HISTORY OF ENGLAND

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY

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UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

AND

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PART II

From the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Revolution of 1689

BY T. F. TOUT, M.A.

NEW IMPRESSION

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
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1908

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PREFACE

THIS History of England was planned and has been written with an especial view to its use in Schools, and among younger students who read the subject. It contains, *first*, a connected relation of the main facts of the *political* and *constitutional* history in due chronological order; *secondly*, a sketch as thorough as space would allow, of the course and progress of the *language*, *literature*, and *social life* of the English people, in a series of chapters at the end of the various periods into which the history naturally falls.

We have tried to make the book a history not merely of England or England and Wales, in the narrower sense, but of the whole British Empire, and have given as much space as we could command to the history of Scotland and Ireland, our old and new Colonial Empires, and the British domination in India.

While we have not shrunk from noticing institutions and events for the full understanding of which the beginner may require the teacher's oral help; and while we have thought it well to give the most dramatic and pathetic incidents of the story wherever we could in the very words of a contemporary authority, we have nevertheless tried to write in a simple, straightforward style, and have added a brief glossary of those few unusual or technical words we have been unable to avoid, or explain in the text.

Maps, Plans, Tables, and Pedigrees have been supplied in sufficient detail to enable the reader to get a true idea of the relative positions of the persons or places named in the text.

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To the counsels of friends at present engaged in active school work we have everywhere tried to pay attention; but no matter how carefully prepared a text-book may be, the results to be gained from its use must chiefly depend upon the teacher, and those who have taught history themselves will know that it is an exceptionally hard subject to deal with satisfactorily.

It is neither customary nor needful to give a list of the books used in preparing such a work as this. It will be enough, we hope, for us to say that we have written it from the main original documents upon which our knowledge of English history must depend, though we have not, of course, omitted to consult modern writers. Those of our friends to whom we owe special gratitude for help or advice should know that we feel it, though their names are not recorded here.

The Index will give the main references, and the headings affixed to each section will be found to yield a running epitome of the contents of the book.

The work was originally written in three parts, each of which is complete in itself.

The first part, for which Mr. F. York Powell alone is responsible, ends with the death of Henry VII. The second and third parts, on the same plan and scale, are the work of Mr. T. F. Tout. The three parts can also be procured brought together in a single volume to form a complete History of England.

The present edition has been revised throughout.

F. Y. P.
T. F. T.

June 1903.

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THE HOUSES OF TUDOR AND STEWART

John of Gaunt, d. 1399, m. Catharine Swynford.

John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, d. 1410.

John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, d. 1444.

Owen Tudor, d. 1461, m. Catharine, widow of Henry V., d. 1437.

Margaret Beaufort, d. 1509, m. Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, d. 1456.

HENRY VII., 1485-1509, m. Elizabeth of York, d. 1502.

Arthur, Prince of Wales, d. 1502, m. Catharine of Aragon. (1)

Margaret m. (1) James IV. of Scotland, 1488-1513; (2) Earl of Angus. d. 1539. (2)

HENRY VIII., 1509-1547, m.
(1) Catharine of Aragon, d. 1536.
(2) Anne Boleyn, d. 1536.
(3) Jane Seymour, d. 1537.
(4) Anne of Cleves, d. 1557.
(5) Catharine Howard, d. 1542.
(6) Catharine Parr, d. 1548.

Mary m. (1) Louis XII. of France; (2) Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, d. 1545. (2) (2)

James V., 1513-1542, m. Mary of Guise, d. 1560.

Margaret m. Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, d. 1571.

Frances d. 1559, m. Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, d. 1554.

Eleanor m. Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland.

(illegitimate) James Stewart, Earl of Moray, d. 1570.

Francis II., King of France. (1) m. Mary Queen of Scots; (2) m. Henry, Lord Darnley, d. 1567. 1542-1567 dep. Executed 1587.

Charles, Earl of Lennox, d. 1576, m. Elizabetl Cavendish.

(3) EDWARD VI., 1547 1553.

(1) MARY m. Philip II. of Spain, 1553-1558.

(2) ELIZABETH, 1558-1603.

Jane Grey m. Guildford Dudley, d. 1554.

Catharine d. 1568, m. Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, d. 1621.

Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, d. 1612.

Margaret m. Henry Stanley, Earl of Derby, d. 1592.

(2) JAMES VI. of Scotland, 1567-1625, and I. of England, 1603-1625, m. Anne of Denmark, d. 1619.

Henry, Prince of Wales, d. 1612.

CHARLES I., 1625-1649, m. Henrietta Maria of France, d. 1669.

Elizabeth m. Frederick V., Elector Palatine.

Arabella Stewart m. William Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, and afterwards (1660) Duke of Somerset, d. 1660. d. 1615.

CHARLES II., 1660-1685, m. Catharine of Braganza.

Mary m. William II., Prince of Orange.

JAMES II., 1685-1688, d. 1701, m. (1) Anne Hyde, d. 1671. (2) Mary of Modena.

Elizabeth, d. 1663.

Henry, Duke of Gloucester, d. 1660.

Henrietta Maria m. Philip, Duke of Orleans.

Charles Louis, Elector Palatine.

Prince Rupert.

Prince Maurice.

Sophia

GEORGE I.

(1) (1) (2)

WILLIAM III., 1689-1702, m. MARY, d. 1694.

ANNE, 1702-1714, m. George of Denmark, d. 1708.

James, the Old Pretender, d. 1765, m. Mary Sobieski.

William, Duke of Gloucester, d. 1700.

Charles Edward, d. 1788.

Henry, Cardinal, d. 1807.

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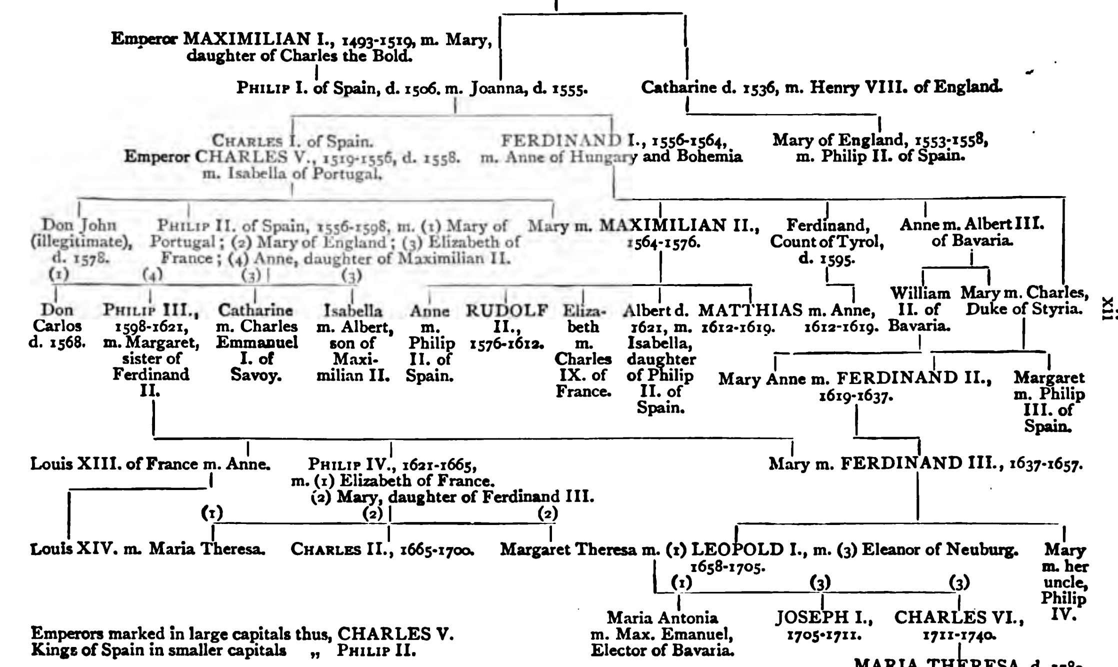

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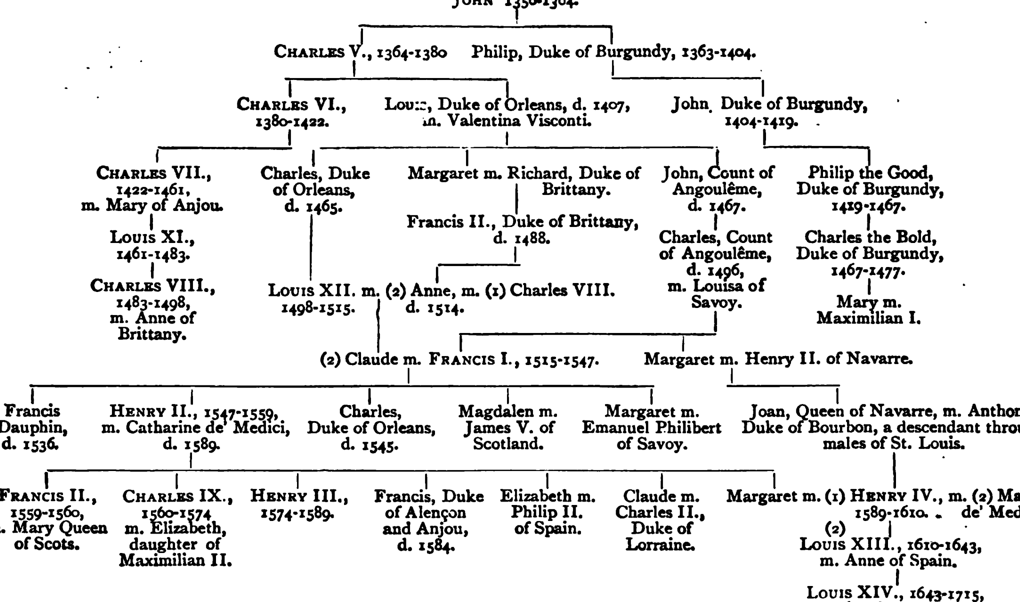
THE VALOIS AND EARLY BOURBON KINGS OF FRANCE



THE HOUSE OF ORANGE.

William I. (the Silent), d. 1584.

- Maurice, d. 1625.
- Frederick Henry, d. 1647.
  - William II. (d. 1650), m. Mary, daughter of Charles I.
    - William III., Stadtholder, 1672-1702, King of England, 1689-1702. m. Mary, daughter of James II.

THE HOUSE OF GUISE.

René I., Duke of Anjou and Lorraine, and King of Sicily.

- Margaret of Anjou m. Henry VI., King of England.
- Iolande.
  - René II., Duke of Lorraine.
    - Anthony, Duke of Lorraine.
    - Claude, Duke of Guise.
      - Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine.
      - Francis, Duke of Guise, Conqueror of Calais, murdered 1563.
        - Henry, Duke of Guise, murdered 1588.
        - Charles, Duke of Mayenne.
        - Louis, Cardinal of Guise.
      - Mary of Guise, d. 1560, m. James V., King of Scots.
        - Mary, Queen of Scots.
          - James VI.

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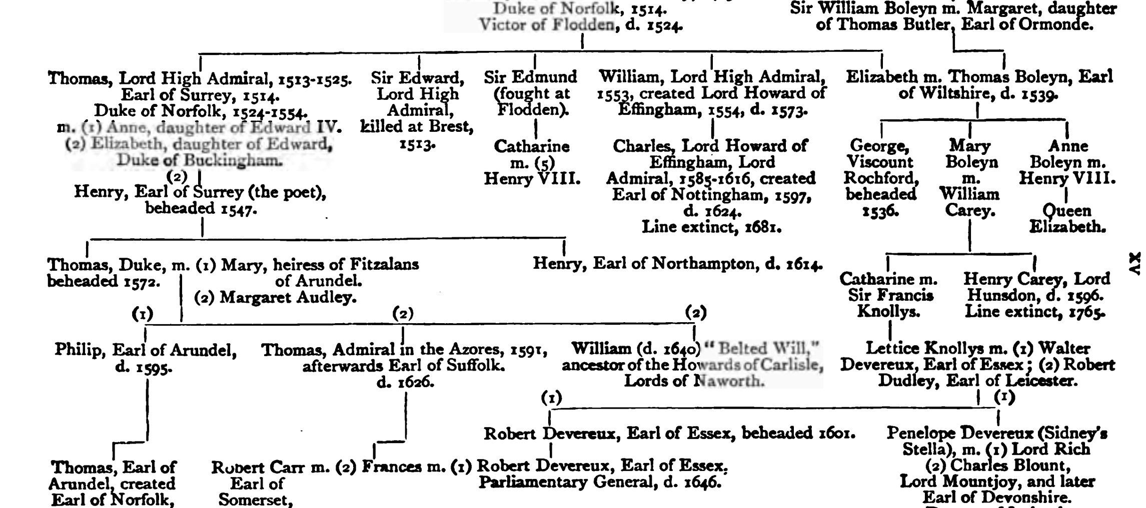
THE HOWARD, BOLEYN, AND DEVEREUX FAMILIES.



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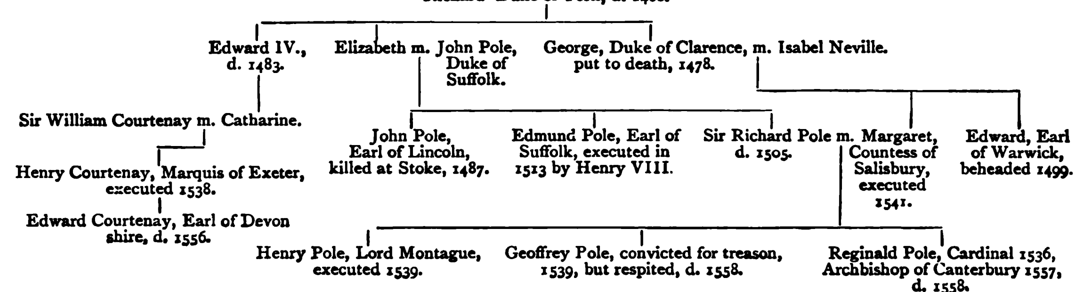
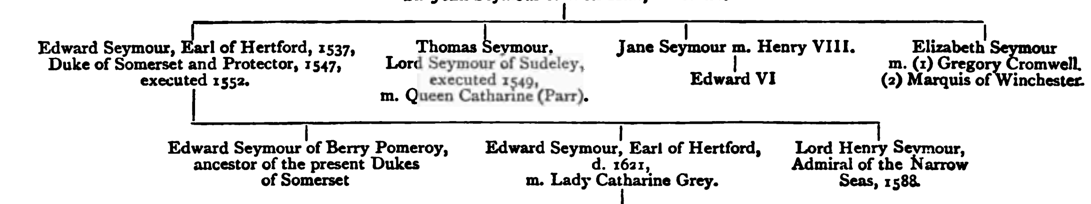
THE POLE AND COURTENAY FAMILIES.



THE SEYMOUR FAMILY.



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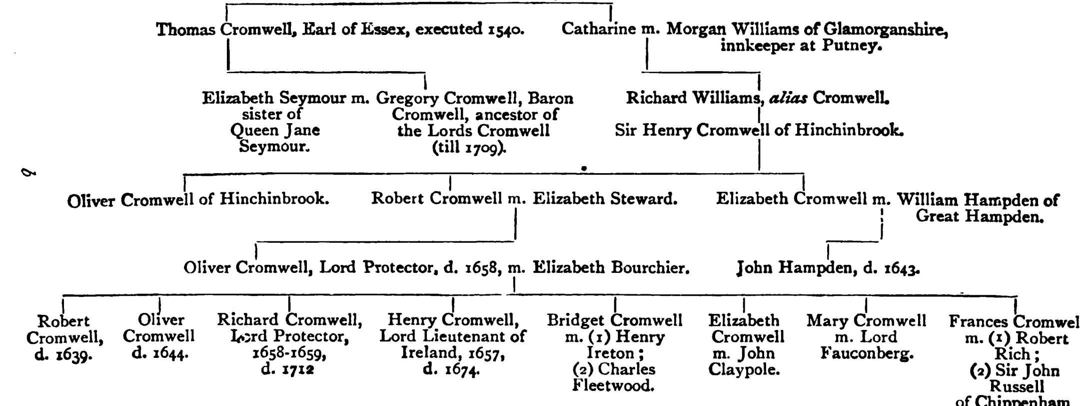
THE CROMWELL FAMILY.



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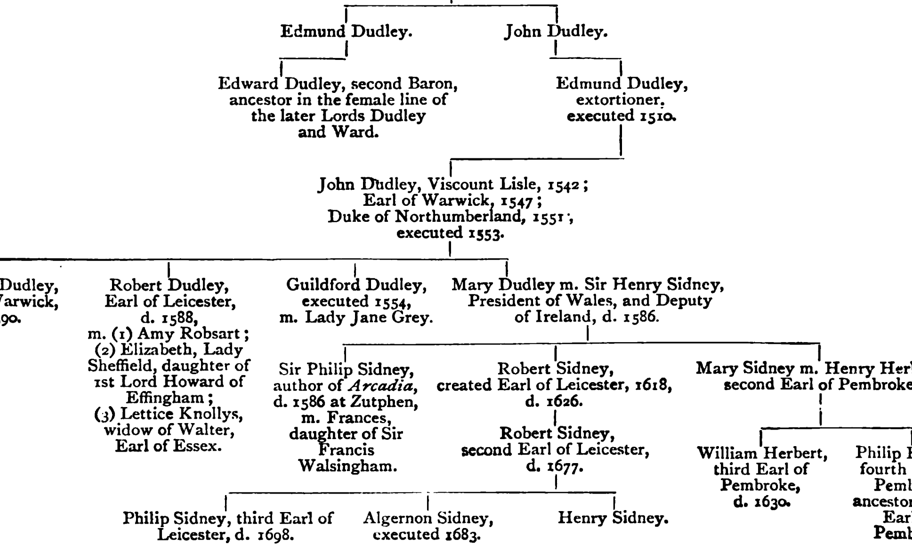
THE DUDLEY AND SIDNEY FAMILIES.



