances, and carouses with his indulgence in which he was taunted by his enemies, to aid him in winning the favour of the young sovereign. From the post of favourite he soon rose to that of minister. Henry's resentment at Ferdinand's perfidy enabled Wolsey to carry out a policy which reversed that of his predecessors. The war had freed England from the fear of French pressure. Wolsey was as resolute to free her from the dictation of Ferdinand, and saw in a French alliance the best security for English independence. In 1514

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a treaty was concluded with Lewis. The same friendship was continued to his successor Francis the First, whose march across the Alps for the reconquest of Lombardy was facilitated by Henry and Woisey, in the hope that while the war lasted England would be free from all fear of attack, and that Francis himself might be brought to inevitable ruin. These hopes were defeated by his great victory at Marignano. But Francis in the moment of triumph saw himself confronted by a new

1516

rival. Master of Castile and Aragon, of Naples and the Netherlands, the new Spanish King, Charles the Fifth, rose into a check on the French monarchy such as the policy of Henry or Wolsey had never been able to construct before. The alliance of England was eagerly sought by both sides, and the administration of Wolsey, amid all its ceaseless diplomacy, for seven years kept England out of war. The Peace, as we have seen, restored the hopes of the New Learning; it enabled Colet to reform education, Erasmus to undertake the regeneration of the Church, More to set on foot a new science of politics. But peace as Wolsey used it was fatal to English freedom. In the political hints which lie scattered over the "Utopia" More notes with bitter irony the advance of the new despotism. It was only in "Nowhere" that a sovereign was "removeable on suspicion of a design to enslave his people." In England the work of slavery was being quietly wrought, hints the great lawyer, through the law. "There will never be wanting some pretence for deciding in the King's favour; as that equity is on his side, or the strict letter of the law, or some

forced interpretation of it; or if none of these, that the royal prerogative ought with conscientious judges to outweigh all other considerations." We are startled at the precision with which More maps out the expedients by which the law courts were to lend themselves to the advance of tyranny till their crowning judgement in the case of ship-money. But behind these judicial expedients lay great principles of absolutism, which partly from the example of foreign monarchies, partly from the sense of social and political insecurity, and yet more from the isolated position of the Crown, were gradually winning their way in public opinion. "These notions," he goes boldly on, "are fostered by the maxim that the king can do no wrong, however much he may wish to do it; that not only the property but the persons of his subjects are his own; and that a man has a right to no more than the king's goodness thinks fit not to take from him." In the hands of Wolsey these maxims were transformed into principles of State. The checks which had been imposed on the action of the sovereign by the presence of great prelates and nobles at his council were practically removed. All authority was concentrated in the hands of a single minister. Henry had munificently rewarded Wolsey's services to the Crown. He had been promoted to the See of Lincoln and thence to the Archbishoprick of York. Henry procured his elevation to the rank of Cardinal, and raised him to the post of Chancellor. The revenues of two sees whose tenants were foreigners fell into his hands; he held the bishoprick of Winchester and the abbacy of St. Albans; he wjfs in receipt of pensions from France and Spain, while his official emoluments were enormous. His pomp was almost royal. A train of prelates and nobles followed him wherever he moved; his household was composed of five hundred persons of noble birth, and its chief posts were held by knights and barons of the realm. He spent his vast wealth with princely ostentation. Two of his houses, Hampton Court and York House, the later Whitehall, were splendid enough to serve at his fall as royal palaces. His school at Ipswich was eclipsed by the glories of his foundation at Oxford, whose name of Cardinal College has been lost in its later title of Christ-church. Nor was this magnificence a mere show of power. The whole direction of home and foreign affairs rested with Wolsey alone; as Chancellor he stood at the head of public justice; his elevation to the office of Legate rendered him supreme in the Church. Enormous as was the mass of work which he undertook, it was thoroughly done: his administration of the royal treasury was economical; the number of his despatches is hardly less remarkable than the care bestowed upon each; even More, an avowed enemy, confesses that as Chancellor he surpassed all men's expectations. The court of Chancery, indeed, became so crowded through the character for expedition and justice which it gained under his rule that subordinate courts had to be created for its relief. It was this concen-

Wolsey's administration

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tration of all secular and ecclesiastical power in a single hand which accustomed England to the personal government which began with Henry the Eighth ; and it was, above all, Wolsey's long tenure of the whole Papal authority within the realm, and the consequent suspension of appeals to Rome, that led men to acquiesce at a later time in Henry's claim of religious supremacy. For proud as was Wolsey's bearing and high as were his natural powers he stood before England as the mere creature of the King. Greatness, wealth, authority he held, and owned he held, simply at the royal will. In raising his low-born favourite to the head of Church and State Henry was gathering all religious as well as all civil authority into his personal grasp. The nation which trembled before Wolsey learned to tremble before the King who could destroy Wolsey by a breath.

Wolsey and the Parliament

1519

The rise of Charles of Austria gave a new turn to Wolsey's policy. Possessor of the Netherlands, of Franche Comte*, of Spain, the death of his grandfather Maximilian added to his dominions the heritage of the House of Austria in Swabia and on the Danube, and opened the way for his election as Emperor. France saw herself girt in on every side by a power greater than her own ; and to Wolsey and his master the time seemed come for a bolder game. Disappointed in his hopes of obtaining the Imperial crown on the death of Maximilian, Henry turned to the dream of " recovering his French inheritance," which he had never really abandoned, and which was carefully fed by his nephew Charles. Nor was Wolsey forgotten. If Henry coveteii France, his minister coveted no less a prize than the Papacy; and the young Emperor was lavish of promises of support in any coming election. The result of these seductions was quickly seen. In May, 1520, Charles landed at Dover to visit Henry, and King and Emperor rode alone to Canterbury. It was in vain that Francis strove to

1520

retain Henry's friendship by an interview near Guisnes, to which the profuse expenditure of both monarchs gave the name of the Field of Cloth of Gold. A second interview between Charles and his uncle as he returned from the meeting with Francis ended in a secret confederacy of the two sovereigns, and the promise of the Emperor to marry Henry's one child, Mary Tudor. Her right to the throne was asserted by a deed which proved how utterly the baronage now lay at the mercy of the King. The Duke of Buckingham stood first in blood as in power among the English nobles ; he was the descendant of Edward the Third's youngest son, and if Mary's succession were denied he stood heir to the throne. His hopes had been fanned by prophets and astrologers, and wild words told his purpose to seize the Crown on Henry's death in defiance of every opponent. But word and act had for two years been watched by the King; and in 1521 the Duke was arrested, condemned as a traitor by his peers, and beheaded on Tower Hill. The French alliance came to an end,

and at the outbreak of war between France and Spain a secret league was concluded at Calais between the Pope, the Emperor, and Henry. The first result of the new war policy at home was quickly seen, | Wolsey's economy had done nothing more than tide the Crown through the past years of peace. But now that Henry had promised to raise forty thousand men for the coming campaign the ordinary resources of the treasury were utterly insufficient. With the instinct of despotism Wolsey shrank from reviving the tradition of the Parliament. Though Henry had thrice called together the Houses to supply the expenses of his earlier struggle with France, Wolsey governed during seven years of peace without once assembling them. War made a Parliament inevitable, but for a while the Cardinal strove to delay its summons by a wide extension of the practice which Edward the Fourth had invented of raising money by forced loans or" Benevolences," to be repaid from the first subsidy of a coming Parliament. Large sums were assessed on every county. Twenty thousand pounds were exacted from London; and its wealthier citizens were summoned before the Cardinal and required to give an account of the value of their estates. Commissioners were despatched into each shire for the purposes of assessment, and precepts were issued on their information, requiring in some cases supplies of soldiers, in others a tenth of a man's income, for the King's service. So poor, however, was the return that in the following year Wolsey was forced to summon Parliament and lay before it the^inprecedented demand of a property-tax of twenty per cent. The demand was made by the Cardinal in person, but he was 1523
received with obstinate silence. It was in vain that Wolsey called on member after member to answer ; and his appeal to More, who had been elected to the chair of the House of Commons, was met by the Speaker's falling on his knees and representing his powerlessness to reply till he had received instructions from the House itself. The effort to overawe the Commons failed, and Wolsey no sooner withdrew than an angry debate began. He again returned to answer the objections which had been raised, and again the Commons foiled the minister's attempt to influence their deliberations by refusing to discuss the matter in his presence. The struggle continued for a fortnight; and though successful in procuring a subsidy, the court party were forced to content themselves with less than half Wolsey's demand. Convocation betrayed as independent a spirit; and when money was again needed two years later, the Cardinal was driven once more to the system of Benevolences. A tenth was demanded from the laity, and a fourth from the clergy in every county by the royal commissioners. There was " sore grudging and murmur- 1525
ing," Warham wrote to the court, "among the people." " I f men should give their goods by a commission," said the Kentish squires, "then it would be worse than the taxes of France, and England

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should be bond, not free." The political instinct of the nation discerned as of old that in the question of self-taxation was involved that of the very existence of freedom. The clergy put themselves in the forefront of the resistance, and preached from every pulpit that the commission was contrary to the liberties of the realm, and that the King could take no man's goods but by process of law. So stirred was the nation that Wolsey bent to the storm, and offered to rely on the voluntary loans of each subject. But the statute of Richard the Third which declared all exaction of benevolences illegal was recalled to memory; the demand was evaded by London, and the commissioners were driven out of Kent. A revolt broke out in Suffolk ; the men of Cambridge and Norwich threatened to rise. There was in fact a general strike of the employers. Clothmakers discharged their workers, farmers put away their servants. " They say the King asketh so much that they be not able to do as they have done before this time." Such a peasant insurrection as was raging in Germany was only prevented by the unconditional withdrawal of the royal demand.

Agrarian Discontent

Wolsey's defeat saved English freedom for the moment; but the danger from which he shrank was not merely that of a conflict with the sense of liberty. The murmurs of the Kentish squires only swelled the ever-deepening voice of public discontent. If the condition of the land question in the end gave strength to the Crown by making it the security for public order, it became a terrible peril at every crisis of conflict between the monarchy and the landowners. *Jhe* steady rise in the price of wool was giving a fresh impulse to the agrarian changes which had now been going on for over a hundred and fifty years, to the throwing together of the smaller holdings, and the introduction of sheep-farming on an enormous scale. The new wealth of the merchant classes helped on the change. They invested largely in land, and these "farming gentlemen and clerking knights," as Latimer bitterly styled them, were restrained by few traditions or associations in their eviction of the smaller tenants. The land indeed had been greatly underlet, and as its value rose the temptation to raise the customary rents became irresistible. " That which went heretofore for twenty or forty pounds a year," we learn from the same source, "now is let for fifty or a hundred." But it had been only by this low scale of rent that the small yeomanry class had been enabled to exist. " My father," says Latimer, " was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own; only he had a • farm of three or four pounds by the year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half-a-dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine; he was able and did find the King a harness with himself and his horse while he came to the place that he should receive the King's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath Field. He kept

me to school: he married my sisters with five pounds apiece, so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor, and all this he did of the same farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pounds by year or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor." Increase of rent ended with such tenants in the relinquishment of their holdings, but the bitterness of ejection was increased by the iniquitous means which were often employed to bring it about. The farmers, if we believe More in 1515, were "got rid of cither by fraud or force, or tired out with repeated wrongs into parting with their property." " In this way it comes to pass that these poor wretches, men, women, husbands, orphans, widows, parents with little children, households greater in number than in wealth (for arable farming requires many hands, while one shepherd and herdsman will suffice for a pasture farm), all these emigrate from their native fields without knowing where to go." The sale of their scanty household stuff drove them to wander homeless abroad, to be thrown into prison as vagabonds, to beg and to steal. Yet in the face of such a spectacle as this we still find the old complaint of scarcity of labour, and the old legal remedy for it in a fixed scale of wages. The social disorder, in fact, baffled the sagacity of English statesmen, and they could find no better remedy for it than laws against the further extension of sheep-farms, and a terrible increase of public executions. Both were alike fruitless.• Enclosures and evictions went on as before. " I f you do not remedy the evils which produce thieves," More urged with bitter truth, " the rigorous execution of justice in punishing thieves will be vain." But even More could only suggest a remedy which, efficacious as it was subsequently to prove, had yet to wait a century for its realization. " Let the woollen manufacture be introduced, so that honest employment may be found for those whom want has made thieves or will make thieves ere long." The mass of social disorder grew steadily greater; while the break up of the great military households of the nobles which was still going on, and the return of wounded and disabled soldiers from the wars, introduced a dangerous leaven of outrage and crime.

The Divorce

1525

This public discontent, as well as the exhaustion of the treasury, added bitterness to the miserable result of the war. To France, indeed, the struggle had been disastrous, for the loss of the Milanese and the capture of Francis the First in the defeat of Pavia laid her at the feet of the Emperor. But Charles had no purpose of carrying out the pledges by which he had lured England into war. Wolsey had seen two partizans of the Emperor successively raised to the Papal chair. The schemes of winning anew " our inheritance of France " had ended in utter failure ; England, as before, gained nothing from

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two useless campaigns, and it was plain that Charles meant it to win nothing. He concluded an armistice with his prisoner; he set aside all projects of a joint invasion; he broke his pledge to wed Mary Tudor, and married a princess of Portugal; he pressed for peace with France which would give him Burgundy. It was time for Henry and his minister to change their course. They resolved to withdraw from all active part in the rivalry of the two powers, and a treaty was secretly concluded with France. But Henry remained on fair terms with the Emperor, and abstained from any part in the fresh war which broke out on the refusal of the French monarch to fulfil the terms by which he had purchased his release. No longer spurred by the interest of great events, the King ceased to take a busy part in foreign politics, and gave himself to hunting and sport. Among the fairest and gayest ladies of his court stood Anne Boleyn. Her gaiety and wit soon won Henry's favour, and grants of honours to her father marked her influence. In 1524 a new colour was given to this intimacy by a resolve on the King's part to break his marriage with the Queen. The death of every child save Mary may have woke scruples as to the lawfulness of a marriage on which a curse seemed to rest; the need of a male heir may have deepened this impression. But, whatever were the grounds of his action, Henry from this moment pressed the Roman See to grant him a divorce. Clement's consent to his wish, however, would mean a break with the Emperor, Catharine's nephew; and the Pope was now at the Emperor's mercy. While the English envoy was mooting trfe question of divorce, the surprise of Rome by an Imperial force brought home to Clement his utter helplessness; the next year the Pope was in fact a prisoner in the Emperor's hands after the storm and sack of Rome. Meanwhile a secret suit which had been brought before Wolsey as legate was suddenly dropped; as Catharine denied the facts on which Henry rested his case her appeal would have carried the matter to the tribunal of the Pope, and Clement's decision could hardly have been a favourable one. The difficulties of the divorce were indeed manifest. One of the most .learned of the English bishops, Fisher of Rochester, declared openly against it. The English theologians, who were consulted on the validity of the Papal dispensation which had allowed Henry's marriage to take place, referred the King to the Pope for a decision of the question. The commercial classes shrank from a step which involved an irretrievable breach with the Emperor, who was master of their great market in Flanders. Above all, the iniquity of the proposal jarred against the public conscience. But neither danger nor shame availed against the King's wilfulness and passion. A great party too had gathered to Anne's support. Her uncle the Duke of Norfolk, her father, now Lord Rochford, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire, pushed the

Anne Boleyn

1526

divorce resolutely on ; the brilliant group of young courtiers to which her brother belonged saw in her success their own elevation ; and the Duke of Suffolk with the bulk of the nobles hoped through her means to bring about the ruin of the statesman before whom they trembled. It was needful for the Cardinal to find some expedients to carry out the King's will; but his schemes one by one broke down before the difficulties of the Papal Court. Clement indeed, perplexed at once by his wish to gratify Henry, his own conscientious doubts as to the course proposed, and his terror of the Emperor whose power was now predominant in Italy, even blamed Wolsey for having hindered the King from judging the matter in his own realm, and marrying on the sentence of his own courts. Henry was resolute in demanding the express sanction of the Pope to his divorce, and this Clement steadily evaded. He at last, however, consented to a legatine commission for the trial of the case in England. In this commission Cardinal Campeggio was joined with Wolsey. Months however passed in fruitless negotiations. The Cardinals pressed on Catharine the expediency of her withdrawal to a religious house, while Henry pressed on the Pope that of a settlement of the matter by his formal declaration against the validity of the marriage. At last in 1529 the two Legates opened their court in the great hall of the Blackfriars. Henry briefly announced his resolve to live no longer in mortal sin. The Queen offered an appeal to Clement, and on the refusal of the Legates to admit it she flung herself at Henry's feet. " Sfre," said Catharine, " I beseech you to pity me, a woman and a stranger, without an assured friend and without an indifferent counsellor. I take God to witness that I have always been to you a true and loyal wife, that I have made it my constant duty to seek your pleasure, that I have loved all whom you loved, whether I have reason or not, whether they are friends to me or foes. I have been your wife for years, I have brought you many children. God knows that when I came to your bed I was a virgin, and I put it to your own conscience to say whether it was not so. If there be any offence which can be alleged against me I consent to depart with infamy ; if not, then I pray you to do me justice." The piteous appeal was wasted on a King who was already entertaining Anne Boleyn with royal state in his own palace. The trial proceeded, and the court assembled to pronounce sentence. Henry's hopes were at tneir highest when they were suddenly dashed to the ground. At the opening of the proceedings Campeggio rose to declare the court adjourned. The adjournment was a mere evasion. The pressure of the Imperialists had at last forced Clement to summon the cause to his own tribunal at Rome, and the jurisdiction of the Legates was at an end.

The Legatine court

1528

July 23

*' Now see I , " cried the Duke of Suffolk as he dashed his hand on

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The Fall of Wolsey

the table, "that the old saw is true, that there was never Legate or Cardinal that did good to England!" "Of all men living," Wolsey boldly retorted, "you, my lord Duke, have the least reason to dispraise Cardinals, for if I, a poor Cardinal, had not been, you would not now have had a head on your shoulders wherewith to make such a brag in disrepute of us." But both the Cardinal and his enemies knew that the minister's doom was sealed. Through the twenty years of his reign Henry had known nothing of opposition to his will. His imperious temper had chafed at the weary negotiations, the subterfuges and perfidies of the Pope. His wrath fell at once on Wolsey, who had dissuaded him from acting at the first independently, from conducting the cause in his own courts and acting on the sentence of his own judges; who had counselled him to seek a divorce from Rome and promised him success in his suit. From the close of the Legatine court he would see him no more. If Wolsey still remained minister for a while, it was because the thread of the complex foreign negotiations could not be roughly broken. Here too, however, failure awaited him as he saw himself deceived and outwitted by the conclusion of peace between France and the Emperor in a new treaty at Cambray. Not only was his French policy no longer possible, but a reconciliation with Charles was absolutely needful, and such a reconciliation could only be brought about by Wolsey's fall. He was at once prosecuted for receiving bulls from Rome in violation of the Statute of Praemunire. A few days later he was deprived of the seals. Wolsey was prostrated by the blow. He offered to give up everything that he possessed if the King would but cease from his displeasure. "His face," wrote the French ambassador, "is dwindled to half its natural size. In truth his misery is such that his enemies, Englishmen as they are, cannot help pitying him." Office and wealth were flung desperately at the King's feet, and for the moment Henry seemed contented with his disgrace. A thousand boats full of Londoners covered the Thames to see the Cardinal's barge pass to the Tower, but he was permitted to retire to Esher. Pardon was granted him on surrender of his vast possessions to the Crown, and he was permitted to withdraw to his diocese of York, the one dignity he had been suffered to retain. But hardly a year had passed before the jealousy of his political rivals was roused by the King's regrets, and on the eve of his installation feast he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and conducted by the Lieutenant of the Tower towards London. Already broken by his enormous labours, by internal disease, and the sense of his fall, Wolsey accepted the arrest as a sentence of death. An attack of dysentery forced him to rest at the abbey of Leicester, and as he reached the gate he said feebly to the brethren who met him, "I am come to lay my bones among you." On his death-bed his thoughts still clung to the prince whom he had served. "He is a prince," said the dying man to the

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Lieutenant of the Tower, " of a most royal courage: sooner than miss any part of his will he will endanger one half of his kingdom : and I do assure you I have often kneeled before him, sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And, Master Knyghton, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is my due reward for my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince." No words could paint with so terrible a truthfulness the spirit of the new despotism which Wolsey had done more than any of those who went before him to build up. All sense of loyalty to England, to its freedom, to its institutions, had utterly passed away. The one duty which the statesman owned was a duty to his " prince," a prince whose personal will and appetite was overriding the highest interests of the State, trampling under foot the wisest counsels, and crushing with the blind ingratitude of Fate the servants who opposed him. But even Wolsey, while he recoiled from the monstrous form which had revealed itself, could hardly have dreamed of the work of destruction which the royal courage, and yet more royal appetite, of his master was to accomplish in the years to come.

Section VI.—Thomas Cromwell. 1530—1540.

[Authorities.—Cromwell's early life as told by Foxe is a mass of fable ; what^ve really know of it may be seen conveniently put together in Dean Hook's "Life of Archbishop Cranmer." For his ministry, the only real authorities are the State Papers for this period, which are now being calendared for the Master of the Rolls. For Sir Thomas More, we have a touching life by his son-in-law, Roper. The more important documents for the religious history of the time will be found in Mr. Pocock's new edition of Burnet's " History of the Reformation" ; those relating to the dissolution of the Monasteries, in the collection of letters on that subject published by the Camden Society, and in the " Original Letters " of Sir Henry Ellis. A mass of material of very various value has been accumulated by Strype in his collections, which begin at this time. Mr. Froude's narrative (" History of England," vols. i. ii. iii.), though of great literary merit, is disfigured by a love of paradox, by hero-worship, and by a reckless defence of tyranny and crime. It possesses, during this period, little or no historical value.]

The ten years which follow the fall of Wolsey are among the most momentous in our history. The New Monarchy at last realized its power, and the work for which Wolsey had paved the way was carried out with a terrible thoroughness. The one great institution which could still offer resistance to the royal will was struck down. The Church became a mere instrument of the central despotism. The people learned their helplessness in rebellions easily suppressed and avenged with ruthless severity. A reign of terror, organized with consummate and merciless skill, held England panic-stricken at Henry's feet. The

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noblest heads rolled on the block. Virtue and learning could not save Thomas More: royal descent could not save Lady Salisbury. The putting away of one queen, the execution of another, taught England that nothing was too high for Henry's "courage" or too sacred for his "appetite." Parliament assembled only to sanction acts of unscrupulous tyranny, or to build up by its own statutes the great fabric of absolute rule. All the constitutional safe-guards of English freedom were swept away. Arbitrary taxation, arbitrary legislation, arbitrary imprisonment were powers claimed without dispute and unsparingly exercized by the Crown.

Thomas Cromwell

The history of this great revolution, for it is nothing less, is the history of a single man. In the whole line of English statesmen there is no one of whom we would willingly know so much, no one of whom we really know so little, as Thomas Cromwell. When he meets us in Henry's service he had already passed middle life ; and during his earlier years it is hardly possible to do more than disentangle a few fragmentary facts from the mass of fable which gathered round them. His youth was one of roving adventure. Whether he was the son of a poor blacksmith at Putney or no, he could hardly have been more than a boy when he was engaged in the service of the Marchioness of Dorset. He must still have been young when he took part as a common soldier in the wars of Italy, a "ruffian," as he owned afterwards to Cranmer, in the most unscrupulous school the world contained. But it was a school in which he learned lessons even more dangerous than those of the camp. He not only mastered the Italian language but drank in the manner^ and tone of the Italy around him, the Italy of the Borgias and the Medici. It was with Italian versatility that he turned from the camp to the counting-house ; he was certainly engaged as a commercial agent to one of the Venetian merchants ; tradition finds him as a clerk at Antwerp ; and in 1512 history at last encounters him as a thriving wool merchant at Middleburg in Zealand. Returning to England, Cromwell continued to amass wealth by adding the trade of scrivener, something between that of a banker and attorney, to his other occupations, as well as by advancing money to the poorer nobles; and on the outbreak of the second war with France we find him a busy and influential member of the Commons in Parliament. Five years later the aim of his ambition was declared by his entrance into Wolsey's service. The Cardinal needed a man of business for the suppression of some smaller monasteries which he had undertaken, and for the transfer of their revenues to his foundations at Oxford and Ipswich. The task was an unpopular one, and it was carried out with a rough indifference to the feelings it aroused which involved Cromwell in the hate which was gathering round his master. But his wonderful self-reliance and sense of power only broke upon the world at Wolsey's fall. Of the hundreds of dependents who waited on the Cardinal's nod, Cromwell was the only

one who clung to him faithfully at the last. In the lonely hours of his disgrace at Esher Wolsey " made his moan unto Master Cromwell, who comforted him the best he could, and desired my lord to give him leave to go to London, where he would make or mar, which was always his common saying." He shewed his consummate craft in a scheme by which Wolsey was persuaded to buy off the hostility of the courtiers by confirming the grants which had been made to them from his revenues, while Cromwell acquired importance as go-between in these transactions. It was by Cromwell's efforts in Parliament that a bill disqualifying Wolsey from all after employment was defeated, and it was by him that the negotiations were conducted which permitted the fallen minister to retire to York. A general esteem seems to have rewarded this rare instance of fidelity to a ruined patron. " For his honest behaviour in his master's cause he was esteemed the most faithfullest servant, and was of all men greatly commended." But Henry's protection rested on other grounds. The ride to London had ended in a private interview with the King, in which Cromwell boldly advised him to cut the knot of the divorce by the simple exercise of his own supremacy. The advice struck the key-note of the later policy by which the daring counseller was to change the whole face of Church and State ; but Henry still clung to the hopes held out by his new ministers, and shrank perhaps as yet from the bare absolutism to which Cromwell called him. The advice at any rate was concealed, and though high in the King's favour, his new servant waited patiently the progress of events.

Norfolk and More

For success in procuring the divorce, the Duke of Norfolk, who had come to the front on Wolsey's fall, relied not only on the alliance and aid of the Emperor, but on the support which the project was expected to receive from Parliament. The reassembling of the two Houses marked the close of the system of Wolsey. Instead of looking on Parliament as a danger the monarchy now felt itself strong enough to use it as a tool; and Henry justly counted on warm support in his strife with Rome. Not less significant was the attitude of the men of the New Learning. To them, as to his mere political adversaries, the Cardinal's fall opened a prospect of better things. The dream of More in accepting the office of Chancellor, if we may judge it from the acts of his brief ministry, seems to have been that of carrying out the religious reformation which had been demanded by Colet and Erasmus, while checking the spirit of revolt against the unity of the Church. His severities against the Protestants, exaggerated as they have been by polemic rancour, remain the one stain on a memory that knows no other. But it was only by a rigid severance of the cause of reform from what seemed to him the cause of revolution that More could hope for a successful issue to the projects which the Council laid before Parliament. The Petition of the Commons sounded like an echo of Colet's

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famous address to the Convocation. It attributed the growth of heresy not more to "frantic and seditious books published in the English tongue contrary to the very true Catholic and Christian faith" than to "the extreme and uncharitable behaviour of divers ordinaries." It remonstrated against the legislation of the clergy in Convocation without the King's assent or that of his subjects, the oppressive procedure of the Church Courts, the abuses of ecclesiastical patronage, and the excessive number of holydays. Henry referred the Petition to the bishops, but they could devise no means of redress, and the ministry persisted in pushing through the Houses their bills for ecclesiastical reform. The questions of Convocation and the bishops' courts were adjourned for further consideration, but the fees of the courts were curtailed, the clergy restricted from lay employments, pluralities restrained, and residence enforced. In spite of a dogged opposition from the bishops the bills received the assent of the House of Lords, "to the great rejoicing of lay people, and the great displeasure of spiritual persons." The importance of the new measures lay really in the action of Parliament. They were an explicit announcement that church-reform was now to be undertaken, not by the clergy, but by the people at large. On the other hand it was clear that it would be carried out, not in a spirit of hostility, but of loyalty to the church. The Commons forced from Bishop Fisher an apology for words which were taken as a doubt thrown on their orthodoxy. Henry forbade the circulation of Tyndale's translation of the Bible as executed in a Protestant spirit, while he promised a more correct version. But the domestic aims of the New Learning were foiled by the failure of the

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ministry in its negotiations for the divorce. The severance of the French alliance, and the accession of the party to power which clung to alliance with the Emperor, failed to detach Charles from his aunt's cause. The ministers accepted the suggestion of a Cambridge scholar, Thomas Cranmer, that the universities of Europe should be called on for their judgement; but the appeal to the learned opinion of Christendom ended in utter defeat. In France the profuse bribery of the English agents would have failed with the university of Paris but for the interference of Francis himself. As shameless an exercize of Henry's own authority was required to wring an approval of his cause from Oxford and Cambridge. In Germany the very Protestants, in the fervour of their moral revival, were dead against the King. So far as could be seen from Cranmer's test every learned man in Christendom but for bribery and threats would have condemned Henry's cause.