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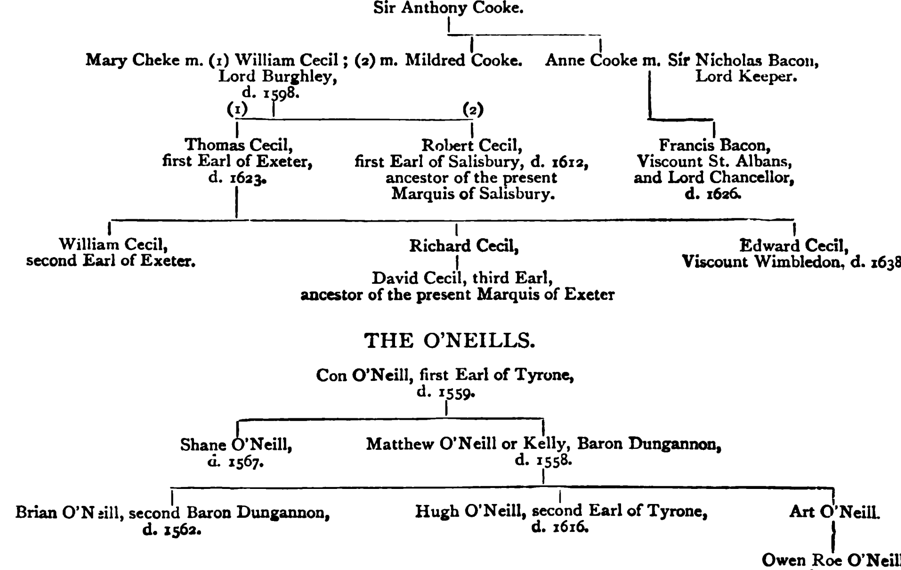

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BOOK VI.

THE TUDOR MONARCHY AND THE REFORMATION.

1509-1603.

INTRODUCTION.

DURING the last years of the fifteenth century the dying Middle Ages slowly wore themselves out. Even amidst the aimless conflicts of the final stages of the Wars of the Roses, we can discern the beginnings of a brighter state of things.

The civil wars had destroyed mediæval constitutionalism, which had fallen into ceaseless faction and the rule of the nobles and their retainers. Both the Yorkist Edward IV. and the Lancastrian Henry VII. had agreed in upholding a strong monarchy as the best remedy against weak rule and factious strife. The son of Henry VII. and the grandson of Edward IV. now carried out their policy to its uttermost results, and built up the Tudor despotism that was to culminate in the reign of Elizabeth. If England lost something in liberty, it gained by the setting up of peace and order, under which every man was free to work out his own life. The Tudor despotism was strong because it was both national and popular. Established on the ruins of the mediæval church and nobility, it had as its constant allies the mass of the English people. The policy of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth was the policy of the wisest Englishmen of the time.

The long series of far-reaching changes that marked the Tudor period was carried out more easily, when the ship of State was steered by pilots strong and cunning enough to weather the storm of revolution. Under the great Tudor kings, the transition from mediæval to modern times was successfully accomplished.

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The institutions of the Middle Ages were now disappearing on every side. It was the age of the *Renascence*, or the new birth of thought and learning. It was the time of the *Reformation* and of the break-up of the majestic unity of the Mediæval Church. It was the time when the modern *European State System* grew up on the ruins of the theoretical unity and real diversities of the political system of the Middle Ages. Among the great national states in whose hands lay the future destinies of Europe, the genius of Henry VIII. and Wolsey secured a place for England, and the patient skill of Elizabeth won back this position, after it had been lost for a time under Edward VI. and Mary. Henry VIII. had striven to set up a national church, purged from foreign rule and superstition, a church which would faithfully register the will of the monarch. But the continuity with previous tradition, on which Henry kept a tight hold, bade fair to disappear, when the counsellors of Edward VI. established a revolutionary Protestantism, under cover of which they could forward their own selfish interests. Fearing lest ecclesiastical reformation meant revolution, England under Mary went back not unwillingly to the unreformed religion. But neither the one nor the other extreme would permanently satisfy the country, and Elizabeth in Church as in State returned to the middle way of her father.

In the second half of the century the outlook became more and more troubled. The ancient religion had reformed itself, and the *Counter-Reformation* seemed likely to win back the Protestant countries to the old way of thinking. A fierce religious strife broke up the whole of Europe into two hostile camps, and in the end Protestantism barely held its own in the Teutonic States of the north. The skilful policy of Elizabeth saved the English Reformation, and restored the greatness of the English State. Under her England became independent and triumphant, both in Church and State. Ireland was conquered; the Union of the English and Scottish crowns was prepared for. Free and prosperous England had at last the leisure and the means to enter fully into the larger life of modern times. Then blossomed the *English Renascence*, and the new outburst of thought and activity, whose greatest product was the Elizabethan drama. Englishmen were now able to avail themselves of the great discoveries, both of nature and man, that had revolutionised Europe nearly a hundred years before. Englishmen were now able to do and to

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think, as they had never done or thought before. Englishmen now became famous adventurers, navigators, discoverers, colonisers. The many-sided energies of the time outflowed the limits of our little islands. It was in the "spacious times of great Elizabeth" that modern England began to live. How full and rich this life was, we can see, not only in the statecraft of the great queen, or in the dramas of Shakespeare and his fellows, or in the verse of Spenser and in the prose of Hooker, or in the adventures of Drake and Frobisher and Raleigh; but not least clearly in the strength and force of the anonymous song-writer, or half-known dramatist, or in the high quality of the deeds of many a nameless hero of the Spanish Main or the religious wars. It was the most heroic time of English history.

CHAPTER I.

Henry VIII. and Wolsey. 1509-1529.

Character and policy of Henry VIII.

1. Henry VIII. was eighteen years old when he became king. "Nature," declared an enthusiastic Venetian ambassador, "could not have done more for him." Even as a boy his precocity in intellect and manners had powerfully impressed the great scholar Erasmus. As a young man, he was the handsomest and ablest of the sovereigns of Christendom. He was tall and well-proportioned: "his complexion very fair and bright, with auburn hair, combed straight and short in the French fashion, and a round face that would become a pretty woman." He was "very accomplished; a good musician and composer; a most capital horseman, and a fine jouster. He speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish; is very religious, hearing three masses a day when he hunts and five on other days." He was "extremely fond of hunting, never taking his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses. He was devoted to tennis," at which game "it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture." He delighted to set off his stately form in rich attire, glittering with jewels and gold. No monarch ever knew better how to play the ceremonial part of kingcraft. His gracious

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smile and friendly hearty manner concealed his utter selfishness, and won the hearts of rich and poor alike; but he had a keen sense of his dignity and his anger was terrible to face. It speaks well for his nobler qualities that he never altogether lost his subjects' love, even in those later days, when broken health and baffled ambitions had soured his disposition and inflamed his temper. He was a shrewd judge of character and chose his ministers well, but he used them as mere instruments, throwing them off remorselessly when they had fulfilled their purpose or ventured to cross his wishes. He was a thorough Englishman, and knew what his subjects wanted; but he took no pains to persuade or humour them, dragging them by main force along the course which he himself had appointed, and crushing opposition by brute force. Fierce, strong, masterful, and unscrupulous, he had no touch of mercy or softness about him. Ever a hard, cruel, remorseless master, he became in later life a hateful tyrant. Yet he never quite lost the grandeur and force of purpose that make him one of the strongest and ablest of English kings. He worked for himself, but he also worked for England, and though he wrought much evil in his day, the good that came from the main lines of his policy lived on. All our subsequent history bears the strong impress of his lion-like will and heroic determination.

In the early years of his reign, Henry seemed to careless observers absorbed in the round of pleasures and distractions, into which he had plunged with all the impetuosity of his character. But he loved fame more than he loved tilting and tennis, and he loved having his own way more than he loved even glory. He kept a tight control over his ministers, not only retaining in his own hands all the chief strings of policy, but busying himself with increasing delight in all the details of administration. He had been well educated, and not only understood war and politics, but had a taste for old-fashioned theology, as well as sympathies with the new learning, which made the scholars indulge in the most sanguine hopes of him. But no vision of impossible ideals dimmed his practical shrewdness of purpose. Coming to the throne with an undoubted title, and inheriting his father's well-filled coffers as well as the results of his painful and laborious policy, he felt that he was strong enough to play a great part in the world. To stamp out the last relics of opposition, to subject the last of the old nobles and the most obstinate of

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the great churchmen to his imperious despotism were his chief objects of policy at home, while abroad he aimed at reviving the leading position that England had held in the fourteenth century in the counsels of Europe. With the new king the new spirit was seated on the throne.

2. In carrying out his schemes, the young king at first relied mainly on the tried servants of his father. Henry VII. had been his own chief minister, and had had under him two kinds of helpers. Of the first sort were the dignified magnates who held the great offices, like *William Warham*, Archbishop of Canterbury, and *Richard Fox*, Bishop of Winchester. Of the second were the subordinate agents of inferior position, mere clever tools to give effect to the royal will, such as the extortioners Empson and Dudley. The young king continued Warham as Chancellor and Fox as Keeper of the Privy Seal, but the morose Warham contented himself with discharging the routine duties of his office, and the pious Fox, though zealously working in the king's service, was anxious to give up diplomacy and devote the end of his days to the careful administration of his diocese and to the carrying out of his great educational foundations at Oxford and elsewhere. The Secretary of State, Bishop *Ruthal* of Durham, was a dull, hardworking man; and among the secular nobles the most conspicuous was *Thomas Howard*, Earl of Surrey, "a man endowed with great prudence, gravity, and constancy," who remained Treasurer. All these stayed in office for many years, and retired of their own accord, for all through his reign Henry kept his ministers in power as long as they remained useful to him. But one of the king's first acts was to win a little cheap popularity by sacrificing to popular hatred the most famous of his father's subordinate agents. Empson and Dudley were sent to the Tower, and speedily attainted on absurd charges of treason and conspiracy against the new king. In 1510 both were brought to the block.

Henry's ministers.

Execution of Empson and Dudley.

3. If Henry's great schemes were to be carried out, some abler and more strenuous helper was wanted than the dignified officials who monopolised the high posts of State. The rise of *Thomas Wolsey* gave Henry a minister after his own heart. Wolsey was the son of a wealthy grazier and wool merchant of Ipswich, whom his enemy, the satirist Skelton, denounced as a butcher. He gained distinction at a very early age at

Thomas Wolsey, 1471-1530.

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Magdalen College, Oxford, where he became master of the grammar school and acquired his first business training as bursar of the college. The new learning hardly touched his eminently practical intellect, and he soon left Oxford to serve as chaplain to Archbishop Deane of Canterbury. Before long the favour of Bishop Fox gained him a footing at court, and he proved his ability in several diplomatic missions, which gave him insight into the crooked and weak methods of Henry VII.'s statecraft. In 1509 he was made Dean of Lincoln, and, though holding no higher office at the young king's court than that of Almoner, he rapidly became the most influential of Henry's younger counsellors. When in 1513 Henry embarked on war with France, the clever Almoner's advice became indispensable. Henceforth a great official like Bishop Ruthal was content to "sing treble to Wolsey's bass." In 1514 Wolsey became Bishop of Lincoln, and, before the end of the year Archbishop of York. In 1515 the Pope made him a Cardinal. In the same year Warham gave up the Chancellorship in his favour, and henceforth allowed himself to be effaced by the rising sun. For the next sixteen years Wolsey was supreme, both in Church and State. Fresh preferment was heaped upon him, till he disposed of the revenues of three or four bishoprics and of one of the richest abbeys. His pomp and ostentation excited the envy of the greatest nobles. His intimate friendship with the king enabled him to control Henry's policy as no other minister of the reign ever did, and he was shrewd enough never to gainsay the fierce king's wishes. "He is the person," wrote the Venetian ambassador, "who rules both the king and the kingdom." "He is," says the same authority, "very handsome, learned, extremely eloquent, of vast ability, and indefatigable. He alone transacts all the business that occupies all the magistrates, offices, and councils of Venice. He has the reputation of being extremely just. He favours the people exceedingly, and especially the poor, hearing their suits and making the lawyers plead gratis for them." He had plenty of enemies, such as the poet Skelton who complained how—

> "He is set so high
> In his hierarchy
> Of frantic phrenesy
> And foolish phantasy,
> That in the Chamber of Stars
> All matters there he mars:
> Clapping his rod on the board:
> No man dare speak a word."

He was no ascetic, and had little care for the law of the Church—

> "In Lent for a repast
> He eateth capons stewed,
> Pheasant and partridge mewed."

Many envied him, and the old nobles hated him, but he was, with all his faults, the ablest statesman of his time, and without his rare diplomatic and organising skill the young king's reign would have been shorn of its greatest glories.

4. Foreign politics from the beginning attracted Henry VIII.'s main attention. The two chief powers were now France and Spain. France was the most compact, best governed, and most patriotic of European nations. Spain had, in the last generation, become united by the marriage of Ferdinand, King of Aragon, with Isabella, Queen of Castile, after which the Moors, who had hitherto reigned in the south, had been driven out. It was now being enriched by the wealth of the mines of America, which Spain was rapidly appropriating for herself. Far inferior in importance was Germany, which was split up into many states, and almost as divided as Italy: but there was still some faint German national feeling, and the Roman Emperor, as the king of the Germans still called himself, had some authority over its little princes, besides deriving more solid power from his hereditary dominions in Southern Germany (including Austria and the neighbouring duchies), and from the rich territories of the Netherlands, which he held through his marriage with Mary of Burgundy, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold. Since the famous expedition of Charles VIII. to Italy in 1494 had revealed to northern Europe the wealth and the weakness of highly civilised, luxurious, and cultivated Italy, European politics had gradually settled down into a contest between the great nations, in which supremacy over the little states beyond the Alps was the prize of victory. The French king, Louis XII., had made himself Duke of Milan. His rival, Ferdinand of Aragon, had conquered the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. The Emperor Maximilian strove to establish himself in Italy at the expense of Venice. Every small Italian state took the side of one or the other, and so did its best to bring about the ruin of the country. In Henry VII.'s days England had generally allied itself to Spain, and Henry VIII.

Foreign affairs, 1509-1515.

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renewed the Spanish alliance, when, immediately after his accession, he carried out his long-deferred marriage with Ferdinand's daughter, Catharine of Aragon, his brother Arthur's widow. But Ferdinand had treated England badly, and, at the time of Henry VIII.'s accession, his action had completely isolated England from all continental politics. In 1508 France, Spain and the Emperor had for the moment buried their disagreements and had united with many of the Italian powers in the *League of Cambrai* against Venice, the wealthy aristocratic republic that all Italy feared and envied. It seemed as if the great coalition would at once destroy Venice, but the Venetians were clever diplomatists and set to work to create dissensions among their ill-assorted enemies. Before long they succeeded. Julius II., the warlike Pope, took the alarm lest the destruction of Venice should lead to the absolute preponderance of the French in the Peninsula. By 1511 he joined with the Venetians, Ferdinand of Aragon, and the Emperor Maximilian in a new league, whose object was to drive the French out of Italy. This league was called the *Holy League* because the Pope was at the head of it.

The League of Cambrai, 1508.

The Holy League, 1511.

Henry had been kept out of all opportunity of taking a side in continental politics by the union of all the powers in the League of Cambrai. He rejoiced to find that the continental states had broken up into two factions, so that he had a chance of adopting a line of his own. He joined the Holy League, hoping to gain glory by renewing the old policy of the Edwards and Henrys of attacking France, and was welcomed by the powers whose interests centred in Italy, since they would have a better chance of driving Louis XII. out of Milan, if the French had to repel an English assault on their frontier as well as defend Lombardy. To neutralise the English power, France as usual stirred up Scotland to attack England, and James IV., though the husband of Henry's sister Margaret, eagerly prepared to cross the Border.

5. In 1512 there was war all over Europe. The Holy League drove the French out of Milan, and Ferdinand invaded Navarre south of the Pyrenees, held by a king who was but a great French nobleman. Henry prepared to take an active part in the war, and Wolsey energetically busied himself in equipping the English armies. It was agreed between Henry and Ferdinand that a simultaneous attack should be made on France from two points at once. The Marquis of Dorset was sent with a large

Wars of the Holy League, 1512-1514.