Cromwell and the Church

It was at the moment when every expedient had been exhausted by Norfolk and his fellow ministers that Cromwell came again to the front Despair of other means drove Henry nearer and nearer to the bold plan from which he had shrunk at Wokey's fall. Cromwell was again ready with his suggestion that the King should disavow the

Papal jurisdiction, declare himself Head of the Church within his realm, and obtain a divorce from his own Ecclesiastical Courts. But with Cromwell the divorce was but the prelude to a series of changes he was bent upon accomplishing. In all the chequered life of the new minister what had left its deepest stamp on him was Italy. Not only in the rapidity and ruthlessness of his designs, but in their larger scope, their clearer purpose, and their admirable combination, the Italian state-craft entered with Cromwell into English politics. He is in fact the first English minister in whom we can trace through the whole period of his rule the steady working out of a great and definite aim. His purpose was to raise the King to absolute authority on the ruins of every rival power within the realm. It was not that Cromwell was a mere slave of tyranny. Whether we may trust the tale that carries him in his youth to Florence or no, his statesmanship was closely modelled on the ideal of the Florentine thinker whose book was constantly in his hand. Even as a servant of Wolsey he startled the future Cardinal, Reginald Pole, by bidding him take for his manual in politics the "Prince" of Machiavelli. Machiavelli hoped to find in Caesar Borgia or in the later Lorenzo de' Medici a tyrant who after crushing all rival tyrannies might unite and regenerate Italy ; and it is possible to see in the policy of Cromwell the aim of securing enlightenment and order for England by the concentration of all authority in the Crown. The last check on royal absolutism which had survived the Wars of the Roses lay in th$ wealth, the independent synods and jurisdiction, and the religious claims of the Church. To reduce the great ecclesiastical body to a mere department of the State in which all authority should flow from the sovereign alone, and in which his will should be the only law, his decision the only test of truth, was a change hardly to be wrought without a struggle ; and it was the opportunity for such a struggle that Cromwell saw in the divorce. His first blow showed how unscrupulously the struggle was to be waged. A year had passed since Wolsey had been convicted of a breach of the Statute of Praemunire. The pedantry of the judges declared the whole nation to have been formally involved in the same charge by its acceptance of his authority. The legal absurdity was now redressed by a general pardon, but from this pardon the clergy found themselves omitted. They were told that forgiveness could be bought at no less a price than the payment of a fine amounting to a million of our present money, and the acknowledgement of the King as " the chief protector, the only and supreme lord, the Head of the Church and Clergy of England." To the first demand they at once submitted; against the second they struggled hard, but their appeals to Henry and to Cromwell met only with demands for instant obedience. A compromise was at last arrived at by the insertion of a qualifying phrase " So far as the law of Christ will allow;" and with this addition the words were again submitted by

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Warham to the Convocation. There was a general silence. "Whoever is silent seems to consent," said the Archbishop. "Then are we all silent," replied a voice from among the crowd.

There is no ground for thinking that the "Headship of the Church" which Henry claimed in this submission was more than a warning addressed to the independent spirit of the clergy, or that it bore as yet the meaning which was afterwards attached to it. It certainly implied no independence of Rome; but it told the Pope plainly that in any strife that might come the clergy were in the King's hand. The warning was backed by the demand for the settlement of the question addressed to Clement on the part of the Lords and some of the Commons. "The cause of his Majesty," the Peers were made to say, "is the cause of each of ourselves." If Clement would not confirm what was described as the judgement of the Universities in favour of the divorce "our condition will not be wholly irremediable. Extreme remedies are ever harsh of application; but he that is sick will by all means be rid of his distemper." The banishment of Catharine from the King's palace gave emphasis to the demand. The failure of a second embassy to the Pope left Cromwell free to take more decisive steps in the course on which he had entered. As his policy developed itself More withdrew from the post of Chancellor; but the revolution from which he shrank was an inevitable one. From the reign of the Edwards men had been occupied with the problem of reconciling the spiritual and temporal relations of the realm. Parliament from the first became the organ of the national jealousy whether of Papal jurisdiction without the kingdom or of the separate jurisdiction of the clergy within it. The movement, long arrested by religious reaction and civil war, was reviving under the new sense of national greatness and national unity, when it was suddenly stimulated by the question of the divorce, and by the submission of English interests to a foreign Court. With such a spur it moved forward quickly. The time had come when England was to claim for herself the fulness of power, ecclesiastical as well as temporal, within her bounds; and, in the concentration of all authority within the hands of the sovereign which was the political characteristic of the time, to claim this power for the nation was to claim it for the king. The import of the headship of the Church was brought fully out in one of the propositions laid before the Convocation of 1532. "The King's Majesty," runs this memorable clause, "hath as well the care of the souls of his subjects as their bodies; and may by the law of God by his Parliament make laws touching and concerning as well the one as the other." Under strong pressure Convocation was brought to pray that the power of independent legislation till now exercized by the Church should come to an end. Rome was dealt with in the same

unsparing fashion. The Parliament forbade by statute any further appeals to the Papal Court; and on a petition from the clergy in Convocation the Houses granted power to the King to suspend the payments of first-fruits, or the year's revenue which each bishop paid to Rome on his election to a see. All judicial, all financial connexion with the Papacy was broken by these two measures. Cromwell fell back on Wolsey's policy. The hope of aid from Charles was abandoned, and by a new league with France he sought to bring pressure on the Papal court. But the pressure was as unsuccessful as before. Clement threatened the King with excommunication if he did not restore Catharine to her place as Queen and abstain from all intercourse with Anne Boleyn till the case was tried. Henry still refused to submit to the judgement of any court outside his realm ; and the Pope dared not consent to a trial within it. Henry at last closed the long debate by a secret union with Anne Boleyn. Warham was dead, and Cranmer, an active partizan of the divorce, was named to the see of Canterbury ; proceedings were at once commenced in his court; and the marriage of Catharine was formally declared invalid by the new primate at Dunstable. A week later Cranmer set on the brow of Anne Boleyn the crown which she had so long coveted.

As yet the real character of Cromwell's ecclesiastical policy had been disguised by its connexion with the divorce. But though formal negotiations continued between England and Rome, until Clement's final deciyon in Catharine's favour, they had no longer any influence on the series of measures which in their rapid succession changed the whole character of the English Church. The acknowledgement of Henry's title as its Protector and Head was soon found by the clergy to have been more than a form of words. It was the first step in a policy by which the Church was to be laid prostrate at the foot of the throne. Parliament had shown its accordance with the royal will in the strife with Rome. Step by step the ground had been cleared for the great Statute by which the new character of the Church was defined. The Act of Supremacy ordered that the King "shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this realm as well the title and state thereof as all the honours, jurisdictions, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity belonging, with full power to visit, repress, redress, reform, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction might or may lawfully be reformed." Authority in all matters ecclesiastical, as well as civil, was vested solely in the Crown. The "courts spiritual" became as thoroughly the King's courts as the temporal courts at Westminster. But the full import of the Act of Supremacy was only seen in the following year, when Henry formally took the

title of " on earth Supreme Head of the Church of England," and some months later Cromwell was raised to the post of Vicar-General or Vicegerent of the King in all matters ecclesiastical. His title, like his office, recalled the system of Wolsey ; but the fact that these powers were now united in the hands not of a priest but of a layman, showed the new drift of the royal policy. And this policy Cromwell's position enabled him to carry out with a terrible thoroughness. One great step towards its realization had already been taken in the statute which annihilated the free legislative powers of the convocations of the clergy. Another followed in an Act which under the pretext of restoring the free election of bishops turned every prelate into a nominee of the King. Their election by the chapters of their cathedral churches had long become formal, and their appointment had since the time of the Edwards been practically made by the Papacy on the nomination of the Crown. The privilege of free election was now with bitter irony restored to the chapters, but they were compelled on pain of praemunire to choose the candidate recommended by the King. This strange expedient has lasted till the present time; but its character has wholly changed with the developement of constitutional rule. The nomination of bishops has ever since the accession of the Georges passed from the King in person to the Minister who represents the will of the people. Practically therefore an English prelate, alone among all the prelates of the world, is now raised to his episcopal throne by the same popular election which raised Ambrose to his episcopal chair at Milao. But at the moment Cromwell's measure reduced the English bishops to absolute dependence on the Crown. Their dependence would have been complete had his policy been thoroughly carried out and the royal power of deposition put in force as well as that of appointment. As it was Henry could warn the Archbishop of Dublin that if he persevered in his " proud folly, we be able to remove you again and to put another man of more virtue and honesty in your place." Even Elizabeth in a burst of ill-humour threatened to " unfrock " the Bishop of Ely. By the more ardent partizans of the Reformation this dependence of the bishops on the Crown was fully recognized. On the death of Henry the Eighth Cranmer took out a new commission from Edward for the exercise of his office. Latimer, when the royal policy clashed with his belief, felt bound to resign the See of Worcester. That the power of deposition was at a later time.quietly abandoned was due not so much to any deference for the religious instincts of the nation as to the fact that the steady servility of the bishops rendered its exercise unnecessary.

Master of Convocation, absolute master of the bishops, Henry had become master of the monastic orders through the right of visitation over them which had been transferred by the Act of Supremacy from the Papacy to the Crown. The religious houses had drawn on them-

selves at once the hatred of the New Learning and of the Monarchy. In the early days of the revival of letters Popes and bishops had joined with princes and scholars in welcoming the diffusion of culture and the hopes of religious reform. But though an abbot or a prior here or there might be found among the supporters of the movement, the monastic orders as a whole repelled it with unswerving obstinacy. The quarrel only became more bitter as years went on. The keen sarcasms of Erasmus, the insolent buffoonery of Hutten, were lavished on the "lovers of darkness" and of the cloister. In England Colet and More echoed with greater reserve the scorn and invective of their friends. As an outlet for religious enthusiasm, indeed, monasticism was practically dead. The friar, now that his fervour of devotion and his intellectual energy had passed away, had sunk into a mere beggar. The monks had become mere landowners. Most of their houses were anxious only to enlarge their revenues and to diminish the number of those who shared them. In the general carelessness which prevailed as to the spiritual objects of their trust, in the wasteful management of their estates, in the indolence and self-indulgence which for the most part characterized them, the monastic houses simply exhibited the faults of all corporate bodies which have outlived the work which they were created to perform. But they were no more unpopular than such corporate bodies generally are. The Lollard cry for their suppression had died away. In the north, where some of the greatest abbeys were situated, the monks were on good terms with the country gentry, and their houses served as schools for their children ; nor is there any sign of a different feeling elsewhere. But in Cromwell's system there was no room for either the virtues or the vices of monasticism, for its indolence and superstition, or for its independence of the throne. Two royal commissioners therefore were despatched on a general visitation of the religious houses, and their reports formed a " Black Book" which was laid before Parliament on their return. It was acknowledged that about a third of the religious houses, including the bulk of the larger abbeys, were fairly and decently conducted. The rest were charged with drunkenness, with simony, and with the foulest and most revolting crimes. The character of the visitors, the sweeping nature of their report, and the long debate which followed on its reception, leaves little doubt that the charges were grossly exaggerated. But the want of any effective discipline which had resulted from their exemption from any but Papal supervision told fatally against monastic morality even in abbeys like St. Aiban's : and the acknowledgement of Warham, as well as the partial measures of suppression begun by Wolsey, go far to prove that in the smaller houses at least indolence had passed into crime. But in spite of the cry of " Down with them " which broke from the Commons as the report was read, the country was still far from desiring the utter downfall of the

monastic system. A long and bitter debate was followed by a compromise which suppressed all houses whose incomes fell below ^200 a year, and granted their revenues to the Crown ; but the great abbeys were still preserved intact.

The secular clergy alone remained ; and injunction after injunction from the Vicar-General taught rector and vicar that they must learn to regard themselves as mere mouthpieces of the royal will With the instinct of genius Cromwell discerned the part which the pulpit, as the one means which then existed of speaking to the people at large, was to play in the religious and political struggle that was at hand ; and he resolved to turn it to the profit of the Monarchy. The restriction of the right of preaching to priests who received licenses from the Crown silenced every voice of opposition. Even to those who received these licenses theological controversy was forbidden ; and a high-handed process of "tuning the pulpits" by directions as to the subject and tenor of each special discourse made the preachers at every crisis mere means of diffusing the royal will. As a first step in this process every bishop, abbot, and parish priest, was required to preach against the usurpation of the Papacy, and to proclaim the King as the supreme Head of the Church on earth. The very topics of the sermon were carefully prescribed ; the bishops were held responsible for the compliance of the clergy with .these orders, and the sheriffs were held responsible for the compliance of the bishops. It was only when all possibility of resistance was at an end, when the Church was^gagged and its pulpits turned into mere echoes of Henry's will, that Cromwell ventured on his last and crowning change, that of claiming for the Crown the right of dictating at its pleasure the form of faith and doctrine to be held and taught throughout the land. A purified Catholicism such as Erasmus and Colet had dreamed of was now to be the religion of England. But the dream of the New Learning was to be wrought out, not by the progress of education and piety, but by the brute force of the Monarchy. The Articles of Religion, which Convocation received and adopted without venturing on a protest, were drawn up by the hand of Henry himself. The Bible and the three Creeds were laid down as the sole grounds of faith. The Sacraments were reduced from seven to three, only Penance being allowed to rank on an equality with Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The doctrines of Transubstantiation and Confession were maintained, as they were also in the Lutheran Churches. The spirit of Erasmus was seen in the acknowledgement of Justification by Faith, a doctrine for which the friends of the New Learning, such as Pole and Contarini, were struggling at Rome itself, in the condemnation of purgatory, of pardons, and of masses for the dead, in the admission of prayers for the dead, and in the retention of the ceremonies of the Church without material change. Enormous as was the doctrinal revolution, not a

murmur broke the assent of Convocation, and the Articles were sent by the Vicar-General into every county to be obeyed at men's peril. The policy of reform was carried steadily out by a series of royal injunctions which followed. Pilgrimages were suppressed; the excessive number of holy days diminished ; the worship of images and relics discouraged in words which seem almost copied from the protest of Erasmus. His burning appeal for a translation of the Bible which weavers might repeat at their shuttle and ploughmen sing at their plough received at last a reply. At the outset of the ministry of Norfolk and More the King had promised an English version of the scriptures, while prohibiting the circulation of Tyndale's Lutheran translation. The work however lagged in the hands of the bishops ; and as a preliminary measure the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments were now rendered into English, and ordered to be taught by every schoolmaster and father of a family to his children and pupils. But the bishops' version still hung on hand ; till in despair of its appearance a friend of Archbishop Cranmer, Miles Coverdale, was employed to correct and revise the translation of Tyndale ; and the Bible which he edited was published in 1538 under the avowed patronage of Henry himself. The story of the royal supremacy was graven on its very title-page. The new foundation of religious truth was to be regarded throughout England as a gift, not from the Church, but from the King. It is Henry on his throne who gives the sacred volume to Cranmer, ere Cranmtr and Cromwell can distribute it to the throng of priests and laymen below.

The debate on the suppression of the monasteries was the first instance of opposition with which Cromwell had met, and for some time longer it was to remain the only one. While the great revolution which struck down the Church was in progress, England looked silently on. In all the earlier ecclesiastical changes, in the contest over the Papal jurisdiction and Papal exactions, in the reform of the Church courts, even in the curtailment of the legislative independence of the clergy, the nation as a whole had gone with the King. But from the enslavement of the clergy, from the gagging of the pulpits, from the suppression of the monasteries, the bulk of the nation stood aloof. It is only through the stray depositions of royal spies that we catch a glimpse of the wrath and hate which lay seething under this silence of a whole people. For the silence was a silence of terror. Before Cromwell's rise and after his fall from power the reign of Henry the Eighth witnessed no more than the common tyranny and bloodshed of the time. But the years of Cromwell's administration form the one period in our history which deserves the name which men have given to the rule of Robespierre. It was the English Terror. It was by terror that Cromwell mastered the King. Cranmer could plead for him at a later time with Henry as "one whose surety was only by your Majesty, who loved

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your Majesty, as I ever thought, no less than God." But the attitude of Cromwell towards the King was something more than that of absolute dependence and unquestioning devotion. He was "so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons," adds the Primate, "that few could be so secretly conceived but he detected the same from the beginning." Henry, like every Tudor, was fearless of open danger, but tremulously sensitive to the slightest breath of hidden disloyalty. It was on this inner dread that Cromwell based the fabric of his power. He was hardly secretary before a host of spies were scattered broadcast over the land. Secret denunciations poured into the open ear of the minister. The air was thick with tales of plots and conspiracies, and with the detection and suppression of each Cromwell tightened his hold on the King. And as it was by terror that he mastered the King, so it was by terror that he mastered the people. Men felt in England, to use the figure by which Erasmus paints the time, "as if a scorpion lay sleeping under every stone." The confessional had no secrets for Cromwell. Men's talk with their closest friends found its way to his ear. "Words idly spoken," the murmurs of a petulant abbot, the ravings of a moon-struck nun, were, as the nobles cried passionately at his fall, "tortured into treason." The only chance of safety lay in silence. "Friends who used to write and send me presents," Erasmus tells us, "now send neither letter nor gifts, nor receive any from any one, and this through fear." But even the refuge of silence was closed by a law more infamous than any that has ever blo^fed the Statute-book of England. Not only was thought made treason, but men were forced to reveal their thoughts on pain of their very silence being punished with the penalties of treason. All trust in the older bulwarks of liberty was destroyed by a policy as daring as it was unscrupulous. The noblest institutions were degraded into instruments of terror. Though Wolsey had strained the law to the utmost he had made no open attack on the freedom of justice. If he had shrunk from assembling Parliaments it was from his sense that they were the bulwarks of liberty. Under Cromwell the coercion of juries and the management of judges rendered the courts mere mouth-pieces of the royal will: and where even this shadow of justice proved an obstacle to bloodshed, Parliament was brought into play to pass bill after bill of attainder. "He shall be judged by the bloody laws he has himself made," was the cry of the Council at the moment of his fall, and by a singular retribution the crowning injustice which he sought to introduce even into the practice of attainder, the condemnation of a man without hearing his defence, was only practised on himself. But ruthless as was the Terror of Cromwell it was of a nobler type than the Terror of France. He never struck uselessly or capriciously, or stooped to the meaner victims of the guillotine. His blows were effective just because he chose his victims from among the noblest and the best. If

he struck at the Church, it was through the Carthusians, the holiest and the most renowned of English churchmen. If he struck at the baronage, it was through the Courtenays and the Poles, in whose veins flowed the blood of kings. If he struck at the New Learning it was through the murder of Sir Thomas More. But no personal vindictiveness mingled with his crime. In temper, indeed, so far as we can judge from the few stories which lingered among his friends, he was a generous, kindly-hearted man, with pleasant and winning manners which atoned for a certain awkwardness of person, and with a constancy of friendship which won him a host of devoted adherents. But no touch either of love or hate swayed him from his course. The student of Machiavelli had not studied the "Prince" in vain. He had reduced bloodshed to a system. Fragments of his papers still show us with what a business-like brevity he ticked off human lives among the casual "remembrances" of the day. "Item, the Abbot of Reading to be sent down to be tried and executed at Reading." "Item, to know the King's pleasure touching Master More." "Item, when Master Fisher shall go to his execution, and the other." It is indeed this utter absence of all passion, of all personal feeling, that makes the figure of Cromwell the most terrible in our history. He has an absolute faith in the end he is pursuing, and he simply hews his way to it as a woodman hews his way through the forest, axe in hand.

The choice of his first victim showed the ruthless precision with which Cromwell was to strike. In the general opinion of Europe the foremost Englishman of his time was Sir Thomas More. As the policy of the divorce ended in an open rupture with Rome he had withdrawn silently from the ministry, but his silent disapproval was more telling than the opposition of obscurer foes. To Cromwell there must have been something specially galling in More's attitude of reserve. The religious reforms of the New Learning were being rapidly carried out, but it was plain that the man who represented the very life of the New Learning believed that the sacrifice of liberty and justice was too dear a price to pay even for religious reform. More indeed looked on the divorce and re-marriage as without religious warrant, though his faith in the power of Parliament to regulate the succession made him regard the children of Anne Boleyn as the legal heirs of the Crown. The Act of Succession, however, required an oath to be taken by all persons, which not only recognized the succession, but contained an acknowledgement that the marriage with Catharine was against Scripture and invalid from the beginning. Henry had long known More's belief on this point; and the summons to take this oath was simply a summons to death. More was at his house at Chelsea when the summons called him to Lambeth, to the house where he had bandied fun with Warham and Erasmus or bent over the easel of Holbein. For a moment there may have been some passing impulse

to yield. But it was soon over. "I thank the Lord," More said with a sudden start as the boat dropped silently down the river from his garden steps in the early morning, "I thank the Lord that the field is won." Cranmer and his fellow commissioners tendered to him the new oath of allegiance; but, as they expected, it was refused. They bade him walk in the garden that he might reconsider his reply. The day was hot and More seated himself in a window from which he could look down into the crowded court. Even in the presence of death, the quick sympathy of his nature could enjoy the humour and life of the throng below. "I saw," he said afterwards, "Master Latimer very merry in the court, for he laughed and took one or twain by the neck so handsomely that if they had been women I should have weened that he waxed wanton." The crowd below was chiefly of priests, rectors and vicars, pressing to take the oath that More found harder than death. He bore them no grudge for it. When he heard the voice of one who was known to have boggled hard at the oath a little while before calling loudly and ostentatiously for drink, he only noted him with his peculiar humour. "He drank," More supposed, "either from dryness or from gladness," or "to show quod ille notus erat Pontifici." He was called in again at last, but only repeated his refusal. It was in vain that Cranmer plied him with distinctions which perplexed even the subtle wit of the ex-chancellor; he remained unshaken and passed to the Tower. He was followed there by Bishop Fisher of Rochester, charged with countenancing tyason by listening to the prophecies of a fanatic called the "Nun of Kent." For the moment even Cromwell shrank from their blood. They remained prisoners while a new and more terrible engine was devised to crush out the silent but widespread opposition to the religious changes. By a statute passed at the close of 1534 a new treason was created in the denial of the King's titles; and in the opening of 1535 Henry assumed, as we have seen, the title of "on earth supreme Head of the Church of England." In the general relaxation of the religious life the charity and devotion of the brethren of the Charter-house had won the reverence even of those who condemned monasticism. After a stubborn resistance they had acknowledged the royal Supremacy, and taken the oath of submission prescribed by the Act. But by an infamous construction of the statute which made the denial of the Supremacy treason, the refusal of satisfactory answers to official questions as to a conscientious belief in it was held to be equivalent to open denial. The aim of the new measure was well known, and the brethren prepared to die. In the agony of waiting enthusiasm brought its imaginative consolations; "when the Host was lifted up there came as it were a whisper of air which breathed upon our faces as we knelt; and there came a sweet soft sound of music." They had not long however to wait. Their refusal to answer was the signal for their doom. Three

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of the brethren went to the gallows ; the rest were flung into Newgate, chained to posts in a noisome dungeon where, "tied and not able to stir," they were left to perish of gaol-fever and starvation. In a fortnight five were dead and the rest at the point of death, "almost despatched," Cromwell's envoy wrote to him, "by the hand of God, of which, considering their behaviour, I am not sorry." The interval of imprisonment had failed to break the resolution of More, and the new statute sufficed to bring him to the block. With Fisher he was convicted of denying the King's title as only supreme head of the Church. The old Bishop approached the block with a book of the New Testament in his hand. He opened it at a venture ere he knelt, and read, "This is life eternal to know Thee, the only true God." Fisher's death was soon followed by that of More. On the eve of the fatal blow he moved his beard carefully from the block. "Pity that should be cut," he was heard to mutter with a touch of the old sad irony, "that has never committed treason."

Cromwell and the Nobles

But it required, as Cromwell well knew, heavier blows even than these to break the stubborn resistance of Englishmen to his projects of change, and he seized his opportunity in the revolt of the North. In the north the monks had been popular ; and the outrages with which the dissolution of the monasteries was accompanied gave point to the mutinous feeling that prevailed through the country. The nobles too were writhing beneath the rule of one whom they looked upon as a low-born upstart. "The world will never mend," Lord Hussey was heard to say, "till we fight for it." Agrarian discontent and the love of the old religion united in a revolt which broke out in Lincolnshire. The rising was hardly suppressed when Yorkshire was in arms. From every parish the farmers marched with the parish priest at their head upon York, and the surrender of the city determined the waverers. In a few days Skipton Castle, where the Earl of Cumberland held out with a handful of men, was the only spot north of the Humber which remained true to the King. Durham rose at the call of Lords Latimer and Westmoreland. Though the Earl of Northumberland feigned sickness, the Percies joined the revolt. Lord Dacre, the chief of the Yorkshire nobles, surrendered Pomfret, and was at once acknowledged as their chief by the insurgents. The whole nobility of the north were now in arms, and thirty thousand "tall men and well horsed" moved on the Don, demanding the reversal of the royal policy, a reunion with Rome, the restoration of Catharine's daughter, Mary, to her rights as heiress of the Crown, redress for the wrongs done to the Church, and above all the driving away of base-born counsellors, in other words the fall of Cromwell. Though their advance was checked by negotiation, the organization of the revolt went steadily on throughout the winter, and a Parliament of the North gathered at Pomfret, **and** formally adopted the demands of the insurgents. Only six

The Pilgrimage of Grace 1536

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thousand men under Norfolk barred their way southward, and the Midland counties were known to be disaffected. Cromwell, however, remained undaunted by the peril. He suffered Norfolk to negotiate ; and allowed Henry under pressure from his Council to promise pardon and a free Parliament at York, a pledge which Norfolk and Dacre alike construed into an acceptance of the demands made by the insurgents. Their leaders at once flung aside the badge of the Five Wounds which they had worn, with a cry " We will wear no badge but that of our Lord the King," and nobles and farmers dispersed to their homes in triumph. But the towns of the North were no sooner garrisoned and Norfolk's army in the heart of Yorkshire than the veil was

1537 flung aside. A few isolated outbreaks gave a pretext for the withdrawal of every concession. The arrest of the leaders of the " Pilgrimage of Grace," as the insurrection was styled, was followed by ruthless severities. The country was covered with gibbets. Whole districts were given up to military execution. But it was on the leaders of the rising that Cromwell's hand fell heaviest. He seized his opportunity for dealing at the northern nobles a fatal blow. " Cromwell," one of the chief among them broke fiercely out as he stood at the Council board, " it is thou that art the very special and chief cause of all this rebellion and wickedness, and dost daily travail to bring us to our ends and strike off our heads. I trust that ere thou die, though thou wouldst procure all the noblest heads within the realm to be stricken off, yet there shall one head remain that shall strike off thy head." But the warning was unheeded. Lord Darcy, who stood first among the nobles of Yorkshire, and Lord Hussey, who stood first among the nobles of Lincolnshire, went alike to the block. The Abbot of Barlings, who had ridden into Lincoln with his canons in full armour, swung with his brother Abbots of Whalley, Woburn, and Sawley from the gallows. The Abbots of Fountains and of Jervaulx were hanged at Tyburn side by side with the representative of the great line of Percy. Lady Bulmer was burnt at the stake. Sir Robert Constable was hanged in chains before the gate of Hull. The blow to the north had not long been struck when Cromwell turned to deal with the west. The opposition to his system gathered above all round two

1538 houses who represented what yet lingered of Yorkist tradition, the Courtenays and the Poles. Margaret, the Countess of Salisbury, a daughter of the Duke of Clarence by the heiress of the Earl of Warwick, was at once representative of the Nevilles and a niece of Edward the Fourth. Her third son, Reginald Pole, after refusing the highest offers from Henry as the price of his approval of the divorce, had taken refuge in Rome, where he had bitterly attacked the King in a book on " The Unity of the Church." " There may be found ways enough in Italy," Cromwell wrote to him in significant words, " to rid a treacherous subject. When Justice can take no place by process of

law at home, sometimes she may be enforced to take new means abroad." But he had left hostages in Henry's hands. "Pity that the folly of one witless fool should be the ruin of so great a family. Let him follow ambition as fast as he can, those that little have offended (saving that he is of their kin), were it not for the great mercy and benignity of the prince, should and might feel what it is to have a traitor as their kinsman." Pole answered by pressing the Emperor to execute a bull of excommunication and deposition which was now launched by the Papacy. Cromwell was quick with his reply. Courtenay, the Marquis of Exeter, was a kinsman of the Poles, and like them of royal blood, a grandson through his mother of Edward the Fourth. He was known to have bitterly denounced the "knaves that ruled about the King;" and his threats to "give them some day a buffet" were formidable in the mouth of one whose influence in the western counties was supreme. He was at once arrested with Lord Montacute, Pole's elder brother, on a charge of treason, and both were beheaded on Tower Hill, while the Countess of Salisbury was attainted and sent to the Tower.

1539

The Fall of Cromwell

Never indeed had Cromwell shown such greatness as in his last struggle against Fate. "Beknaved" by the King whose confidence in him waned as he discerned the full meaning of the religious changes, met too by a growing opposition in the Council as his favour declined, the temper of the man remained indomitable as ever. He stood absolutely alone. Wolsey, hated as he had been by the nobles, had been supported by the Church; but Churchmen hated Cromwell with an even fiercer hate than the nobles themselves. His only friends were the Protestants, and their friendship was more fatal than the hatred of his foes. But he shewed no signs of fear or of halting in the course he had entered on. His activity was as boundless as ever. Like Wolsey he had concentrated in his hands the whole administration of the state; he was at once foreign minister and home minister and Vicar-General of the Church, the creator of a new fleet, the organizer of armies, the president of the terrible Star Chamber. But his Italian indifference to the mere show of power contrasted strongly with the pomp of the Cardinal. His personal habits were simple and unostentatious. If he clutched at money, it was to feed the vast army of spies whom he maintained at his own expense, and whose work he surveyed with a sleepless vigilance. More than fifty volumes still remain of the gigantic mass of his correspondence. Thousands of letters from "poor bedesmen," from outraged wives and wronged labourers and persecuted heretics, flowed in to the all-powerful minister whose system of personal government had turned him into the universal court of appeal. So long as Henry supported him, however reluctantly, he was more than a match for his foes. He was strong enough to expel his chief opponent, Bishop Gardiner of Winchester, from the

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royal Council. He met the hostility of the nobles with a threat which marked his power. "If the lords would handle him so, he would give them such a breakfast as never was made in England, and that the proudest of them should know." His single will forced on a scheme of foreign policy whose aim was to bind England to the cause of the Reformation while it bound Henry helplessly to his minister. The daring boast which his enemies laid afterwards to his charge, whether uttered or not, is but the expression of his system. "In brief time he would bring things to such a pass that the King with all his power should not be able to hinder him." His plans rested, like the plan which proved fatal to Wolsey, on a fresh marriage of his master. The short-lived royalty of Anne Boleyn had ended in charges of adultery and treason, and in her death in May, 1536. Her rival and successor in Henry's affections, Jane Seymour, died next year in child-

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birth; and Cromwell replaced her with a German consort, Anne of

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Cleves, a sister-in-law of the Lutheran elector of Saxony. He dared even to resist Henry's caprice, when the King revolted on their first interview at the coarse features and unwieldy form of his new bride. For the moment Cromwell had brought matters "to such a pass" that it was impossible to recoil from the marriage. The marriage of Anne of Cleves, however, was but the first step in a policy which, had it been carried out as he designed it, would have anticipated the triumphs of Richelieu. Charles and the House of Austria could alone bring about a Catholic reaction strong enough to arrest and roll b^ck the Reformation; and Cromwell was no sooner united with the princes of North Germany than he sought to league them with France for the overthrow of the Emperor. Had he succeeded, the whole face of Europe would have been changed, Southern Germany would have been secured for Protestantism, and the Thirty Years War averted. He failed as men fail who stand ahead of their age. The German princes shrank from a contest with the Emperor, France from a struggle which would be fatal to Catholicism; and Henry, left alone to bear the resentment of the House of Austria and chained to a wife he loathed, turned savagely on Cromwell. The nobles sprang on him with a fierceness that told of their long-hoarded hate. Taunts and execrations burst from the Lords at the Council table, as the Duke of

June 1540

Norfolk, who had been charged with the minister's arrest, tore the ensign of the Garter from his neck. At the charge of treason Cromwell flung his cap on the ground with a passionate cry of despair. "This then," he exclaimed, "is my guerdon for the services I have done! On your consciences, I ask you, am I a traitor?" Then with a sudden sense that all was over he bade his foes "make quick work, and not leave me to languish in prison." Quick work was made, and a yet louder burst of popular applause than that which hailed the attainder

July

of Cromwell hailed his execution.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REFORMATION.