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force to co-operate with the Spaniards in an attempt to win back the English king's old possessions in Guienne, while from the open gate of Calais a strong English army was to pour into the north of France. Dorset's expedition was a sorry failure. England had been so long unused to continental warfare that even Wolsey's energy could not prevent a hopeless collapse of the commissariat. The English troops were raw and untrained, and their discipline soon broke down under the privations to which the unreadiness of their leaders, and the hot sun and drenching rains of Spain exposed them. "The greatest lack of victuals," they complained to the king, "is of beer, for your subjects had liefer for to drink beer than wine and cider; for the hot wines do harm them and the cider doth cast them in sickness and disease." Moreover, the cold policy of Ferdinand prevented them ever measuring swords with the enemy. It suited the Spanish king to use them to complete his conquest of Navarre, rather than help them to invade Guienne. Before the end of August mutiny broke out, and the angry and suffering troops forced their weak generals to take them back to England. It was a disastrous and disgraceful beginning. Our continental allies began to distrust us. "Englishmen have so long abstained from war," said the Emperor's daughter, "they lack experience, from disuse; and, if report be true, they are sick of it already."

Dorset in Spain, 1512.

Henry and Wolsey redoubled their efforts, and the campaign of 1513 was at least no such utter failure as that of the previous year. In the spring of the year a gallant attack on the French galleys as they lay in shallow water retrieved the reputation of the English for courage, though it cost the life of the brave admiral Sir Edward Howard. In July Henry and his great army started from Calais on an invasion of Northern France. The moneyless Maximilian joined him with some German troops, and did not think it beneath the dignity of Cæsar Augustus to take Henry's pay. The French did not resist very strenuously: their best troops were in Italy; and when Henry intercepted a large French force at *Guinegatte*, on 16th August, the enemy fled so speedily that they used their spurs more than their swords, and the English called the fight the *Battle of the Spurs*. This victory led to the capture of the two important towns of *Thérouanne* and *Tournai*, of which latter city Wolsey, who had taken part in the whole campaign, was now made bishop.

Guinegatte, Thérouanne, and Tournai, 1513.

On the eve of the Battle of the Spurs, a herald from James IV. had warned Henry that the Scots intended to invade England, if the English persisted in their invasion of France. But not an English trooper was sent home to meet this new danger. The Lord Treasurer, Surrey, hurried to the north to put the frontier in a state of defence, and Queen Catharine herself took the lead in equipping the army destined to fight the Scots. "You are not so busy with war in Thérouanne," she wrote to Wolsey, "as I am encumbered with it in England. They are all here very glad to be busy with the Scots, for they take it for a pastime. My heart is very good to it, and I am horribly busy with making standards, banners, and badges." Early in August James IV. crossed the Tweed with a "well-fed and fat army, much ordnance, plenty of victuals," including excellent beer. He easily captured and destroyed Norham and other Border castles. On Surrey's approach James took up a

Flodden Field, 1513.

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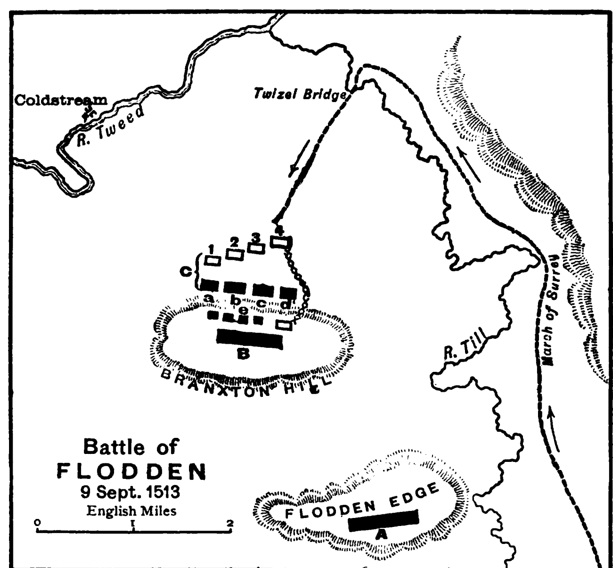
strong position on *Flodden Edge*, a hill a few miles south of the Tweed, where the little river Till protected one of his flanks and a deep morass the other. In the chivalrous fashion of the time Surrey chal-



English Army marked thus ▭ *Scottish Army marked thus* ▬

A_*James IV's 1st. Position* **B**_*James IV's 2nd. Position.* **C**_*Position of troops during battle*

1 *Sir Edmund Howard* — a *Chamberlain of Scotland*
2 *The Lord Admiral* — b *Earls of Crawford and Montrose*
3 *The Earl of Surrey* — c *King of Scots*
4 *Sir E Stanley* (xxxx *His flank charge during the battle*) — d *Earls of Lennox, Huntly & Argyll*
e — *Scots Reserve*

lenged James to battle on the next Friday. The Till separated the armies, but Surrey by marching northwards towards the Tweed forced James after all to fight at a disadvantage. Fearing lest Surrey's northward march threatened an invasion of Scotland, James left his strong position on Flodden Edge, and stationed his host on Branxton Hill, some distance to the north. Meanwhile Surrey, desisting from his northward march, crossed the Till at Twizel Bridge and turned southwards on the Scots, in order to redeem his challenge. On 9th September the battle took place. As the English moved up towards them the Scots came down from Branxton Hill and fought in the plain. The English stood between the Scots and retreat to their own

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country; and left them no chance but to fight desperately. Each side was arrayed in four "battles" or divisions. Surrey's sons, Thomas Howard, Admiral of England, and Sir Edmund Howard, commanded the English right, and first encountered the foe. The "battle" commanded by Surrey himself was over against the Scottish division commanded by the king. In a hard hand-to-hand infantry fight, James and his nobles atoned by their gallantry for the tactical errors that had undone their gallant followers. To the last they blundered. Their reserves never got into action, and the "battles" were so far apart that they gave each other little support. The fierce Borderers on the Scots left, under the Chamberlain of Scotland, carried all before them. However, Surrey in the centre prevailed over James, while the Highlanders on the Scots right were easily routed by Sir E. Stanley and his Lancashire archers on the English left, who climbed Branxton Hill and took those fighting with King James on flank and rear. By this manœuvre the already half-beaten ranks of the Scots were utterly broken. Darkness alone allowed a few to escape by circuitous roads over the Border. James, with the bravest of the northern nobility, lay dead on the field. As the poet Lindsay wrote—

> "I never read in tragedy or story
> At one journey [day's work] so many nobles slain,
> For the defence and love of their sovereign."

The victorious general was made Duke of Norfolk, a title lost to the Howards when Surrey's father died fighting on the wrong side at Bosworth field

Peace with France and Scotland, 1514.

6. Next year the war languished and died out. Henry was bitterly disappointed with his allies, and found his father's treasures scattered, though France was far from being beaten. He was as angry with his father-in-law as with the French, and gladly accepted the overtures for a treaty made by Louis XII., who, being finally driven out of Italy, was anxious to end his days in peace. The warlike Julius II. was dead, rejoicing that the barbarians had been driven over the Alps. After Flodden, Henry's sister Margaret ruled over the Scots in the name of her little son James V., and won over the country to the English side. Accordingly it was easy to make peace both with France and Scotland. The new friendship with France was cemented by the marriage of Mary, Henry's younger sister, to the worn-out and broken-down French king. Early in 1515 Louis died, and Mary, who had married once to please her brother, chose a second husband to please herself. This was her old lover *Charles Brandon*, Duke of Suffolk, a robust and handsome but dull young nobleman, who was a personal friend and boon companion of Henry, and had won some little distinction in fighting the French.

Mary Tudor and her husbands.

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Foreign politics. 1515-1521.

7. The six years that followed the treaty with the French and Scots were years of unbroken peace for England, though the continental struggle was not ended till 1516. The great feature of the time was the dying off of the older generation of princes, in whose places came young, ambitious, and capable rulers, the contemporaries of Henry in age, and his rivals in energy and ambition. In 1515 *Francis I.* of France succeeded his cousin Louis XII. He was active and warlike, and refused to acquiesce tamely in the loss of Milan. In the year of his accession he crossed the Alps and won a great victory at *Marignano*, thus forcing his enemies to make peace on terms that restored to him the Duchy of Milan. In 1516 Ferdinand of Aragon died, and was succeeded by his grandson *Charles of Austria*, the son of Joanna, daughter and heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, by the Archduke Philip of Austria, the son and heir of the Emperor Maximilian and of Mary of Burgundy, the only daughter of Charles the Bold of Burgundy. The great Burgundian inheritance in the Netherlands and the Free County of Burgundy, between the Saône and the Jura, were now joined to the inheritance of Ferdinand and Isabella, Aragon, Castile, Navarre, Naples, and the vast American dominion that the followers of Columbus were winning for the Spaniards. In 1519 the old Emperor Maximilian died also, and Charles succeeded as a matter of course to Austria and all his hereditary dominions. The dignity of Roman Emperor was, however, elective, and it was the interest of the German princes not to have too powerful a ruler at their head. Accordingly Francis I. entered into competition with Charles for this office, but after a sharp contest with Francis, Charles gained the day, and was chosen in 1519 as the Emperor Charles V. It was plain that a long struggle for supremacy would soon break out between Francis and Charles. All the subordinate princes of Europe ranged themselves on the side of one or the other, and astute statesmen like the new Pope, Leo X., sought to set up some sort of balance between them. Which side would Henry take in the forthcoming war?

The beginnings of the rivalry of Charles V. and Francis I.

The foreign policy of the Middle Ages was largely based on traditions of enmity and friendship. France was the natural enemy of England; and Spain, Flanders, and the Empire were England's traditional allies. But the great changes in European statecraft that had begun with Charles VIII.'s

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invasion of Italy had now led to the setting up of the idea of the European political system and of the balance of power. Europe was now looked upon as a single whole consisting of different independent parts, and each of the individual states watched very carefully its neighbours' doings, lest they should grow so powerful as to upset the European balance. The establishment of compact national monarchies on the ruins of feudalism and the Church made the kings so strong that they were able to look abroad and busy themselves in foreign affairs. What has been sometimes called the mediæval policy of principles and traditions was now succeeded by a policy of interests. It was no longer possible for a state to hold the same foreign policy from generation to generation. What it now aimed at was its own immediate interests. What it specially tried to avoid was any growth of the power of its neighbours which might prove likely to upset the European balance. Now that Henry VIII. and Wolsey had again made England a state of European importance, it was a critical matter whether they would be moved by the old or the new ideas.

The European Political System and the Balance of Power.

In the wars of the Holy League Henry had clung to England's traditional policy, and had fought with his ancestral allies against his ancestral foes. But he had found that all his skill was powerless to win new Crecys or Agincourts, and that his father-in-law and his other allies had made him their catspaw. Accordingly Henry veered round to France, and the friendship which he had concluded with Louis XII. was renewed with Francis I., though Francis did his best to defeat England's old allies, and had even broken down the rule of Henry's sister in Scotland by setting up against her his puppet the Duke of Albany as regent. For nearly six years after Francis' accession England and France remained on friendly terms. But Wolsey's real object was to make England the tongue of the balance between France and Spain. He desired to preserve the balance of power which Charles rather than Francis seemed to threaten, and he also wished to keep the peace, using England as a makeweight or mediator between the two allies. He so won over Francis that he persuaded him to recall Albany to France, though the misconduct of Margaret made it impossible for her to regain power over Scotland. In 1518 Wolsey had succeeded in joining all Europe together in a

Wolsey and the European Balance.

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union, the threads of which he held in his own hands. But the contest for the Empire unsettled everything. The old traditions were by no means dead. Charles V. not only represented all the traditional alliances of England. He was Queen Catharine's nephew. His power, joined with that of England, might well give Henry the chance of winning back Normandy or Guienne from Francis. Moreover Francis was far from being really a friend of England. There were grave difficulties on both sides. Sometimes even the policy of mediation seemed too cold and profitless, and more ambitious thoughts haunted Henry and his minister. Henry in 1519 posed as a candidate for the Empire. Wolsey more than once was hopeful of being made Pope. But these were but momentary feelings. Both were shrewd, practical men and did not give up realities for visions.

His policy of mediation, 1519-1521.

In 1520 war between Francis and Charles was on the verge of breaking out. Both rivals competed eagerly for England's support and listened to Wolsey's peace-making and mediating proposals. Henry and his minister had personal interviews with both Francis and Charles. The conference between the French and English kings took place on the Calais border, and the two courts displayed such extraordinary pomp and magnificence that men called the meeting-place the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*. But nothing came either of the profuse waste of money or of the elaborate protestations of friendship between the two kings. Before long Charles met Henry in a much humbler fashion at Gravelines. Wolsey now held a conference at Calais, in which he professed to mediate between the two rivals. But it was little more than a pretence. When in 1521 open war broke out, England had to take a side or see itself effaced. Despite all the fine talk of a French alliance, Henry now declared himself a partisan of the Emperor.

The Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520.

The first war of Francis I. and Charles V., 1521-1529.

8. The first war between Francis I. and Charles V. began in 1521 and went on with one break until 1529. It was almost uniformly disastrous to France, though Henry could not claim that English soldiers had done much to contribute to the defeat of his enemy. With all his constant talk of war, and all the wearisome and insincere negotiations with which Henry busied himself, his actual interventions in continental warfare were few and not very brilliant. His campaigns against France in 1522 and 1523 were not more glorious than his wars against the same enemy in 1512 and 1513. In 1522 Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, son of the victor of Flodden,

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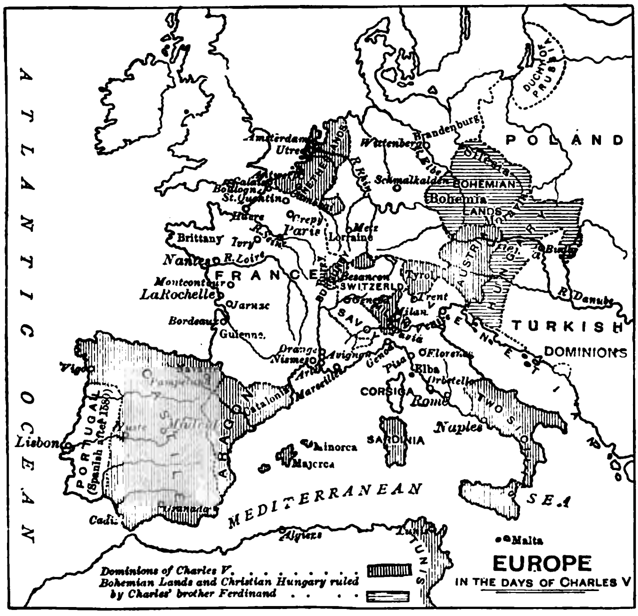
plundered the Breton coast with his ships, and afterwards led an army of invasion into Picardy; but he did nothing but devastate the country round about Boulogne. Next year Surrey was transferred to Scotland, whither Albany had returned on the outbreak of war, hoping to effect a diversion on behalf of the French. But Surrey's brutal devastation of the Borders was enough to teach the Scots their lesson. Albany was a poor soldier, and retreated on Surrey's appearance. The English rejoiced over an easy triumph, and Skelton wrote a poem telling how Albany—

Campaigns of Surrey and Suffolk, 1522-1523.

"Like a coward knight,
He fled and durst not fight;
He ran away by night."

Scotland soon made a truce, and took no further part in the war.



Suffolk, Henry's brother-in-law, took Surrey's place in the second invasion of France that was projected for 1523. But Suffolk proved a wretched general, and the brave array that he led out of Calais effected nothing commensurate with the expense of its equipment.

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Meanwhile the real war was being fought out elsewhere. Despite the gallantry of his soldiers, Francis was utterly driven out of Milan, Pope Leo X. and the Italian princes banding together with the Emperor against him. His kinsman, the Duke of Bourbon, plotted against him and deserted to the enemy. On attempting, in 1525, to win back his Lombard inheritance, he was utterly defeated and taken prisoner at the great battle of *Pavia*, where he lost, as he boasted, everything but his honour. He bought his freedom by a promise to give up Burgundy, but on returning to France broke his word and renewed the war. This time the Italian princes, with Pope Clement VII., Leo X.'s nephew and successor, at their head, feared the Emperor so much that they helped the French. But the imperial troops horrified Europe by their bloody sack of Rome. The Pope became a prisoner, and the Italian league was dissolved. Neither the perfidy nor the bravery of Francis answered any good end. His troops were finally expelled from Italy in 1528, and in 1529 he was forced to sign the *Peace of Cambrai* on terms that made Charles V. absolute master of Italy. Henceforth Italy was practically an imperial possession, and its petty princes, with Clement VII. the foremost among them, were the abject vassals of Charles. Crowned Emperor by the Pope, Charles dreamt of renewing the old glories of the Mediæval Empire. He was the strongest prince in Christendom and might well aspire to be "lord of the world" in fact as well as name.

Battle of Pavia, 1525.

Sack of Rome, 1527.

Peace of Cambrai, 1529.

9. The foreign policy of England gradually changed as the Emperor's successes became more and more brilliant. The campaigns of 1522-1523, though failures, had exhausted Henry's resources and again brought home to him the impossibility of carrying out an ambitious policy. Henceforth he took little part in the war, though he remained the enemy of France as far as the name went. After the battle of Pavia, he thought once more for a moment of profiting by the calamities of France to win back Normandy from the beaten kingdom and the captive king. However, on maturer reflection, he adopted a very different line. Instead of availing himself of his nephew's victory to press France hard, he took alarm at the danger to the balance of power, which the threatened preponderance of Charles bade fair to bring about. For the first time in English history the new policy of interests pointed in a different direction from the old policy of principles. Wolsey, ever faithful to his instincts of mediation and balancing, seized the opportunity. In 1525 he made peace with France, making as a pretext the Emperor's refusal to co-operate in a policy of active invasion. After his release from his Spanish captivity, Francis was so anxious to renew the war that he gladly offered very good terms for a closer

England and the French Alliance 1525-1529.