Section I.—The Protestants. 1540—1553.

Authorities.—For the close of Henry's reign and for that of Edward, we have a mass of material in Strype's "Memorials," and his lives of Cranmer, Cheke, and Smith, in Mr. Pocock's edition of "Burnet's History of the Reformation," in Hay ward s Life of Edward, and Edward's own Journal, in Holinshed's "Chronicle," and Machyn's "Diary" (Camden Society). For the Protectorate see the correspondence published by Mr. Tytler in his "England under Edward VI. and Mary"; much light is thrown un its close by Mr. Nicholls in the "Chronicle of Queen Jane" (Camden Society). Among outer observers, the Venetian Soranzo deals with the Protectorate; and the despatches of Giovanni Michiel, published by Mr. Friedmann, with the events of Mary's reign. In spite of endless errors, of Puritan prejudices and deliberate suppressions of the truth (many of which will be found corrected by Dr. Maitland's "Essay on the Reformation,"), its mass of facts and wonderful charm of style will always give a great importance to the "Book of Martyrs" of Foxe. The story of the early Protestants has been admirably wrought up by Mr. Froude ("History of England/' chap, vi.).]

Cromwell and the Monarchy

AT Cromwell's death the success of his policy was complete. The Monarchy had reached the height of its power. The old liberties of England lay prostrate at the feet of the King. The Lords were cowed and spiritless; the House of Commons was filled with the creatures of the Court and degraded into an engine of tyranny. Royal proclamations were taking the place of parliamentary legislation; benevolences were encroaching more and more on the right of parliamentary taxation. Justice was prostituted in the ordinary courts to the royal will, while the boundless and arbitrary powers of the royal Council were gradually superseding the slower processes of the Common Law. The new religious changes had thrown an almost sacred character over the "majesty" of the King. Henry was the Head of the Church. From the primate to the meanest deacon every minister of it derived from him his sole right to exercise spiritual powers. The voice of its preachers was the echo of his will. He alone could define orthodoxy or declare heresy. The forms of its worship and belief were changed and rechanged at the royal caprice. Half of its wealth went to swell the royal treasury, and the other half lay at the King's.mercy. It was this unprecedented concentration of all power in the hands of a single man that overawed the imagination of Henry's subjects. He was regarded as something high above the laws which govern common men.

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Cromwell and the Parliament

The voices of statesmen and of priests extolled his wisdom and power as more than human. The Parliament itself rose and bowed to the vacant throne when his name was mentioned. An absolute devotion to his person replaced the old *loyalty* to the law. When the Primate of the English Church described the chief merit of Cromwell, it was by asserting that he loved the King "no less than he loved God."

It was indeed Cromwell, as we have seen, who more than any man had reared this fabric of king-worship; but he had hardly reared it before it began to give way. The very success of his measures indeed brought about the ruin of his policy. One of the most striking features of his system had been his revival of Parliaments. The great assembly which the Monarchy, from Edward the Fourth to Wolsey, had dreaded and silenced, was called to the front again by Cromwell, and turned into the most formidable weapon of despotism. He saw nothing to fear in a House of Lords whose nobles cowered helpless before the might of the Crown, and whose spiritual members his policy was degrading into mere tools of the royal will. Nor could he find anything to dread in a House of Commons which was crowded with members directly or indirectly nominated by the royal Council. With a Parliament such as this Cromwell might well trust to make the nation itself through its very representatives an accomplice in the work of absolutism. It was by parliamentary statutes that the Church was prostrated at the feet of the Monarchy. It was by bills of attainder that great nobles were brought to the block. It was under constitutional forms that freedom was gagged with new treasons and oaths and questionings. But the success of such a system depended wholly on the absolute servility of Parliament to the will of the Crown, and Cromwell's own action made the continuance of such a servility impossible. The part which the Houses were to play in after years shows the importance of clinging to the forms of constitutional freedom, even when their life is all but lost. In the inevitable reaction against tyranny they furnish centres for the reviving energies of the people, while the returning tide of liberty is enabled through their preservation to flow quietly and naturally along its traditional channels. On one occasion during Cromwell's own rule a " great debate " on the suppression of the lesser monasteries showed that elements of resistance still survived; and these elements developed rapidly as the power of the Crown declined under the minority of Edward and the unpopularity of Mary. To this revival of a spirit of independence the spoliation of the Church largely contributed. Partly from necessity, partly from a desire to build up a faction interested in the maintenance of their ecclesiastical policy, Cromwell and the King squandered the vast mass of wealth which flowed into the Treasury with reckless prodigality. Something like a fifth of the actual land in the kingdom was in this way transferred from the holding of the Church to that of nobles and gentry. Not only were the older houses enriched,

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but a new aristocracy was erected from among the dependants of the Court. The Russells and the Cavendishes are familiar instances of families which rose from obscurity through the enormous grants of Church-land made to Henry's courtiers. The old baronage was hardly crushed before a new aristocracy took i ts place. " Those families within or without the bounds of the peerage/' observes Mr. Hallam, "who are now deemed the most considerable, will be found, with no great number of exceptions, to have first become conspicuous under the Tudor line of kings, and, if we could trace the title of their estates, to have acquired no small portion of them mediately or immediately from monastic or other ecclesiastical foundations." ' The leading part which the new peers took in the events which followed Henry's death gave a fresh strength and vigour to the whole order. But the smaller gentry shared in the general enrichment of the landed proprietors, and the new energy of the Lords was soon followed by a display of fresh political independence among the Commons themselves.

The Protestants

But it was above all in the new energy which the religious spirit of the people at large drew from the ecclesiastical changes which he had brought about, that the policy of Cromwell was fatal to the Monarchy. Lollardry, as a great social and popular movement, had ceased to exist, and little remained of the directly religious impulse given by Wyclif beyond a vague restlessness and discontent with the system of the Church. But weak and fitful as was the life of Lollardry, the prosecutions whose records lie scattered over the bishops' registers failed wholly to kill it. We see groups meeting here and there to read " in a great book of heresy all one night certain chapters of the Evangelists in English," while transcripts of Wyclif's tracts passed from hand to hand. The smouldering embers needed but a breath to fan them into flame, and the breath came from William Tyndale. He had passed from Oxford to Cambridge to feel the full impulse given by the appearance there of the New Testament of Erasmus. From that moment one thought was at his heart. " If God spare my life," he said to a learned controversialist, " ere many years 1 will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the scripture than thou dost." But he was a man of forty before his dream became fact. Drawn from his retirement in Gloucestershire by the news of Luther's protest at Wittemberg, he found shelter for a time in London, and then at Hamburg, before he found his way to the little town which had suddenly become the sacred city of the Reformation. Students of all nations were flocking there with an enthusiasm which resembled that of the Crusades. " As they came in sight of the town," a contemporary tells us, " they returned thanks to God with clasped hands, for from Wittemberg, as heretofore from Jerusalem, the light of evangelical truth had spread to the utmost parts of the earth." In 1525 his version of the New Testament was completed. Driven from Koln, he had to

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fly with his sheets to Worms, from whence six thousand copies of the New Testament were sent to English shores. But it was not as a mere translation of the Bible that Tyndale's work reached England. It came as a part of the Lutheran movement; it bore the Lutheran stamp in its version of ecclesiastical words ; it came too in company with Luther's bitter invectives and reprints of the tracts of Wyclit It was denounced as heretical, and a pile of books was burned before Wolsey in Sjt. Paul's Churchyard. Bibles and pamphlets however were smuggled over to England and circulated among the poorer and trading classes through the agency of an association of " Christian Brethren," consisting principally of London tradesmen and citizens, but whose missionaries spread over the country at large. They found their way at once to the Universities, where the intellectual impulse given by the New Learning was quickening religious speculation. Cambridge had already won a name for heresy, and the Cambridge scholars whom Wolsey introduced into Cardinal College which he was founding spread the contagion through Oxford. A group of " Brethren " which was formed in Cardinal College for the secret reading and discussion of the Epistles soon included the more intelligent and learned scholars of the University. It was in vain that Clark, the centre of this group, strove to dissuade fresh members from joining it by warnings of the impending dangers. " I fell down on my knees at his feet," says one of them, Anthony Dalaber, " and with tears and sighs besought him that for the tender mercy of God he should not refuse me, saying that I trusted verily that He who had begun this on me would not forsake me, but would give me grace to continue therein to the end. When he heard me say so he came to me, took me in his arms, and kissed me, saying, * The Lord God Almighty grant you so to do, and from henceforth ever take me for your father, and I will take you for my son in Christ.'" The excitement which followed on this rapid diffusion of Tyndale's works forced Wolsey to more
1528 vigorous action ; many of the Oxford Brethren were thrown into prison and their books seized. But in spite of the panic of the Protestants, some of whom fled over sea, little severity was really exercised; and Wolsey remained steadily indifferent to all but political matters.

Latimer Henry's chief anxiety, indeed, was lest in the outburst against heresy the interest of the New Learning should suffer harm. This was remarkably shown in the protection he extended to one who was destined to eclipse even the fame of Colet as a popular preacher.
b. 1490 Hugh Latimer was the son of a Leicestershire yeoman, whose armour the boy had buckled on ere he set out to meet the Cornish insurgents at Blackheath field. He has himself described the soldierly training of his youth. " My father was delighted to teach me to shoot with the bow. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body to the bow,

not to draw with strength of arm as other nations do, but with the strength of the body." At fourteen he was at Cambridge, flinging himself into the New Learning which was winning its way there with a zeal which at last told on his physical strength. The ardour of his mental efforts left its mark on him in ailments and enfeebled health, from which, vigorous as he was, his frame never wholly freed itself. But he was destined to be known, not as a scholar, but as a preacher. The sturdy good sense of the man shook off the pedantry of the schools as well as the subtlety of the theologian in his addresses from the pulpit. He had little turn for speculation, and in the religious changes of the day we find him constantly lagging behind his brother reformers. But he had the moral earnestness of a Jewish prophet, and his denunciations of wrong had a prophetic directness and fire. " Have pity on your soul," he cried to Henry, " and think that the day is even at hand when you shall give an account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword." His irony was yet more telling than his invective. " I would ask you a strange question," he said once at Paul's Cross to a ring of Bishops, " who is the most diligent prelate in all England, that passeth all the rest in doing of his office? I will tell you. It is the Devil! of all the pack of them that have cure, the Devil shall go for my money ; for he ordereth his business. Therefore, you unpreaching prelates, learn of the Devil to be diligent in your office. If you will not learn of .God, for shame learn of the Devil." But he was far from limiting himself t8 invective. His homely humour breaks in with story and apologue ; his earnestness is always tempered with good sense ; his plain and simple style quickens with a shrewd mother-wit. He talks to his hearers as a man talks to his friends, telling stories such as we have given of his own life at home, or chatting about the changes and chances of the day with a transparent simplicity and truth that raises even his chat into grandeur. His theme is always the actual world about him, and in his homely lessons of loyalty, of industry, of pity for the poor, he touches upon almost every subject, from the plough to the throne. No such preaching had been heard in England before his day, and with the growth of his fame grew the danger of persecution. There were moments when, bold as he was, Latimer's heart failed him. " If I had not trust that God will help me," he wrote once, " I think the ocean sea would have divided my lord of London and me by this day." A citation for heresy at last brought the danger home. " I intend," he wrote with his peculiar medley of humour and pathos, " to make merry with my parishioners this Christmas, for all the sorrow, lest perchance I may never return to them again." But I he was saved throughout by the steady protection of the Court, i Wolsey upheld him against the threats of the Bishop of Ely; Henry made him his own chaplain ; and the King's interposition at this |

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critical moment forced Latimer's judges to content themselves with a few vague words of submission.

Henry's quarrel with Rome saved the Protestants from the keener persecution which troubled them after Wolsey's fall. The divorce, the renunciation of the Papacy, the degradation of the clergy, the suppression of the monasteries, the religious changes, fell like a series of heavy blows upon the priesthood. From persecutors they suddenly sank into men trembling for their very lives. Those whom they had threatened were placed at their head. Cranmer became Primate; Shaxton, a favourer of the new changes, was raised to the see of Salisbury; Barlow, a yet more extreme partizan, to that of St. David's; Hilsey to that of Rochester; Goodrich to that of Ely; Fox to that of Hereford. Latimer himself became Bishop of Worcester, and in a vehement address to the clergy in Convocation taunted them with their greed and superstition in the past, and with their inactivity when the King and his Parliament were labouring for the revival of religion. The aim of Cromwell, as we have seen, was simply that of the New Learning; he desired religious reform rather than revolution, a simplification rather than a change of doctrine, the purification of worship rather than the introduction of a new ritual. But it was impossible to strike blow after blow at the Church without leaning instinctively to the party who sympathized with the German reformation, and were longing for a more radical change at home. Few as these "Lutherans" or "Protestants" still were in numbers, their new hopes made them a formidable force; and in the school of persecution they had learned a violence which delighted in outrages on the faith which had so long trampled them under foot. At the very outset of Cromwell's changes four Suffolk youths broke into the church at Dovercourt, tore down a wonder-working crucifix, and burned it in the fields. The suppression of the lesser monasteries was the signal for a new outburst of ribald insult to the old religion. The roughness, insolence, and extortion of the Commissioners sent to effect it drove the whole monastic body to despair. Their servants rode along the road with copes for doublets and tunicles for saddle-cloths, and scattered panic among the larger houses which were left. Some sold their jewels and relics to provide for the evil day they saw approaching. Some begged of their own will for dissolution. It was worse when fresh ordinances of the Vicar-General ordered the removal of objects of superstitious veneration. The removal, bitter enough to those whose religion twined itself around the image or the relic which was taken away, was yet more embittered by the insults with which it was accompanied. The miraculous rood at Boxley, which bowed its head and stirred its eyes, was paraded from market to market and exhibited as a juggle before the Court. Images of the Virgin were stripped of their costly vestments and sent to be publicly burnt at London. Latimer for-

1536

1538

warded to the capital the figure of Our Lady, which he had thrust out of his cathedral church at Worcester, with rough words of scorn: "She with her old sister of Walsingham, her younger sister of Ipswich, and their two other sisters of Doncaster and Penrice, would make a jolly muster at Smithfield." Fresh orders were given to fling all relics from their reliquaries, and to level every shrine with the ground. The bones of St. Thomas of Canterbury were torn from the stately shrine which had been the glory of his metropolitan church, and his name was erased from the service-books as that of a traitor. The introduction of the English Bible into churches gave a new opening for the zeal of the Protestants. In spite of royal injunctions that it should be read decently and without comment, the young zealots of the party prided themselves on shouting it out to a circle of excited hearers during the service of mass, and accompanied their reading with violent expositions. Protestant maidens took the new English primer to church with them, and studied it ostentatiously during matins. Insult passed into open violence when the Bishops' Courts were invaded and broken up by Protestant mobs; and law and public opinion were outraged at once when priests who favoured the new doctrines began openly to bring home wives to their vicarages. A fiery outburst of popular discussion compensated for the silence of the pulpits. The new Scriptures, in Henry's bitter words of complaint, were "disputed, rimed, sung, and jangled in every tavern and alehouse." The articles which dictated the belief of the English Church roused a furious controversy. Above all, the Sacrament of the Mass, the centre of the Catholic system of faith and worship, and which still remained sacred to the bulk of Englishmen, was attacked with a scurrility and profaneness which passes belief. The doctrine of Transubstantiation, which was as yet recognized by law, was held up to scorn in ballads and mystery plays. In one church a Protestant lawyer raised a dog in his hands when the priest elevated the Host. The most sacred words of the old worship, the words of consecration, "Hoc est corpus," were travestied into a nickname for jugglery as "Hocus-pocus." It was by this attack on the Mass, even more than by the other outrages, that the temper both of Henry and the nation was stirred to a deep resentment; and the first signs of reaction were seen in the Act of the Six Articles, which was passed by the Parliament with general assent. On the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which was re-asserted by the first of these, there was no difference of feeling or belief between the men of the New Learning and the older Catholics. But the road to a further instalment of even moderate reform seemed closed by the five other articles which sanctioned communion in one kind, the celibacy of the clergy, monastic vows, private masses, and auricular confession. A more terrible feature of the reaction was the revival of persecution. Burning was denounced as the

1538

The Six Articles 1539

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penalty for a denial of transubstantiation ; on a second offence it became the penalty for an infraction of the other five doctrines. A refusal to confess or to attend Mass was made felony. It was in vain that Cranmer, with the five bishops who partially sympathized with the Protestants, struggled against the bill in the Lords: the Commons were " all of one opinion," and Henry himself acted as spokesman on the side of the Articles. In London alone five hundred Protestants were indicted under the new act. Latimer and Shaxton were imprisoned, and the former forced into a resignation of his see. Cranmer himself was only saved by Henry's personal favour. But the first burst of triumph had no sooner spent itself than the strong hand of Cromwell again made itself felt. Though his opinions remained those of the New Learning and differed little from the general sentiment represented in the Act, he leaned instinctively to the one party which did not long for his fall. His wish was to restrain the Protestant excesses, but he had no mind to ruin the Protestants. The bishops were quietly released. The London indictments were quashed. The magistrates were checked in their enforcement of the law, while a general pardon cleared the prisons of the heretics who had been arrested under its provisions. A few months after the enactment of the Six Articles we find from a Protestant letter that persecution had wholly ceased, " the Word is powerfully preached and books of every kind may safely be exposed for sale."

The Death of Henry VIII.

At Cromwell's fall his designs seemed to be utterly abandoned. The marriage with Anne of Cleves was annulled, and a new Queen found in Catharine Howard, a niece of the Duke of Norfolk. Norfolk himself returned to power, and resumed the policy which Cromwell had interrupted. Like the King he looked to an Imperial alliance rather than an alliance with Francis and the Lutherans. He still clung to the dream of the New Learning, to a purification of the Church through a general Council, and the reconciliation of England with the purified body of Catholicism.^ For such a purpose it was necessary to vindicate English orthodoxy f and to ally England with the Emperor, by whose influence alone the assembly of such a Council could be brought about. To the hotter Catholics indeed, as to the hotter Protestants, the years after Cromwell's fall seemed years of a gradual return to Catholicism. There was a slight sharpening of persecution for the Protestants, and restrictions were put on the reading of the English Bible. But neither Norfolk nor-his master desired any rigorous measure of reaction. There was no thought of reviving the old superstitions, or undoing the work which had been done, but simply of guarding the purified faith against Lutheran heresy. The work of supplying men with means of devotion in their own tongue was still carried on by the publication of an English Litany and prayers, which furnished the germ of the national Prayer Book of a later time. The greater abbeys which had been saved by

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the energetic resistance of the Parliament in 1536 had in 1539 been involved in the same ruin with the smaller; but in spite of this confiscation the treasury was now empty, and by a bill of 1545 more than two thousand chauntries and chapels, with a hundred and ten hospitals, were suppressed to the profit of the Crown. If the friendship of England was offered to Charles, when the struggle between France and the House of Austria burst again for a time into flame, it was because Henry saw in the Imperial alliance the best hope for the reformation of the Church and the restoration of unity. But, as Cromwell had foreseen, the time for a peaceful reform and for a general reunion of Christendom was past. The Council, so passionately desired, met at Trent in no spirit of conciliation, but to ratify the very superstitions and errors against which the New Learning had protested, and which England and Germany had flung away. The long hostility of France and the House of Austria merged in the greater struggle which was opening between Catholicism and the Reformation. The Emperor allied himself definitely with the Pope. As their hopes of a middle course faded, the Catholic nobles themselves drifted unconsciously with the tide of reaction. Anne Ascue was tortured and burnt with three companions for the denial of Transubstantiation. Latimer was examined before the Council; and Cranmer himself, who in the general dissolution of the moderate party was drifting towards Protestantism as Norfolk was drifting towards Rome, was for a moment in danger. But at the last hours of his life Henry proved himself true to the wdrk he had begun. His resolve not to bow to the pretensions of the Papacy sanctioned at Trent threw him, whether he would or no, back on the policy of the great minister whom he had hurried to the block. He offered to unite in a " League Christian " with the German Princes. He consented to the change, suggested by Cranmer, of the Mass into a Communion Service. He flung the Duke of Norfolk into the Tower as a traitor, and sent his son, the Earl of Surrey, to the block. The Earl of Hertford, the head of the " new men," and known as a patron of the Protestants, came to the front, and was appointed one of the Council of Regency which Henry nominated at his death.

1543

1545

Death of Henry *Jan.* 1547

Catharine Howard atoned like Anne Boleyn for her unchastity by a traitor's death ; her successor on the throne, Catharine Parr, had the luck to outlive the King. But of Henry's numerous marriages only three children survived; Mary and Elizabeth, the daughters of Catharine of Aragon and of Anne Boleyn; and Edward, the boy who now ascended the throne as Edward the Sixth, his son by Jane Seymour. As Edward was but nine years old, Henry had appointed a carefully balanced Council of Regency; but the will fell into the keeping of Jane's brother, whom he had raised to the peerage as Lord Hertford, and who at a later time assumed the title of Duke of Somerset.

Somerset

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When the list of regents was at last disclosed Gardiner, who had till now been the leading minister, was declared to have been excluded from it; and Hertford seized the whole royal power with the title of Protector. His personal weakness forced him at once to seek for popular support by measures which marked the first retreat of the Monarchy from the position of pure absolutism which it had reached under Henry. The Statute which had given to royal proclamations the force of law was repealed, and several of the new felonies and treasons which Cromwell had created and used with so terrible an effect were erased from the Statute Book. The hope of support from the Protestants united with Hertford's personal predilections in his patronage of the innovations against which Henry had battled to the last. Cranmer had now drifted into a purely Protestant position; and his open break with the older system followed quickly on Hertford's rise to power. "This year," says a contemporary, "the Archbishop of Canterbury did eat meat openly in Lent in the Hall of Lambeth, the like of which was never seen since England was a Christian country." This significant act was followed by a rapid succession of sweeping changes. The legal prohibitions of Lollardry were removed; the Six Articles were repealed; a royal injunction removed all pictures and images from the churches; priests were permitted to marry; the new Communion which had taken the place of the Mass was ordered to be administered in both kinds, and in the English tongue; an English book of Common Prayer, the Liturgy which with slight alterations is still used in the Church of England, replaced the Missal and Breviary from which its contents are mainly drawn. These sweeping religious changes were carried through with the despotism, if not with the vigour, of Cromwell. Gardiner, who in his acceptance of the personal supremacy of the sovereign denounced all ecclesiastical changes made during the King's minority as illegal and invalid, was sent to the Tower. The power of preaching was restricted by the issue of licences only to the friends of the Primate. While all counter arguments were rigidly suppressed, a crowd of Protestant pamphleteers flooded the country with vehement invectives against the Mass and its superstitious accompaniments. The assent of noble and landowner was won by the suppression of chauntries and religious gilds, and by glutting their greed with the last spoils of the Church. German and Italian mercenaries were introduced to stamp out the wider popular discontent which broke out in the east, in the west, and in the midland counties. The Cornishmen refused to receive the new service "because it is like a Christmas game." Devonshire demanded in open revolt the restoration of the Mass and the Six Articles. The agrarian discontent, now heightened by economic changes, woke again in the general disorder. Twenty thousand men gathered round the "oak of Reformation" near Norwich, and repulsing the royal troops in a desperate engagement renewed the old cries

The Common Prayer 1548

1549

Sue. I.

THE PKU-TESTA.N rS 1540 TO 1553 The Pro-testant Mis-rule

for the removal of evil counsellors, a prohibition of enclosures, and redress for the grievances of the poor.

Revolt was stamped out in blood; but the weakness which the Protector had shown in presence of the danger, his tampering with popular demands, and the anger of the nobles at his resolve to enforce the laws against enclosures and evictions, ended in his fall. He was forced by the Council to resign, and his power passed to the Earl of Warwick, to whose ruthless severity the suppression of the revolt was mainly due. But the change of governors brought about no change of system. The rule of the upstart nobles who formed the Council of Regency became simply a rule of terror. "The greater part of the people," one of their creatures, Cecil, avowed, "is not in favour of defending this cause, but of aiding its adversaries; on that side are the greater part of the nobles, who absent themselves from Court, all the bishops save three or four, almost all the judges and lawyers, almost all the justices of the peace, the priests who can move their flocks anyway, for the whole of the commonalty is in such a state of irritation that it will easily follow any stir towards change." But, heedless of danger from without or from within, Cranmer and his colleagues advanced yet more boldly in the career of innovation. Four prelates who adhered to the older system were deprived of their sees and committed on frivolous pretexts to the Tower. A new Catechism embodied the doctrines of the reformers; and a Book of Homilies, which enforced the chief Protestant tenets, was appointed to be read in churches. A crowning defiance was given to the doctrine of the Mass by an order to demolish the stone altars and replace them by wooden tables, which were stationed for the most part in the middle of the church. A revised Prayer-book was issued, and every change made in it leaned directly towards the extreme Protestantism which was at this time finding a home at Geneva. Forty-two Articles of Religion were introduced; and though since reduced by omissions to thirty-nine, these have remained to this day the formal standard of doctrine in the Knglish Church. The sufferings of the Protestants had failed to teach them the worth of religious liberty; and a new code of ecclesiastical laws, which was ordered to be drawn up by a board of Commissioners as a substitute for the Canon Law of the Catholic Church, although it shrank from the penalty of death, attached that of perpetual imprisonment or exile to the crimes of heresy, blasphemy, and adultery, and declared excommunication to involve a severance of the offender from the mercy of God, and his deliverance into the tyranny of the devil. Delays in the completion of this Code prevented its legal establishment during Edward's reign; but the use of the new Liturgy and attendance at the new service was enforced by imprisonment, and subscription to the Articles of Faith was demanded by royal authority from all clergymen, churchwardens, and schoolmasters.

Warwivnk 's Protectorate

A rtides of Religion 1552

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The distaste for changes so hurried and so rigorously enforced was increased by the daring speculations of the more extreme Protestants. The real value of the religious revolution of the sixteenth century to mankind lay, not in its substitution of one creed for another, but in the new spirit of inquiry, the new freedom of thought and of discussion, which was awakened during the process of change. But however familiar such a truth may be to us, it was absolutely hidden from the England of the time. Men heard with horror that the foundations of faith and morality were questioned, polygamy advocated, oaths denounced as unlawful, community of goods raised into a sacred obligation, the very Godhead of the Founder of Christianity denied. The repeal of the Statute of Heresy left the powers of the Common Law intact, and Cranmer availed himself of these to send heretics of the last class without mercy to the stake ; but within the Church itself the Primate's desire for uniformity was roughly resisted by the more ardent members of his own party. Hooper, who had been named Bishop of Gloucester, refused to wear the episcopal habits, and denounced them as the livery of the "harlot of Babylon/' a name for the Papacy which was supposed to have been discovered in the Apocalypse. Ecclesiastical order was almost at an end. Priests flung aside the surplice as superstitious. Patrons of livings presented their huntsmen or gamekeepers to the benefices in their gift, and kept the stipend. All teaching of divinity ceased at the Universities: the students indeed had fallen off in numbers, the libraries were in part scattered or burnt, the intellectual impulse of the New Learning died away. One noble measure indeed, the foundation of eighteen Grammar Schools, was destined to throw a lustre over the name of Edward, but it had no time to bear fruit in his reign. All that men saw was religious and political chaos, in which ecclesiastical order had perished and in which politics were dying down into the squabbles of a knot of nobles over the spoils of the Church and the Crown. The plunder of the chauntries and the gilds failed to glut the appetite of the crew of spoilers. Half the lands of every see were flung to them in vain: the wealthy see of Durham had been suppressed to satisfy their greed; and the whole endowments of the Church were threatened with confiscation. But while the courtiers gorged themselves with manors, the Treasury grew poorer. The coinage was again debased. Crown lands to the value of five millions of our modern money had been granted away to the friends of Somerset and Warwick. The royal expenditure had mounted in seventeen years to more than four times its previous total. It is clear that England must soon have risen against the misrule of the Protectorate, if the Protectorate had not fallen by the intestine divisions of the plunderers themselves.

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ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

PART II.

B John's Quarrel with Pope Innocent III. 1205-1213.

1205. 1. Death of Archbishop Hubert Walter. Election by the younger monks of Canterbury of the Sub-Prior Reginald. JULY 12.

2. Appeal to the Pope as to the right of election, by the King, the bishops of the province of Canterbury, and the monks of the Cathedral. Meanwhile John's nominee—John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich—elected and enthroned by
1205. the King's orders.