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alliance with England. There was talk of marrying the Lady Mary, the only surviving child of Henry and Catharine, to Francis himself, who was a widower. But the proposal was suddenly changed by the English into one for wedding Mary to Francis' second son, a young boy. The French were disgusted, but nevertheless the negotiation did not drop. After the sack of Rome, Wolsey went on a stately embassy to France to arrange for this alliance. But Francis was so unsuccessful that the scanty prospect of English help was no sufficient inducement for him to continue the struggle. When he made peace in 1529, England had not yet drawn the sword in his favour. Henry and his minister had succeeded in making England almost the third power in Europe. But that was very little to show for years of incessant diplomacy. After all, the weakness of England's position as a makeweight was, that her power weighed so lightly that, even when it was thrown on to the weaker side, it was as yet too little to turn the scale. Despite the English change of sides, Charles remained the master of Europe, and when it came to the point, England did not even venture to strike a blow. Nevertheless, with all its futility in results, Wolsey had done no small service to England. Under Henry VII. England counted for nothing at all. Under Henry VIII. she was again, thanks to Wolsey, something to be reckoned with. England moreover had come out of her isolation and had become an element, if not a supremely important one, in the political system of Europe.

The domestic policy of Wolsey, 1513-1529.

10. Though the chief greatness of Wolsey lay in his astuteness as a diplomatist, yet he made some mark as a home minister. The grandness of some of his schemes of domestic reformation, however imperfectly they were carried out, stand in pleasant contrast to the trickery and lying that defaced every step of his foreign policy, even when he was striving after high ends. The first few years of Henry's reign were a period of unruffled calm. The king royally spent his money on pomp and ostentation; and the chroniclers have little to tell save of the pageants and revelries at court. With the outbreak of war, the need for money began to make itself felt, and it was well for Henry that Wolsey's influence now became strong enough to check some of the waste and extravagance of the early days of the reign. Yet the Parliament of 1512 gave the large grant of £160,000, which was all that the king asked for, and peace

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was renewed before financial pressure again made itself felt. Plague and sedition alone disturbed the unbroken quiet of the next few years. In 1517 and 1528 there were repeated outbreaks of the *sweating sickness*, a strange and deadly epidemic that singled out for its special victims the gross, well-fed, uncleanly Englishmen of the time. On *Evil May Day*, 1517, riots broke out in London, when the London apprentices laid violent hands on the foreigners dwelling in the capital. The disturbances were thought to be too remissly put down by the city authorities, who sympathised with the rioters' hatred of foreigners and foreign ways. A few victims were hung; and four hundred of the culprits condemned to die were paraded, with halters round their necks, before Henry, who, amidst a scene of wild rejoicing, pardoned them all. But if Henry favoured the people, like his father he feared the old nobility, and Wolsey, now at the height of his power, treated them with studied insolence. *Edward Stafford*, Duke of Buckingham, the son of Richard III.'s accomplice and victim, and a descendant of Edward III. through Thomas of Woodstock, was the most important representative left of the older baronial houses. He was a foolish man, proud of his exalted rank and silly enough to listen to lying prophets who poured into his greedy ears stories of how the king would soon die, and how he himself would become heir to the crown. He did not conceal his dislike of the Cardinal, and boasted freely of the great future revealed to himself. In April 1521, he was suddenly arrested, and tried as a traitor. There was little evidence of real treason, but the king held that he was guilty, and the peers were too timid to go against the king's will. In May Buckingham was condemned and executed. His vast estates were divided among the courtiers. From that time the proudest nobles of the land were absolutely cowed.

Evil May Day, 1517.

Execution of Buckingham, 1521.

11. The expenses of the war in 1522 and 1523 again compelled Henry to summon parliament. The Commons of the period, still afraid of the old days when the nobles ruled as they would, were disposed to support the king, as their best protection against overpowerful subjects. But this state of things had now passed by, and Henry made demands on their purses more excessive than had ever been known. Wolsey as Chancellor demanded a subsidy of £800,000, a vast sum for those days,

The Parliament of 1523.

and five times as much as the grant eleven years before which had been thought a heavy burden. When the Commons showed consternation at the request, the Cardinal went down to the House in state and lectured them on their duty of supporting the king. The speaker, Sir Thomas More, the brilliant man of letters, who here first took a leading position in public life, did his best to persuade the Commons to make the grant, and finally a large sum was voted, though not so much as Wolsey had asked for. Never a lover of parliaments, this imperfect success led Wolsey to manage without their help in the future. Two years later, when the battle of Pavia suggested the wisdom of again equipping an army and invading France during the king's captivity, the money necessary was obtained not by parliamentary grant, but by what was called an *Amicable Loan*. This was a device of Wolsey's, who sent commissioners to every shire to call upon all men to pay a sixth part of their substance to support the king's project of invading France in person. The Cardinal himself harangued the lord mayor and corporation of London to induce their obedience. "The king must go like a prince," he said, "which cannot be without your aid. Beware, therefore, and resist not, otherwise it may fortune to cost some their heads." Later on the citizens said that an act of Richard III. had made benevolences illegal. "I marvel," he answered, "that you speak of Richard, which was a usurper and the murderer of his nephews. Of so evil a man how can the acts be good?" But the Londoners still resisted, and Wolsey was fain to agree that every man should "privily grant what he would." Nor was there less resistance in the country. A revolt was threatened in the eastern counties, and Wolsey feared for his life. "The poor cursed," wrote a chronicler; "the rich repugned, the light wits rallied: but in conclusion all people cursed the Cardinal and his coadherents as subversers of the laws and liberties of England." "If men should give their goods by a commission," was the cry, "then it would be worse than the taxes of France, and England should be bond and not free." In the end Henry revoked the commissions. Even the fierce Tudor had to bend before the storm, which resistance to arbitrary taxation had excited. Wolsey, already hated by the nobles, was henceforth hated by the Commons.

The Amicable Loan, 1525.

12. Beneath the seeming calm of the time, the seeds of revolution were being sown, and the long peace of the strong king's reign opened up England to the new ideas of

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Europe, at the very time when her statesmen were making her a full member of the European body politic. Even in the troubled days of the Wars of the Roses there had been a few Englishmen inspired by the new learning which had radiated from Italy all over Europe. The introduction of printing had opened up to a wide public ideas hitherto limited to a little circle of scholars. Men had began to ask questions and criticise authorities. It was no longer enough to say, "It has always been so," "It is written thus," which in earlier times had been looked upon as sufficient answers to any curious inquiries. Before long fruits of this new spirit were to be seen when the great change in men's minds, which was called the Renascence, that is the New Birth, became fully accomplished. This movement took many shapes. To some it meant the revived study of classical literature, and especially of Greek, which had been almost unknown in the Middle Ages, but was now again pursued with rare devotion and enthusiasm. To others it meant something wider than this, a new birth of the human spirit, and a fierce revolt against the Middle Ages, with their subservience to authority, their dogmatism, their narrowness and their bigotry. Italy, the first home of the Renascence, became full of the most active intellectual life. Her scholars, her artists, her writers made her the admiration of the world, and in the days before the invasion of Charles VIII., Italy was the most civilised, wealthy and enlightened of European countries. But the spirit of revolt not seldom became an indiscriminate casting off of all control. The statesmen of Italy mocked at morality; many of her scholars mocked at both morality and religion. Since Italy had become the battle ground of Europe, she had undergone a fiery trial, which was rapidly putting an end to the domination of the new spirit there, and the few English who went to Italy for inspiration brought back the sacred impulse to thought and study, rather than the excesses of the degenerate Italians of the last age of the Renascence.

The Renascence in Italy and England.

In the days of Henry VII., the *new learning* in England had its foremost champions in a little band of Oxford men, whose chief object was to throw off the trammels of the mediæval schoolmen, and set up the study of Greek and of classical thought and letters in the place of the dry logic and hide-bound theology of the men of the *old learning*. Foremost among these were *William Grocyn*, who first taught Greek in

The Oxford Reformers.

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Oxford, *Thomas Linacre*, Prince Arthur's tutor, famous both as a physician and as a *humanist* or classical scholar, and *John Colet*, who in 1496 first lectured after the modern fashion on the Greek Testament in Oxford, and, becoming Dean of St. Paul's, set up, hard by the Cathedral, St. Paul's School, as a seminary of classical learning and sound religion (1510). Of a somewhat younger generation were *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, the most illustrious writer of his time, who spent many years in England, and *Thomas More*, a judge's son, who, to the great grief of his fellow scholars, gave up a life of study for the bar and politics, but never lost his love of scholarship or his zeal for the new learning. All these men saw in their different ways that the times were full of evil, and they were zealous to make things better. But they were moderate men, who wished to permeate the old forms with the new spirit, rather than build up a violent revolution from without. Erasmus was a timid student, who laughed at bigotry and abuses, but shrank from the rough work of ending them. Colet, a man of a more sturdy nature, was intensely religious, and denounced the blindness, ignorance, and worldliness of the clergy, and strove to make men more spiritually minded by studying the Bible in a reasonable and reverential spirit. Yet he had no quarrel with the doctrines or system of the Church, but only with the ignorance and corruption which had overspread its teaching and practice with countless abuses. More was as devout as Colet, but he was a layman versed in affairs, and his mind turned from religious and educational problems to consider the general state of society. More saw that many evils were underlying the apparent prosperity of the times, and that England was not far distant from an economic and social revolution. In his famous book called *Utopia*, published in Latin in 1515, More sought to stir up men's discontent with the political and social system in which they lived by depicting an imaginary ideal commonwealth where everything was ordered by reason. In Utopia there were no aggressive wars, no religious persecutions, no indifference to things intellectual or spiritual, no violence, no crime, no idleness, no overwork, no eager striving for place and power, no glaring contrasts of wealth and poverty, but all was harmonious, happy and contented. Nor did More confine himself to dreaming dreams of an ideal happiness. He drew in the same book a vivid

Dean Colet.

Sir Thomas More.

Utopia 1515.

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picture of the evils that beset England and suggested powerful remedies for them. The country was overrun with disbanded soldiers, cast-off serving-men, and other "sturdy vagrants," unwilling to work or for whom no work could be got. In despair they took to robbery, and, as a cruel law punished robbery, no less than murder, with death, they thought it safer to kill their victims as well as to plunder them, since in any case, if they were found out, the penalty was the same, and dead men told no tales. If the law were less "sharp and ungentle" there would be fewer murders. If the people had more employment there would be fewer robbers and vagrants. But the rich landowners had discovered that it was more profitable to breed sheep than grow corn. In England "sheep are the devourers of men, and sheep masters the decayers of husbandry." Noblemen and gentlemen, for the sake of gain, leave no ground for tillage but enclose all in pastures. Pasture lands require fewer labourers than corn lands, so they "pluck down towns and villages and turn churches into sheep folds." In short the social and economical system of the Middle Ages was decaying, like their politics, their learning, and their religion. As ever in revolutionary times, the worst men came to the top. "Men speak of the commonwealth, but every man pursueth his private gain."

Wolsey's ecclesiastical policy.

13. Henry VIII. and Wolsey were no theoretic reformers, but they were not untouched by the spirit of the times and were anxious to do something to make things better, though they never seriously grappled with the delicate and difficult task of radical reform. More went into the king's service and Henry delighted to do him honour. Wolsey busied himself with plans of educational reformation, which partake of the grandeur and nobleness of all his designs. He saw that the Church wanted reform, and though not stopping to amend his own life or to go to the root of the evils, he nevertheless had real remedies to offer. In 1518 Henry persuaded Leo X. to make Wolsey "legate *a latere*," a special deputy sent directly from the Pope's side and having in his own hands the delegated authority of the Papacy. The strange combination of political and ecclesiastical authority which he now enjoyed gave him a position such as no one had ever held in England before. He thought that he was now strong enough to carry out his great ideas. About 1524 he persuaded Pope and king to allow him to dissolve

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some small poverty-stricken and corrupt monasteries, out of whose revenues he began to establish two great colleges. One of the two was at Oxford, and he called it *Cardinal College*, and endowed it on a scale of hitherto unknown magnificence. The other he set up at Ipswich, his native town, to serve as a school to supply his Oxford foundation with students. In doing this he was but treading in the steps of earlier reformers, like William of Wykeham and Henry VI. He saw that there were too many lazy monks and not enough deep scholars. By his new establishments he hoped to make the clergy better educated and more energetic. Without any radical changes of doctrine or organisation, he aspired to reform the Church from within. His impulse was a wise and noble one, but it required much more care and time than Wolsey could spare from his other business to carry out such a policy properly. When Wolsey fell his work of educational reformation was only half begun.

The early history of the Divorce Question, 1527-1529.

14. A few good men were busy with great plans for making the world better and wiser. But the king, on whom everything depended, was bent on satisfying his own selfish wishes. It was bad enough, as some thought, to exhaust the resources of England in useless wars, and soil her honour by lying and deceitful diplomacy. But the worst trickery of Wolsey's statecraft was respectable beside the idea that now took full possession of the self-willed king. We have seen how, after 1525, he broke from the alliance with his wife's nephew, Charles V. Besides his fear of Charles's power, he had a stronger and more personal motive for his change of policy. He had grown tired of his queen, the Emperor's aunt, and in 1527 he applied to Clement VII. for a divorce from the lady who had been his wife for over eighteen years.

Catharine of Aragon, the youngest child of Ferdinand and Isabella, had come to England as a girl of sixteen to wed the Prince Arthur. Within a few months of the marriage the young Prince of Wales lay dead at Ludlow (1502), and Catharine stayed in England, partly because she remained a pledge of the Spanish alliance, and partly because her return home would have been very inconvenient to her miserly father-in-law, as her rich wedding portion would have left England with her. Accordingly it was proposed that she should marry her brother-in-law, the new Prince of Wales, Henry, who was six years her

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junior. Such a wedding was against the rules of the Church, but dispensations were got from Rome that satisfied even the pious scruples of Queen Isabella, her mother. Nevertheless the marriage was not carried out, and the young widow remained neglected until the Prince of Wales became Henry VIII. But within two months of his accession, Henry married her. Despite the disparity of ages they lived happily for many years, though Henry was a very faithless husband and their dispositions were extremely different. "The king adores her, and her Highness him," wrote her confessor, and Catharine threw herself with great energy into carrying out her husband's policy, as, for instance, in fighting the Scots in 1513. She was a light-haired, plump lady of blond complexion, not handsome, but of a "lively and gracious disposition." Though she loved her needle and her books of devotion better than court festivities or hunting and hawking, she was well educated, had a decided will and character, and was devoted to her husband. As she grew older, her health broke down and Henry grew tired of her, especially after 1522, when there first appeared at court Anne Boleyn, the daughter of a Norfolk gentleman, whose grandfather had made a fortune as a London merchant, and who was connected with the great noble houses both through his mother, a lady of the Irish house of Ormonde, and by his own marriage to the daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, the hero of Flodden. "Madame Anne," wrote an eyewitness, "is not one of the handsomest women in the world. She is of middling stature and swarthy complexion, and has nothing but the king's great love and her eyes, which are black and beautiful." She was bright and lively, and had "wonderful long hair." She knew her power over the king, and kept him at a distance. Before long Henry was madly in love with her. He now began to pretend to have scruples about the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow. Was it not, he argued, against the law of God, and could even the Pope authorise the violation of the divine commandments? All his children by Catharine were dead, save the Lady Mary, whom he had made in 1525 Princess of Wales. Henry persuaded himself or others that the death of Catharine's other children was a mark of God's displeasure; and argued, with more force, that there was no example of a woman ruling England, and that so long as he had no son, there was a danger lest the succession should become uncertain, and civil war break out on

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his death. But the root of the matter was that the selfish, self-willed king wanted to get rid of Catharine and marry Anne. His fierce pursuit of his object was to be stopped by no obstacles, and he worked both perseveringly and violently in carrying out his purpose. In vain Wolsey spent hours on his knees before Henry, begging him to desist from his intent. The only result was that Henry began to grow weary of his minister.

According to the law of the Church a valid marriage could not be broken. A divorce, in the language of the time, meant declaring a marriage null and void from the beginning. But side by side with the theoretical strictness of the marriage law, there was a practical laxity that could hardly be exceeded; and the greedy ecclesiastical lawyers in their corrupt church courts showed extraordinary cleverness in inventing excuses for annulling what seemed to be lawful wedlock. Henry's sister Margaret had easily got divorced in a scandalous way from her second husband, Angus, and, a little earlier, Louis XII. had brutally set aside his first wife with the Pope's goodwill. But Henry's application put the Pope in peculiar difficulties. Henry was prudent enough not to raise the question of the power of any Pope to dispense with the law that prohibited marriage to a brother's widow. He only asked that Julius II.'s dispensation should be declared invalid on the ground of certain irregularities of form, and he did not even press a proposal he at one time entertained of asking for a new dispensation to commit bigamy. But since the sack of Rome, Clement was the Emperor's creature, and for a time his prisoner; and it was impossible for him to go against Charles, who fiercely upheld his aunt's cause. Yet it was hard for Clement to quarrel with Henry, especially as he was hoping that Henry, in alliance with Francis, would save Italy from the tyranny of the Emperor. A timid, shuffling, cunning diplomatist, careful chiefly of his position as an Italian prince, Clement's only course was to temporise. By delaying as long as he could, he hoped that the march of events would relieve the embarrassments of his position. Wolsey, accepting the inevitable, reluctantly urged upon Clement to comply with his master's request. He could not believe that Henry really meant to marry the giddy, insignificant court lady, but he hoped that, if Henry were free, he might persuade him to strengthen still further his darling French alliance by wedding some lady of the royal house

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of France. Anxious to please everybody, Clement at last yielded to Wolsey's importunity, and reluctantly agreed to appoint what was called a *Decretal Commission*, that is, a commission to find out whether the form of the dispensation was as Henry had declared, it being laid down in the document that, if this were the case, the marriage was invalid. The Pope appointed two legates to act as his commissioners. One was Wolsey himself, the other was Cardinal Campeggio, an Italian who, being the resident agent of Henry at Rome, held the bishopric of Salisbury.

Henry and Anne were overjoyed, but Wolsey was nervous and the Pope very much alarmed, now that he had given away the power of settling the question to others. Clement, however, resolved that the commission should never take its course. Campeggio did his best to delay matters. Gout and other excuses delayed his departure from Rome, and made his journey to England a very slow one. It was not until 1529 that the legates opened their court at Blackfriars. Catharine, who had firmly resisted their private advice to quietly retire to a convent, took up a bold line before them. She declared in her husband's presence that she had been his faithful wife for twenty years, and had done nothing that made her worthy to be put to public shame. She appealed to the Pope himself, and her confessor, *John Fisher*, Bishop of Rochester, the best and most learned of the bishops, appeared before the court, and said that "to avoid the damnation of his soul" he had come to declare that the marriage could not be dissolved by any law human or divine. Public opinion was strongly moved. Campeggio still forced Wolsey to delay. The court did not open till the end of May, and Campeggio insisted on adjourning, after a few weeks, for the long vacation. Before it had reassembled, the news came that the Pope had revoked the commission and all the business had to be gone into over again at Rome. The Emperor had forced his dependent to throw over the English King.

The Fall of Wolsey, 1529.

15. The baffled king's anger now fell heavily on Wolsey. For the last few years Wolsey's relations to the king had not been so cordial as of old. He repeatedly saw Henry overrule his wishes and then make him the scapegoat of the ill-success of the policy which he had unsuccessfully opposed. In the early stages of the divorce suit Henry had carefully kept Wolsey ignorant of the real course of events. The nobles and people joined together in baiting the masterful Chancellor and Henry was not

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averse to getting a fresh spell of popularity by sacrificing his minister. Anne Boleyn's grandfather, the old Duke of Norfolk, had died in 1524, but his son, the new duke, the Surrey of the French war of 1522, backed up the cause of his niece, and Anne Boleyn, now established in great state in the royal palace, looked upon Wolsey as responsible for the failure of the legatine court. The old nobles renewed their attacks on their ancient enemy, and now Henry's favour was withdrawn. Wolsey was driven from the chancellorship and his property was seized. The monstrous charge was brought against him of having broken the statute of Præmunire by acting as Pope's legate, though it was notorious that he had taken the office with the king's goodwill. His college at Ipswich was destroyed, and Cardinal College confiscated by the king, who twice re-founded it, though on a smaller scale and finally under the name of Christ Church. The fallen minister made an abject submission, and was at last allowed to leave his retreat at Esher and go back to his diocese of York. In Yorkshire he threw himself with unwonted energy into his work as archbishop, and succeeded in winning the love of the rude north countrymen. But he could not remain contented, and sought to be recalled to the royal favour. He indiscreetly entered into relations with the French and imperial ambassadors, and this sign of discontent was interpreted as treason. Henry angrily ordered his arrest, and early in November Wolsey was slowly moved southward to meet the fate that attended those who stood across the path of Henry VIII. His disgrace and ill-health had undermined his constitution. The hardships of a winter journey brought on a severe illness, and when he reached Leicester Abbey, he took to his bed and died (27 November 1530). No statesman of his rank ever left the scene less lamented. Save for a few faithful servants, like Cromwell and his biographer Cavendish, all the world was against him. Yet he had laboured long and faithfully to promote the welfare and glory of his country, and with him ended the peaceful and untroubled days of his master's reign.

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CHAPTER II.

Henry VIII. and the Beginnings of the Reformation. 1529-1547.

The Reformation on the Continent.

1. One of the many signs of the break-up of the mediæval system had long been the growing weakness of the Church, though the Church went on, outwardly as strong as ever, and all the attempts of moderate reformers had done little to alter its spirit or destroy the worst abuses. At last in 1517 the long-deferred crisis came. *Martin Luther*, a Saxon friar, stirred up a great agitation in Northern Germany against the system of *indulgences*, by which penances for sin were remitted in return for money payments, and which became in practice little better than licences purchased with money to commit sin. Before long Luther was in open revolt against the Papacy and the Church system of the Middle Ages. Almost at the same time *Ulrich Zwingle* was starting a similar movement among the Swiss at Zürich. The Papacy was corrupt and careless, and Pope Leo X. thought more of upholding the balance of power and patronising scholars and artists, than of ending abuses or reforming the Church. Luther denounced the popular notion of good works, and taught that men were justified, or made righteous, by faith, and soon made his doctrine of justification by faith the centre of a system that cut deep into the traditions of the Church. Many German princes, especially Luther's own lord, the Elector of Saxony, backed up the friar. The young Emperor strove in vain to restore unity of thought to Germany, and in a few years all North Germany fell away from the Papacy. After 1529 Luther's followers were called Protestants, because of the protest which they made against the old Church system. Even more thorough-going was the reformation which Zwingle made in Switzerland. While Luther kept up the pompous ceremonies of the ancient Church, left each church to settle whether it should be governed by bishops after the traditional fashion or otherwise, and strongly upheld the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, Zwingle cleared the churches of ornaments, set up a simple form of praying and preaching, advocated a popular form of church government that left little room for the priest, and taught that the Lord's Supper was a simple commemorative feast. A few years

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later the great French thinker, *John Calvin* of Noyon, pushed the new principles to their uttermost, and established a model reformed church in the free city of Geneva, to which he had fled for refuge when expelled from France by Francis I. While North Germany and Scandinavia received their reformation from Luther, Calvin absorbed and made more spiritual the religion of Zwingle, and became the chief Reformer of Middle Europe. Both Luther and Calvin utterly broke with the old Church, and set up a new system, which each thought was more like primitive Christianity than the Church of the Middle Ages. Great violence and disturbances threatened to make the religious revolution a political and social revolution as well. Moreover, it took a long while before men's opinions finally settled down. The spirit of unrest was almost universal, and it seemed as if the Catholic Church were everywhere on the verge of ruin. Even in Italy the Popes had to fight against the spirit of the Renascence. Only in Spain did the faith of the Middle Ages still live on.

Beginnings of English Protestantism.

2. For many years England was but little influenced by the Reformation movement. But the failure of the men of the new learning to carry out a moderate reform of the Church from within, soon led those who disliked abuses to wish well to the Continental Protestants, and young scholars went to Germany to study the new gospel under Martin Luther. Yet the great mass of English opinion was strongly conservative, and reformers, like Wolsey or More, were as active against the audacious heretic as the most old-fashioned opponents of all change. Henry VIII., who was proud of his orthodoxy and knowledge of theology, published in 1521 a Latin book in which he defended the seven sacraments against Luther, who said that there were only two. Leo X. was so pleased with this that he gave Henry the title of *Defender of the Faith*, which all subsequent English kings and queens have borne. But before the end of Wolsey's power, the new doctrines were slowly creeping into England; and in 1525 *William Tyndale* printed abroad an English version of the New Testament, which his sympathisers privately circulated in England. The government burnt at Paul's Cross all copies that could be found. More engaged in bitter controversy with the heretic. Tyndale was forced to take up his quarters in the Netherlands, and before long not only

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his books but his followers were burnt in England. Yet the publication of Tyndale's Testament marked the beginning of the establishment of a Protestant party in England, though for many years it was small, humble, and bitterly persecuted. It became important when, not long after Tyndale's book saw the light, Henry, impatient with the Pope's unwillingness to give him a divorce, began to grow unfriendly to the papal power. But the worse Henry's relations were with Rome, the more anxious he was to prove his orthodoxy by stamping out every vestige of Lutheran heresy. The fall of Wolsey brought the heretics no relief, for More, the new Chancellor, was more intolerant than the Cardinal.

The Reformation Parliament and its Work, 1529-1536.

3. It had been one of Wolsey's mistakes to ride roughshod over public opinion. Henry VIII. now saw that he was more likely to get his own way if he made a show of consulting his people. Henceforth he took few steps without taking the advice of Parliament, and, in Church matters, of the two Convocations of Canterbury and York. But those who have looked upon Henry as simply wishing to carry out the desires of his subjects have entirely misunderstood his objects. He took good care to pack his Parliaments with his servants and dependents, and dictated rather than interpreted the public opinion, which he boasted to have on his side. Immediately after the fall of Wolsey he summoned a Parliament, which met on 3rd November 1529, and which continued to hold sessions until 1536, though there were few precedents for allowing a Parliament to last so long without fresh elections. With the help of the submissive Commons, Henry began the great revolution which was to cut England adrift from the Middle Ages.

Henry's first object was to get a divorce from Catharine and to marry Anne. After the breakdown of the legatine court, he thought his best way to obtain this was to frighten the Pope by showing that England was unanimous in supporting the divorce. To terrorise the clergy, who, alarmed at the spread of heresy, might well hesitate to bring pressure on the Pope, Henry appealed to the hatred of abuses and of priestly domination that had already spread widely among the laity. He allowed the Commons to attack the ecclesiastical courts, and to pass acts limiting pluralities and forbidding some clerical exactions (1530). In the same year he strove, in the true spirit of the Middle Ages, to

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collect authoritative opinions adverse to the Pope's contention that the Church might lawfully allow a man to marry his brother's widow. He consulted the universities of Christendom as to the validity of his marriage; but the result helped neither Pope nor king, and was largely the result of bribery and political pressure. In Germany, Spain, and Italy, where the Emperor was all-powerful, the lawyers and theologians of the universities decided that the Pope was right. In England and France, where Henry and his ally Francis had the upper hand, a declaration was obtained that the Pope was wrong. Such a lame result had no influence at all on the course of the controversy.

The Universities consulted, 1530.

4. The fourteenth century laws against the Papacy were still on the statute book, though they had long been a dead letter. By the *Statute of Præmunire* no foreign power could exercise jurisdiction in England, and yet Wolsey had, with Henry's goodwill, been appointed papal legate, as the easiest way of reforming the Church. Henry now suddenly charged the whole clergy of England with having broken the Statute of Præmunire, by acknowledging the legatine authority of the fallen chancellor. Technically the charge could not be gainsaid, but Henry himself and the whole of the laity were every bit as guilty as the clergy. However, the king delighted in doing everything in a formally legal way, and, backed up as he was by Parliament, the clergy were helpless before him. In their despair the Convocations of Canterbury and York offered in 1531 to purchase their pardon by paying an enormous fine. The sum fixed was £100,000 for Canterbury and £18,000 for York—a proportion which shows how little important was the north of England at that time. Nor was this all. Henry refused to grant pardon to the clergy until they had acknowledged him as "Supreme Head of the English Church." There was nothing in the proposed title that necessarily excluded the papal power, or the independent rights of the English Church, but the clergy were suspicious, and only consented to recognise Henry's supremacy "in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ." Thus were set up the beginnings of the Royal Supremacy, which soon became in Henry's hands the leading principle of the English Reformation. It was followed up in 1532, when Henry forced the Convocation of Canterbury to accept a document called the *Submission of the Clergy*, in which the

The clergy accused of Præmunire, 1530.

Submission of the Clergy, 1532.

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Church promised never to meet in convocation or pass any canons or Church laws without the king's consent; and agreed that all ancient canons, that trenched upon the royal authority, should be revised. Yet despite this submission, Parliament, in 1532, continued the reform of clerical privileges by limiting *Benefit of Clergy*, in cases of felony, to clerks who were at least sub-deacons. Before this law was passed all accused persons who "proved their clergy" by showing that they could read, were handed over by the king's courts for trial by the Church courts, which could only impose very inadequate penalties. The rights of the Church had been made an excuse for allowing all educated people to commit their first crime with comparative impunity.

5. Absolutely master of his own subjects, lay and clerical, Henry now set to work in earnest to force the Pope to give him his divorce by a systematic series of attacks on the papal authority. In reviving the ancient laws he had done much in this direction, but every year now saw a new branch of the alien power, which England had accepted for centuries, hewn away without a scruple.

Annates Act, 1532.

In 1532, at the instance of the clergy themselves, the *Annates Act* was passed, which forbade bishops to pay henceforth to the Pope the *Annates* or First-Fruits, that is, their nominal first year's income, which it had been the custom, not only for bishops, but for all clergymen newly appointed to benefices, to send to Rome as a sort of thank-offering. This would have cut off a great source of papal income from England, but, in order to influence the Pope more effectually, Parliament enacted that the law was not to come into force until the king was so minded. Henry let the Act sleep for the present, but Clement VII. could not be bribed to give him a divorce. He was still so utterly at the mercy of Charles V. that it was impossible for him to disoblige the Emperor, even if he had seen his way to repudiate the action of his predecessor, who had permitted Henry's marriage.

The obstinacy of the Pope and the fixed determination of the king were still arrayed against each other, as they had been five years before. England had gradually drifted into revolution without any one knowing it: and the outlook was becoming darker than ever. In 1532 Sir Thomas More had resigned the Chancellorship in disgust and gone into private life. Soon after, Archbishop Warham died, and Henry put in his place *Dr. Thomas Cranmer*, an

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almost unknown Cambridge scholar, whose chief recommendation was that he would carry out the king's will. Meanwhile, Henry's last hope of foreign support had disappeared when Francis I., instead of joining him against the Pope, had been induced by Clement to enter into a close alliance with the Emperor, which left England without a friend in Europe. Henry now resolved that English courts should do what papal courts had refused to accomplish, and early in 1533 he secretly married Anne Boleyn. He then hurried through Parliament the *Act in Restraint of Appeals*, which declared that the realm of England was an empire containing within itself both civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction sufficient for all causes, and therefore forbade all appeals to Rome and made the Archbishop's Court the highest church court in England. The Annates Act of 1532 was also enforced, and the breach with Rome was now open. Cranmer held a court at Dunstable in which he declared Catharine's marriage invalid, and his was now the highest tribunal before which the suit could be brought. Henry now avowed his marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was solemnly crowned queen amidst great rejoicings and wonderful pageantry. Before the end of the year the birth of the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Henry and Anne, did something to settle the vexed question of the succession. In 1534 an *Act of Succession* was passed, which settled the throne on the children of Queen Anne.

Act of Appeals and divorce of Catharine by Cranmer, 1533.

6. In 1534, Clement gave judgment in favour of Catharine, and died soon afterwards. Henry now drove through Parliament an act which cut away the last vestiges of papal jurisdiction. A new *Annates Act* was passed, which extended the principle of the former Act to every sort of benefice, while *Tenths*, that is the tenth of each year's income after the first, which till now had also been paid to the Pope by the beneficed clergy of all ranks, were henceforth also kept in the king's hands. Two other anti-papal acts followed. One abolished *Peter Pence*, the last remaining revenue drawn by the Pope from England, and transferred the Pope's claim to issue dispensations to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The other again confirmed the "Submission of the Clergy," and made a fresh encroachment on the spiritual power by directing that delegates appointed by the king should hear appeals from the court

The abolition of the papal power and the establishment of the Royal Supremacy, 1534.

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of the archbishop Later in the year the *Act of Supremacy* was passed, by which it was made treason to deny to the king that title of *Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England*, which Convocation, in more guarded language, had already bestowed upon him.

Thus was the separation between England and Rome completed. Henry boasted that he was no innovator, but was merely carrying out to their logical results the ancient laws, which had upheld the national independence and the supremacy of the crown against the claims of a foreign potentate. His contention was that the Papal Supremacy was, in its essence, political, and might be thrown off without any change in the ecclesiastical or religious policy of England. The fiercer Henry grew against the Pope, the more careful he was to emphasise his orthodoxy by burning the followers of Luther and Zwingle. In 1531 *Thomas Bilney*, a Cambridge man, who had taught in the eastern counties justification by faith, without attacking either the Papacy or the teaching of the Church, was burnt at Norwich, though the king's own chaplain, *Hugh Latimer*, was his friend, and eulogised "little Bilney" as "a simple, good soul, not fit for this world." In 1533, a more outspoken heretic suffered the same fate. This was *John Frith*, a follower of Zwingle, who denied the doctrine of the Real Presence. But all Henry's care to show his hostility to heresy could not prevent the breach with Rome preparing the way for religious changes. Though Henry had precedents for limiting the Pope's authority, they all came from times when it was an article of absolute faith, all over Western Christendom, that the Pope was the inspired Vicar of Christ, the highest authority on questions of faith and morals, and even the ultimate source of all ecclesiastical power. It was a real religious revolution, when Henry thus broke with a power which was an integral part of the system of the Mediæval Church. In rejecting the Papacy, Henry was really doing for England what Luther had done for Germany, but while Luther repudiated the whole teaching of the Middle Ages and set up a new faith and a new church-system, Henry, in a more conservative spirit, sought to reorganise the English Church on a purely national basis without any change in its faith, its organisation, or its worship. It was a good thing for England that Henry would have nothing of the violent methods of Continental reformers, and gave to the English Reformation that strong political tendency which it always retained. While in

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France and Germany the Reformation broke up the political unity of the nation, the English Reformation increased the unity and emphasised the national character of the English state. The firm hand of four successive monarchs led Englishmen to pray in accordance with the royal fashion. The strong revolutionary tendencies, which the break-up of the old order involved, were controlled by forces powerful enough to withstand them, though in some ways religion suffered by the state outstepping its functions, treating the clergy almost like state officials, and making the people believe and worship in the ruler's way, as if it was a part of a subject's duty to accept the king's religion. Despite many temporary fluctuations of policy, King Henry's "middle way" at last prevailed, and the English Church was able to maintain its ancient traditions while reforming itself to meet the needs of a changed present.