3. Decision of the Pope; the right of election with the monks of Canterbury, but the election of Reginald informal and invalid. - Stephen Langton elected at Rome by the proctors of the monks upon the Pope's recommendation.
1207. Consecration of Langton in spite of John's refusal to accept him. JUNE. Retaliation by John upon the property of the monks of Canterbury.

1208. 4. England laid under Interdict. MARCH 12 John's defiance of the Church and oppression of the baronage.

(a) A thirteenth of all property seized. 1207.

(&) Hostages demanded from the barons as pledges of allegiance. 1208.

(c) Continued exactions from the Church. 1209-1210.

5. Activity of John.

(a) Homage and tribute exacted from Alexander
1209-1211. II. of Scotland. 1209.

(6) Successful campaigns in Ireland, 1210 ; and Wales, 1211.

1212. 6. Bull of deposition issued by the Pope, and execution of sentence committed to Philip of France, Philip's action checked by the burning of Dieppe and ravaging of French coast by the
1212. Earl of Salisbury, but upon a fresh attack from Wales, forces raised for invasion of Wales had
1212. to be disbanded owing to the secret conspiracies of the barons. Flight of the chief of the conspiring barons to France.

1213. 7. Submission of John to the Pope, represented by Pandulf. Surrender of his realms, which were given back to him as a tributary vassal of the Roman see. MAY 15.

O Quarrel with the Barons. 1213-1215.

1. Measures against France.

1213. *(a)* Burning of the French fleet by the Earl of Salisbury.

(b) Summoning of the baronage to Poitou to attack Philip from the south, while the Emperor Otto, John's nephew, invaded France from the north. Refusal of baronage to follow till the removal of the Excommunication.

JULY. 2. Arrival of Langton. Removal of the Excommunication, and formal absolution of the King. Persistence of the northern baronage in their refusal to follow or serve the King except within
AUG. the four seas. The King's march to the North.

3. Assembly of S. Albans, under the Justiciar, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, (of bishops, barons, and
AUG. 4. the reeve and four men from each township upon the Royal demesne), to assess the damages due to the plundered clergy. Appeal to the laws of Henry I.

4. Council of barons at S. Paul's. Production by
AUG. 25. Archbishop Langton of the Charter of Henry 1. as a basis for the needed reforms.

5. Death of the Justiciar, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, and appointment of Peter des Roches, Bishop of
OCT. Winchester, to succeed him. The King's assent to the Charter of Henry I. demanded by Langton.

1214. 6. Departure of John for Poitou. FEB. Removal of
JUNE 29. the Interdict. Victories of John south of the Loire neutralized by the total defeat of Otto at
JULY 27. OCT. Bouvines. Return of John to England.

7. Rising of all classes of the baronage (with the exception of John's personal adherents, his ministers, and William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke), including

(i The northern barons, originally lesser tenants in chief, who had risen into importance after the fall of the Mowbrays. (1095.)

b The old feudal barons.

c The ministerial baronage created by Henry I. and Henry II.

Nov. Meeting at S. Edmundsbury. Presentation of
1215. JAN. demands to the King by the barons in arms.

8. Attempts of John between January and Easter to divide or disable his opponents.
   - *a* Freedom of election to bishoprics offered to the Church.
   - *b* Allegiance and fealty, and surrender of castles demanded.
   - *c* Assumption of the Cross to shield himself from violence as a Crusader.

MAY. 9. March of t'le barons in arms, under Robert FitzWalter, from Stamford to London. Voluntary surrender of Exeter and Lincoln. Promises of aid to the barons from Scotland and Wales.

JUNE 15. 10. Meeting of John and the barons at Runnymcde.

D The Great Charter.

1. The freedom of the Church : freedom of election to bishoprics reasserted (Clause 1).
2. Redress of feudal grievances ; reliefs, *te.* payments upon succession, fixed as to amount (Clause 2). Extortion and waste prohibited during wardship (3-5) ; heirs to be married "without disparagement" *(i.e.* disparagement by unequal marriage); widows to receive their dowry without delay or oppression, and not to be compelled to a second marriage (6-8). Debts due to the Crown or to the Jews to be collected in accordance with justice (9-12).
3. The Constitutional Clauses.
   - *a* No scutage or aid to be imposed, but by the Common Council of the realm, except for the King's ransom, and for the making the King's eldest son a Knight, and for marrying the King's eldest daughter once; and for these purposes a reasonable aid to be required (12). Similar limitations upon aids due to barons by feudal tenure (15).
   - *b* Prelates, abbots, earls, and greater barons to be summoned to the Common Council severally by Royal writ ; tenants *in capite* by a general writ addressed to the sheriff: the cause of the summons to be stated : forty days'notice of the assembly to be given (14).
4. The Judicial Clauses.
   - *a* Common Pleas not to fallow the King's Court, but to be held in a fixed place (17).
   - *b* Two justices (with four knights of every county, chosen by the county court) to take assizes m the county court four times a year (18.)

c Freemen, merchants, and villeins only to be amerced "salvo contenemento suo" *(i.e.* in accordance with their degree), and by the oath of good men of the neighbourhood (20). Barons to be amerced by their peers (21). Clerks only upon their lay-fee (22).

5. Restrictions upon Royal officers.

a No sheriff, constable, coroner, nor Royal bailiff to hold the King's pleas (24). The farms of counties to the king not to be increased: debts due to the Crown from tenants deceased to be collected by the sheriff in the view of lawful men (26). Goods of intestates to go to their natural heirs by the view of holy Church (27). Royal officers not to take corn or goods without payment (28), nor to take money in place of service for castle-guard when service is offered (29) ; nor to take horses, carts, or wood without consent (30, 31).

6. Clauses for removal of general exactions and encroachments, and for security of trade.

The writ called "Praecipe," *i.e.* command to a freeman to do some act or show why he should not be compelled, not to be issued beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of the county court. Uniformity of measures insured (35). Writs of inquest concerning life or limb to be given freely (36). Merchants to come in and go out of England, buy and sell, without evil toll (41). Leave to all to leave the kingdom and return, saving their allegiance to the King, except in time of war (42). All afforest ment s of the present reign to *he.* at once disforested, and fenced rivers thrown open (47). Inquests to be held in every county into evil customs of forests or fencing of rivers, by twelve sworn knights (48).

7. General Clauses for the administration of justice.

a No Royal officer to compel a trial by his bare word without witnesses (38).

b No freeman to be taken, nor imprisoned, nor disseized *(i.e.* dispossessed), nor outlawed, nor exiled, nor destroyed in any manner ; nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land (39).

c To none will we sell, to none will we deny or delay right and justice (40).

d We will not make justices, constables, sheriffs, nor bailiffs, but of such as know the law and will keep it (45).

8. Special temporary clauses.

Hostages and charters in the King's hands to be surrendered (49). All foreign knights, slingers, Serjeants, and soldiers, who have come with horses and arms to the nuisance of the realm, to be dismissed immediately after the pacification, "post pacis reformationem" (51). Justice to be done to the Welsh (57, 58), and to Alexander, King of Scotland, "as we do with our other barons of England, by judgement of his peers in our court" (59).

9. Guaranteeing clauses.

Five-and-twenty barons to be chosen by the whole baronage, to guard the liberties of the Charter; any breach of them to be reported to the King by four of the number; in case of his refusal to amend the grievance the five-and-twenty barons, "cum communa totius Anglian," may distress the King by all the ways they can, to wit, by seizing on his castles, lands, and possessions, till it be amended as they shall adjudge; saving the King's own person, the person of his Oueen, and the persons of his children (61).

E Attempts of John to evade the Charter. JUNE, **1215—**OCT. **1216.**

AUG. 25. *a* Appeal of John to Innocent III. as over-lord. The Charter annulled The Barons excommunicated.

DEC. 16. Langton suspended. Departure of Langton to Rome:

b The crown offered by the barons to Lewis of France: successes of John's mercenary army,.

Nov. capture of Rochester, Nov.: conquest of the south of England: northward march to

1216. JAN. Berwick and into Scotland, JAN.: the Midlands subdued by the Earl of Salisbury for John.

MARCH. Capture of Colchester by John.

c Acceptance of the crown by Lewis, and arrival

MAY in England, MAY. Refusal of John's French mercenaries to fight against Lewis. Retreat of John to Wales: John's last effort, the relief of

SEPT. Lincoln, SEPT. 22. Disaster on the shores of

OCT. the Wash: death of the King at Newark, OCT. **19.**

HENEY III. 1216-1272.

Henry III. = Eleanor of Provence.

Edward I. | Edmund of Lancaster. | Margaret = Alexander III. of Scotland. | Beatrice = John of Britanny.

A 1216-1227. The King's Minority. 1216-1227.

1216. **1.** *a* Coronation of Henry at Gloucester, OCT. The Great Charter re-issued at Bristol (the clauses regulating taxation and defining the nature of the Great Council being suspended). William Marshal declared " Governor of the King and Kingdom."

Nov. *b* Truce with Lewis for the Christmas season.

1217. Successes of Lewis in the east of England : defection of English barons to the side of Henry : defeat of Lewis's adherents at Lincoln

MAY. **20.** by the Earl Marshal. Defeat of French fleet bringing support to Lewis, by Hubert de

AUG. 24. Burgh. Departure of Lewis upon payment of .£5,000 and promise of a larger sum, and general pardon to his adherents. Third issue of the Charter (the clauses regulating taxation and defining the nature of the Great Council

SEPT. being omitted). Charter of the Forest disafforesting the encroachments made under Richard and John : no man to lose life or limb for poaching.

1218. *c* Gualo succeeded as Legate bv Pandulf. Death

1219. of William Marshal.

2. Ministry consisting of Peter des Roches, guardian of the Royal person; Pandulf, the Legate; Hubert de Burgh, Justiciar; Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury.

1220-1224. *a* Second coronation of the King, and demand for the restoration of the Royal castles, MAY. Submission of William of Aumale, **1220-1223** ; of the Earl of Chester, **1223.** Capture of Bedford and banishment of Faukes de Breaute, **1224, J**UNE-AUG.

1221. *b* Resignation of Pandulf. Concession by the Pope that no Papal Legate be sent to England during Langton's life. Arrival of the Dominican Friars, **1221**; of the Fran-

1224. ciscans, **1224.**

1225. *c* Grant of a subsidy of one-fifteenth upon moveable property for the recovery of the possessions in France, in consideration of the fourth issue of the Charter " *bond voluntatc nostrd"*

1226. The nomination of some prebends in each Cathedral church claimed by Pope Gregory IX.

1227. *d* Declaration of the King's majority ; all Charters sealed during the King's minority to be invalid until confirmed by the King. JAN. 1227.

B The King's Personal Administration. 1227-1258.

1. Events till the fall of Hubert de Burgh. 1227-1232.

1228. *a* Death of Archbishop Langton. 1228. Confirm-
1229. ation of Richard le Grand as his successor purchased from Pope Gregory IX. by a subsidy of a tithe of all moveables.

b Rejection of the invitation sent by the Norman barons to invade Normandy. Collection of troops at Portsmouth for a campaign in
1229. Poitou. Abandonment of the expedition owing to want of transport and supplies. SEPT.-OCT. Quarrel between the King and Hubert de Burgh.

1230. c Expedition under the King to Britanny and Poitou. MAV-OCT.

1231. *d* Riots in consequence of the Papal exactions : the outbreak ascribed by the Pope to the influence of Hubert de Burgh.

1232. *c* Hubert de Burgh deprived of the Justiciarship, and of his estates. The end of the great Justiciarships.

2. Events till the King's marriage. 1232-1236.

1233. *a* Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, the King's chief adviser. Remonstrance of the barons under William Marshal (the younger) against foreign advisers.

b Intrigues of Peter des Roches against William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke : flight of Pembroke to the Welsh, then to Ireland, 1234,
APRIL. where he died from wounds.

c Des Roches removed from Court owing to the renewed remonstrance of the barons under the new Archbishop, Edmund of Abingdon, a few days previous to the death of William Marshal.

1235. Marriage of Isabella, the King's sister, to the Emperor Frederick IL; and of the King
1236. to Eleanor of Provence. JAN.

3. Events from the King's marriage till 1258.

1237. *a* Pressure of the Royal debts. A thirtieth of all moveables granted to the King, on promise of control by the Royal Council over its expenditure, and in consideration of a fresh confirmation of the Charter.

1238. *b* Marriage of Eleanor, the King's sister, widow of William the younger, Earl Marshal (in spite of her vow of perpetual chastity after her widowhood), to Simon de Montfort.

1237-1241. *c* Visit of Cardinal Otho, as Papal Legate, to reform the Church; large sums exacted for
1239-1241. the Pope, 1240; and from the Jews. 1239-1241.

1242. *d* Refusal of the Great Council to grant further subsidies. JAN. Disastrous expedition of the King to Poitou. JULY.

1244. *e* Visit of Master Martin to collect money for the Pope from the clergy, and to seize vacant benefices. Meeting of the Great Council at Westminster. Proposals of De Montftrt—

i. Justiciar, Chancellor, Treasurer, to be elected in the Council;

ii. A perpetual Council of twelve barons? including De Montfort and Richard of Cornwall, to attend the King;

stopped by a prohibition from the Pope.

1245. / Boniface of Savoy (the Queen's uncle) consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Peter of Savoy, another uncle, created Earl of Richmond. 1241.

1246-1247. *g* Protests addressed by the Great Council to the Pope about exactions.

1248. Condemnation of the King's administration and repeated demand for the appointment of the great officers in Council.

1248. *h* De Montfort appointed Seneschal of Gascony. Complaints of the severity of his rule there,
1252. and quarrel between the King and De Mont-
1253. fort. Return of De Montfort to England.

1253. *i* The Charter again confirmed. Expedition of
1253-1254. the King to France. [Knights of the shire, elected in the county court, summoned to an assembly for granting an aid as representa-
1254. tives of the smaller tenants.] Request by the Jews for permission to leave England to avoid exactions ; the whole body of Jews in England assigned by the King to Earl Richard of Cornwall as security for a loan. Renewed demand for the appointment of Justiciar, Chancellor, Treasurer in the Council to be
1255. removed only by consent of Council.

1254. *j* The offer of the kingdom of Sicily accepted by the King from Pope Innocent IV. for his second son Edmund. [Sicily to be conquered from Frederick II., the King's brother-in-law.]

1255-1257 *k* Unsuccessful expeditions against Llewelyn of
1257. Wales. Aid refused by Parliament, but one-tenth, 52,000 marks, exacted from the clergy for the Sicilian expedition. Severe famine.

C Years of Eclipse. 1258-1265.

1258. 1. Fresh grants demanded for Sicily. The patience of the barons exhausted. Consent of the King to put all reforms into the hands
MAY. of a committee of twenty-four barons. Meet-
JUNE 11. ing of the Parliament at Oxford. The Provisions of Oxford drawn up by the twenty-four barons.

i. The reform of the Church placed in the hands of the twenty-four barons.

ii. A body of fifteen chosen by four out of the twenty-four to advise the King as a Permanent Council.

iii. A second body of twenty-four chosen to deal with aids and financial matters.

iv. A third body of twelve chosen as representing the community to confer with the Perpetual Council three times a year, in February, June, and October.
[The principal men elected on all these four committees, De Montfort, Richard de Clare Earl of Gloucester, Roger Mortimer Lord of Wigmore.]

v. Royal proclamation of assent to the Provisions published in Latin, French, and English.

1259. 2. Domestic policy of the Council. The Provisions of Westminster. OCT.

i. Four knights to be elected in each shire to guard against encroachments of sheriff,

ii. Tenants protected by the regulation of legal procedure in the feudal courts,

iii. Nobles and prelates, however, exempted, "*nisi specialiter eorum firccsentia exigatur*" from attendance at the Sheriffs' courts.

OCT. 3. Foreign policy of the Council.

i. Prohibition of further aids to Rome, secular or ecclesiastical,

ii. Notification to the Pope of the abandonment of the Sicilian expedition,

iii. Abandonment of claim to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, for a grant of money. Poitou to be delivered to the English King after the death of Lewis.

OCT.

1260. 4. Quarrels between the Earl of Leicester (supported by the King's son Edward) and Gloucester (supported by the King).

1261. 5. Papal Bull releasing the King from his oath to the Provisions. (The Tower of London already seized by the King, and preparations made for defence.)

JUNE.
FEB. c

1262. 6. Death of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. Confirmation of the Provisions by the King.

1263. 7. Open hostilities, WHITSUNTIDE. Rising of London against the King. The question of the Provisions referred to Lewis IX. of France. DEC.

1264. 8. The Mise of Amiens. JAN.

i. The Provisions of Oxford annulled,

ii. The appointment and removal of officers to be in the hands of the King,

iii. The King in all matters to have full and free power as in time past,

iv. All Charters issued before the Provisions to remain valid.

9. The War.

MARCH. i. Open resistance of London.

APRIL-MAY. ii. Successes of Henry: capture of Northampton, Nottingham, Tutbury, relief of Rochester.

MAY 14. iii. Defeat and capture of the King at Lewes.

JUNE. iv. Supreme power placed in the hands of the King assisted by a Council of nine appointed by the Bishop of Chichester, the Earl of Leicester and of Gloucester (the younger),

v. Attempts of the Queen and the King's son Edmund to procure foreign aid for the King. Seizure and destruction at Dover of the Pope's Bull of Excommunication against the barons.

1265. vi. Parliament at Westminster composed of the adherents to the Provisions, twenty-three barons, one hundred and twenty ecclesiastics, two knights from each shire, *two burghers from each town.*

JAN. Leicester appointed Justiciar. Liberation of Edward from his confinement at Wallingford, his residence in "free custody" fixed at Hereford. Quarrel between Gilbert de Clare the Earl of

MAY. 28. Gloucester and De Montfort. Escape of Edward. Rising of Edward, Gloucester, and Roger Mortimer in Cheshire and Shropshire, and capture of Gloucester.

AUG. 4. Defeat and death of the Justiciar at Evesham.

The Results of the Struggle and the Last Years of the Reign. 1265-1272.

1. Parliament at Winchester; the adherents of De Montfort disinherited. Submission of Dover and the Cinque Ports to the King.

2. Efforts of Edward for conciliation.

a Friendly negotiations with Simon de

Nov. Montfort the younger.

1266. *b* The Ban of Kenilworth *{Dictum de Kenilworth)* drawn up bya commission under Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, and passed by Parliament.

(1) None to be utterly disinherited, but possessions in all cases redeemable by fines.

(2) The liberties of the Church and the Great Charters to be observed.

(3) The restoration of the House of De

OCT. Montfort left to the Royal will.

Nov. 3. The last resistance. Surrender of Kenilworth. Nov. Appearance of Gilbert of Gloucester in arms in London to secure the execution of the Ban of Kenilworth. Reduction of the isle of Ely. JULY, **1267,**

1267. **4.** Statute of Marlborough, re-enacting most of the reforms of the Provisions of Oxford and Westminster, but reserving to the Nov. King the appointment of officers of State.

5. Departure of Edward to the Crusade under **1270-1272.** Lewis IX. ; and quiet at home till the death of the King. Nov. 16, **1272.**

EDWARD I., 1272-1307.

Eleanor of Castile = Edward I. = Margaret of France.

Edward. Thomas. Edmund, Earl of Kent. Eleanor = Henry of Bar. Margaret = John Brabant. Elizabeth of =(i)John, Count of Holland. Johanna = Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester,

(1) Sir Thomas Hollands Johanna = (2) Black Prince. =(2) Humphry de Bohun,

[Seven others, who died young.]

A Events till Edward's arrival in England.

1272. 1. Order for the proclamation of the King's peace, and appointment of a Regency.

1273. 2. Visit of Edward to the Pope to obtain permission to levy one-tenth upon Church revenues for the three coming years ; allegiance paid to Philip III. for the possessions in France; reduction of Gascon y to order.

1274. 3. Coronation. AUGUST.

1275-1280. B The early Legislative and Financial Measures.

1275. 1. First Statute of Westminster, enacted by the King APRIL. *par son Conseil* and with the assent of the prelates, abbots, priors, counts, barons, and commonalty of the land being thither summoned.

a Summary and codification of previous enactments, contained in Great Charter, Statute of Marlborough, and others.

b Provision made for freedom of election, and for limitation of the amount of feudal aids. APRIL.

2. Grant of custom on wool, woolfells, and leather (half a mark upon each sack of wool, half a mark for every 300 woolfells, one mark upon every lading of leather, exported from the kingdom). *Custuma magna et antiqua.* APRIL. One-fifteenth voted upon movables by clergy and laity. AUG.

1278. 3. *Quo warranto* inquest, based upon Commission of Inquiry into territorial franchises, appointed 1274. Resistance to the inquest by Warrenne, Earl of Surrey.

1278. 4. All freeholders possessed of an estate of *£zo* a year, of whatsoever lord they held, to receive knighthood or to pay a fine *pro respectu militia* for respite of knighthood.

1279. 5. The opposition of the Church and Statute of Mortmain.

a Council at Reading called by Archbishop Peckham ; canon passed ordaining that a copy of Magna Charta (which guaranteed the liberties of the Church) should be annually-posted upon all cathedral and collegiate churches. AUGUST.

b The clergy of the Southern Province ordered by the Archbishop to declare publicly the sentence of excommunication issued against all who obtained royal writs to obstruct ecclesiastical cases, or who neglected to carry out sentences of ecclesiastical Courts.

c The Archbishop compelled to rescind his order and to remove the copies of Magna Charta.

d The Statute *de viris religiosis* or Mortmain, forbidding the alienation of land to religious bodies in such wise as to come into Mortmain, and so cease to render its due service to the King. All land so bestowed to be forfeited to the immediate lord of the fee ; in the case of his neglect, to the next superior *proximo capitali domino feodi* and ultimately to the Crown.

1277-1284. O The Welsh Campaigns.

1. Consolidation of a central authority in Wales by
1194-1240. Llewelyn ap Jorwerth.

2. Turbulence of the great barons upon the Welsh Border—Mortimers, Bohuns, Marshalls, Clares.

1273-1276. 3. Refusal of Llewelyn ap GrurTydd to present himself for homage.

1277. **4.** Removal of the courts of law to Shrewsbury, and invasion of Wales. English annexation of the coast as far south as Conway ; submission of Llewelyn and marriage to Eleanor de Montfort, daughter of the late Earl Simon.

1277-1282. **5.** Peace with Wales. Rebellion of Llewelyn and his brother David. MARCH, **1282.** Second removal of the law courts to Shrewsbury ;

1282-1283. capture and death of Llewelyn. DEC. Capture of David. JUNE, **1283.** Trial of David for treason at Shrewsbury by an assembly of nobles and representatives of towns (summoned by separate writs and not through the sheriffs), and execution. SEPT.

[Statute of Merchants passed by this assembly, enabling traders to get their debts by imprisonment of the debtor and distraint of his goods.]

1284. **6.** The Statute of Wales. Introduction into Wales of the English law of inheritance, and of the English criminal law. Sheriffs appointed for Anglesey, Caernarvon, Merioneth, Flint. The rest of the country left to the jurisdiction of the Lord Marchers.

D Financial Expedients to raise Money for the Welsh Campaign of 1282-1283.

1282. **1.** John Kirkby sent to negotiate with the counties and boroughs separately for a subsidy. JUNE.

2. Writs issued to the sheriffs and the two Archbishops to call provincial assemblies of the two estates (the nobles being with the King in Wales) at Northampton and York. The sheriffs to summon four knights of each shire and two representatives of each city, borough, and market town. The Archbishops to summon heads of religious houses, and proctors of the cathedral clergy. Nov.

£ Judicial Reforms (during these early years).

1. A distinct staff of judges assigned to each of the tribunals of the King's Court.

Court of Exchequer for causes in which royal revenue was concerned.

Court of Common Pleas for suits between private persons (under a chief Justiciar).

Court of King's Bench for " pleas of the Crown," and all matters affecting the sovereign (under chief Justiciar).

2. Establishment of an equitable jurisdiction side by side with that of the common law.
   a The correction of alt breaches of law which the common law courts had failed to repress reserved for the King's Council.
   b Cases in which the common law courts gave no relief dealt with by the King's Chancellor (acting for the King), according to fairness or *equity.* " Matters of grace and favour."

F Fresh Legislation of 1285.

1285. 1. Statute of Westminster (the second).
   a De donis conditionalibus. Tenants of lands under conditional grants (*i.e.* grants limited in their terms, and intended to confine the estate to a particular line of succession—^, to heirs male,) to possess only a limited and *inalienable* estate (a fee *tai\,feodum talliatuniy hoc est limitatum),* whereas till now the fulfilment of the condition, *e.g.* the birth of an heir male, had enabled the tenant to alienate, *i.e.* make a fresh grant, to another person, in whose hands the land became a complete fee simple, conferring possession in the widest sense.
   b Two sworn judges, in conjunction with one or two knights of the shire, to take assizes thrice a year—in July, September, and January. Cases to be tried at Westminster, unless the sworn justices held their visitation before a fixed day. Hence the title Justices of Nisi Prius.

2. Statute of Winchester.
   a Suit to be made after robbers and felons from town to town and from country to country.
   b Hundreds to be answerable for felonies and robberies done and also the damages.
   c Police regulations—the gates of towns to be closed from sun-setting to sun-rising ; towns to be watched all night; highways to be enlarged by clearing of the underwood for 200 feet on either side of the way ; each man to have in his house harness for to keep the peace after the ancient assize *(t\e,t* the Assize of Arms, 1181); two constables to be chosen in every hundred to make the view of armour and report to a justice assigned for the purpose. [The origin of Justices of the Peace.]

3. *Cicumspecte Agatis,* limiting jurisdiction of Spiritual Courts to matters merely spiritual, *e.g.,* matrimonial and testamentary cases, and offences for which penance was due.

Q 1286-1290. Events till 1290, the close of the first, i e., the Legislative Period of the reign.

1286-1289. 1. Absence of Edward in France, and ordering of affairs in Gascony. Outbreak of private war upon the Welsh Borders between the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford. Grant of money refused by the Lords till the King's return.

1289. 2. Inquest into the conduct of judges and sheriffs during the King's absence.

1290. 3. Reconciliation of Gloucester and Hereford ; marriage of Gloucester to the King's daughter Johanna.

4. Statute of *Quia Emptores.* "Every free man may henceforth dispose at will of his land or tenement, or any part thereof, but so that the taker hold it of the same chief lord, and by the same services." Meant to prevent the loss of the feudal profits of wardships and reliefs to the chief lords by the growing practice of subinfeudation, and to stop the creation of new manors. [Chiefly, however, important as having tended to increase the division of estates and transfer of land. "One of the few acts of legislation which, being passed with a distinct view to the interests of a class" *(i.e.,* the landlords, and above all the Crown), "have been found to work to the advantage of the nation generally."]

5. Expulsion of the Jews.

a Jewish traders established by the protection of William the Conqueror in separate quarters, or "Jewries," in large towns: not citizens of the country, but the special property of the King; protected by the Crown therefore against popular dislike *(e.g.,* privileged with a separate tribunal and justiciars), but protected as a source of revenue *(e.g.,* the whole body of the Jews assigned to Earl Richard of Cornwall by Henry III., as security **for** a loan. **1255).**

b Increasing dislike of the Jews : partly religious ; partly from their own insolence and defiance ; partly from their usury and speculation and pecuniary oppression of the natives; partly

from the jealousy of exceptional jurisdiction and of exemption from the common burthens of the realm. The dislike not merely popular: the Jews expelled from France by S. Lewis 1252, and their expulsion from England demanded by Bishop Grosseteste and Simon de Montfort.

Usury forbidden to the Jews, under pain of death, by the Statute *de Ia Jeuerie,* probably in 1275; their trade also crippled by the rivalry of the bankers of Cahors (in the reign of Henry III.), and of the bankers of Florence and Lucca (in the reign of **Edward I.).**

d Edward's consent to their final expulsion obtained by a grant of " a fifteenth " of moveables " from clergy and laity " and a tenth of spiritual revenues over and above. The Jews permitted to take their personal wealth **with them. JULY, 1290.**

H The Scotch Succession.

The Kingdom of Scotland an aggregate of four distinct countries : Pictland, north of the Forth and Clyde ; Scotland proper, in South-west Argyle ; Cumbria or Strathclyde (Galloway); Lothian, the Anglian settlement between the Forth and the Tweed.

Earlier relations of English and Scotch Crowns.

924. *a* Submission and " Commendation " of Northern League (including the King of Scots) to Eadward the Elder.

945. *b* Grant of Strathclyde (Cumbria) to Malcolm I. by Eadmund the Magnificent, on condition that he should be his fellow-worker as well by sea as by land.

1031. ' King of Scots, Malcolm IL, confirmed by Cnut in possession of Lothian.

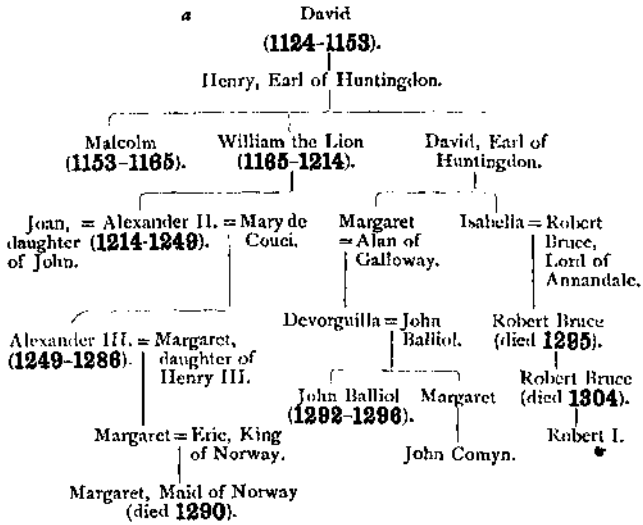
1070. *d* The Kings of Scots regarded as representatives of the old English dynasty, and claimants to the English throne, in consequence of the marriage of Malcolm III. to Margaret, sister of Eadgar yEtheling. This danger finally removed by the marriage of Henry I. to

Nov. Matilda (daughter of Malcolm and Margaret).

1139. *e* Grant of lordships within England to Scot kings or their sons ; *e.g.,* of Northumberland and Huntingdon. Capture of William the Lion

1174. at Alnwick; the Scotch Crown held of
1174–1189. England.

3. Condition of the Scotch Succession, **1290.**



1290. *b* Proposal of marriage between the son of Edward I. and the Maid of Norway: Scotland to remain a separate and free kingdom; no military claim to be made by English King, nor appeal allowed to English Court. Death of the Maid.

1291. *c* Edward acknowledged as over-lord of Scotland: the castles delivered up to him, and his peace sworn through the land. JUNE. Decision, after recognition of the claims of John Balliol and Robert Bruce, in favour of
1292. Balliol. Nov.- Homage done by Balliol for the whole of Scotland. DEC. [The external greatness of Edward here reached its height.] Two points however remained unsettled, from which after troiibles ensued.

i. Whether the Scotch King was bound to do service in English warfare or contribute to English aids.

ii. Whether Scotland was to remain judicially independent.

1293. *d* Balliol summoned to Westminster to answer complaints of his subjects.

The French Attack and its Consequences.

1293. *a* Hostilities between the manners of the Cinque Ports and the Normans: great defeat of the Normans. APRIL. Hostilities also between the Gascons and French. Edward summoned to Paris as a vassal by Philip the Fair to answer for the wrong-doing of his dependents. Guienne ceded by Edward to Philip for forty days as an acknowledgment of his supremacy.

1294. *b* Edward declared "contumacious/[7] his fiefs forfeited to the French crown. FEB.—MAY.

c Edward's preparations for war.

i. Summons to the Scotch barons to follow him in arms to Guienne [disregarded, the Scotch being encouraged in their resistance by promises of French aid],

ii. A permanent staff of officials appointed over all the portmen and mariners of the King's dominions,

iii. The whole body of knightly tenants summoned to meet in arms at Portsmouth on SEP. 1. (Action however postponed till 1295: firstly, owing possibly to bad weather; secondly, owing to revolt in Wales, OCT., **1294—**MAY, **1295.)**

iv. Activity in collecting money.

a The wool of the merchants seized, released upon payment of three to five marks the sack. JULY. (Possibly granted by an assembly of merchants.)

b Assembly of the clergy called and half the ecclesiastical revenue demanded upon pain of outlawry. SEP.

v. Summoning of a Parliament of nobles and knights of the shire. Nov.

d Increasing difficulties.

1295. i- Attack upon Dover by the French. AUG.

ii. Twelve peers appointed by the Scotch nobles to act as guardians of the realm, and arrangements made for the marriage of Edward Balliol to Johanna of France. OCT. Application of John Balliol to the Pope for absolution from his fealty to Edward.

e The great Parliament of **1295,** consisting of the nobles ; heads of chapters, archdeacons, one proctor for each cathedral, two proctors for the clergy of each diocese ; two knights of each shire, two citizens of each city, and two burghers of each borough *ut quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur.*

/ The first conquest of Scotland.

1296. Capture of Berwick (consequent ruin of the town as a seaport). MARCH. Formal renunciation of allegiance by Balliol. Capture of Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth. Surrender and imprisonment of Balliol (till 1299). JULY. Government intrusted to John de Warrenne at the head of an English Council of Regency.

g The confirmation of the Charters.

i. Publication by Pope Boniface VIII. of the Bull *Clericis Laicos* forbidding t'.e clergy to pay taxes upon the revenues of their churches
1296. [intended to act as a check upon war in general, which was largely carried on at the expense of the clergy]. FEB.

ii. Consequent refusal of the clergy to contribute ; the clergy put out of the King's
1297. protection, *i.e.* outlawed. JAN. -.

iii. Assembly of the baronage at Shrewsbury. Refusal of Humfrey de Bohun of Hereford (Constable) and of Roger Bigod of Norfolk (Earl Marshal) to undertake service abroad, except in attendance upon the King. (The King proposing to go to Flanders, while the nobles were to undertake the war in Gascony.)

iv. The clergy recommended by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Winchelsey) to act on their own responsibility and make, if they will, separate bargains, *salvet quisquc am mam suam.* MARCH.

v. Seizure by the King of all the wool and woolfells in the kingdom which were weighed and mainly paid for by tallies.

vi. The military force summoned to meet. JULY. Continued refusal and dismissal from office of the Constable and Marshal. Solemn pacification between the King and Archbishop at St. Paul's, accompanied however with a fresh demand for money and a promise in exchange to confirm the Charters. JULY.

vii. Departure of the King for Flanders. Statement of his case published by the King under letters patent as an appeal to the people. Bill of Grievances presented to the King by Hereford and Norfolk. AUG.

viii. Upon the King's departure, collection of taxes forbidden by Hereford and Norfolk until the confirmation of the Charter,

ix. Magna Charta, the Charter of the Forest, and certain supplementary articles contained in the Bill of Grievances confirmed by the younger Edward as Regent, OCT., and by the King at Ghent. Nov.

[These supplementary articles exist in two forms—Latin and French. The Latin forbidding "tallage or aid to be taken without the will and consent" of Parliament: the French merely declaring that the recent exactions shall not be made precedents and "that no such exactions (including the maletote on wool) shall be taken without the common consent of the realm," with no mention of "tallage," and in addition saving the King's right to the ancient aids, prises, and customs on wool. The Latin is known as *de tallagio non concedendo*^ and is referred to in the Petition of Right; but the French is probably the authentic form (see Stubbs* *Select Charters* and *Const. Hist.* ii. *in*

x. The Confirmation repeated in **1298, 1299, 1300, 1301,** but the Constitutional articles of the Magna Charta **(12-14)** omitted in **1216** not replaced.

// Truce followed by peace with France and the
1298. marriage of the King to Margaret, sister of Philip the Fair (Queen Eleanor having died **1290).**

J The National Resistance in Scotland: Second Conquest and Settlement.

i. Rising of the Scotch peasants, especially those on the east coast north of the Tay, under William Wallace.

1297. <*t* Defeat of Warrenne near Stirling. SEPT. **10.**

b Wallace, " Guardian of the Realm," in Balliol's name.

1298. *c* Defeat of Wallace by the King in person at Falkirk. JULY **22.**

(I Upon the release of Balliol from imprisonment
1299. the struggle for independence continued by Robert Bruce and John Comyn. Edward's action crippled

i. By the jealousy of the English barons who resented his attempt to add an evasive saving clause to his confirmation of the Charters (1299).

ii. By the claim advanced by Pope Boniface
1300. VIII. to feudal superiority over Scotland, (though the Papal demand summoning the King to prove his right of interference in Scotch matters was boldly resisted by the English baronage).

iii. By the encouragement given by France to the Scotch.

1303. *e* Quarrel of Philip the Fair with Pope Boniface, restoration of Gascony by France to England, and abandonment of Scotland to Edward's mercy. Second conquest and
1304. settlement of Scotland.

i. General amnesty to all concerned in the resistance. Wallace, vho refused to surrender, captured and executed as a traitor,

ii. Ten representatives assigned to Scotland in the Common Parliament.

iii. The laws of the Highlanders and Welsh of Strathclyde replaced by the laws of King David with additions, and the country divided into four judicial districts, each under two justiciaries, one English, one Scotch.

K The Last Years and Troubles.

1302. i. *Custuma nova* paid to the King by alien merchants ; the King driven by want of money to call a *colloqiian* of native merchants, and try
1303. to obtain from them a similar increased duty upon wine, wool, and merchandise. The grant refused, but collected from those who were willing to pay it. [This " new custom " so called in contrast to that of 1275, the origin of our import duties.]

ii. Appeal of the King to Pope Clement V. to obtain absolution from the confirmation of the
1305. Charters in order to evade the fulfilment of the clauses of the Forest Charter.

iii. Statute passed against Trai I batons or Clubmen (afterwards known as Sturdy Beggars). Quarrel between the King and Archbishop Winchelsey. The suspension of Winchelsey procured from Pope Clement V.

1306-1307. iv. The intrigues of Robert Bruce with the Bishops of St. Andrew and Glasgow, the murder of Cornyn, the coronation of Bruce at Scone, MARCH ; advance of the King from Carlisle (where he had just held his last Parliament) towards Scotland, death of the King at Burgh-upon-Sands. JULY 7, 1307.

NOTE UPON THE GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH TOWNS.

i. The historic township, *villata* or *vicus,* is either

a A body of alodial owners who have advanced beyond the stage of community of land *{i.e.* the mark) but still retain vestiges of it *{e.g.* the common land of the township, power of determining by-laws), or,

b A body of tenants of a lord who are regulated upon • principles derived from the ancient mark organization.

This body, when assigned as a district to a prfest, appears ecclesiastically as the " parish/'

ii. The "burn", borough, only different from the village township by being larger, more defensible, more organized : in privileges and constitution similar to a " hundred."

iii. From the time of Aethelstan (925-940) and Eadgar (959-975), townships, like the rest of the country, were required to be under a lord. The majority were known as in the demesne of the King, and were under the jurisdiction of the King's reeve ; the remainder in the hands of great thegns. But though externally subject to their lords *{e.g.* in tolls and fees) internally free *{e.g.* in participation in the administration of justice, in the right of meeting and deliberation about the affairs concerning the town).

iv. Stages in the external development of the towns thus subjected to jurisdiction.

a A distinct valuation obtained of the dues to the lord or sheriff.

b The collection of these dues taken out of the hands of the lord or sheriff by the obtainal of a Charter letting the town to the burghers upon a rent, *firma bur gi.*

c Purchase of further privileges as to regulation of trade and internal government *{e.g.* exemption from the Norman custom of trial by battle, and from the judicial administration of the sheriff) by the *communitas civitatis i.e.* the original purchasers of the *fir ma burgi.*

d Obtainal of the right to elect their own magistrates (most commonly found in the Charters of the reign of John),

v. Stages in the internal development of the towns. The townsmen held together by confraternities or guilds.

a The religious guild in honour of God and the local saint.

b The "frith guild" or peace guild for mutual responsibility and mutual defence (dating as far back in London as the time of Aethelstan).

c The Merchant guild or Hansa (dating at least from the Norman Conquest) with the power of making by-laws *{i.e.* town-laws), owning property, and claiming monopoly of local trade.

d Struggles of the inferior trades to obtain royal charters for the formation of guilds of their own known as "craft guilds" (dating from the reign of Henry I.).

e Struggle between the craft guilds and merchant guilds for commercial and municipal power seen most in London (under William of the Long Beard, 1196), and in the support given to Simon de Montfort by the Craft guilds in the Barons' War, 1264.

EDWARD IL 1307-1327.

Edward II. = Isabella of France.

Edward III. John. Eleanor. Joan = David II. of Scotland.

A Struggle between the King and the Baronage (attempt of
1307-1312. the King to rule by a minister wholly dependent upon the Crown.)

1307. 1. Pier Gaveston of Gascony recalled frdm banishment (to which he had been sent by Edward I. at the beginning of the year) made Earl of Cornwall, and appointed Regent during the
1308. King's absence for his marriage.

2. Gaveston again banished from the realm by demand of Parliament, but made by the King Regent of Ireland.

3. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the head of the baronage in opposition to Gaveston and the Court.

TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

Henry III.

< ~ " 1

Edward I. — Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster.

Edward II. — Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. — Henry, Earl of Lancaster.

Edward III. — Henry, Duke of Lancaster.

John of Gaunt = Blanche.

Henry IV.

1309. 4. Presentment of articles to the King complaining of

1. Purveyance.
2. The new custom taken by Edward I. from the alien merchants.
3. The uncertainty of the value of the coinage.
4. The maladministration of officials.

Acceptance of the articles by the King and return of Gaveston from Ireland through the intervention of the Pope. Withdrawal of Lancaster, through offence at Gaveston's conduct, from the Council. OCT.

1310. 5. Fresh complaints of the nobles. The Government entrusted from MARCH, **1310,** to MICHAELMAS, **1311,** to twenty-one lords ordainers (among them Archbishop Winchelsey).

1311. 6. The ordinances.

i. Alienations from the royal demesne forbidden without the consent of the ordainers.

ii. The "new custom" (notwithstanding its illegality) to be collected by native officers that the King may live of his own.

iii. Perpetual banishment and forfeiture of Gaveston and expulsion of other foreign favourites.

iv. Provisions for the proper administration of Government and observation of the Charters.

v. The great offices of State to be rilled with the counsel and consent of the baronage.

vi. The consent of the baronage necessary to the levying of forces, declaration of war, or absence of the King from the realm.

vii. Parliaments to be held once or twice every year.

7. Consent of the King to the ordinances. OCT.
1312. The articles broken by him, and Gaveston recalled. FEB.

1312. 8. Excommunication of Gaveston by Archbishop Winchelsey. Appearance of the barons if. arms. Capture of Gaveston at Scarborough, MAY, and execution near Warwick, JUNE. Pardon granted by the King to the barons. DEC.

1312-1322. B The Scotch War of Independence to the Battle of Bannockburn; Supremacy and Fall of Lancaster.

1311-1313. 1. Successes of King Robert in Scotland. Capture of Linlithgow, Perth, Roxburgh and Edinburgh.

1314. 2. March of King Edward (the Earl of Lancaster and other nobles refusing to follow him because the barons had not been consulted) to raise the siege of Stirling. Defeat of the English at Bannockburn.- JUNE 24.

1313-1315. 3. Misery produced by succession of famines. Lan-
1316. caster made chief of the Council and practical ruler of the kingdom. Attack made upon
1315. Ireland by Edward Bruce. Defeat of Bruce at
1318. Dundalk. A new permanent Council appointed
1318. after the Scotch capture of Berwick.

1319-1321. 4. Unpopularity of Lancaster (partly through his refusal to co-operate for the re-capture of Berwick from the Scots.) Accusation brought by Lancaster against the King's new favourites, the Despensers, for receiving royal gifts *{e.g.* the county of Glamorgan given to the younger Despenser by marriage) without consent of the Council. Armed attack threatened upon Despenser by Mortimer Earl of March, and Bohun Earl of Hereford.

5. TABLE OF THE DESPENSERS.

Hugh Despenser (Justiciar, killed at Evesham, **1265).**

Hugh the Elder.

Hugh the Younger = Eleanor (daughter of Earl Gilbert and co-heiress of Gloucester).

1321. 6. Attack made in Parliament upon the Despensers. Their forfeiture and exile. AUG.

7. Appearance of the King in arms in consequence of an insult offered to the Queen at Leeds. OCT. Surrender of Mortimer.

1322. JAN. **1322.** Defeat of Lancaster at Boroughbridge. MARCH I6. Execution at Pontefract. MARCH 22.

1322-1327. C The Policy of the Despensers, and the King's Fall.

1322. 1. Parliament at York (including for this occasion representatives from Wales). Proceedings against the Despensers annulled; the Ordinances repealed ; the principle asserted that " matters touching the realm be established in Parliament by the King and by the consent of the prelates, earls, barons, and the *commonalty of the reahn,* as hath been hitherto accustomed."

[This marks the popular feeling against the attempt of the baronage to monopolize all legislative action, and gives the clue to the policy of the Despensers—to strengthen the Crown by supporting the power of the Three Estates against the separate action of the Baronage.] MARCH-MAY.

1323. 2. Truce with the Scots for thirteen years. King Robert suffered to adopt title of king in the negotiations.

1322. 3> Troubles with France. The King summoned upon accession of Charles IV. to do homage for Ponthieu and Gascony. Upon his delay to
1324. do so Gascony atttacked by the French. Visit
1325. of Queen Isabella to France to bring about arrangement. Ponthieu and Gascony transferred by the King to his eldest son (who did homage for them). League formed by the Queen, Edmund Earl of Kent, (the King's brother), and Mortimer Earl of March, who had taken refuge in France, for the overthrow of the Despensers. Negotiations for the marriage of the King's son Edward to Philippa of
1326. Hainault, and preparations for the invasion of England.

4. Landing of the Queen at Orwell. SEPT. Capture and execution of the elder Despenser at Bristol. OCT. The younger captured along with the King on his way to Ireland and executed at Hereford. Nov.

1327. 5. Deposition of the King. Parliament called at Westminster. JAN:—

i. For incompetence to govern, being led by evil counsellors, and neglecting the business of the kingdom,

ii. For the loss of Scotland, Ireland, and Gascony.

iii. For putting to death, exiling, imprisoning many noblemen of the land,

iv. For breaking his coronation oath,

v. For being incorrigible and without hope of amendment.

Death of the King at Berkeley Castle. SEPT.

Edward III. 1327-1377.

Edward III. = Philippa of Hainault (1328).

Edward=Johanna of Kent = (I) Sir Thomas Holland. | Lionel Duke of Clarence. | John of Gaunt s= Blanche of Lancaster. =(2)Constantia, daughter of Peter the Cruel of Castille. = (3) Katharine Swinford. | Edmund of York. | Thomas of Glouces-ter.

Richard II.

Thomas. | John.

1327-1330. A The Rule of Isabella and Mortimer.

1327. 1. Henry Earl of Lancaster appointed by Parliament Head of a Council of Regency.

2. Reception at the Court of Edward Balliol as vassal-King of Scotland. Scotch invasion of
1328. England leading to Treaty of Northampton.
i. Claim of feudal superiority over Scotland renounced, and Robert Bruce acknowledged as King. ii. Restitution of forfeited estates promised by Robert to Scotch nobles who had sided with England, iii. Marriage arranged between Johanna and David Bruce.

3. Unsuccessful attempt of Henry Earl of Lancaster, Thomas Earl of Norfolk, and Edmund Earl of
1328-1329. Kent (uncles of the King), and Bishop Stratford to assert the power of the Council of Regency against Mortimer, and bring him to account for the murder of Edward IL, the seizure of the lands of the Despensers, and for the dishonourable peace with Scotland.

1330. 4. Arrest, trial, and execution of Edmund Earl of Kent through Mortimer's influence. MARCH. Mortimer arrested by Edward at Nottingham, condemned without a hearing and hanged. Queen Isabella pensioned and confined for life at Castle Rising.

E Renewal of the Scotch War and Progress of Events to the Outbreak of the Hundred Years' War.

1329. 1. Death of King Robert; dissatisfaction both among English and Scotch nobles owing to the delay in compensation and the non-restitution of
1332. estates. Successful landing of Edward Balliol (son of John Balliol) on the coast of Fife. AUG. BallioFs coronation at Scone (SEPT.), and acknowledgment of English suzerainty, Nov. ; his expulsion from Scotland. CHRISTMAS.

1333. 2, Advance of Edward to Scotland to enforce his suzerainty : defeat of the Scots at Halidon Hill and capture of Berwick, JULY. All Scotland south of the Forth ceded to England, Balliol proclaimed vassal-King of the country north of
1333-1334. the Forth. Opposition of Scotch nobles under Robert the Steward and Earl Randolph of Moray to Balliol. Expeditions of Edward to
1336. Scotland, 1334. 1336.

1835-1337. 3. Intervention of the French King, Philip VI., with whom David Bruce had taken refuge, in the Scotch quarrel. French descents upon the English coasts.

C The beginning of the Hundred Years' War.

1. Causes of the war.

a The support given by Philip VI. (of Valois) to the Counts of Flanders against the rising power of the towns which were closely connected with England, as it supplied the raw material for the cloth-trade.

b The support given by Philip VI. to David Bruce against Edward in his struggle for independence.

1337. *c* The renewal by Philip VI. of the attempt of Philip the Fair to change the Feudal superiority of the King of France over Aquitaine into actual possession (in spite of homage paid by Edward, **1331).**

d Consequent assumption by Edward of Title of King of France.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE EDWARD'S CLAIM.

Philip III. **(1270).**

Philip IV. (the Fair) **(1285).** Charles of Valois.

Lewis X. **(1314).**	Philip V. **(1316).**	Charles IV. **(1322)**	Isabella. **I**	Philip VI. **(1328).**
			Edward III.	John IT. **(1350).**
Jane	John I. **(1316).** (Died an infant.)			

Charles the Bad (King of Navarre).

2. Summary of the history of the war.

a **1337-1340.** Attempt of Edward to form a foreign confederacy against the superior power of France.

b **1340-1342.** Failure of the confederacy and truce with France.

c 1341-1345. War of succession in Britanny between John of Montfort and Charles of Blois (supported respectively by England and France).

d 1345-1347. Renewal of the General War. English successes in Guienne, victory of Crecy, capture of Calais.

e 1347-1355. Truce, originally for a few months, then extended owing to the exhaustion produced by the Black Death.

/1355-1357. Renewal of the English attack in Normandy and from Guienne. English victory at Poitiers.

g 1357-1360. Truce. Exhaustion and anarchy in France. Revolt in Paris. Treaty of Bretigny.

h 1360-1369. Truce, though the Treaty of Bretigny was not carried out. Campaign of the Black Prince in Spain in defence of Pedro the Cruel.

/ 1369-1374. Appeal of the barons of Aquitaine to the French King Charles V. Renewal of the war ending in the loss of Guienne to the English.

j 1374-1396. Desultory warfare upon the whole unfavourable to the English.

k 1396-1415. Marriage of Richard II. to Isabella (daughter of Charles VI.) and truce concluded for 25 years.

/ 1415-1420. Renewal of the war by Henry V. English victory of Agincourt, capture of Rouen. Treaty of Troyes.

m 1422-1437. First period of the loss of English possessions in France. The maid of Orleans. Defection of the Burgundians from the English alliance, death of the Duke of Bedford, and loss of Paris.

n 1437-1446. Growth of a peace party in England, and marriage of Henry VI. to Margaret of Anjou.

o 1447-1453. Loss of Normandy, Guienne, and all English possessions in France except Calais.

3 The First Tears of the War and Constitutional Crisis of 1340-1341.

1. Attempt to form a confederacy of the Emperor Lewis IV. (married to the sister of Queen Philippa, and excommunicated by Pope Bene-
1337. diet X I I. owing to the influence of Philip VI.), and of the imperial vassals to the north-east of France, (the Duke of Brabant, the Count of Hainault (Edward's father-in-law), the Count of Gelders, and the Markgrave of Juliers).

1338. **2.** Attack upon the Agenois (on the Garonne) by France and open declaration of war, Edward recognized as Vicar-General of the Emperor west of the Rhine; seizure of Cambrai by the French, 1338, and ineffectual siege by the Confederates 1339. Gradual dissolution of the Confederacy.

1339-1340. **3.** Fresh Confederacy between Edward, the Duke of Brabant, and the great Flemish commercial towns, negotiated mainly by Van Arteveldt of Ghent. English naval victory at Sluys, secur-
1340. ing the command of the Channel, JUNE 24. Unsuccessful siege of Tournai (upon the lower Scheldt, intercepting the commerce between Brabant and Flanders). JULY-SEPTEMBER. Truce with France for a year, continued till OCT. **1342.**

4. Rising discontent in England against the expenses of the war. Conditions made before
1339. grant of money. The Royal right of Tallage
1340. finally abolished. No attempts to be made to deal with the merchants apart from the Houses of Parliament. Return of Edward to England from Tournai and summary
1340-1341. removal from office of Archbishop Stratford, the treasurer, and some of the judges.
1341. Appointment for the first time of a lay Chancellor. Publication of Edward's complaints against Archbishop Stratford, in "Libellus Famosus." Contention of the Archbishop that he can only be tried by his Peers conceded—after a struggle---by the King. Further concession of the King to the Commons.

i. Commissioners to be appointed for the audit of accounts.

ii. The Chancellor and other great officers to be appointed in Parliament, sworn to obey the

law, and to be accountable for all grievances. [From this time may be dated the clear division of Parliament into two houses—Lords and Commons.]

1342. 5. Revocation by Letters Patent of the Statutes passed in 1341, as prejudicial to the Prerogative, and only assented to in order to prevent worse confusion. [Henceforward may be noticed Edward's jealousy of Parliament.]

1341-1347. E Edward triumphant.

1. Outbreak of the war of succession in Britanny
1341. between Charles of Blois, cousin of the King of France, and John of Montfort (supported by England).

1345. 2. Murder of Jacob Van Arteveldt at Ghent owing to internal dissensions in the Flemish towns, and consequent failure of the design to proclaim the Prince of Wales as Count of Flanders. Ruin of the chief Italian bankers owing mainly to the large loans made to Edward. Successes of Henry of Lancaster (Earl of Derby) in Guienne, where he had been appointed governor.

1346. 3. Expedition of Edward to France, originally designed to support Derby, now hard pressed in Guienne, then diverted to La Hogue and Normandy. Advance on Paris. Consequent recall of the French forces from Guienne. March of Edward to join the invading Flemish at Gravelines ; his halt at Crecy in Ponthieu. The battle of Crecy, AUGUST 26. [For map of Route see Public Schools Historical Atlas.] Defeat and capture of David II. of Scotland, at Neville's Cross, near Durham, OCT. 17.

1347. Siege of Calais, which surrendered AUGUST 1347.

1347. 4. The death of the Emperor Lewis IV. Edward
1350* elected Emperor in his place ; compelled however by Parliament to decline the offer.

1349 or 1346. Foundation of the Order of the Garter.

1349-1360. F The Black Death and subsequent events till the treaty of Bretigny.

1348. 1. Repeated complaints in Parliament; the Commons decline responsibility for the war "as being so ignorant and simple."

1348-1349. 2. First visitation of the Great Pestilence. Its effects.

a Diminution of the population by one half. (The population being estimated at from three to five millions,)

b The rate of labour-wages doubled.

c A consequent change in the management of lands. The modern system of "letting" gradually introduced, owing to the difficulty of getting lands cultivated. Commencement of a permanent distinction between the farmer and the labourer.

d A series of attempts to fix the rate of wages and to bind the labourer to the soil (beginning with the Statute of Labourers, 1349 and 1351), leading to discontent of those who lived by manual labour, which finally broke into rebellion, 1381.

To these may be added :—

e Great mortality among sheep, upon whose wool the King largely depended as a source of revenue.

13511353. 3. The Parliaments after the Pestilence.

1351-1352. *a* Appearance of jealousy between the Commons and the royal Council. Demand that the reasonable petitions of their estate be granted, confirmed, and sealed before the departure of Parliament; and complaints against the legal interference of the Council with the business of the Common Law Courts.

1351. *b* The First Statute of Provisors—against the right claimed by the Popes to present (often aliens) to English benefices.

1352 *c* The Statute of Treason. Treason declared by Edward (at the request of Parliament), to consist in—

i. Compassing death of King, Queen, or their eldest son.

ii. Levying war upon the King in his kingdom, or adhering to the King*s enemies.

iii. Counterfeiting the Great Seal, or bringing false money into the land.

iv. Slaying the Chancellor, Treasurer, or Judges, "being in their place doing their offices."

1353. *d* The First Statute of Praemunire, against referring any matter belonging to any jurisdiction outside the realm. [Aimed at the claims of the Court of Rome, though not directly stated so in the Statute.]

1353. *c* The Statute of the Staples.

i. Appointment of Staple Towns *{ix.,y* markets for the sale of the chief commodities of England—wool, woolfells, leather, lead, tin). All merchants, except merchants of the Staple, forbidden to buy or export these goods.

ii. Importance of the Statute—

a As a means of collecting the customs.

b As a means of insuring the quality of exports.

c As a means of bringing the Merchants of the Staple under the control of the Parliament, and preventing the King dealing with them in a separate "colloquium," after the fashion of Edward I.

iii. The most important of these Staple towns :—London, York, Bristol, Newcastle, Exeter, Lincoln, Norwich. For Ireland : Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Drogheda. For Wales : Caermarthen. For foreign merchants: Calais.

1357. *f* [Publication by the King of an ordinance for the better estate of the land of Ireland.]

4. The resumption of the war.

1355. *a* Attempt to support Charles the Bad of Navarre (who had lands in Normandy) against John IL of France. Failure of the expedition through bad weather. Plundering campaign of the Black Prince up the Garonne. King Edward recalled from Calais by the Scotch recapture of Beiwick.

1356. *b* Second expedition, under Henry of Lancaster, (now Duke) opposed and driven to Cherbourg by the French King John. John recalled to the defence of Paris by advance of Black Prince from Guienne. The Prince out-manoeuvred and intercepted by the French army at Poitiers. English victory at Poitiers, and capture of King John. SEPT. 19.

Expedition of King Edward into Scotland, recapture of Berwick, and ineffectual ravaging of S. E. Scotland. "The burnt Candlemas."

1357. Restoration of David II. to Scotland upon ransom; truce and equal trade settled for ten years.

1357. *c* Truce concluded with France for two years. Rising of Paris against the Regent, Charles

1358. of Normandy, and of the peasantry against their lords; the country devastated by Free Companies of soldiers.

1359. *d* Rejection by the French, in spite of their exhaustion, of terms proposed by John II. (a prisoner in England), ceding Maine, Touraine, and Poitou in the South, Normandy, Ponthieu and Calais in the North, to the English. Resumption of hostilities. France

1360. compelled to accede to the Treaty of Bretigny :—

i. English claims on the Crown of France and Duchy of Normandy waived.

ii. Aquitaine and *Gascony* (including Poitou, but excluding Auvergne), Ponthieu, Guines, Calais, made over to the King of England as absolute possession without any reservation of homage. [See Map in Public Schools Historical Atlas.]

1361-1370. G Events from 1360 to the renewal of the War.

1361-1362. 1. Re-appearance of the Pestilence, Henry Duke of Lancaster among those who died. Increasing discontent in England with the King's expenses and luxury [see the Letter of Archbishop Islip].

1362. 2. Proceedings in Parliament.

a Besides attempts to enforce the Statute of Labourers, were enacted—

i. The use of English in Courts of Law.

ii. No subsidy to be set on wool without the consent of Parliament (re-enacted 1371). Grants by "colloquium" of merchants illegal,

iii. Renunciation by the King of the right of purveyance *{i.e.,* the right of demanding provisions at prices fixed by the royal officers) except for personal needs of King or Queen. Purveyors to change their name to buyers. Payments to be made not by tallies, but in money.