Resistance to the Supremacy, 1534-1535.

7. While Henry VIII. broke the bonds of Rome, he forged a new set of fetters for the English clergy. A series of vigorous attacks on the immunities of the English Church reduced the clergy to abject dependence on the crown, and forced them to resign their ancient liberties and be content with ratifying the will of the despot, whose principle utterly ignored the old doctrine that the Church, like the State, was supreme within her own sphere. As early as 1529, Bishop Fisher of Rochester attributed the action of Parliament to lack of faith, and declared that to accept the king's supreme headship would cause the clergy of England "to be hissed out of the society of God's Holy Catholic Church." After 1532, he joined with Sir Thomas More in an attitude of vain protest. The restlessness of public opinion found an expression in the strange influence of "the Nun of Kent," *Elizabeth Barton*, a servant girl, who became a nun at Canterbury, and whose hysterical utterances were popularly regarded as warnings from Heaven against the new policy of the king. More, Fisher, and other great persons thoroughly believed in her sayings, and at last she grew so formidable, that in 1534 she was executed as a traitor by Act of Attainder. On the scaffold she admitted that "being a poor wench without learning" she had been taught to make interested prophecies by knavish priests who got profit to themselves from her revelations. Fisher and More were implicated in her fall, but Fisher was let off with a fine, and the king withdrew the charge against

Execution of the Nun of Kent, 1534.

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More. Before long, however, both More and Fisher were brought before Cranmer at Lambeth and asked to take the oath which had been drawn up after the Act of Succession was passed. Both refused to do this, though they were willing to swear to recognise Anne Boleyn's children as heirs to the throne, since Parliament had undoubted power to alter the succession. But the oath also required them to declare Anne Henry's lawful wife and renounce the Pope, which neither of them was prepared to do. Anne Boleyn spitefully persuaded Henry not to accept the modified submission, with which Cranmer strove to induced the king to be contented. In April 1534, the bishop and lawyer were sent to the Tower, and remained there until their death.

More and Fisher were not alone in their resistance. Another conspicuous foe of the supremacy was *Reginald Pole*, a young churchman, then studying at Padua, who, as a grandson of George Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV., stood very near the throne, and who now gave up the certain prospect of high preferment in England, and remained in exile for his faith. In 1536 the Pope made him a Cardinal, and he lived henceforth in Italy where he won a great position, and wrote bitterly against Henry's policy. Moreover the clergy as a body were getting restive. They were so discontented that Cranmer was forced to forbid any sermons on the question of the succession, and the spirit of dissatisfaction was particularly rife among the monasteries, many of which, belonging to orders scattered all over Christendom, strongly disliked the isolation of the English Church from the rest of the Catholic world. Despite the corruption of some parts of the order, the Franciscan friars were still the most popular and influential religious teachers of the people, and especially that section called the *Friars Observant*, who had been reformed in the fifteenth century in accordance with the strictest ideals of St. Francis. Many of the Observants declined to take the anti-papal oath, and Henry peremptorily suppressed all their houses. The monks of the London Charterhouse [the name given to Carthusian monasteries], distinguished for the austerity and piety of their lives, took up the same course, and refused as a body to take the oath of succession. A new *Treasons Act* was now hurried through, making it high treason to maliciously deny to the king any of his titles, and under this they were condemned to death. Many

The Observants and the London Carthusians.

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suffered on the scaffold, while others perished even more horribly of starvation and neglect in the foul prisons of the time. Meanwhile Fisher had been deprived of his bishopric and the privileges attached to it. His fate was hastened by the rash kindness of the new Pope, Paul III., who made him a Cardinal. He was now condemned by a jury for having "openly declared in English that the king is not Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England." On 22nd June 1535 he was beheaded on Tower Hill. More's turn now came. On 6th July he suffered the same fate, showing on the scaffold the same serene composure and ready wit that had marked his whole life. These executions sent a thrill of horror through Europe. But the relentless policy that spared neither the most illustrious of the bishops nor the most famous man of letters of the realm, showed that the king would, at all costs, be absolute master in his kingdom. Henceforth opposition feared to make itself heard, while Henry was encouraged by his triumph again to lay his heavy hand upon the Church.

Execution of Fisher and More, 1535.

8. *Thomas Cromwell* was now Henry's most trusted minister. The son of a substantial fuller at Putney, Cromwell was by his own confession a "ruffian in his young days." Driven from home by some misconduct, he served as a common soldier in the Italian wars, and afterwards settled down at Antwerp, where he amassed money by trade. He returned to England a prosperous man, and soon became conspicuous as a money-lender, and afterwards as a lawyer, in which capacity he became Wolsey's legal agent and secretary. He was one of Wolsey's instruments in suppressing a number of small monasteries, from the revenues of which the cardinal proposed to endow his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford, and in 1529 sat in the House of Commons where he courageously pleaded his fallen patron's cause. But he soon transferred his services to the king, and rose high in favour. A strong, resolute, greedy self-seeker, his avowed principle of conduct was to follow the inclination of his master. He studied Machiavelli's famous *Prince* when it was still in manuscript, and brought to politics all the ability and all the moral callousness of the new school of Italian statesmen. His unscrupulous strength and cunning were just what Henry wanted. Though never becoming, like Wolsey, the king's trusted minister, he was used to the uttermost as a clever tool, who alone could give full effect to the autocrat's

Rise and character of Thomas Cromwell.

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imperious wishes. In 1535 he was appointed the king's *Vicar-general in matters ecclesiastical.* This post enabled him to wield all the vast authority that Henry now exercised as Head of the Church. Between 1535 and 1539, Cromwell carried out a revolution, compared with which the abolition of the papal power seemed a small matter, and made Henry more of a despot than any English king had been since Magna Carta.

The Suppression of the Smaller Monasteries, 1536.

9. The eyes of the king and his vicar were now turned upon the monasteries, whose wealth excited their greed, and whose powerlessness rendered them an easy prey. The palmy days of the monasteries had long passed away. Since the fourteenth century very few new houses of religion had been founded, and Wolsey and others had abolished monasteries without a thought of bringing about any great revolution. The spirit of mediæval piety, of which the monastic life, with its rigid asceticism and spirit of self-renunciation, was the finest flower, had long been withering. In some houses gross corruption reigned, in many more a spirit of deadness and cold formality. While some convents suffered from the evils of excessive wealth, a larger number were so poor, that they could neither pay their way nor live according to their rule. Few "regulars" made any mark in the world of learning, or climbed high up the ladder of ecclesiastical preferment to the great posts of the Church, which were now almost monopolised by the "secular" clergy. Public opinion viewed monks and friars with indifference, and so few wished to "enter religion" that the number of monks, even in the richest houses, was small. But it is quite clear that they were neither hated nor feared. Despite occasional scandals and much laxity, the monks of the greater monasteries were easy landlords, suffering their tenants to live on quietly, paying the custom ary rent, and farming after the ancient fashion. In the remoter parts of the country they still played an indispensable part, and everywhere they were the guardians of hallowed shrines that the people still reverenced. The brethren of the London Charterhouse had shown that English monks could die nobly for their faith, and the friars were still largely the teachers of the people. But the monks, in proportion as they were active and zealous, were pledged to uphold the ways of the Middle Ages. Their membership of world-wide orders made them the least national part of the Church, and the best monasteries were standing papal garrisons,

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who watched with fear and trembling the audacious policy of the king, though their timidity seldom allowed them to express their feeling as the noble Carthusians had done. In throwing off allegiance to the Papacy, Henry almost pledged himself to the abolition of the monasteries. The State needed money badly: so many abbeys and priories were no longer needed; many abuses wanted reforming. It was easy to put forward many good reasons to cloak the greediness that really set the spoilers to work.

In 1535 Cromwell ordered a royal *visitation* of the monasteries to inquire into their condition, and his brutal underlings, such as Legh and Layton, went over the country to trump up a case that might justify their suppression. There was plenty of evidence that could be used against the monks, but the visitors in their haste did not concern themselves overmuch with sifting the true from the false. In 1536 Parliament, on their report, passed an act abolishing all monasteries possessing a revenue of less than £200 a year, it being believed that the lesser monasteries were the more corrupt. The same commissioners again went round to carry out the suppression, scattering the inmates, devastating their houses, and destroying their churches. Plain men, who knew little about the Divorce Question or the Royal Supremacy, realised for the first time that they were in the midst of a religious revolution, when the churches in which they had worshipped were rudely desecrated, their good-humoured landlords sent away to beg their bread or live on miserable pensions, while greedy courtiers rioted in the ancient abodes of religion, raised the rents of their tenants, and stopped the doles and alms that had flowed from the monasteries to the poor.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536.

10. Before 1536 was out, two formidable popular revolts showed that the more remote parts of England bitterly resented the suppression of the lesser monasteries by the upstarts who were leading King Henry into strange new ways. The first rebellion broke out in Lincolnshire, where it was soon suppressed, but a much more formidable rising followed immediately afterwards in Yorkshire, headed by the brave and simple-minded *Robert Aske*, a gentleman of good family. The country people rose in large numbers, took Pontefract Castle, and marched south to Doncaster. The greatest nobles of the north, with Sir Thomas Percy, brother and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, and Archbishop Lee of York at their head, joined them, and they resolved "to go to

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London on pilgrimage to the King's Highness, and there to have all the vile blood of his Council put from him, and all the noble blood set there again, and also the faith of Christ and His laws to be kept, and full restitution to the Church of all wrongs done unto it." For this reason the revolt was called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*; and the rebels bore before them the banner of St. Cuthbert, the famous northern saint, and also a standard on which were embroidered a chalice and the mystic Five Wounds of Christ. Norfolk, sent with a large force to crush the rising, did not venture to cross the swollen Don or fight a battle, but he cleverly contrived to persuade the rebels to go home peaceably, the king promising that a general pardon should be granted, and that a Parliament should meet at York to remedy the grievances of the north country. Many of the leaders, who had been constrained by fear to join the revolt, welcomed this easy settlement. But in 1537 new disturbances broke out, and Henry took advantage of these to repudiate his promises. The leaders were sought out and executed, and many of the lesser folk shared their fate. Aske and Percy were among those who suffered, but the archbishop, who had acted under constraint and soon deserted the rebels, was allowed to continue in his office. The most permanent result of the rebellion was the setting up, on the model of the Council of Wales at Ludlow, (see chapter viii.), a law court at York called the Council of the North, which, at some loss of liberty, did great good by sternly suppressing riot and upholding peace and order in the wild regions beyond the Humber, that had long known little other law than the hand of the stronger.

The Suppression of the Greater Monasteries, 1537-1540.

11. The spoils of the lesser monasteries stimulated Henry and Cromwell to lay their hands upon the greater houses. This time, however, they went to work in a different way. Instead of abolishing them all by a single law, they dealt with them individually. Strong pressure was brought to bear on the different communities to make so-called voluntary surrenders to the king. Fat pensions and high church preferment were given to complaisant abbots, and charges were easily trumped up against the unyielding ones, in order to make a good case for the violent suppression of their houses. At first very few houses surrendered; but, in 1538, the number mounted up to twenty-four; and, in 1539, nearly two hundred abandoned the hopeless struggle. In that year an Act of Parliament was passed confirming the

surrenders, and giving the king power to suppress such houses as remained, and also to deal in the same way with colleges and hospitals that were not monastic foundations. Before the end of 1540 there was not a monastery left in England, and many "secular" (*i.e.* non-monastic) colleges had incurred the same fate. Some of the stronger monasteries held out stiffly, but ruthless cruelty completed the process when cajolery and fraud proved of no effect. The execution of Abbot Whiting of Glastonbury, an infirm old man of blameless character, hung on Glastonbury Tor on such charges as stealing the monastery plate, because he had sought to hide it from the ken of the commissioners, was an act well-timed to frighten the boldest. The same scenes that attended the destruction of the smaller houses were now witnessed on a larger scale. A good half of the spoils fell into the hands of courtiers or speculators, and the ring of new nobles, who had earned their promotion by their subservience to Henry's caprices, received from the monastic lands an endowment for their new state. Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, and Cromwell himself, were among the chief gainers; and to this day many famous abbeys, like Woburn and Tavistock, remain the homes of the new families, like the Russells, afterwards Earls of Bedford, who first came into importance at this period. Only a small portion of the spoil stuck in the king's hands; and before he died Henry was as poor as ever he had been. Yet nearly half of the monks' property went to public purposes, such as furthering Henry's wise schemes for reorganising the royal navy, casting cannon, and defending the coasts with forts. There was much talk of carrying out a great scheme of church extension, but the plan that was actually effected was a very modest one. Six new bishoprics were set up, at Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, Peterborough, Westminster, and Oxford; and the great monastery churches at those towns were utilised as their cathedrals. Most of the old cathedrals served by monks, such as Canterbury, were similarly refounded as secular colleges with a dean and chapter, and became known as the *cathedrals of the new foundation.* The abbots lost their places in the House of Lords. Even before this Henry's lavish new creations had given the lay peers a majority for the first time. It was now still easier to carry reforming measures through Parliament.

The endowment of the New Nobility.

12. The suppression of the monasteries brought home to all that a great religious revolution was in progress. Side

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by side with it went other changes that made this still more clear. The number of Church holidays was cut down. The shrines of the English saints were laid low, and the most famous of them all, Saint Thomas of Canterbury, was declared a traitor, and degraded from the honour of sanctity, because he had ventured to oppose a king. Many images and relics were destroyed, and great pains were taken to show by what gross frauds the keepers of some of these images had persuaded the simple people that they worked miracles. Though there were not many Protestants in England, there were plenty of enemies of the priests, who vied with the Protestants in the violence with which they made mock of the popular faith; and Henry, though still professing strict orthodoxy, now gave bishoprics to men whose opinions would have brought them to the stake a few years before. The best of these was Bilney's staunch old friend, *Hugh Latimer*, a Leicestershire yeoman's son, and the most earnest and honest preacher of righteousness of the age, who became bishop of Worcester. Cranmer, the archbishop, married a German lady, whom he kept so much in the background that it was believed that he carried her about hidden in a chest perforated with air-holes to let her breathe. Another sign of the times was in the permission given, in 1536, to allow the circulation of an English version of the whole Bible, which Miles Coverdale had finished in the previous year, basing his translation of the New Testament on the proscribed rendering of Tyndale. Yet in the same year, 1536, Tyndale was put to death by the orders of Charles V., and at the instance of Henry himself. Other versions of the English Bible appeared, and in 1540 it was ordered that every parish church should possess a copy of the *Great Bible*, a translation issued by Cranmer, that every man might read it.

Other religious changes, 1536-1539.

13. The king's attacks on the Church had greatly stimulated the prevalent spirit of unrest, and, despite his anxiety not to change doctrines, the clergy complained bitterly of the spread of heresy and ribald opinion. To show that he had no sympathy with such novelties, Henry issued, in 1536, *Ten Articles* drawn up by Convocation, in which the ancient doctrines were emphasised. But even here the spirit of change made itself felt. Of the seven sacraments that Henry himself had defended against Luther, only three were explained—Baptism, the Eucharist,

Limits to the changes. The Ten Articles, 1536, and the Bishops' Book, 1537.

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and Penance. The other four were quietly ignored. The old faith was not so much simply upheld, as explained or apologised for. The same tendency towards moderate doctrinal reformation appeared in the little treatise called *The Institution of a Christian Man*, or the *Bishops' Book*, which was drawn up in 1537 by the bishops as a popular manual of faith and devotion.

The victims of Henry's policy, 1536-1541.

14. Many Englishmen looked askance on Henry's changes, while a few lamented that the king still adhered to so much of what they had rejected. Yet to be a Papist was to incur the hideous punishment of a traitor, while open heresy led directly to the stake. The *Sacramentaries*, who denied the Real Presence, were in particular looked upon as outside all hope of mercy. Conspicuous among these was *John Lambert*, a Cambridge man, and an old friend of Bilney, who was condemned in 1538 by Cranmer for holding Zwinglian ideas about the Eucharist. Lambert, under the new Act, appealed to the king, who heard the case in person, and amused himself by showing off his theological knowledge for five consecutive hours. A few days later Lambert was burnt at Smithfield. The net for heretics was now widely spread. In the same year *John Forest*, an Observant friar, who had once been Queen Catharine's confessor, was burnt as a heretic for denying the royal supremacy, though the more usual course would have been to condemn him as a traitor. He was cruelly tortured by being slung over a fire, the faggots for which were got by chopping up a wonder-working Welsh image, which had been brought to London by the king's orders. As friends of old ways grew restless under the tyranny, stern examples were used to put down disaffection. Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, the king's first cousin and a grandson of Edward IV., was executed in 1539 on a charge of conspiracy, along with some of the kinsfolk of Cardinal Pole, who was working hard on the Continent to excite public opinion against Henry's ecclesiastical policy. In 1541 Pole's aged mother, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, was also put to death, her real crime being that she was a daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, and the mother of the audacious cardinal.