1365. *b* Second Statute of Praemunire (with definite mention of the jurisdiction of the Papal Court) forbidding questionings of judgments rendered in the King's Courts under pain of outlawry, imprisonment, or banishment from the land.

c Unanimous refusal of the Parliament (Bishops, Lords and Commons) to pay to Urban V.
1366. the tribute of iooo marks promised by King John, 1213 (in arrears since 1333).

3. Edward's policy of accumulation of great fiefs in his family.

1342. *a* Marriage of Lionel to Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of Ulster.

1361. *b* Marriage of the Black Prince to Johanna of Kent, daughter of Edmund of Woodstock.
1359. Marriage of John of Gaunt to Blanche, daughter of Henry Duke of Lancaster (heiress of Lancaster, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln).

1362. *c* Bestowal of title of Duke on Lionel and John of Gaunt.

d Marriage of Philippa, daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence, to Earl Mortimer of March.

e Marriage of Eleanor and Mary Bohun (heiresses
1381. of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton) to Thomas of Woodstock and Henry of Bolingbroke (son of John of Gaunt.)

1362-1369. 4. The Black Prince as Governor of Aquitaine.

a Discontent of the nobles of Aquitaine at the transference of their fealty from France to England.

1365. *b* Co-operation of France in crusade declared by Pope Urban V. against Pedro the Cruel of Castile for the murder of his wife. Flight of Pedro to Bordeaux, and re-establishment
1367. by the Black Prince after a victory at Navarete.

c Consequent heavy taxation upon Aquitaine,
1369. and appeal of the nobles to Charles of France. The Black Prince summoned as a French vassal to Paris to answer for his conduct.

d Renewal of the war with France in conse-
1370. quence. Capture and sack of Limoges by the Black Prince.

1369-1377. H The Last Years of the Reign.

1. Family Troubles. Death of Lionel Duke of
1368-1371. Clarence, **1368,** of Queen Philippa, **1369.** Return of the Black Prince from Guienne owing to illness (originally contracted in his Spanish campaign.) **1371.**

2. Foreign difficulties.

1371. *a* David II. of Scotland succeeded by Robert the Steward his nephew (not by an English Prince as David II. had proposed to the Scotch Parliament—naming Lionel Duke of Clarence, **1363).** Renewal of the alliance between Scotland and France.

b France secured from attack on the north-east by the marriage of Margaret (heiress of Flanders) to Philip Duke of Burgundy, brother of Charles V. of France.

c Refusal of the Castilians to recognize John of Gaunt's assumption of the title of King of Castile upon his marriage to Constantia,
1370-1371. daughter of Pedro the Cruel.

1372. *d* Defeat of the English at sea by the Castilian fleet, off Rochelle. Communication thus cut off between England and Guienne. **JUNE.**

e Ineffectual march of John of Gaunt irom
1373. Calais to Bordeaux, with much loss in the Mountains of Auvergne. Complete loss to the English of all Southern France, except
1374. Bordeaux and Bayonne.

3. Internal troubles.

a Growth of an anti-clerical party among the baronage (strengthened by the influence of Wyclifs preaching and the increasing impatience of lax discipline, pluralities, and other clerical abuses).

1371. i. Suggested proposal to resume the temporalities of the clergy in time of war as the common property of the nation.

ii. Removal of Wriliam of Wykeham and other clerical ministers from office. Inexperience of the new lay ministers shown by their calculation of the parishes in England at 40,000, though in reality between 8,000 and 9,000.

b Growing dissatisfaction at the expenses and conduct of the war. Upon fresh demands for money after Lancaster's unsuccessful
1373. expedition (1373), a conference with a committee of the Lords demanded by the Commons, and a petition added to the subsidy which was finally granted that the money be spent on the war and on that only.

c The discontent increased by the apparent failure of the negotiations conducted at Bruges to come to a settlement with the Pope as to the question of Provisors and
1374-1375. Freedom of Election. [A private compromise seems to have been made between the King and the Pope to the profit of both at the expense of the nation.] Scandal occasioned by the interference of Alice Perrers with State affairs and the administration of justice.

1376. *d* The good Parliament.

i. Peter de Ia Mare elected Speaker. Demand made for the audit of public accounts.

ii. Impeachment of Lord Latimer, the King's chamberlain, and Richard Lyons, the King's agent with the merchants, for extortion and malversation of money. [The first instance of impeachment]

iu. Attack upon Alice Perrers. No woman to interfere in the courts of law under pain of forfeiture.

iv. (Upon the death of the Black Prince, JUNE 5), a petition that Richard of Bordeaux, his son, be presented to Parliament as next heir.

v. Petition for the election of an administrative council (William of Wykeham, two other prelates, and nine lords in addition to the ordinary Council).

vi. Various petitions (140 in all). Especially notable are—

a Petition for annual parliaments (none had met since 1373).

b Petition that the knights be elected by the better folk of the shires, not merely nominated by the sheriff.

c Petition that the sheriffs be elected, not appointed at the Exchequer.

d Petitions that the Statute of Labourers be enforced, and the abuses of Papal provisions and *' of the Brokers of the sinful city of Rome " removed.

e The work of the Parliament undone by John of Gaunt.

i. Not one of the petitions enrolled as a statute.

ii. The additional members of Council dismissed.

iii. Latimer, Lyons, and Alice Perrers recalled to court and influence.

iv. Peter de Ia Mare imprisoned; William of Wykeham accused of malversation, and his estates confiscated ; with difficulty included in the Jubilee Pardon.

1377. v. Another Parliament called to confirm John of Gaunt's measures [the first instance of a packed Parliament]. First imposition of a poll-tax (a groat a head on all over 14). [N.B. The exertions of Convocation to prosecute Wyclif; the attack on the Savoy ; and on the other side the mixture of Lollard feeling with opposition to constitutional reform.]

Death of the King, JUNE 21 (five months after his Jubilee), and the antagonism of the Londoners to John of Gaunt.

EICHAKD II. 1377-1399.

Richard IL = (1) Anne of Bohemia = (2) Isabella of France.

A The Early Years and the Peasant Eevolt.

1377. 1. Withdrawal of John of Gaunt from the court upon his father's death ; release of Peter de Ia Mare from prison, and election as Speaker of the Commons. Action of Parliament (in pursuance of the work of the good Parliament).

a Petition for the appointment of treasurers to superintend the due application of the subsidy. William Walworth and John Philipot, London merchants, appointed accordingly.

b Petition for the election of ministers by the Lords in Parliament during the King's minority.

c Petitions that the annual assembly of Parliament be defined by law ; and that petitions granted by the Crown be changed into statutes without modification by the Royal Council.

1377. 2. Disastrous course of the war. The Isle of Wight ravaged, and Hastings burnt by the French. Unsuccessful expedition of John of Gaunt against St. Malo. Parliament called at
1378. Gloucester owing to the hatred of John of Gaunt in London. Heavy taxation, though insufficient for the necessities of the war, still further increased by the expense of garrisoning Cherbourg and Brest (ceded temporarily by Charles of Navarre and the Duke of Britanny).
1379. Second poll-tax, graduated according to income, from 6/. 13*s*. 4*d*. to a groat per head.
1380. Third poll-tax, also graduated, from sixty groats to one per head (with a provision that the richer should help the poorer).

1381. 3. The revolt. JUNE 5—JUNE 30.

a The causes.[1]

i. The revolt seems a result of the general discontent organized by the associations formed to defeat the Statutes of Labourers ; by religious preachers ; and by discharged soldiers and country artisans out of work owing to the continuance of the war or the restrictions of the gilds.

ii. The main grievances were two.

a Political; the poll-tax (bringing home the expense and mismanagement of the war), especially in Kent.

b Social; the revival of villenage and customary service (the demand for which had become more strict and exacting since the Great Pestilence). [See William I. (note upon the Conquest and Villenage.)]

As subsidiary causes may be added—

c Discontent at the prosperity of the Flemish who had come over to England.

d Hatred of, or sometimes belief in, John of Gaunt.

e A vague socialism stirred up by religious preachers.

[1] See *Dictionary ofEnglish History.* Wat Tyler's Rebellion. (Cassell.)

// History of the Revolt.

i. Almost simultaneous outbreak in Kent, owing to political; in Essex and Hertfordshire, owing to social grievances.

JUNE 5.

JUNE 13. ii. Entry of the Kentish rebels into London, destruction of John of Gaunt's palace of the Savoy, of Temple Bar, and massacre of lawyers and Flemings. The men of Essex at Mile End, the men of Hertfordshire at Highbury.

JUNE 14. iii- Interview between the King and the Essex rebels at Mile End. Their demands.

a Abolition of villenage.

b General pardon.

c Liberty to buy and sell untolled in all fairs and markets.

d Rent of land to be fixed at *4.d.* an acre *{i.e.* money commutation of villein services). Retreat of the Essex and Hertfordshire men upon promise of Charters and receipt of letters of manumission.

JUNE 14. iv. Forcible entry of the Kentish men into the Tower during the King's absence. Murder of Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor, Richard Lyons, the late King's Agent with the MerchantSf.and Sir R. Hales, the Treasurer.

JUNE 15. v. Meeting of the King with the Kentish men in Smithfield. Scuffle and death of their leader Wat Tyler. Loyalty of the Kentish men to the young king, and retreat upon receipt of letters of pardon,

vi. Revolt in Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge and Huntingdon under John Lytstere (the dyer) "the king of the Commons," crushed by armed force by Henry Spencer Bishop of Norwich. The revolts in the other parts of the country, in the south as far as Devonshire, and in Yorkshire, more easily dispersed,

vii. The measures after the immediate suppression of- the rising. The letters of manumission — unconstitutional indeed from the first—revoked ; severe and cruel trials of the rebels chiefly under Sir Robert Tresilian, the Chief Justice. Fifteen hundred said to have been executed, seven thousand in all to have perished.

JULY 2.

4. Effects of the Revolt.

NOVEMBER. *a* Unanimity of the Parliament, while divided upon the political grievances and pressing economy upon the King, on the retention of villenage ; no villein's son to be apprenticed in a town, or placed at school. [From this rising however dates the final decay of villenage.]

b Gradual disappearance of John of Gaunt from a conspicuous place as a political leader.

1381. *c* Religious reaction, increased by Wyclifs denial of Transubstantiation. Wyclifs principal ad-
1382. herents in Oxford induced to recant, his doctrines condemned by a Council of the Province of Canterbury at Blackfriars, MAY.
1383. Examined in person before another Council at Oxford, NOVEMBER. Death of Wyclif, 1384.

1382-1389. B The King's Minority after the Feasant Revolt.

1. The continuance of the war.

1382. *u* French victory at Rosbecque over Philip van Arte veldt and the Flemish towns.

1383. *b* Unsuccessful expedition of Henry Spencer Bishop of Norwich to Flanders (nominally a crusade on behalf of Urban VI. against the anti-Pope Clement VII.). MAY—OCT.

c Truce with France. JAN. 1384—MAY, 1385.
1385. French expedition to Scotland, and Scotch invasion of England ; the invasion repelled, and Edinburgh burnt. Capture of Ghent by the French, and threatened invasion of England. 1385-1386.

1386. *(I* Departure of John of Gaunt with an English expedition to Castille, to assert his claim to the Castilian throne.

1387. *e* Capture of a fleet of Flemings, French, and Spaniards by Richard Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel. MARCH. Retreat of John of Gaunt from Castille to Gascony.

1388. *f* Close of John of Gaunt's designs upon Castille by the marriage of his daughter Katharine to Henry of Castille.

1389. *(?* Truces with France. 1389-1392. 1392-1393. 1394 for four years. 1396 for twenty-five years, upon the King's marriage to Isabella of France.

1382-1389. 2. Progress of internal affairs.

a The King's friends and advisers. His half-brothers, John and Thomas Holland (sons of Johanna of Kent by her first marriage with Sir Thomas Holland) created Earls of Huntingdon and Kent. Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford ; Sir Simon Burley ; Michael de Ia Pole, son of a Hull merchant.

1383. *b* Michael de Ia Pole made Chancellor.

1384. *c* Thomas of Woodstock and Edmund of Langley, the King's uncles, created Dukes of Gloucester and York; Michael de Ia Pole, Earl of Suffolk.

1385. *d* Death of Johanna, the King's mother. De Vere created Marquess of Dublin, receiving as an appanage the whole territory and lordship of Ireland. Haughty refusal of the King to allow Parliamentary annual enquiry.

e Party of baronial opposition to de Vere and de Ia Pole as favourites, under the Duke of Gloucester and Henry of Bolingbroke (son of John of Gaunt), including Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick ; Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham; Richard Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel ; Archbishop Courtenay, and the Bishop of Ely (brother of the Earl of Arundel).

1386. / De Vere further created Duke of Ireland. OCT. Outbreak of the storm •, dismissal of the Chancellor demanded by Parliament, the King's haughty refusal; the King threatened with deposition by the Duke of Gloucester and the Bishop of Ely (acting as envoys). The Chancellor (de Ia Pole, Earl of Suffolk) removed from office, and charged with malversation, corruption, and neglect to relieve Ghent: sentenced to fine and imprisonment. A Continual Council, under Gloucester, nominated for a year to regulate the realm and the royal household.

1387. *g* Suffolk liberated by the King at the close of Parliament. Formation of a royal party—

Sir Simon Burley, Archbishop Neville (of York), the Duke of Ireland, Chief Justice Tresilian, Sir Nicholas Brember ex-Lord Mayor of London. Attempt of the King to raise an armed force by means of the Sheriffs, and to exclude his opponents from the next Parliament. Opinion obtained from five of the judges that the Continual Council was contrary to the prerogative ; that the King's servants could not be removed by Parliament; that the sentence on Suffolk was erroneous. The King however compelled, by Gloucester's armed force, to receive the Petition of Complaint against his advisers. Nov.

1388. *h* The Duke of Ireland, Neville, Suffolk, Tresilian, Brember, " appealed " in Parliament on a charge of high treason by Gloucester, Henry of Bolingbroke (Earl of Derby), Warwick, Nottingham, Arundel (hence called " The Lords appellant "). FEB. Suffolk and Vere condemned to death (but had already escaped) ; Tresilian and Brember executed ; Neville translated by Pope Urban VI. to St. Andrews (which acknowledged the anti-Pope Clement VII). The judges who had condemned the Council banished for life to Ireland. Sir Simon Burley and three others of the royal household found guilty of high treason and executed. " The merciless Parliament."

1389. /' The King declared himself of age. MAY 3

1389-1395. O The King's Constitutional Rule.

1. Moderation of the King. The Lords appellant removed from the Council, but neither de Vere nor the banished judges recalled (Suffolk died this year in France). Return of John of Gaunt to England, and reconciliation between the King and Gloucester. The Lords appellant
1390. restored to the Council. John of Gaunt made Duke of Aquitaine for life. Archbishop "William of Wykeham Chancellor. 1389-1391, Archbishop Arundel. 1391-1396.

2. Activity of Parliament.

a Statute of Provisors (third) re-enacting statutes
1390. of 1351 and 1362 against Papal claims of presentation.

b Statute against interference with due course of
1390. justice oy livery and maintenance.

1391. *c* The Statute of Uses. Forbiddal of the practice of granting lands to a lawman in use for the Church, and thus evading the Statute of Mortmain.

1391. *d* The King's consent refused to the petition of the Commons that villeins be not allowed to acquire lands or put their sons to school " to advance them by means of clergy/' *i.e.* scholarship,

1393. *e* The great Statute of " Praemunire facias."

i. The right of recovering the presentation to a church benefice declared to belong only to the King's Court.

ii. The Papal practice of translation condemned.

iii. The pursuance in the Court of Rome of such translations, processes, excommunications, bulls, &c, to be punished with forfeiture of goods.

On the other hand should be noticed, as a condemnation of political opposition—

1390-1391. *f* Declarations of Parliament that the Prerogative of the King is unaffected by the legislation of his reign or of his progenitors (including that of Edward II.).

3. Pacific influences.

a Moderating influence of John of Gaunt and of the Queen, "the good Queen Anne."

b Absence of Henry of Bolingbroke (Earl of Derby) from England, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and a crusade with the Teutonic knights against the heathens in Prussia.

1394-1395. 4. Growth of Lollardry. Twelve Lollard articles presented to the Parliament at York (during Richard's absence in Ireland) complaining of the secular power of the clergy, the idolatry of the mass, multiplication of chantries, auricular confession, and celibacy of the clergy.

Upon Richard's return from Ireland an oath of abjuration of heresy imposed.

1394-1395. 6. The King's expedition to Ireland to vindicate the power of the crown.

1395-1398. D The change to Absolutism.

1. The first symptoms of change of temper in the King. The Earl of Arundel, who had quarrelled with John of Gaunt, struck by the King
1394. on the occasion of the funeral of Queen Anne.

2. Marriage of Richard to Isabella of France. Truce
1396. with France for twenty-five years. Cherbourg surrendered to the King of Navarre and Brest restored to the Duke of Britanny. Increased extravagance of the Court.

3. Complaint of the Commons as to the administra-
1397. tion and defence of the realm, and the number of bishops and ladies maintained at the Court. The Commons compelled to surrender the name of the proposer of the Bill—Haxey—and to apologize. Recall of the banished judges from Ireland. Arrest of the Earl of Warwick and Duke of Gloucester (the latter sent in custody to Calais). Surrender of the Earl of Arundel.

1397. 4. Meeting of a second and packed Parliament. The King's vengeance for 1388. The pardons of Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel revoked. Archbishop Arundel impeached and banished, being translated by the Pope (Boniface IX.) to S. Andrews. Trial and execution of the Earl of Arundel. Death of Gloucester in prison at Calais. Confession and perpetual imprisonment of Warwick.

5. Aggrandisement of the House of Lancaster, and of the King's adherents. The Beauforts. children of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swin-
1395-1397, ford, acknowledged as members of the royal family. Henry of Bolingbrokc Earl of Derby created Duke of Hereford (at the same time Mowbray Earl of Nottingham, the fifth of the Lords appellant, created Duke of Norfolk ; Edward (son of Edmund of York) created Duke of Aumale ; the Hollands, Dukes of Surrey and Exeter.

6. The Parliament of 1398.

i. The Acts of the Parliament of 1388 declared void.

ii. The customs on wool, wool-fells, and leather granted for the King's life.

iii. The powers of a Parliament delegated to a standing committee of eighteen members (ten lords temporal, two earls as proctors for the clergy, six members of the Commons.)

iv. A bull procured, by request of Parliament, from Pope Boniface IX. confirming these proceedings and declaring them irreversible.

[The King's victory was thus complete, and his absolutism acknowledged by the nation.]

1398-1399. E The Fall of the King.

1397-1398. *a* Recriminatory quarrel between the newly-created dukes of Hereford and. Norfolk. The quarrel referred by the Permanent Committee to settlement by single combat at Coventry. The combat forbidden by the King; Hereford banished for ten years, Norfolk for life,

1399. *h* Death of John of Gaunt. Seizure of his estates by the King with the sanction of the Permanent Committee. Departure of the King for Ireland to avenge the defeat and death of Edmund Earl of March, and return of Hereford from France, owing to the influence of Archbishop Arundel, for the recovery of his estates.

c Landing of Hereford (Henry of Lancastei) at Ravenspur, JULY 4 ; Henry joined by Earls of Northumberland (Percy) and Westmoreland (Neville) and Edmund Duke of York, the regent, at Berkeley Castle. March upon Cheshire, Dispersal of the King's forces commanded by the Earl of Salisbury (John de Montacute). Capture of Bristol by Henry. **JULY 29.**

d Landing of the King at Milford Haven, JULY 25, to find himself deserted. Submission of the King to Henry at Flint. The King brought to London. SEPT. 2.

e Parliament summoned by the King to meet upon SEPT. 30, Resignation of the crown (SEPT. 29) presented to Parliament on its meeting. The resignation accepted, and articles of accusation presented against Richard complaining of

i. His unjust conduct to Henry of Lancaster, Archbishop Arundel, and the Duke of Gloucester.

ii. His breaches of the Constitution, tampering with the judges (1387), and appeal to the Pope (1398).

iii. His illegal taxation, especially the extortion of money from seventeen counties for pardons (1399), non-payment of loans, and alienation of crown lands.

iv. His claim to the absolute right of legislation.

Sentence of deposition pronounced. SEPT. 30,

1399-1413. HENRY IV. 1399-1413.

Henry = (i) Mary de liohun, = (2) Joan of Navarre.

i	l	I		I	
Henry.	Thomas.	John, Duke of Bedford £= (1) Anne of Burgundy, — (2) Jacquetta of Luxembourg.	Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. = (1) Jacqueline of Holland, — (2) Eleanor Cobham.	Blanche = Lewis, of Bavaria, eldest son of the Emperor Rupert.	Philippa = Eric of Denmark.

A Nature of Henry's Claim, and Measures to Consolidate his Throne.

1. Henry's claim to the throne.

   a As being descended by right line of blood, coming from the good Lord Henry the Third.

   b The right that God has sent with the help of kin and friends.

   c The realm was in point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of the good laws.

2. The claim accepted by Parliament. The Lancastrian title therefore Parliamentary, in contrast to the hereditary claim of the House of Mortimer.

Edward III.

Edward, the Black Prince, d. 1376. | Lionel, Duke of Clarence, d. 1368. | Blanche, daughter of Henry, Duke of Lancaster. = John d. 1399- | = Katharine Swinford. | Edmund, Duke of York, d. **1402.**

Richard IL, deposed 1399. | Philippa = Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. | Henry IV.

Roger, Earl of March (declared heir to the throne 1386). d. 1398.

Edmund, Earl of March, d. **1424.** | Anne = Richard of Cambridge.

3. Supremacy of Parliament recognized throughout this reign more fully than before.
4. The support of the Church confirmed by the statute De Hseretico Comburendo for the suppression of Lollardism. Sautre burned, **1401.** Badby burned, **1410.**
5. The support of the nobles confirmed by the prospect of the renewal of the French war.

B Relations with France.

1. France divided between two factions, that of John, Duke of Burgundy and Count of Flanders, (inclined to peace with England on account of the industrial connection between Flanders and England), and of Louis of Orleans (succeeded after his murder, by the Count of Armagnac father-in-law of one of his sons).

John IL (captured at Poitiers).

Charles V. | Philip the Bold (Duke of Burgundy, **1363,** and Count of Flanders by his marriage with Margaret the heiress of Flanders, **1369).**

Charles VI. (mentally incapable), | Louis of Orleans (murdered by John of Burgundy, **1407).** | John the Fearless (murdered by the servants of the Dauphin, **1419).**

Charles the Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII. | Philip the Good.

Scotch invasions encouraged by France. Battle of Homildon Hill near Wooler, in Northumberland. SEPT. 1402. Desultory fighting in the Channel. 1403-1404. Owen Glyndwr recognized by the French as Prince of Wales. 1404. French aid sent him. 1405 and 1407.

O Kevolts against Henry.

1400. 1. Plot of the Earls of Huntingdon and Kent, (the half-brothers of Richard II.,) the Earl of Salisbury and Lord Despenser to release Richard and murder the King, betrayed possibly by the Earl of Rutland (degraded from being Duke of Aumale), and followed by the death of Richard.

1400-1410. 2. Revolt of Wales under Owen Glyndwr (reputed a descendant of Llewelyn,the last native Prince of Wales). 1400. Defeat and capture of Edmund Mortimer, uncle of the Earl of March. 1402. Glyndwr joined by Henry Percy (Hotspur) and Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, owing possibly to Henry's remissness in ransoming Edmund Mortimer (Henry Percy's brother-in-law), or to his claim upon the Scotch prisoners taken at Homildon, or to his tardiness in repaying their loans ; defeat of the confederates at Shrewsbury. 1403. Glyndwr, however, recognized by the French as Prince of Wales. 1404. Supported by French aid. 1405 and 1407. Crippled by defeat, 1409. Glyndwr's death probably about 1410.

3. Rising in the North by Henry Percy the elder, Earl of Northumberland, Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham (son of the Lord Appellant), Scrope, Archbishop of York ; articles of accusation against the King, and of reform to be laid before Parliament. Execution of Archbishop Scrope and Mowbray. 1407.

4. The last rising of the Earl of Northumberland. Defeat and death at Bramham Moor, in Yorkshire. 1408.

D Turn of the Tide. 1405-1409.

1405. 1. Capture of James, Prince of Scotland (son of Robert III.), on his way to the French Court. Detained in England till 1424, married to Joan Beaufort.

2. France occupied by the civil strife following upon the murder of Louis of Orleans by John of
1407. Burgundy.

3. Defeat and death of Northumberland, **1408;**
1408-1409. and first decisive defeat of the Welsh. **1409.**

1401-1410. E Claims put forward by Parliament.

1401. **1.** Freedom of Speech in Parliament affirmed. Petition that redress of grievances should precede supply of money refused by the King, but in practice secured by postponing the grant till the last day of the session.

2, Attack upon the constitution of the Royal household, and petition against aliens (inconsequence
1404. of Henry's second marriage). The names of the Royal Council to be published. In a second Parliament of this year called the Unlearned, because lawyers were excluded, proposed confiscation of the temporalities or the clergy for one year, and resumption of all grants since 1367.

3. The defence of the Channel to be intrusted to a
1406. body of merchants in exchange for the receipt of tonnage and poundage. Sixteen Members (including two Commoners) appointed in Parliament as a Continuous Council to advise the King till the next Parliament. Audit of accounts claimed by the Commons and granted. Thirty-one articles of reform in expenditure and management presented to the King by the Commons, and sworn to by the Council.

1407. 4. All grants of money to be declared only by the mouth of the Speaker of the Commons, not to be altered by House of Lords, nor discussed in the presence of the King.

5. Renewed proposals for the permanent confiscation of part of the temporalities of the Church for
1410. the purposes of State rejected.

1411-1415. F The last years of the King's Reign.

1. Gradual decline of the King's health from **1406.**

2. Resistance of the King to the growing claims
1411 of Parliament and power of the Continuous Council. Support given by the Prince of Wales and the Beauforts to the Burgundian party in France and expedition to France.

1412. Dismissal of the Prince of Wales from the Council; the appointment of the Continuous Council annulled; change in foreign policy and support of the Armagnacs by a force under Clarence. Parliament, at their own request, declared "loyal" by the King.

1413. Death of the King, MARCH. Notice the extreme poverty of the nation, the amount of treason and disaffection, and the strength of the Commons throughout the reign.

1413-1422. HENRY V. 1413-1422.

Henry V. = Katharine of France = Owen Tudor.

Henry VI. Edmund, Earl of Richmond.

Henry VII.

1413-1415. A The Years before the War.

1413. **1.** Appointment of Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester as Chancellor in place of Archbishop Arundel. Condemnation of Sir John Oldcastle
1413. for Lollard opinions, and suppression of the
1414. apprehended Lollard rising. JAN. Escape of
m Oldcastle, afterwards captured in the Welsh Marches and burnt, **1418.**

2, Last great Constitutional victory of the Commons;
1414. statutes to be made without altering the petitions on which they are based.

3. Final and complete confiscation (on the petition of the Commons) of the alien priories, *i.e.* of
1416. houses depending upon foreign monasteries, to the Crown.

1414-1418. **4.** Council of Constance: healing of the schism caused by the rival Popes, John XXIII., Gregory XII., and Benedict XIII., and election of Martin V. as Pope through the co-operation of Henry and the Emperor Sigismund. Condemnation of John Hussfor preaching heretical doctrines.

5. Plot of Richard, Earl of Cambridge (son of Edmund, Duke of York) in favour of his
1415. brother-in-law, Edmund, Earl of March. Execution of the conspirators, Cambridge, Lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey.

The Trench War, 1415 1422.

1414. 1. Restoration of Henry's rights as King of France demanded, JUNE. Aquitaine offered by the French, but the compromise rejected.

2. Sailing of the expedition, AUG. 11. Capture of Harfleur, SEPT. 22. Great sickness in English camp. March towards Calais through a hostile country (Normandy, Picardy, Artois), OCT. 8.

1415. Attempt to cross the Somme near Abbeville, OCT. 13. Passage of the Somme by night at Peronne, OCT. 20. Battle of Agincourt, OCT. 25. Arrival at Calais, OCT. 29; at Dover, Nov. 17.

1416. 3. Visit of Emperor Sigismund to England and attempt to mediate in the war. Offensive and defensive alliance concluded between him and Henry. Organization of English army and fleet by Henry. Struggle with France for the mastery of the Channel. Open alliance between John, Duke of Burgundy, and the English.

1417. 4. Activity of Henry in shipbuilding. Ordinances issued for the fleets and armies. [This may be regarded as the basis of the English law of the Admiralty.] The commencement of loans for the war by Cardinal Beaufort. Capture of Caen, Bayeux, and other Norman totns.

1418. Isolation and siege of Rouen. Expulsion of the Armagnacs from Paris by the citizens.

1419. 5. Capture of Rouen. Henry's attempt to settle the government of Normandy.

6. Murder of John, Duke of Burgundy at Montereau,

1419. in the presence of the Dauphin, followed by the Treaty of Troyes (due mainly to the determination of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy and master of Paris, to exclude the Dauphin from the Throne). Henry acknowledged as

1420. Regent of France during Charles's life, and as his successor on the throne : marriage of Henry with Katharine, Charles's eldest daughter: England and France to retain their own laws, and neither to be in any way subject to the other,

1421. Henry recalled from England to the war by the defeat and death of Clarence at Beauge", in Anjou. MARCH.

Capture of Dreux and (1422) of Meaux. Death of the King, Aua 31, 1422.

Notice the general popularity of this war, and the share of the clergy in promoting it, possibly from fear of confiscation. There could however be little legitimate claim to France by a King whose title was mainly parliamentary and who certainly was not " heir general" to Edward III.; the one excuse for the war being the constant support given by France to all risings in England against the House of Lancaster.

1422-1461. HENRY VI. 1422-1461 (died 1471).

Henry VL = Margaret of Anjou.

Edward = Anne Neville,
killed at
Tewkesbury,
1471.

1422-1435. A Progress of affairs till the death of Bedford (marking the close of the first period in the loss of France), **1435.**

1422. 1. Supreme authority in France given to John, Duke of Bedford ; Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to act as his representative and as head of the Council in England.

1422. 2. Consolidation of the conquest of northern France by a marriage between Bedford and the sister of Philip of Burgundy, and by a Treaty with
1423. John, Duke of Britanny.

1424. 3. Release of King James I. of Scotland from imprisonment, and return to Scotland with his wife Joan Beaufort. Defeat of the French and Scots at Verneuil. AUG. Success neutralised by the invasion of Hainault by Gloucester, to assert the claims of his wife, Jacqueline of Hainault, (the divorced wife of the Duke of Brabant) ; the Burgundian forces withdrawn from Bedford to oppose Gloucester. OCT. First blow to the Burgundian alliance.

1425. 4. Return of Bedford to England to mediate between Gloucester and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who were disputing for supremacy in the Council.

1426. 5. The Parliament of Bats (Clubs); pacification and resignation of the Chancellorship by Beaufort. Beaufort made Cardinal and Papal Legate for the Hussite Crusade. Alarm at this in England. Cessation of war in Hainault.

1428. 6. Bedford thus able to resume the offensive. Siege of Orleans by the English, to open the road to Bourges, the court of the Dauphin.

1429. 7. The appearance of Jeanne Dare. Relief of Orleans by her. APRIL. Talbot defeated at Patay. JUNE. The Dauphin crowned as Charles VII. at Rheims. JULY. Beaufort's troops raised for Hussite Crusade sent by him to France instead of to Bohemia.

1430. 8. Capture of Jeanne Dare at Compiegne, sold to the Burgundians, and handed over to English. Tried and burned for witchcraft at Rouen, MAY, **1431.** [For estimate of her character and work in arousing moral enthusiasm in France, see Green, pp. 274-278.]

1431. 9. Coronation of Henry at Paris. DEC. Bedford's efforts however mainly confined to securing Normandy, re-establishing order there, and binding it closely to England. Henry's court at Rouen for a year.

1430-1434.10. Cardinal Beaufort now supreme in the Council and the director of English diplomacy with Scotland and Burgundy.

1432. 11. Death of the Duchess of Bedford, and second marriage of Bedford to Jacquetta of Luxemburg without obtaining the consent of Duke of Burgundy, her feudal superior. The second

1433. blow to the Burgundian alliance.

1435. 12. Congress of Arras, through the diplomacy of Beaufort, to arbitrate between France and England. Offer of the French to cede Normandy and Guienne, upon homage, on condition of surrender of all English claims and possessions in France (including Calais). Refusal of the English. Death of Bedford, and final defection of Burgundy from the English alliance. SEPT.

1435-1449. B Course of events till loss of Normandy.

1436. 1. Renewal of the struggle between Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort. Recapture of Paris by the French. Henry's dominions in France limited to Normandy, Picardy, and Maine.

1436-1437. 2. Success of Richard Duke of York as Regent in Normandy.

1437. 3. York succeeded as Regent of France by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, then by John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset.

1440. 4, Recapture of Harfleur and ravaging of Picardy by Somerset and his brother, Edmund Beaufort, during the conspiracy of the Dauphin against Charles VII. Re-appointment of York as Regent.

1441. 5. Condemnation of Eleanor Cobham (wife of Gloucester) to imprisonment for life in the Isle of Man for practising witchcraft against the King's life. Retirement of Gloucester from public life.

1442. The King of age.

1444. 6. Truce with France. York superseded as Regent by Edmund Beaufort, Marquis of Dorset. The Beaufort policy to secure the Lancastrian succession by the King's marriage carried on in the Council (owing to the age of Cardinal Beaufort) by William de Ia Pole (Earl of Suffolk), who had come into political prominence after Gloucester's retirement.

1445. 7, Marriage of Henry to Margaret of Anjou ; Maine to be surrendered to her father (possibly only a verbal promise).

1447. 8. Re-appearance of Gloucester as head of the war-party. His arrest and sudden death. FEB. Death of Cardinal Beaufort. APRIL.

1448. 9. Surrender of Maine by Marquis of Suffolk to avoid war with France and to make it easier to hold Normandy and Guienne.

1449-1450. 10. Invasion and conquest of Normandy by the French attributed by the English nation to the incapacity of the Regent, Edmund Beaufort (now Duke of Somerset).

1449-1451. C Course of events till the loss ◁f Guienne.

1. National discontent at the issue of the war and the feeble government at home.

1450. *a* Murder of the Bishop of Chichester at Portsmouth by the sailors, while paying the soldiers going to France.

b Accusations of treason and malversation brought against Suffolk. Upon submission to King's mercy banished for five years. [This was the last impeachment till 1621.]

1450. Murdered at sea while leaving the kingdom. MAY 2.

1450. *c* Unsuccessful revolt of Kent under John Cade (calling himself " Mortimer"). The " complaint of the Commons of Kent" laid before the King, demanding—

(i) Resumption of the gifts from the royal demesne.

(2) Return of the Duke of York to court.

(3) Punishment of the Suffolk party for the death of the Duke of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort, and for the loss of Normandy.

(4) Abolition of abuses (r.^. undue interference with elections, heavy taxation, promotion of favourites).

The King's forces defeated at Sevenoaks, JUNE 18, Entry of Cade into London, JULY 3. Seizure and execution of Lord Say, the Treasurer, JULY 4, Cade defeated at London Bridge, JULY 5. Dispersal of most of the rebels on the receipt of sealed pardons ; the prisons however opened by Cade, who formed the prisoners into a new force. Cade finally killed in Kent by a force under the sheriff, Iden.

1451. 2. Guienne conquered by the French. Final expulsion of the English from France (excepting Calais) due partly to the contest between the Commons (demanding the removal of Somerset from the Council) and the King.

1451-1461. D Course of events till the accession of Edward IV. *

1452. 1. Appearance of York (who had been Lieutenant of Ireland 1449 1450) in arms demanding the trial of Somerset. Failure of the attempt, the nation not yet prepared for civil war.

1452-1453, 2. Disastrous attempt under Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, to recovei Guienne. Birth of the Prince of Wales. Two consequences—

(a) The Queen, not Somerset, the head of the party of the Lancastrian succession.

(ft) York's hope of succeeding at the death of Henry crushed.

Madness of the King. Somerset sent to the Tower.

1454. York appointed by the Lords " Protector and Defender of the Realm/'

1455. 3. Recovery of the King. Somerset restored to power. York summoned to submit to arbitration at Leicester. Appearance of York and the Nevilles (Earls of Salisbury and Warwick) in arms. Somerset slain and King captured at St. Alban's.

1455. 1456-1458. **4.** Return of the King's illness and second Protectorate of York. Recovery of the King, and two years of comparative quiet.

1458 1459. **5.** Apparent reconciliation of the rival parties at St. Paul's. Attempted arrest of the Earl of Salisbury checked by his victory at Bloreheath, but followed by flight of the Nevilles to Calais, of which Warwick was captain, and of York to Ireland, and by the attainder of York and the Nevilles in a Parliament at Coventry.

1460 **6.** Return of York and the Nevilles. Defeat of the Royal army and capture of the King at Northampton. JULY. The crown claimed by the Duke of York as the representative of Lionel of Clarence. Compromise by Parliament, Henry to be King for life, and York recognised as his heir. OCT.

1460. **7.** Rising in the North for the Lancastrian succession. (The industrial and commercial classes being chiefly in favour of York from a desire for a strong rule.) Battle of Wakefield. DEC. 29. Defeat of York who was killed in the battle, and execution of the Earl of Salisbury.

1461. Victory in the West at Mortimer's Cross by Edward of York. FEB. 3.

Victory of the Northern Lancastrian army advancing upon London over Warwick at St. Alban's. FEB. 17. Retirement of the victorious Lancastrians northwards. Entry of Edward into London and acknowledgment as King. MARCH 1-4. Utter defeat of the Lancastrians at Towton Field (near Tadcaster). MARCH 29

E Decline of Parliament in this Reign.

1. Sanction of Parliament still considered necessary for legislation. The power of granting and controlling subsidies and impeaching ministers retained by the Commons as well as the security already obtained that statutes, when drawn up, should correspond exactly to petitions **(1414).** But powers of Parliament encroached upon by Royal Council. During the minority the Council was a Council of Regency, in possession of the power of the Crown, and thus independent of Parliamentary control. After **1437** the right of appointing members claimed and exerted by Parliament **(1402, 1406, 1410)** was resumed by the King.

2. Increased power of the Royal Council which during this period, Richard IL—Henry VI., reached the highest point of its authority, independent both of the Crown and of Parliament.

a Tenure of office. Under Richard II. and Henry IV. for one year. Afterwards for the King's life.

b Authority of the Council with reference to the Crown,

(i) The King could appoint or dismiss individuals, but he could not dispense with a Council altogether. A Royal Council must exist.

(2) Certain non-ministerial officials, *e.g.,* the Marshal, and the Archbishops, had an *ex-officio* claim to a seat.

(3) The King, though not bound to take, was bound to receive the advice of the Council.

(4) Every writ issued by the King had to be sealed with the Great Seal which—except under Edward II. and Richard IL—was in the hands of the Chancellor. Partly to protect the King against hasty grants which might be prejudicial to his prerogative, partly to protect the Chancellor—by showing that he had warrant for his act—partly to secure that the Council should be consulted, a theory grew up, most fully expressed by th#<

1389. enactment that every writ or grant should be endorsed,

i. By the Signet,

ii. By the Privy Seal,

iii. By the Great Seal.

Thus the Chancellor or Council could interpose remonstrance.

(5) The highest point of the authority of the Council with reference is marked by two enactments.

i. That all letters containing orders to the

1406, Chancellor be under the cognizance of the Council.

1444. ii. That all grants should be under the cognizance of the Council. "

(6) This great authority of the Council during the first half of the fifteenth century may be ascribed to

i. The doubtful claim and bad health of Henry IV.

ii. The absence of Henry V. from England,
iii. The long minority of Henry VI. But after 1437 the appointments to the Council were made solely by the King.

c Change in name. The Royal Council under the minority of Henry VI. was a Council of Regency, and thus there grew up within the Council a smaller and more authoritative body. This change may be considered as coinciding in time with the rise of the name "Privy Council."

d Functions of the Council.

(1) Revenue and finance. Review of the whole royal outgoings (whether private expenditure, or public expenses) and consideration as to best means of raising money.

(2) Dealings with aliens as being under the protection of the Crown or of treaties, the extent and validity of which could only be decided by the Council.

(3) Dealings with trade, *eg.*, in the appointment of staple towns, impressment of labourers, and issue of proclamations dispensing in individual cases with the restrictions upon trade.

(4.) Dealings with the Church, *e.g.*, in granting dispensations from the Statutes of Mortmain, and in making ecclesiastical appointments, though the contest between England and the Pope was but slight during this period, as the Lancastrian policy was to court the Church, and the Statutes of Praemunire were frequently transgressed.

1400-1444.

(5) The preservation of the King's peace, not only by suppressing riots, but judicially by trying rioters.

(6) Equitable judicial power. Regarded with much jealousy by Parliament; *eg.*

1400. Petition that all personal actions be tried at common law.

1422. Petition that no one be brought before Council or Chancery unless unable to get right at common law.

But on this point the general feeling in favour of the equitable jurisdiction of the Council and Chancellor was of real value to justice. [It was the lawlessness of nobles that men feared rather than the arbitrary power of the Crown.] Thus even the Commons, in the alarm excited

by Cade's rebellion, passed an act enhancing
1453. the judicial powers of the Council. [For the substance of this note see " Privy Council/' by A. V. Dicey. Macmillan & Co.]

e In the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III. the Council was tending to become a committee of Royal Nominees ; its records a blank. [For continuance of this note see Henry VII. F, and Edward VI. E.]

F Comparison of the House of Lancaster and York; *(a)* with reference to Title, *(b)* with reference to Constitutional Government.

a Title (see Tables at the beginning of reigns of Henry IV. and Edward IV.). The Yorkist House was undoubtedly in the position of " heir-general," the Lancastrian on the other hand was in the position of " heir-male."

b Constitutional Government.

The rule of the House of Lancaster was in the main constitutional, especially under Henry IV. and Henry V.; that of the House of York unconstitutional,

i. The Lancastrian rule. »

a The growth of independence in the Parliament, and especially in the Commons.
1401. Freedom of speech without interference x>f the King in the deliberations; money grants to be declared by the Speaker of
1407. the Commons; even the request that answers to petitions should precede supply,
1401. though refused by Henry IV., practically secured by postponing the grant to the last day of the session ; grants appropriated for special purposes, in some cases permanently *{e.g.* tonnage and poundage for the fleet, and part of the subsidy on wool for Calais); the expenses of the household
1404-1413. separated from those of the realm ; all matters of public interest, even foreign policy, laid before the Commons *{e.g.,* the Treaty of Troyes, 1420) ; the Commons secured in the right that acts when drawn up should correspond exactly with their
1414. petitions; the right of auditing the accounts
1433. acknowledged **1407** and 1433.

b Authority of Parliament over the nomination of the Royal Council claimed, **1404, 1406, 1410,** though the nomination was resumed by the King, **1437-**

c The action of the King checked by the influence of the Royal Council (see note upon Royal Council),

ii. The Yorkist rule.

a Suspension of Parliamentary action. No Parliament called between **1475** and **1483** (except in **1478** for the attainder of the Duke of Clarence). Income granted by the early Yorkist Parliaments to King Edward IV. for life. No instance of impeachment after **1450.** Poverty of national legislation in the Parliaments called by Edward IV.

b Taxation by benevolences (declared however illegal "as new and unlawful inventions" under Richard III. **1484).**

c Levy of armed forces by Commissioners of Array, not by authority of Parliament', under Edward IV. and Richard III.

d Increased rigour of law-courts, *e.g.,* use of torture ; unconstitutional authority of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, as Constable, in cases of high treason, "summarily and plainly, on simple inspection of fact."

e Rise of a new nobility composed of the King's friends, and depending upon his support.

f The character of the Royal Council materially modified, tending to become an irresponsible Committee of Royal Nominees.

1. The Lords losing hold over the nation owing to their factions, their lust for gold, and selfish scramble for power.

2. The Commons ceasing to be representative ; the right of choosing members often confined to the Common Councils of towns or a select body of them.

a Borough freedom limited by boroughs obtaining charters of incorporation (to protect the civic property from strangers) and thus becoming close bodies; the right of voting confirmed by these charters, but mostly only for the Common Council of the Borough or for a select portion of it.

b The county franchise restricted by the **1430.** fixing of a freehold of 40^. as the qualification for voters.

G Causes of the fall of the House of Lancaster in spite of the constitutional character of its rule.

1. The want of success abroad.
2. The weakness of the government at home, shown by the frequency of illegal usurpations upon private property, private wars, "grants of livery" by the great nobles, and failure to enforce the sentence of the law.
3. Want of economical management of the finances.
4. The close connection of the Lancastrians with the clergy.
5. The unpopularity of the Queen, owing to her strong partisanship and supposed connexion with the enemies of the realm—Irish, Scots, French.
6. Weariness of the scramble for power among the Baronage, and desire for a strong government giving protection for life and property.

1461-1483. EDWARD IV. 1461-1483,

Edward III.

Lionel of Clarence (2nd son). — Edmund of York (5th son).

Philippa = Edmund, Earl of March.

Roger, Earl of March. — I

Anne. — Richard, Earl of Cambridge.

Richard, Duke of York = Cicely Neville.

Edward IV. — Elizabeth I Woodville (daughter of jacquetta, formerly Duchess of Bedford). — Edmund, Duke of Rutland. — George, Duke of Clarence. — Richard III. — Margaret = Charles of Burgundy.

Edward V. — Richard, Duke of York. — Elizabeth = Henry VII. — Cicely. — Anne = Howard, Earl of Surrey. — Katherioe = W.Courtenay, Earl of Devon. 1

Henry, Marquis of Exeter,

1461-1464. A Power of the Nevilles. Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and of Salisbury, Captain of Calais and Dover, Admiral of the Fleet in the Channel, Warden of the Western Scottish Marches. Lord Chamberlain and Steward; his brother Richard, Lord Montague, Warden of the Eastern Scottish Marches; his brother George, Archbishop of York and Chancellor, This power lasted supreme in the state till the Lancastrian power was finally crushed at the
1464. battle of Hedgley Moor and Flexham, in Northumberland, APRIL and MAY, and till the capture of King Henry.

1464-1471. B Struggle between the King and Warwick.

1464. 1. Warwick's policy to secure an alliance with France by the King's marriage to the sister of the queen of Lewis XL Edward's avowal of his marriage with Elizabeth Grey, daughter of Sir R. Woodvillc and Jacquetta, widow of John, Duke of Bedford.

1464. 2. Commencement of struggles at court between the Woodvilles and the Nevilles.

3. Divergence in foreign policy between Warwick
1467. and the King. Question of the marriage of Margaret, the King's sister, with a French prince, or with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. The French alliance supported by Warwick, the Burgundian favoured by the merchants on account of the trade with Flanders. Archbishop Neville superseded as Chancellor during Warwick's absence in France to negotiate a French alliance. Alliance concluded between Edward and Charles of Burgundy.

1468. 4. Proposed invasion of France in conjunction with Burgundy. Margaret married to Charles of Burgundy. JULY.

1469. 5. Marriage between Isabel Neville (Warwick's daughter) and Duke of Clarence, the King's second brother. Rising in the north of discontented peasantry under Robin of Redesdale, supported by Clarence and Warwick. The King for a time a prisoner after the fight at Edgecote near Banbury. JULY. Issue by the King of a general pardon. DEC.

1470. 6. Clarence and Warwick denounced by the King, and forced to take refuge in France. MARCH. Reconciliation between Queen Margaret and Warwick. Marriage of Prince Edward to Anne Neville (Warwick's daughter). Consequent dissatisfaction of Clarence.

Landing of Clarence and Warwick at Dartmouth and flight of Edward to Flanders. SEPT.-CCT

Henry VI. restored to the throne. OCT.

1471. Landing of Edward nominally to recover his hereditary duchy. MARCH 14. Joined by Clarence at Warwick. MARCH 30. Admitted into London by Archbishop Bourchier. Warwick and Montague defeated and slain at Barnet. APRIL 14. Rising for the House of Lancaster in the West under Somerset and Jasper Tudor. Landing of Queen Margaret at Weymouth. APRIL 14. Her army overtaken by Edward at Tewkesbury on its march up the Severn Valley towards the North. Defeat of Margaret and death of Prince Edward. MAY 4, King Henry found dead in the Tower. MAY 21,

O Foreign Policy.

1473-1474. 1. Preparations for war with France in conjunction with Charles of Burgundy. Large grants in Parliament, and first collection of "Benevolences."

1473. 2. Secret defection of Charles of Burgundy. Betrothal of Mary of Burgundy to Maximilian (son of Emperor Frederick III.) in the hopes of securing for Charles the imperial crown.

1475. 3. Treaty of Pecquigny between Lewis XL and Edward. Expenses of war paid and pension of 50,000 crowns promised to Edward, and the Dauphin Charles betrothed to Edward's daughter Elizabeth. AUG. 29.

1477. 4. Death of Charles of Burgundy. Marriage of Mary to Maximilian. Edward faithful to the French alliance, but neutral in the war between Lewis and Maximilian.

1478. [Clarence accused and attainted of high treason for his complicity with the Lancastrians in **1470.** His death possibly due to the enmity of Gloucester, with whom he had quarrelled since Gloucester's marriage with Anne Neville. **1472.]**

1482. 5. Expedition of Gloucester in support of the claim to the Scotch throne by the Duke of Albany against his elder brother James III. (upon a promise by Albany to hold Scotland as a fief of England.) Capture of Edinburgh by Gloucester and Albany. Betrothal of Albany (though he had two wives living) to Cicely, Edward's daughter (previously betrothed to Prince James of Scotland). Berwick again an English possession.

1482-1483. 6. Breach by Lewis of the treaty of Pecquigny. The Dauphin betrothed to Margaret of Austria (daughterof Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy). **1482.** Preparations for war with France.

1483. Death of the King. APRIL **9.**

EDWARD V. APRIL 9—JUNE **22, 1483,**

and

RICHARD III. JUNE, **1483-AUGUST, 1485.**

Richard **III.** — Anne Neville.

|

Edward, d. 1484.

A Attack by Richard of Gloucester upon the Queen's party, the Woodvilles and Greys.

1483. King Edward taken from their guardianship at Stony Stratford ; Lords Rivers and Grey having been arrested at Northampton, Gloucester appointed by the Council Protector of the King and kingdom. APRIL 29—MAY 4.

B Attack upon the New Nobility created by Edward IV. and against the Succession of his Family.

JUNE, **1483. 1.** Lord Hastings (most prominent of the new nobility) arrested in Council and executed, though he had supported Richard against the Woodvilles.

2. Petition of nobles and " notable persons of the Commons" declaring Edward's children illegitimate, those of Clarence (Edward and Margaret) disabled from the succession by their father's attainder, and Gloucester the undoubted heir of Richard, Duke of York. JUNE 24.

3 Disappearance and probable murder of Edward V. and Richard of York, between JUNE and OCT, Execution of Lords Rivers and Grey at Pontefract. JUNE or JULY.

C Revival of the Lancastrian Hopes.

1. Support given to Henry Tudor, a refugee in Britanny, by Buckingham (head of the elder baronage, discontented with Richard for refusing him the succession to the Earldom of Hereford, and possibly plotting for himself), and Morton, Bishop of Ely, also a refugee, who was planning a marriage between Henry and Elizabeth of York.

2. Table showing descent of Buckingham and Henry Tudor.

Edward III.

Thomas of Woodstock.

Anne - Edmund Stafford,
I Earl of Buckingham.

Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham,
killed at Northampton,
1460.

f **" 1**

Humphrey, = Margaret Beaufort, Henry = Margaret Beaufort,
killed at daughter of Edmund, Stafford Countess o*~
St. Alban's Duke of Somerset. Richmond.
1455.

Henry, = Katharine Woodville.
Duke of
Buckingham.

b. Edward III.

Blanche of = John of Gaunt = Katharine Swinford.
Lancaster

Henry IV. John Beaufort,
Earl of Somerset.

Henry V. = Katharine = (z) Owen John Beaufort,
of France. I Tudor. Duke of Somerset.

Edmund Tudor, = Margaret (after-
Earl of Richmond. | wards married to
Henry Stafford).

Henry Tudor.

OCT. **1483. 3.** Suppression of the rising of Henry Tudor, (whose arrival had been delayed by storms) and Buckingham. Execution of Buckingham at Salisbury. Nov.

D The King's Measures of Defence.

1484. 1. Apparent reconciliation between Queen Elizabeth (widow of Edward IV.) and Richard. MARCH, **1484.**

2. Summoning of Parliament, and appeal for national support as the restorer of the old liberties. Statutes forbidding "benevolences" (broken however next year, **1485),** and seizure of goods before conviction of felony, and fixing forty shillings freehold as qualification for jurors. Statute of Fines, imposing a limit on suits for recovery of lands ; forbiddal of " secret feoffments" ; enactments for protection of trade. Royal orders manumitting unenfranchised bondmen upon the royal demesne, and endowing religious houses.

3* Armistice with Britanny and threatened renewal of the war with France (possibly to increase his popularity), and truce for three Years with Scotland : the fleet also strengthened.

4. Disafforestment of lands enclosed under Edward IV.

1485. 5. Arrangement of marriage with Elizabeth of York.

1485. E The Fall of the King. 1485.

1. Gathering indignation at the reputed murder of the princes.
2. Collection of benevolences against statute of **1484.**
3. Landing of Henry Tudor at Milford Haven. Treachery of Thomas, Lord Stanley (third husband of Margaret Beaufort), and his brother, Sir W. Stanley, and defeat of Richard at Bosworth Field. AUG. 22, 1485.

1485-1509. HENEY VII. 1485-1509.

Henry VII. = Elizabeth of York.

Arthur d. 1502.	= Katharine of Aragon.	Henry VIII.	Margaret =(1) James IV. of Scotland. =(2) Karl of Angus. =(3) Lord Methven.	Mary =(i) Lewis XII. of France. =(2) Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

A Summary of Causes that led to the "New Monarchy[M] (begun under Edward IV. and completed under the Tudors).

1. The elder baronage had become impoverished, reduced in numbers (especially in the greater houses), demoralised by the struggle for power, and had lost influence by their violent defiance of law (shown in the "grants of livery" to their retainers, and the maintenance of quarrels in return for service). The newer baronage, as in the case of Edward IV.'s nobility, depended upon the favour of the crown. The constitutional power of the House of Lords superseded by the Council, now a body of royal nominees.
2. The clergy were lacking in moral enthusiasm and in intellectual vigour, and the papacy under Sixtus IV. (1471), Alexander VI. (1492) and Julius IL (1503), was becoming more of an Italian and less of an universal power. The higher clergy *(e.g.,* Morton, Fox, Warham) were becoming mere officials of the royal administration.
3. The House of Commons was less representative and independent, owing to the restrictions in the franchise both in boroughs (owing to the charters of corporations, making the burgesses a close body) and in counties (owing to the legislation of 1430 restricting franchise to 4.o.r. freeholders).
4. Growth of wealth and industry among the smaller landowners and the burgess class in the cities increased the desire for settled rule. Weariness of the political struggle.
5. Growth of pauperism, "of the sturdy beggars," (due to the consolidation of small into large holdings, the introduction of sheep-farming upon a large scale, and the break-up of the military households of the nobles), led to desire for a strong rule to repress social disorder and preserve from social anarchy.
6. The crown was the only remaining political power: further strengthened by the union of family titles through the marriage of Henry to Elizabeth of York, and by the wealth accruing from confiscations; rendered independent of Parliamentary subsidies by the cessation of foreign war, and made irresistible in the field by the sole possession of the artillery.

1485-1487. B Establishment upon the Throne.

1485. 1. Henry's title Parliamentary, although he claimed the crown by title of "inheritance," as well as "by the true judgment of God in giving him victory over his enemies." Confirmed by a Bull of Innocent VIII. **(1486).**

1485. 2. Imprisonment of the Earl of Warwick (son of the Duke of Clarence) in the Tower.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE YORKIST RISINGS.

Richard of York.

Edward IV. | Edmund, Earl of Rutland (slain at Wakefield, 1460.) | George, Duke of Clarence = Isabel Neville. | Richard III. = Anne Neville. | Elizabeth = John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.

Edward V. | Richard of York. | Elizabeth = Henry VII. | Catharine = Sir W. Courtenay. | Edward, Prince of Wales.

Henry, Marquis of Exeter (beheaded, 1539). | Edward, Earl of Warwick (beheaded 1499). | Margaret, Countess of Salisbury (beheaded 1541). = Sir R. Pole.

Edward, Karl of Devon.

Henry Pole, Lord Montacute (beheaded **1539).** | Reginald Pole, Cardinal, and Archbishop of Canterbury.

John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln (slain at Stoke, 1487). | Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk (beheaded, **1513).** | Richard de la Pole (slain at the battle of Pavia, **1525).**

1486. 3. Marriage with Elizabeth of York. JAN. 18. Postponement of her Coronation: consequent irritation of Yorkists.

4, Revolt of Lord Lovel, and Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, cousins of the Duke of Buckingham, in Worcestershire.

5, Lambert Simnel personating Edward Earl of
1487. Warwick, well known to be a prisoner in the King's hands, recognised by Gerald Fitzgerald, (Earl of Kildare), John de Ia Pole (see Table) and Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy ; defeated at Stoke (near Newark).

1487. 6. Coronation of the Queen. Nov. 25.

O Henry's Government at Home,

1. Continued suspension of Parliamentary life. Parliament only twice called between 1496 and 1509 (1497 and 1504).

2. Extension of the criminal jurisdiction of the
1486. Royal Council by the foundation of the Court of Star Chamber as a remedy for the evils of maintenance, the misconduct of sheriffs, riots, and unlawful assemblies. (The Court to consist of the Chancellor, Treasurer, Privy Seal, taking to themselves a bishop, a lord temporal, and the two chief justices.) [See note at the end of the reign.] Re-enactment and enforce-
1504. ment of the statute against " granting of livery."

3. Accumulation of treasure.

a By obtaining subsidies for wars subsequeudy evaded (1488 and 1492). Resumption of royal grants to the House of York. 1497.

b By confiscations, and fines after revolts.

c By benevolences. (1492. 1497. 1504.)

d By exactions for breach of obsolete statutes upon the information of " promoters " *{e.g.,* Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley).

4. Statutes for the security of property from vexatious attacks.

1489. *a* Statute of Fines, fixing a term of five years after proclamation of a fine in court as a prescriptive title to land barring suits for recovery.

1496. *b* No person rendering service to the King of the land for the time being to be convicted of high treason.

Foreign Policy.

1485-1492. 1. The early policy, 1485-1492, centred round Britanny.

1487. *a* Duke Francis of Britanny openly attacked by Charles VIII. of France. Anne of Britanny betrothed to Maximilian of Burgundy.

1488. *b* Volunteers raised in England for the defence of Britanny. Death of Duke Francis.

1490. *c* League between Henry, Maximilian, and Spain, for the defence of Britanny if attacked.

1491. *d* Britanny attacked by France, but not defended by the League. French capture of Nantes, and marriage of Charles VIII. of Franee and Anne of Britanny. Consequent annexation of Britanny by France.

1492. *e* Expedition of Henry VII. to Boulogne; treaty of Etaples ; Henry bought off by a payment of ,£149,000, and Charles VIII. left free for his expedition for the conquest of Naples (long in dispute between the Houses of Aragon and Anjou).

1492-1498. 2. The policy from **1492-1498.** Mainly connected with Perkin Warbeck, who claimed to be Richard, Duke of York, and was supported by Margaret of Burgundy (sister of Edward IV.), Charles VIII. of France, James IV. of Scotland, and by the popular feeling in Ireland in favour of the House *of* York.

1492. *a* Perkin deserted by France after the treaty of Etaples.

1494. *b* Order enforced among the English in Ireland by Sir E. Poynings. All existing English laws to be in force in Ireland ; no Parliament to be held in Ireland without the sanction of the King and Council; the King and Council to have power to disallow statutes passed by the Irish Houses. The Earl of Kildare won over by being appointed Royal Deputy in Ireland. Ireland thus shut to Warbeck.