The Six Articles Statute, 1539.

15. With all his violence, Henry VIII. was honest in professing to uphold the ancient faith. He had a keen eye for the signs of the times, and the increasing strength of the opposition perhaps taught him

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that there had been changes enough for the present. The new Parliament that met in 1539, and abolished the Greater Monasteries, was utterly subservient to his wishes, surrendering in his favour the supreme privilege of Parliament to make fresh laws, by the statute that gave his proclamations the force of law, provided that they did not prejudice any person's inheritance or liberty, or infringe the existing laws. This Parliament also passed the *Six Articles Statute*, which showed clearly that the English Church had no sympathy with the doctrines of the Reformation.

By this law six important points of mediaeval doctrine were strongly upheld. These affirmed (1) The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, and the Transubstantiation, or change of substance, of the bread and wine into Christ's natural Body and Blood. (2) The sufficiency of communion in one kind. (3) That the clergy might not marry. (4) That vows of chastity (taken by monks and nuns) were binding throughout life. (5) That private masses ought to be carried on. (6) That auricular (private) confession ought to be retained. The penalty of denying the first article was death by burning as a heretic. Those who spoke against the other five forfeited their property on the first offence, and for a second were to be hung as felons. The Protestants called the statute "*The Whip with Six Strings*."

The new law was no dead letter. Cranmer was forced to put away his wife, and two bishops, one of whom was Hugh Latimer of Worcester, resigned their sees. Many were imprisoned, and a few executed under the Act. With the Six Articles the reforming period of Henry's reign ends.

The king's domestic troubles, 1533-1549.

16. During the years of religious changes, the private life of the king had been marked by strange misfortunes. His marriage with Anne Boleyn did not long remain a happy one. He was bitterly disappointed that her only child was a daughter, and soon grew weary of her light and giddy ways. Early in 1536 Catharine of Aragon died, worn out before her time by her relentless persecutors. Within a few months her successor was suddenly arrested on charges of immorality so monstrous and loathsome as hardly to be believed, even in the corrupt atmosphere of Henry's court. However that be, she was condemned by a commission of peers, her own uncle Norfolk pronouncing the sentence of death against her. On 17th May the complaisant Cranmer pronounced her marriage with the king invalid, on grounds more trumpery than those that had brought her to the

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block. The little Lady Elizabeth, like her elder sister Mary, was declared illegitimate. Two days later Queen Anne's head was cut off on Tower Green. The very next day Henry married his third wife, *Jane Seymour*, one of her ladies-in-waiting, the daughter of a simple Wiltshire knight, and described as of "middle stature, no great beauty, and pale complexion." Queen Jane died in 1537, soon after having given birth to a son, the future Edward VI., the male heir for whom Henry had so long been yearning. She was the only one of Henry's wives for whom he wore mourning, but personally she had but little influence. Yet her brothers, Edward and Thomas Seymour, rose through the king's favour to great positions.

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

17. For three years Henry remained a widower, though several fresh matches were projected for him. At last Cromwell succeeded in persuading the king to accept his scheme of a politic marriage to connect England with the German Lutherans. Since the treachery of Francis I. had abruptly broken up the French alliance in 1533, England had been utterly isolated from continental politics, and, as from time to time Charles and Francis became friendly, a common attack on England was seriously threatened. At that moment the Emperor and King of France were on good terms, and Cromwell urged strongly that an alliance with Charles's enemies, the German Protestants, was the best way of neutralising the ill-will of the nephew of Catharine of Aragon. Among the more moderate princes of reforming tendencies, none were more influential than the Duke of Cleves, the lord of four rich duchies on the lower Rhine from which he might attack the Emperor's Netherlandish dominions. One of his sisters was the wife of the Elector of Saxony, Luther's chief patron: another, *Anne*, was still unmarried, and on her Cromwell now fixed his eyes. The famous painter Holbein sent a flattering picture of the lady, and Henry agreed to marry her and to make a league with the Lutherans. Despite the Six Articles, it seemed as if the iron resolution of Cromwell were likely to make England Lutheran after all.

The Lutheran alliance and Anne of Cleves, 1539-1540.

In the first days of 1540 Henry was married to Anne of Cleves, but he found to his disgust that she was coarse, ugly, and illiterate, and disliked her strongly from the very first. Meanwhile the treaty with the Lutherans broke down, and Henry found that there was not even a politic

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reason for wearing his chains quietly. In April Cromwell was apparently in high favour, and made Earl of Essex. But his enemies, the men of the old learning, were active against him, and the failure of the marriage gave them the king's ear. The full force of Henry's wrath then fell on Cromwell, and he struck him down with the suddenness with which a lion pounces on his prey. In May 1540 Cromwell was charged with treason by his arch-enemy, Norfolk. Arrested at the council board, he was hurried to the Tower, and a Bill of Attainder was rapidly passed by the subservient Parliament. The charges of treason were ridiculous, for he had laboured for Henry only too well. But he had now served his master's purpose and was ruthlessly sacrificed by the tyrant whose purse he had filled. On 28th July he died on Tower Hill, protesting that he was no heretic. A few weeks before this, Convocation had declared the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves invalid, on the ground that the lady had previously been contracted to some one else. On the same day that Cromwell died, Henry married his fifth wife, *Catharine Howard*, a poor niece of the Duke of Norfolk, and daughter of the Lord Edmund Howard, who had fought at Flodden.

Fall of Cromwell, and Henry's marriage with Catharine Howard, 1540.

18. The reaction against the religious changes, which began with the passing of the Six Articles, was further confirmed by the fall of Cromwell. Henceforth the "men of the new learning" lost influence with the king, and needed all their shrewdness to keep their heads on their shoulders. Cranmer, Cromwell's ally, bent before the storm, sent his wife to Germany, and allowed the "men of the old learning" to determine the king's policy. The chief of this party among the lay lords was Norfolk himself, whose simple faith was well expressed in his saying, "It was merry in England before the new learning came up." His chief allies were *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of Winchester, and *Edmund Bonner*, Bishop of London. Gardiner was a learned canon lawyer and a shrewd but cold and hard statesman. Bonner was a vigorous and good natured but coarse and brutal man. Both had won their promotion by upholding the Royal Supremacy, but were resolutely set against the tendency towards Protestantism which Cromwell and Cranmer had latterly favoured.

The Reactionary Period, 1540-1547.

The religious reaction was shown not so much by undoing what had been done already as by an unwillingness

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to make further changes. The fires at Smithfield burnt more fiercely than ever. Among the first of the victims was *Dr. Robert Barnes*, Cromwell's agent in 1539 for conducting the negotiations with the German princes, who was attainted and burnt in 1540 for preaching Lutheran doctrines. Among the last was *Anne Askew*, a learned Lincolnshire lady, burnt in 1546 under the Six Articles Statute for denying transubstantiation.

In 1543 a curious law was passed that none but gentlemen should be allowed to read the Bibles that still lay open in every church, and Gardiner strove hard, though to no purpose, to get rid of the English Bibles altogether. In the same year the *Bishops' Book* was re-edited by the king himself, and made to agree much more closely with the traditional teaching of the Middle Ages. In its new form it was called the *Necessary Erudition for any Christian Man*, or the *King's Book*. These measures mark the extent of the reaction.

Foreign Politics, 1542-1547.

19. The spirit of reaction extended from home to foreign politics, where the old system of traditional alliances, that had prevailed during the king's youth, was restored by the men who had stayed the reformation of the Church. Even in the wild days of Cromwell's changes Henry had had a great deal of trouble from his nephew, James V. of Scotland, who, as he grew up, became jealous of his uncle's power, and between 1532 and 1534 waged war against him. After peace had been patched up, James continued to be a troublesome neighbour, though his plans for breaking down the influence of the all-powerful Scots nobles, with the help of clergy and people, diverted his mind for the time from English affairs. He easily won over the people to his side, and his popular manners and real friendship for the poor gave him the nickname of "*King of the Commons.*" He could, however, only get the support of the clergy and their leader, *David Beaton*, Archbishop of St. Andrews and Cardinal, at the price of severely putting down the reformers, who were beginning to make headway in Scotland. Moreover Beaton, who was more of a statesman than an ecclesiastic, was a strong advocate of the French alliance. His influence prevailed in both directions. James definitely made himself the champion of the old faith against Henry, receiving in 1537 a consecrated cap and sword from the Pope. In 1537 he married King Francis' eldest daughter, and was henceforth heart and soul on the side of the French. Though his first wife soon died, he found another French consort in *Mary of Guise*, sister of Francis, Duke of Guise, a member of a younger branch of the ducal house of Lorraine, and an ardent Catholic, who won a great reputation as a soldier in the service of France. Scotland and England were soon once more at war.

Solway Moss, 1542.

In 1542 Henry retaliated for a severe border raid by sending Norfolk to waste the Lothians. The Scottish nobles, indignant at James's policy, refused to fight, but the

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king resolved that, even without their help, he would answer invasion by invasion. November was already far advanced when his favourite, *Oliver Sinclair*, entered Cumberland with ten thousand men, while the king, sick in body and weak in mind, waited at Border castles to hear the result. But the nobles hated and despised the favourite, and fought with so little heart that the expedition was disgracefully defeated at *Solway Moss*. James took to his bed, overpowered by melancholy and misfortune. On 8th December Mary of Guise gave birth to a daughter, but the news brought him no consolation, but rather a foreboding of the extinction of the house of Stewart. "It will end as it began," he murmured. "It came with a lass and will go with a lass." Six days afterwards he died, and his little daughter became Mary, Queen of Scots.

The Earl of Arran acted as regent for the baby queen, and renewed the negotiations with England. In 1543 it was agreed that Edward, Prince of Wales, should be married to the Queen of Scots. Cardinal Beaton soon succeeded in breaking up the understanding with England. He won over the weak Arran to his side, and cruelly persecuted the reformers, who were the best friends of the English alliance. The old treaties with France were renewed, and Henry, who was now at war with France, had to face an attack from Scotland after the ancient fashion. But the Scots were too much divided to be able to fight with success, and in 1544 Henry's brother-in-law, Edward Seymour, now Earl of Hertford, cruelly devastated south-eastern Scotland and burnt Edinburgh.

War with France and Scotland, 1543-1546.

20. About the time of the renewal of war between James V. and England, Francis of France and the Emperor Charles, after several years of friendship, again went to war against each other. England and France were on very bad terms already, and Henry bitterly resented Francis' treachery since 1533, and was no less irritated at his close friendship with the Scots. Accordingly he very willingly accepted the advances of Charles, who, now that his aunt was dead and forgotten, was very anxious to have England on his side again. In 1543 things went back to the state in which they had been over twenty years before, and Henry, in alliance with Charles, was again waging war against the French. In 1544 a joint expedition was planned that was to march from Calais and the German frontier to Paris. The English fought well, and took *Boulogne* after a long siege. But a few days later they heard that Charles, despairing of reaching Paris, had suddenly concluded the *treaty of Crêpy* with Francis, thus leaving England to fight French and Scots single-handed. In 1545 the French sought to avenge the loss of Boulogne by launching a great fleet and army against the south coast of England. The invasion proved an utter failure, and in 1546 the French were glad to make peace, leaving Henry in possession of Boulogne.

Scotland was included in the treaty. Since the destruction of Edinburgh in 1544, she had experienced nothing but misfortune. In 1545 the Scots endured another ruthless foray led by Hertford, and in 1546, Cardinal Beaton, the soul of the resistance to England, was murdered by the Scots reformers, with Henry's good-will. The murderers held the castle of St. Andrews, which thus became an open gate by which Henry could penetrate into Scotland. Under such circumstances the

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Scots gladly made peace. But the violence and brutality of the method of Henry's Scottish policy had defeated the wise end which he had in view. It was useless to profess to wish to join the English and Scottish crowns by marriage, when cruelly plundering and burning Scottish territory and conniving at the murder of the chief Scottish statesman. We shall see later that Henry had more success in carrying out a similar policy of union in Wales and Ireland. (See chapter viii.)

21. Despite the successes won abroad, the last years of Henry's reign were filled with darkness and gloom. In 1542 Catharine Howard incurred the fate of Anne Boleyn, being executed for misconduct which was clearly brought home to her. The shameful death of a second royal niece of Norfolk did something to sap his power, especially as his harshness and bad temper made him no very popular leader of a party. In 1543 the king married his sixth wife, *Catharine Parr*, the lively young widow of Lord Latimer, who did not concern herself overmuch with politics, though she leant to the reforming side. She had the good luck to outlive her husband.

Execution of Catharine Howard, 1542.

The wave of reaction was now gradually stayed, and signs were soon apparent that the reforming party was gradually winning back power. Even in the most reactionary days, a committee had been appointed to draw up an English form of Divine Service, in which Cranmer at last found a more congenial work than politics, which gave full scope for his wonderful skill in turning the time-hallowed Latin prayers into pure and expressive English. In 1544 he issued an *English Litany*, translated from the early Latin Litanies, and along with it was published a *Primer*, or book of private devotions, also in English; while it was ordered that some parts of public worship, including the Creed, Commandments, and Lord's Prayer, should be recited in the vulgar tongue. A strong motive for inducing the greedy king to support fresh measures for the reformation of the Church was to be found in the need for money that resulted from the expensive wars of the end of the reign. Even a gross debasement of the coinage, though it upset the course of trade, could not restore the king's finances. An easier way of making both ends meet was a new attack on Church property. In 1545 an Act of Parliament was passed giving the king power to dissolve colleges, chantries, and free chapels at his pleasure. Even

Beginnings of a new wave of Reformation, 1543-1547.

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before the Act many nobles had laid their hands on such establishments, and now the king seized the booty that otherwise might have escaped his clutches. Fresh scenes of spoliation were witnessed; and the *chantries*, the foundations where private masses for the repose of the founders' souls were said, were ruthlessly rooted out, though the unrepealed Six Articles still upheld private masses.

22. Two soldiers, who had won glory in the last wars, now directed the party of the new learning. These were the king's brother-in-law, *Edward Seymour*, since 1537 Earl of Hertford, and *John Dudley*, since 1542 Lord Lisle, the son of Henry VII.'s extortioner, while behind them stood Cranmer, now drifting more and more towards the reforming cause, though not daring to express his opinions. Meanwhile the old king's health was breaking up. He could neither walk nor stand, and at last got so weak that to save him the fatigue of writing his name, a stamp had to be used to represent the royal signet. The contest between parties in the Council became the fiercer now that the personal influence of the king grew less, and the prize of victory was the future direction of his young son's government. The great fight was between the Howards and the Seymours. The Howards despised Hertford as an upstart and a heretic, and, thinking power was within their grasp, gave an opportunity to their watchful enemies. Norfolk's son, *Henry Howard* Earl of Surrey, the famous poet, challenged the king's anger by quartering the so-called arms of Edward the Confessor with his own, and was promptly accused of aiming at the Crown. He was quickly convicted of treason, and was executed on 27th January 1547. Norfolk, who had shared his son's arrest, pleaded guilty, in the vain hope of obtaining mercy. But an Act of Attainder was passed against him on the day of Surrey's execution. Next day, 28th January, Henry himself died, before he could give the royal assent to the legislative condemnation of his last victim.

The Struggle of the Seymours and Howards, 1546.

Death of Henry VIII., 1547.

23. Henry VIII. was one of the strongest of English kings, and with all his unbridled self-will had done a great work for England, though he had done it in an utterly brutal, reckless, and violent way. Would his work last after his death? Anxious that the government should be still carried on in his own fashion, and wishful to provide for the continuance of his house, Henry had got from his subservient

Henry VIII.'s plan for the Succession.

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Parliament permission to regulate the succession by will, and before his death had drawn up, somewhat irregularly, a scheme for the future settlement of the crown. In the first place, he provided for the succession of Edward, Prince of Wales, the undoubted heir, and, in case Edward should become king before he grew up to manhood, Henry devised a council of regency, in which the two parties of the old and the new learning were so balanced that neither could crush the other. The real difficulty was what to do if Edward died without children, since both the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate and cut off from the succession. With sound common sense Henry broke through the legal tangle of his own making, and declared that both should succeed to the throne in order of birth. But there was still a further difficulty if Mary and Elizabeth died, like Edward, without issue, since by strict law, the little Queen of Scots, the grand-daughter of Henry's elder sister, would become queen. Henry saw that English feeling would not yet tolerate a Scottish ruler, and, sweeping away the right of the elder line, he declared that the descendants of his younger sister Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, should immediately follow his own children, as inheritors of the throne. But the power of the strongest king dies with him, and Henry's will was never altogether carried out. Yet the succession of his three children in the order which he had appointed showed that the old despot interpreted English feeling in his death as in his life.

CHAPTER III.

Edward VI. and the Establishment of Protestantism. 1547-1553.