1496. *c* Commercial treaty with Burgundy, the " Great Intercourse," securing freedom of trading and mutual expulsion of rebels. Warbeck obliged to leave Flanders. [The Great Intercourse renewed **1506,** on the occasion of Duke Philip being driven by a storm into Weymouth, when Edmund de Ia Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was also given up by Philip on condition of his life being spared. Suffolk consequently imprisoned in the Tower, till his execution by Henry VIII. **1513.]**

d League of Spain, the Empire, the Pope (Julius II.), Milan, Venice, for the mutual preservation of States, (joined by Henry, though he would contribute neither men nor money). [The first enunciation of the idea of Balance of Power.]

1497. *e* Treaty concluded with Scotland, where Warbeck had been received by James IV., and married to Katharine Gordon. (Warbeck obliged to leave Scotland, JULY. Treaty, SEPT.)

1497. [Rising for Warbeck in the West, Devon and Cornwall ; capture and imprisonment of Warbeck. Attempted escape of Warbeck. JUNE, **1498.** Execution of Warbeck along with Edward, Earl of Warwick. Nov., **1499.]**

3. Marriage alliances and proposed alliances.

a For himself, after the death of Queen Elizabeth. **1503.** Margaret of Austria (daughter of Maximilian), Johanna of Castile, Louisa of Savoy (mother of Francis I.), Katharine of Aragon (his own daughter-in-law).

b Marriage of Arthur the King's eldest son to Katharine of Aragon, (thus strengthening England by an alliance with Spain against France,) delayed by Henry's caution t:l

1501. France was occupied by the invasion of Italy.

1502. *c* Upon the death of Arthur, Katharine betrothed to his brother Henry; the betrothal sanctioned (conditionally) by Pope Julius II.

1502. *d* Marriage of Margaret of England to James IV. of Scotland.

1509. Death of the King. APRIL **21.**

E **Notice the importance of the reign as marking the transition from Mediaeval to Modern History**; the transition from separate national development to the idea of national aggrandisement and the counter-idea of Balance of Power, which, though first formally conceived by Henry#IV, and Sully **(1603),** is the key to political action from **1500** to **1800.** Influences that led to this political change.

i. Concentration of power in the royal hands in **1422-1483.** France under Charles VII. and Lewis XL, due mainly to the pressure of the long struggle with England.

1469. ii. The union of Castile and Aragon by **the** marriage *of* Isabella to Ferdinand, and the **1491.** conquest of Granada from the Moors.

iii. The union of all Austrian hereditary possessions under Maximilian of Austria, and his
1477. marriage to Mary of Burgundy, bringing with it the County of Bufgundy, *i.e.,* Franche Comte* and Flanders,

iv. The weakness of the German national Kingship owing to the claim of the German King to the Universal rule of the Holy Roman Empire. (The power of the Emperor in Germany becoming mainly nominal.)

1471. v. Attempts of the Popes from the papacy of Sixtus IV. to gain territorial jurisdiction in Italy, entailing finally the loss of their position as a mediating power.

1520. vi. Rise into importance of Sweden by its separation from Denmark, under Gustavus Vasa.

Note upon the Star Chamber.

1. The Court as constituted by Henry V I I. was really a Committee of the Council, but by the end of the reign of Henry V I I I. this special Commission no longer existed, but criminal powers, analogous although far larger, continued to be exercised by a Court retaining the same name of Star Chamber and mainly identical with the Council itself.
2. Methods of procedure before the Star Chamber.
   a The proceeding " Ore tenus." The accused privately arrested, examined (no information being given either as to accuser or nature of charge), and judged, or, in case of refusal to confess or answer questions, remanded.
   b Procedure by Bill of Complaint addressed to the Council and signed by a Councillor. The accused compelled to answer the bill on oath ; after the answer of the accused witnesses were privately examined by the Council. Torture could also be used to extract confession (as in the cases of Anne Askew and Guido Fawkes).
3. Penalties. Fines (sometimes however apparently not enforced and intended to serve as a mark of severe condemnation), whipping, the stocks, the pillory, branding, and any penalty short of death.
4. Sphere of Jurisdiction.
   a Accusations of treasonable or seditious acts and words.

b Cases of libel.

c The regulation of printing.

d Accusations of breach of royal proclamation,

e Cases where individuals acted in a way which the law could not punish but which morality condemned.

f Cases transferred from the Law Courts, "taken Dy the King into his own hands.'[1]

g Summoning and fining of Juries for erroneous verdicts.

h The right of interference claimed not only in criminal but in civil cases, and the right of arrest claimed further not only by the Council collectively but by its members individually.

(See " The Privy Council" by A. V. Dicey (Macmillan & Co.)

For the growth and influence of the New Learning, the chief progressive movement of the reign, see Green, pp. 303—320.

1509-1547. HENRY VIII. 1509-1547.

Henry VIII. = (i) Katharine of Aragon. =(2) Anno Boleyn, =(3) Jane I Seymour. —(4) Anne of Cleves. = (5) Katharine Howard. —*(6)* Katharine Parr.

Mary. Elizabeth. Edward.

1509-1511. A. Early years. 1509-1511.

1, Popularity of the King and hopes of "a new order" at his accession.

1509. 1510. 2. Trial and execution of Empson and Dudley for high treason. Statute limiting action upon penal suits to within three years after alleged offence.

1509. 3. Marriage to Katharine of Aragon upon advice of Council (in spite of opposition of Warham), for security against the growing power of France.

1511-1525. B. Foreign wars.

1511-1514. 1. The Holy League between Ferdinand of Spain, Henry VIII. of England, Pope Julius IL, and the Republic of Venice to protect the Papacy and drive the French out of Italy, though the Pope had co-operated with France and the Emperor Maximilian in the League of Cambrai, 1508, for the dismemberment of Venice, as being the only Italian power likely to unite Italy.

The French driven back in the north of Italy, and
1512. Navarre seized by Spain. The Scots defeated
1513. at Flodden Field (upon the Till) and Terouenne and Tournai taken by Henry. AUG.—SEPT.

1514. **2.** Truce for a year between Lewis XII., Maximilian, and Ferdinand. Anger of Henry VIII. at his desertion by Ferdinand, and conclusion of an alliance between England and France sealed by the marriage of Mary Tudor to Lewis XII.

1515. 3. Death of Lewis XII. Invasion and reconquest
1516-1518. of the Milanese by Francis I. counterbalanced by the accession of Charles of the Netherlands to the throne of Spain as Charles I., and of Naples as Charles IV. Confederacy between England, France, and Spain.

1519. **4.** Death of Maximilian. Election of Charles of Spain as Emperor (Charles V.). [The beginning of the rivalry between France and the House of Hapsburg]

1520. English alliance courted both by France and Spain. Conference between Charles V. and Henry at Canterbury, between Francis I. and Henry on the plain of Ardres, "the Field of the Cloth of Gold." English alliance with
1521. Spain: Charles betrothed to Mary (Henry's daughter), and Buckingham (heir to the throne next to Mary) executed to secure her succession.

Edward III.

Thomas of Woodstock.

Anne — Edmund Stafford, Earl of Buckingham.

Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, killed at Northampton, 1460-

Humphrey = Margaret Beaufort, daughter of Edmund Duke of Somerset.

Henry, Duke of Buckingham, = Katharine
executed **1483.** I Woodville.

Duke of Buckingham.

1522-1525. **5.** War declared upon France, and English claims upon France revived.

1522. *a* Money raised by benevolences.

1523. *b* Parliament summoned : a property tax of 20 per cent, demanded by Wolsey : his visit in state to the Commons to receive their answer. Deliberation suspended during his presence. Half the demand voted.

c Cooling on both sides of the friendship between Charles and Henry.

1525. // France crushed at the battle of Pavia. England drawn towards France to counteract the excessive power of Spain.

G Internal Affairs.

1525. 1. Concentration of power in Wolsey's hands.

Wolsey, Dean of Lincoln, Almoner, Member of the Council, Dean of York (1509-1513), for his able management of the preparations for the campaign of 1513 made Bishop of Tournai, then (in addition) of Lincoln (1514), then (in addition) Archbishop of York. Made Cardinal (1515) and Legatus a Latere by Leo X. (1517), besides being entrusted with the administration of the See of Bath and Wells, and of the temporalities of the Abbey of S. Alban's. Chancellor (1525), Bishop of Winchester (1528).

2. Features of the government at home under Wolsey's advice and administration.

a Parliament not called between 1515 and 1523.

b Unconstitutional taxation by benevolences (1522) and (1525), though abandoned in the latter year owing to very general resistance to the demand.

c Immense industry in the Court of Chancery, subordinate courts created to expedite justice.

1524. *d* Visitation of the monasteries : bull obtained from Pope (Clement VII.) for the suppression of forty of the smaller (having less than seven inmates), and for the conversion of the Monastery of S. Frideswyde in Oxford into a college : the endowments of the suppressed' monasteries used for the new Cardinal College (afterwards Christ Church) in Oxford, and for a new college at Ipswich (which last however was dissolved and confiscated by Henry upon Wolsey's fall).

e Gentle treatment of heresy.

D The Question of the Divorce and Fall of Wolsey.

1526. 1. Attempt made by the English Envoy at Rome to procure the divorce of Katharine of Aragon.

1527. 2. Question of the legality of Henry's marriage with Katharine raised in Wolsey's Court, as Legate, by a collusive action (a complaint being preferred against the King for having lived eighteen years with his brother's wife).

1528. 3. Legatine Commission granted to Campeggio and Wolsey by Clement VII. Delay of their proceedings.

1529. 4, Opening of the Legatine Court. Adjournment of the Court for two months when a decision was expected. JULY. The cause called to Rome by Clement VII., under pressure from Charles. OCT.

Treaty of Cambrai formed between France and the Emperor. AUG.

Fall of Wolsey owing to these combined causes. Accused under Statute of Praemunire of receiving Bulls and Legatine authority from Rome. OCT. The bill for Wolsey's impeachment thrown out in the Commons through the efforts of Thomas Cromwell, but Wolsey's property declared forfeited to the Crown according to the Statute of Praemunire. Wolsey allowed to retire to his see at York. Arrest of Wolsey **(1530)** for high treason, and death on the road to London. Nov. **29.**

1529. 5. Wolsey succeeded in power by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (President of the Council), Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (Lord Treasurer), and Sir Thomas More (Chancellor). Parliament summoned. Nov., **1529.** [The long Organic Parliament of the reign.]

E The Breach with Rome and establishment of the Royal Supremacy over the Church.

1529. 1. Profits of the Bishops' Courts in cases of probate reduced, and discipline more strictly enforced upon the lower clergy by Act of Parliament.

1530. 2. Measures of Norfolk to gel over the marriage difficulty.

a. By negotiations with the Imperial Court.

/;. By an appeal to the Universities.

1531. 3. The clergy held liable to the penalties of Praemunire in submitting to Wolsey as Legate. Fined ^118,840 by Convocation. Acknowledgment of the King as "Supreme Head of the Church, as far as the law of Christ will allow." (This assumption of title did not imply independence of Rome, but was a warning to the Pope and the clergy that the clergy were dependent upon the King.)

1532. 4. Withdrawal of More from the Chancellorship (succeeded by Audley). MAY. Conditional discontinuance of the payment of annates (the first year's revenue upon election to a see) to the Pope.

Petition of Convocation that Church legislation be henceforth only with the King's assent. [The Statutes of Uses (passed **1536)** and of Wills (passed **1540)** rejected by the Commons.]

1533. 5. Secret marriage with Anne Boleyn. JAN. **25.** Death of Archbishop Warham, and appointment of Cranmer as Archbishop by Papal Bull. MARCH.

The marriage between Henry and Katharine declared by Cranmer in Court null and void from the beginning, and the marriage wih Anne Boleyn good and lawful. MAY. Reversal of the sentence by the Pope : Henry's appeal to a general Council. Avowal of the marriage with Anne Boleyn and her Coronation. JUNE. Appeals to Rome forbidden by Statute. APRIL. Act of Succession, settling the crown upon the children of Anne Boleyn.

1534. 6. Statute transferring the payment of annates from the Pope to the crown. A new Statute of Appeals making the final reference (not as before to the Archbishop, but) to the King in Chancery. A new Statute of Annates, empowering the King to nominate Bishops; Chapters subjected to the penalties of Praemunire for non-election of the royal nominee mentioned along with the Conge" d'Elire.

Statute granting the petition of Convocation **(1532)** that Church legislation henceforward be only with the King's consent.

The Act of Supremacy, vesting authority over all ecclesiastical matters in the crown.

Denial of any of the King's titles declared treason.
Execution of Elizabeth Barton (the Nun of Kent) for high treason. MAY **5.**

1535. 7. Assumption by the King by Letters Patent of the title of " on earth supreme Head of the Church of England." Execution of Fisher (Bishop of Rochester), Sir Thomas More, and three brethren of the Charterhouse, under the Statute of Treason of **1534.** Cromwell appointed Vicar-General; visitation of the monasteries. Study of the Canon Law forbidden at the Universities.

1536. 8, Suppression of all monasteries and nunneries (380 in number) under ,£200 of yearly revenue. Their revenues to be administered by a Court of Augmentations.

Negotiations between Henry and the Lutheran princes forming the League of Schmalkald. Publication of Ten Articles basing the faith of the Church of England upon the Bible, the Three Creeds, and the first Four Councils, limiting the sacraments to Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist, condemning the abuses of the Church *[e.g.* pardons, and masses for the dead), but retaining most of its ceremonies, and approximating to the Confession of Augsburg in the acceptance of the doctrine of justification by faith.

Trial and execution of Queen Anne for treason and adultery, MAY 19, and marriage with Jane Seymour, MAY 20.

The succession re-settled upon the issue of Jane Seymour, and failing that and the issue of any other lawful wife left to the King to make over and bequeath at his pleasure.

1537. 9. Rising in Lincolnshire, followed by the rising in Yorkshire called the Pilgrimage of Grace, and by a Parliament of the North at Pomfret, demanding the fall of Cromwell, the acknowledgment of Mary as legitimate, and the restitution of the goods of the Church.

1537. The promise of consideration of grievances in a free Parliament at York, made to the leaders by the Royal Commissioners (the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Duke of Norfolk), but recalled in consequence of a subsequent rising
MARCH. in the North and Somersetshire. Many cruel executions. Death of Jane Seymour. **1537.**

1538, Royal licence given to Coverdale's translation of the Bible.

Negotiations begun with the Lutheran princes forming the League of Schmalkald, but abandoned.

Excommunication of Henry by Pope Paul III. Refusal of France and Spain to execute it.

1539. Execution of the Marquess of Exeter and Lord Montacute, and imprisonment of the Countess of Salisbury (executed M A Y 27,1541) upon the charge of high treason (as privy to the plans of Cardinal Pole).

Richard of York.

1

Edward IV, Duke of Clarence.

Katharine — Sir W. Courtenay. Margaret (Countess of J Salisbury.

Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter.

Henry Pole, Lord Montacute. Cardinal Pole.

1539. Dissolution of the larger monasteries (645 in number), and disappearance of the mitred abbots from the House of Lords.

Act " for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion," commonly called " The Six Articles," declaring transubstantiation, communion in one kind, celibacy of the clergy, monastic vows, private masses, auricular confession and the binding power of vows of chastity to be agreeable to the law of God, and fixing burning as the penalty for the denial of transubstantiation, and on a second offence for an infraction of the other five doctrines (due to the reaction against the violence of the " Lutheran " or " Protestant" Party).

Statute empowering the King to appoint new bishops by his letters patent. Bishops appointed for Oxford, Peterborough, Gloucester, Bristol, Chester, Westminster.

1540. Attempt of Cromwell to unite Henry with the German Lutheran princes against the Empire by the marriage with Anne of Cleves, niece of the Elector of Saxony (head of the League of Schmalkald). Dissatisfaction of the King with his wife and with the irresolution of the German princes.

Cromwell accused of treason, attainted without being heard in his own defence, and executed, JULY, **1540.** (For the character and policy of Cromwell see Green pp. 331-348.)

Cranmer's Bible, known as the " Great Bible," appointed by royal command to be read in churches.

F Indirect Political Effects of this exaltation of the Royal Power.

1. The change was the result of the action of Parliament. Abandonment of the practice of ruling without Parliament, which had prevailed since the reign of Edward IV.

2. Parliament however as yet mainly a tool to strengthen the royal supremacy.

1529, *a* Remittal by statue of the loans of **1523-1528,** *{i.e.j* the King released from his debts), and again in **1544;**

1534. 1536. *b* The succession to be limited according to the King's discretion.

c The creation of new treasons. **1534, 1537, 1541,** and **1544.**

1536. *d* Statutes passed during a King's minority liable to be rescinded by him when of the age of twenty-four.

e No opposition to the severities practised after Pilgrimage of Grace, **1537,** or to the acceptance of the Ten Articles in **1536** and the Six Articles in **1539.**

1539. / The larger monasteries dissolved without debate.

1539. *X* Proclamations made by the King and Council to have the force of statutes, so that they do not infringe existing laws or be not prejudicial to any person's liberty or property.

3. That Parliamentary life however was not extinct may be seen by

1536. *a* The " great debate " upon the suppression of the smaller monasteries.

1539. *b* The limitations upon the statute giving proclamations the force of laws.

4. The creation of a new nobility *(e.g.* Russells, Cavendishes, Wriothesleys, Fitzwilliams) enriched by grants of the estates of the Church, tended to increase the strength of the aristocracy.

5, The treatment of religious dissent as political treason ended finally in the revolt of Puritanism against the monarchy under the Stuarts.

1541-1546. G Beturn of Norfolk to power; efforts for a General Council (in co-operation with Charles V.) for the purification of Catholic Christianity.

1540. 1. Divorce from Anne of CI eves, who was pensioned off, and marriage with Katharine Howard,niece of the Duke of Norfolk. JULY 28.

1541. 2. Katharine Howard tried and executed upon charge
1542. of adultery. FEB. Norfolk's influence partially superseded by that of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester ; policy however unchanged towards an Imperial alliance and a General Council.

3. Opposition of France to the English and imperial
1542. policy in order to keep the Empire disunited. War declared by France against the Emperor, and hostility against England stirred up in Scotland. Surrender of the Scotch army on the banks of the Esk (Solway Moss), Nov. 25. Death of James V. of Scotland, succeeded by Mary (an infant), under the regency of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran. Nov. and
1542. DEC. 1542.

4. Increasing violence of the religious contest abroad.

i. Failure of the assembly at Ratisbon for devising union between the Catholics and
1541. Lutherans, owing to the opposition both of Luther and the Pope (Paul III.).

ii. A General Supreme Court of Inquisition established at Rome owing to the influence of Cardinal Caraffa (afterwards Paul IV.).

iii. Papal sanction given to the Society of Jesus
1543. (bound to chastity, poverty, obedience).

1543* **5.** Proposal by Henry of a marriage treaty between Mary Stuart and his son Edward ; alliance with the Emperor against France, FEB. ; Henry's hopes of union with Scotland foiled by Cardinal Beaton and the Queen-Mother (Mary of Guise), who formed alliance with France, annulling the marriage treaty already concluded with England.

1544. 6. Sack of Edinburgh and Leith by Hertford. Capture of Boulogne by Henry. Treaty of Cre*py made with France by the Emperor in order to deprive the German Lutheran princes of French assistance. SEPT. Exhaustion of the Treasury; the King set free from his debts ; any sums he had paid ordered to be returned.

1545. Continued war with Scotland and France. Resistance to a fresh demand for "benevolences ;" suppression of chantries and hospitals, their funds granted by Parliament to the Crown. First sittings of the Council at Trent, their decisions unfavourable to doctrinal union.

1546. **7.** Murder of Cardinal Beaton at St. Andrew's ; peace with France and Scotland. Boulogne to be retained by Henry for eight years or till the debt due by Francis was paid.

H Measures for the security of the Succession and Religious Union at Home (Norfolk's hopes of a general religious union having failed).

1544-1547.

1544. **1.** The succession fixed upon Edward, Mary, Elizabeth, and their issue ; the King empowered to make further disposition by will.

1544. **2.** Revision by Cranmer of an English litany for processions. Publication of the "King's Prymer," containing the English translation of

1545. the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Commandments, several Canticles and Collects.

3. Rise into power of a new nobility enriched by the spoils of the monasteries, pledged to break with Rome, and inclined to an alliance with the Lutheran princes, under John Dudley, Lord Lisle (afterwards Duke of Northumberland), and Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. (Their influence seen in Henry's offer of aid to the League of Schmalkald, **1546,** which was however refused,)

4, Henry however far from Protestant doctrinally. Anne Askew, for denying Transubstantiation, racked to make her, if possible, inculpate Katharine Parr (whom the King had married, **1543)** and burned.

5. Norfolk and his son, the Earl of Surrey, sent to the Tower upon the charge of quartering the royal arms, and using treasonable language.

1546. Execution of Surrey, JAN. 19, and attainder of

1547. Norfolk. JAN. 27.

Death of Henry, JAN. **28,1547.**

[In this reign the Principality of Wales was incorporated with England, all Wales made shireground, English laws introduced, and Parliamentary representation granted. **1536. 1543. 1544.]**

Notice also the change in the Land Laws by the Statute of Uses **(1536),** by which the "use" carried the legal estate, the person named for the "use" becoming the feudal tenant, *i.e.* the legal owner; and the Statute of Wills **(1540)** allowing a man to divide half his land by will, if the other half, left to his heir, secured the King in his feudal rights,

1547-1553. EDWARD VI. 1547-1553.

1547. A The Will of Henry VIII.

1. The Will.

a In default of issue by his children, the crown bequeathed to the descendants of his younger sister, Mary. **1544-1545.**

b A Council of Regency appointed to preserve if possible the religious union at home.

2. Modification of the Will by the new Protestant nobility in their own favour.

a Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, not included in the Council of Regency (possibly struck out by Hertford and Lord Lisle).

b Hertford nominated Protector of the Re^'m.

c Hertford created Duke of Somerset, Lisle Earl of Warwick, and others of their party elevated presumably to carry out the King's directions for the repair "of the decay of the old English nobilitv."

3. In the Coronation service the Coronation oath put by Cranmer *after* and not before the expression of popular assent [thus destroying the conditional character of the assent].

B The chief points in which the Reformed Religion was opposed to the old Religion. (See Hallam, *Const. Hist.* chap, ii.)

1. Substitution *of* English for the old Latin ritual.
2. Removal of images from churches (often accompanied with wanton destruction).
3. The rejection of the worship of the Virgin and saints, and of masses for the dead.
4. Disuse (though without formal condemnation) of auricular confession.
5. The sacrament to be administered in both kinds.
6. Rejection of the doctrine of Transubstantiation in the Mass. The reformers divided between three theories.
   - *a* The theory of Luther — Consubstantiation. The two substances so united that the elements may either be called bread and wine or the body and blood.
   - *b* The theory of Zwingle and the Calvinists—the Lord's Supper a commemoration, the bread and wine merely symbols.
   - *c* The theory of Bucer (and apparently that of the Church of England now)—Christ's body and blood not locally present in the elements, but really, and without figure, received by the worthy communicant through faith. A real but not a corporeal presence.
7. Release of the priesthood from the obligation to celibacy.
8. Resistance to the sacerdotal claims of the clergy, and to the interference of the priest in the family.

15474549. C The Protectorate of the Duke of Somerset. 1547-OCT. 1549.

1. Somerset's active policy to advance the new religion.

1547.

   - *a* A new patent of Protectorate granted by Edward to Somerset, making his authority independent of the Council.

b The Six Articles repealed: bishops to be nominated by the King *quamdiu se bene gesserint**

c Invasion of Scotland to enforce the marriage treaty (of **1543)** between Edward and Mary Stuart. Defeat of the Scots at Pinkie
1547. Cleugh (near Musselburgh), and consequent alliance between Scotland and France, followed by the departure of Mary Stuart to
1548 France and marriage to the Dauphin Francis.

d The use of English in Church services made compulsory, and images ordered to be removed.

e The sacrament of the altar to be administered in both kinds.

f The Vagrant Act ; vagrants to be branded, and in case of attempted escape to be sentenced to slavery (directed possibly against the expelled monks).

g The revenues of the suppressed chantries de-
1547. voted by Parliament to the foundation of grammar-schools and support of preachers ; mainly however squandered by the Government.

1548. *h* " The Order of Communion" drawn up for temporary use. Publication of an English
1549. book of Common Prayer ; the first prayer-book of Edward VI. The Virgin still mentioned, and prayers for the dead included, as well as the use of the " chrisom" and a form of exorcism at Baptism. [Victory of the Emperor Charles V. over the League of Schmalkald (APRIL, 1547), and flight of Protestant refugees to England.] Bishop Gardiner imprisoned.

1549. *i* Passing of the Act of Uniformity. JAN. Removal of Bonner from the sec of London.

2. The arbitrary measures of Henry VIIL's reign to some extent reversed. Repeal of the Statute of **1539** giving proclamations in Council the force of laws, and of the new treasons v."eated in that reign.

3. Fall of the Protector.

a Lord Seymour, the High Admiral (Somerset's brother who had married Katharine Parr,

1549. Henry Villus widow), accused of an attempt to overthrow the Protector, and of projecting a marriage with the Lady Elizabeth; attainted of high treason, condemned without a hearing and executed. MARCH 27.

b Revolt in Cornwall and Devon for the restoration of the old Liturgy (the Mass and the Six Articles).

c Discontent caused by enclosures and evictions (increased by the rise of rent upon the old Church lands, the rise of prices due to the inflow of gold and silver from America, and the debasement of the coinage).

Sympathy of the Protector with the sufferers, and issue of Commission to inquire into grievances. Rising in Norfolk under Robert Ket for the removal of evil counsellors, for a prohibition of enclosures, and for redress of grievances of the poor, suppressed by the Earl of Warwick. AUG.

d Continued debasement of the coinage, which had begun under Henry VIII. Exhaustion of the Treasury; Boulogne threatened by the French and war declared against France ; recovery of castles in Scotland by the Scots.

e Unpopularity of Somerset caused by his having grown rich upon Church property, and having pulled down churches and the cloister of S. Paul's to make room or supply materials for his palace—" Somerset House."

f Want of foresight in the multiplicity and haste of his plans.

g Opposition to Somerset in the Council; attempt of Somerset to declare the Council treasonable. Authority resumed by Warwick and the Council. Somerset sent to the Tower. OCT.-DEC. **1549.**

1549-155?;; D The Supremacy **of** the **Earl of Warwick ia** the Council.

1550. **1.** Surrender of Boulogne upon payment of 400,000 crowns and peace with France and Scotland.

2. Committee appointed for the revision of the Prayer-book. Bucer and Peter Martyr consulted.

1551. **3.** Cranmer ordered by the Council to frame Articles of Religion as a formal standard of faith.

4. Removal of Gardiner from his see of Winchester. Vain attempt to force Mary to obey the act of Uniformity, or to adopt the new Prayer-book. Her attempted flight to Flanders. Reluctance to proceed to extreme measures against her on account of her popularity, and fear of her cousin Charles V. Further deprivation of Bishops—Day, Heath ;

5. Warwick made Duke of Northumberland ; bestowal of honours and Church property on his party (amongst others William Cecil, his secretary, knighted).

6. Reaction in favour of Somerset, who had been released from the Tower, *FEB.* **1550;** his
1552. arrest, DEC. **1551,** and execution. JAN. **22, 1552.**

7. *Reformatio legum*^ or a revision of the Canon Law (executed by Peter Martyr) attaching perpetual imprisonment or exile to heresy, blasphemy, and adultery (left unfinished at the death of Edward).

8. Discontent at the want of uniformity and even decency in ritual ; at the repeated debasement of the coinage, increase of expenditure, and wasteful gifts of Crown lands. Northumberland reduced to "pack" Parliament by summoning members from villages in the west b/ royal prerogative. [Treaty of Passau, securing both Protestants nnd Catholics in Germany in their existing rights and possessions.]

1552. 9. Publication of the second Prayer-book of Edward VI., adding the introductory portion of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Ten Commandments to the Communion Service ; abolishing vestments except the surplice, and fixing the position of the priest at the north side of the table.

Issue of Forty-two Articles of Religion (based largely upon the Lutheran Confessions) ordered to be signed by all clergymen, churchwardens, and schoolmasters.

Opposition even of a "packed" Parliament to Northumberland's "wilful misgovern-mce." Increasing bad health of Edward ; maiJage of Guildford Dudley, Northumberland's fourth son, to Jane Grey. Northumberland's "plan" for settling the succession upon Jane Grey (passing over her mother) approved bv the Council and judges, and signed by Cranmer.

Henry VII.
|

Margaret = James IV. (passed over by will of Henry VIII.).
I
James V.
Mary Stuart = Dauphin of France.

Mary = Duke of Suffolk.
|
Frances = Grey, Lord Dorset
|
Jane Grey = Guildford Dudley.

Death of the King. JULY **6,1553.**

E The Royal Council in the Reign of Edward VI.

1553. 1. The Council of Edward VI. composed of forty members, divided into five Commissions, *i.e.* Committees—

a For the hearing of suits which were wont to be brought before the Council.

b For the punishing of breaches of laws and proclamations.

c For the State.

d For the review of all the Courts, especially the newly-created Court of Augmentations.

e For the bulwarks.

2. All matters to be brought under the King's notice, and the Secretaries to be a channel of communication between the King and the Council. [Change in position of the Secretary from a clerk to a royal minister. From the time of Henry VIIL the secretaries take rank as barons, and are "ex officio" Members of the Council.]

3. Decline of the baronial element in the Council. Of the forty members twenty-two were Commoners.

4. Admission into the Council of "ordinary Councillors" such as Judges, who act merely on particular Commissions without belonging to the Commission for the State.

5. Throughout the reigns of the Tudors the Royal Council remains dependent on the Crown, instead of being a check upon it. Due to the depression of the Nobles and of the Church.

[See "The Privy Council" by A, V. Dicey. (Macmilian and Co.)].