1. Edward VI. was not ten years old when he became king. He was a sickly boy, with a consumptive taint, short for his age, with fair skin, high forehead, weak eyes, and some tendency to deafness. He was grave and precocious, and his schooling was forced on so early that he cared little for his play, and delighted to hide away in some remote chamber with his books, in which he showed a wonderful proficiency when still a mere baby. He had few friends, and lived a solitary and melancholy life, busying himself from the beginning

Character of Edward VI.

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with high problems of theology and politics, and showing little natural affection for his kinsfolk. He was very religious. No study delighted him more than that of the Scriptures, of which he read ten chapters daily; and he took pleasure in listening to sermons, and in taking notes of them. He specially loved the shrewd honest preaching of Hugh Latimer, who exercised an excellent influence over him. Edward early became an ardent reformer, and keenly sympathised with the religious policy of those who ruled England for him. When still a boy he eagerly followed the course of politics, noting down in the journal, which he kept from his accession, the chief occurrences of the time. The "godly disposition" of the "English Josiah" was extravagantly lauded by the reforming party; but as he grew up he showed traces of his father's self-confidence, harshness, and want of feeling, as well as of his firm will and splendid dignity of bearing. But everything was against him, and his faults should not be too harshly remembered.

Protectorate of Somerset, 1547-1549.

2. The triumph of Hertford over Norfolk and Surrey, while the old king lay dying, secured for the reforming party the possession of the power for which they had been striving so long. Henry VIII.'s plan for a carefully balanced council of regency was put aside, and Hertford was made Lord Protector with something of royal authority, having power to act with or without the Council, and "to do anything which a governor of the king's person and protector of the realm ought to do." He assumed the title of Duke of Somerset, and scattered peerages among his friends, his brother Thomas becoming Lord Seymour of Sudeley and Lord High Admiral, and Lisle being made Earl of Warwick. Gardiner and the other leaders of the old learning were excluded from the Council.

Somerset was an ardent reformer, who really believed in his principles, and who now strove to do everything in a hurry to make up for the weary years of waiting while his brother-in-law had lived. He was more honest than most of the statesmen of the time, though he was greedy beyond measure in appropriating Church property for himself. His soft words and gracious manner, his real sympathy for the poor and the suffering, and his bravery and skill as a soldier, combined to give him popularity, but he soon showed obstinacy where pliancy was needed, and weakness where he should have manifested strength. He had little practical

wisdom, no power of compromise, and small insight into public opinion. He failed in his foreign policy, when he sought to carry out the ideas of Henry VIII., but he was equally unsuccessful at home when he strove to repudiate all that Henry had striven for. After less than three years he fell utterly from power.

Foreign Politics, 1547-1550.

3. England was at peace with France and Scotland when the new reign began, and a prudent ruler would have steered clear of foreign complications during the troubles of a minority. But Somerset, though his hands were full with the reforming of the English Church, was unpractical enough to think the moment come when he could carry out Henry VIII.'s old plan of uniting England and Scotland by the marriage of the little king and queen. Religion also moved him in the same direction, for he hoped for the support of the Scots reformers, whose stronghold at St. Andrews had recently been captured by the French auxiliaries of the Scots government. Though there was an opening for prudence and diplomacy, the means taken by Somerset to unite the kingdoms made union impossible for another two generations. He talked of reviving Edward I.'s claims of overlordship over Scotland, and on 4th September 1547 crossed the Borders at the head of a great army, a large proportion of which was cavalry, to carry out his policy by sheer superiority of strength. All Scotland united to oppose foreign invasion, and a numerous Scots army took up a strong position on the left bank of the Esk, over against Musselburgh, hoping to protect Edinburgh, which had previously suffered so severely from Somerset's hands. On 8th September Somerset occupied the heights on the right bank of the river, while the English fleet, anchored close ashore in the Forth, threatened the left flank of the Scots. For two days the armies watched each other, but, early on the 10th, the Scots in their eagerness to attack Somerset, abandoned their strong position, crossed the Esk over Musselburgh bridge, and marched against the English posted on the high ground beyond. This led to the decisive battle of Musselburgh or *Pinkie Cleugh*. The English moved down to meet the enemy, and the Scots pikemen, standing in dense array, after the ancient fashion, valiantly withstood the shock of Lord Grey's cavalry, which charged them downhill. The English horse broke and fled, but the pikemen were powerless to pursue them uphill, and halted in a dangerous position, where their columns were soon broken up by the merciless fire of the English from their higher quarters. The military skill of Warwick, who led the middle portion of the English army, now changed the fortunes of the day. He poured fresh masses of English cavalry down the hill, and this time the pikemen were at their mercy. The Scots army fled in disorder, and the English, with insignificant losses to themselves, utterly destroyed it. Leith was burned, and Scotland again ruthlessly plundered. But the military triumph of the Protector was more than outbalanced by his political failure. Indignant at the armed wooing of the English king, the Scots renewed their treaty with France, where Henry II. had just succeeded his father, Francis I., as king. In 1548 the little queen was sent

Battle of Pinkie Cleugh, 10th Sept. 1547.

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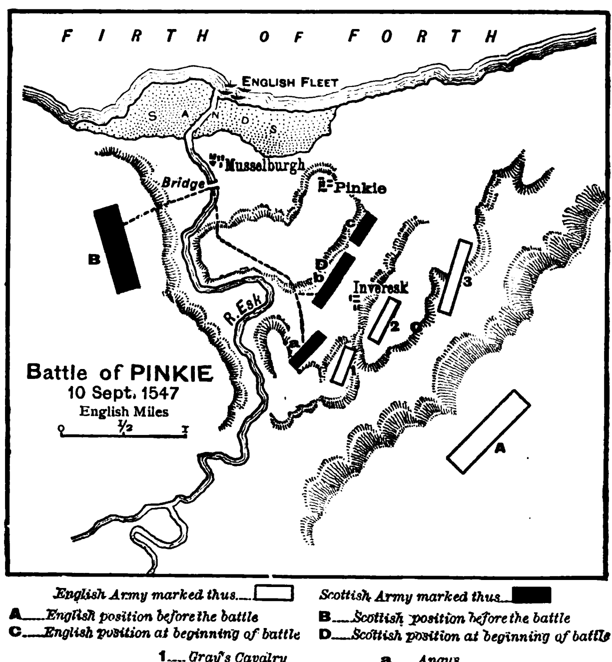
beyond sea to be educated as a Frenchwoman and a Catholic, and the destined bride of the future French king, Henry's son Francis. Her mother, Mary of Guise, henceforth ruled Scotland in the French and Catholic interest, and for more than ten years the cause of the Reformation seemed utterly eclipsed. French troops were sent to Scotland, and effectually prevented a renewal of the policy of invasion. In revenge for the attack on Scotland, the French assailed Boulogne, and after a long struggle won it back. After Somerset's fall peace was made with both countries on conditions that reversed all the successes of Henry VIII. (1550).



English Army marked thus ▭ *Scottish Army marked thus* ▬
A—*English position before the battle* B—*Scottish position before the battle*
C—*English position at beginning of battle* D—*Scottish position at beginning of battle*
1—*Gray's Cavalry* a—*Angus*
2—*Warwick* b—*Arran*
3—*Somerset* c—*Huntly*
-------------- *March of the Scots that brought about the battle*

4. Somerset threw himself heartily into the work of reforming the Church, and giving up Henry's idea of a

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middle way, strove to make England Protestant after the German fashion. Cranmer entirely agreed with him, having long been secretly influenced by the German Lutherans, though he soon went beyond their teaching. The archbishop was a wretched politician, his weakness of character and deference to the great making him the tool of all factions in succession, but he was a man of some learning and much refinement of feeling, possessing a singular power of writing good English, a power he was now able to employ to the great advantage of the Church. His delicate scholarship and timidity combined to make him a lover of ancient forms, even when he was fast departing from their spirit, and did something to prevent him from utterly deserting the ways of Henry VIII. Too weak to withstand the greedy courtiers, who soon outvied Somerset in their pretended zeal for reformation, he was still able to go on working quietly to establish the new system on sound lines. It is largely due to the influence of Cranmer that, amidst the fierce passions and fiercer self-seeking of the reign of Edward VI., some solid results remained, that permanently affected for good the course of religion in England.

The Reformation under Somerset, 1547-1549:

Immediately after the young king's accession, the bishops were compelled to take out new appointments by letters patent, in order to emphasise the fact that they were mere officials of state, with no independent power or divine right. Then a general royal visitation of the whole country was held to enforce the Royal Supremacy, and remove images and other "superstitious" emblems from the churches. The bishops of the old school, headed by Gardiner and Bonner, struggled in vain against the visitors. A book of English *Homilies* was next set up, as a sort of authorised sermons, which the clergy were to read to their flocks. Parliament ordered that the Holy Communion should be administered in both kinds, repealed the Six Articles, and the other Acts of Henry creating new treasons and heresies. A new Act was passed granting to the king such colleges, chantries, and free chapels as had escaped confiscation under Henry VIII., and the councillors made haste to make themselves rich with the spoils. A mere fraction of the proceeds was kept for national purposes. Some schools and hospitals which the ancient ecclesiastical colleges had maintained, were "refounded," and perhaps a few new ones set up. These measures have given Edward VI. a very undeserved reputation as a

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founder of grammar schools and patron of learning. This credit is not much better merited than the cheap fame won in the same way by Henry VIII. In other ways the Church was impoverished. Somerset himself pulled down churches and bishops' houses, to build himself a palace in the Strand. Cranmer was little more than a reed in his hands, and powerless to protect the Church. The clergy obtained a grudging permission to marry, and had their tithes secured to them. But they shared in the growing demoralisation, and many sought to make a little harvest on their own account. A few strenuous preachers of the new faith strove to kindle the sluggish zeal of a people who had grown careless of the old order, without any real enthusiasm for the new. Conspicuous among these was Hugh Latimer, who, refusing another bishopric, preferred to work as a simple preacher. He lamented that things were worse than in the "old days of Popery," and in plain homely language sought to make men ashamed of their greed and selfishness.

The First Prayer Book of Edward VI., 1549.

5. The most important change now brought about was the abolition of the Latin services, and the setting up of a new English Prayer Book. Some steps in this direction had been already taken under Henry VIII., and, since 1543, Cranmer's committee had been hard at work. In 1547, when Communion in both kinds was ordered, an English form of receiving that Sacrament was drawn up. At last, in 1549, the Act of Uniformity was passed, enjoining the reading in all English churches of the form of service known as the *First Prayer Book of Edward VI.* It was a very careful and reverent translation of the mediæval Latin services into the vulgar tongue, with a few omissions and additions, and the putting together of the numerous short forms of service of the ancient Church into the order for Morning and Evening Prayer, but with great care shown not to wound the feelings of lovers of old ways. This was especially seen in the Communion Service, which taught the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and carefully kept most of the ancient ceremonies. Such a little way did it go that the ardent reformers were dissatisfied with it, and those who hated the changes, like Bonner, could still try to carry on the new services in the old spirit, and with the old ceremonies. Accordingly, another royal visitation was held to enforce the new service book. Bonner was deprived of his bishopric, and imprisoned for the rest of the reign.

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6. Besides the religious revolution, the social and economic changes that had caused so much misery under Henry VIII. were still far from having run their course. The only remedy that Council and Parliament could find for poverty was a severe law that any "vagabond" might be seized and kept as a slave for two years, being forced to work on bread and water and liable to be beaten at his master's pleasure, while if he escaped, he became a slave for life.

Somerset had let loose powers that he was not strong enough to control, and the quarrels of the councillors further distracted the realm and weakened the government. Pirates plundered the coasts, and the government could only pay its way by coining bad money, and forcing people to receive it as good. Somerset's brother, *Lord Seymour of Sudeley*, "a man of much wit and very little judgment," strove to rise into power as the mouthpiece of the prevailing discontent. He married Henry VIII.'s widow, and on her death sought to marry the Lady Elizabeth. He used his position as Admiral to make friends with the pirates whom he was sent to put down, and supplied himself with funds by obtaining the control of the Bristol mint. But he was too headstrong and rash to play his part properly. In March 1549 he was executed as a traitor, being condemned by Act of Attainder. But his brother's death gave Somerset only a short respite.

Execution of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, 1549.

7. Disgust at the Prayer Book led to a new Pilgrimage of Grace in the south-west, where the first reading of the English service on Whitsunday 1549 was followed by a riot that soon grew into a widespread popular insurrection of the conservative western counties. The rebels denounced the new Prayer Book as "like a Christmas game," and demanded the restoration of the Mass and the Six Articles, and the recall of Cardinal Pole.

The risings of 1549.

While the Devonshire men rose to uphold the ancient order, bad government and social grievances led the men of Norfolk, where the reforming spirit was strongest, to take up arms against the Protectorate. The eastern counties had suffered terribly from the enclosure of commons, which had deprived the poor man of his rights of pasture, and by the turning of plough-lands into sheep-walks, against which More had long ago lifted up his voice. While the poor found it harder to get work, a few rich men made unhallowed gains at their expense. The new

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landlords, who had succeeded the monks, looked upon landholding as a business, and rackrented their tenants to get a high interest from their investments. The atrocious law against vagabonds shows how bad the feeling between class and class had become. A local dispute now set the countryside ablaze. *Robert Ket*, lord of the manor of Wymondham, had a quarrel with a neighbouring landlord, and put himself at the head of a mob which was pulling down fences and denouncing enclosures. Before long a great army had collected on *Mousehold Hill*, outside Norwich, where Ket held a sort of court under an oak-tree, which he called the *Tree of Reformation*. Very moderate demands were sent up to the Council, praying that enclosures should be restrained and that "all bondmen may be made free, since God made all free with His precious blood-shedding." Getting no answer, Ket captured Norwich and defeated the royal troops.

The end of the Protectorate, 1549.

Somerset sympathised with the eastern rebels, but was too weak to remedy their grievances. The revolts had to be put down, and he was pushed aside by stronger men. As Englishmen declined to fight against their brethren, foreign mercenaries were employed who had no scruples. In August *John Russell*, soon afterwards made Earl of Bedford, put down the western revolt, while Warwick defeated the Norfolkmen with terrible slaughter at *Dussendale*. The Council now sought to get rid of Somerset altogether. In despair he strove to rally the people on his side. Early in October he was degraded from the Protectorate and confined to the Tower. With unwonted leniency, he was soon released from prison, and even restored to the Council. But his power was at an end. Henceforth the Council resolved to keep the government in its own hands.

The misrule of Warwick and the Council, 1549-1553.

8. It was hard for a weak man like Somerset to wield the authority of Henry VIII. It was impossible for a little knot of greedy and quarrelsome councillors even to affect to carry on the strong rule, which alone could save Tudor England from anarchy. The councillors scrambled eagerly for wealth and place, and Warwick, the strongest of them, was a coarse, self-seeking soldier, who hid his ambition under a popular and magnificent manner. Without religious feeling himself, he now professed a great zeal for purifying the Church, since each fresh step of religious reformation

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meant a fresh confiscation of Church property. Circumstances favoured his policy. It was a dark time for Protestantism on the Continent. Luther was dead, and Charles V., freed from his long rivalry with Francis, was resolutely bent on stamping out the Reformation in Germany. A swarm of Protestant exiles now sought refuge in England. Among them were *Martin Bucer*, the learned and judicious Strassburg reformer, and *Peter Martyr*, an Italian, who were made professors of theology at Cambridge and Oxford. Disciples of the foreign schools gradually made their way to the front, conspicuous among them being the accomplished and courteous *Nicholas Ridley*, Cranmer's old chaplain, who became Bishop of London on Bonner's deprivation, and was conspicuous for his zeal in breaking down altars, and for his influence on the mind of the archbishop. A less temperate enthusiast was *John Hooper* who, on being made bishop of Gloucester in 1551, refused to wear the "popish vestments" necessary for his consecration, and only yielded after a long imprisonment. Both of these were disciples of the Zwinglian school, and Cranmer himself was now drifting in their direction, having abandoned the doctrine of the Real Presence. Most of the bishops of the old school were deposed, Gardiner losing Winchester in 1551, and being, like Bonner, imprisoned for the rest of the reign. The Council strove to prevent the Lady Mary, who hated the religious changes, from continuing to have the Latin Mass celebrated before her. After a long struggle they were forced to yield before the steadfastness of Mary and the threat of the Emperor to go to war if they persisted. With all their violence, the Reformers were less sanguinary than Henry VIII. The only victims were a few upholders of extreme opinions, of whom the chief was the brave Anabaptist fanatic, *Joan Bocher*, burnt in 1550 for denying the Incarnation. Even Zwinglians held that such heresy as hers must be punished.

Progress of the Reformation, 1549-1553.

The scramble for Church property went on, and the government grew worse and worse. Bishops were forced to surrender their lands and received back a merely nominal equivalent. Statesmen appointed themselves to high ecclesiastical dignities, pocketed the revenues and neglected the duties that they were, as laymen, not qualified to perform. Bishoprics were suppressed, including several of Henry's new sees. Westminster was absorbed in London,

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and Gloucester, Hooper's diocese, was again united to Worcester. The wealthy see of Durham was similarly suppressed. It was plain that little Church property would soon be left. The revenues of the universities and their colleges were threatened, and scholars almost ceased to attend them, or proper candidates to offer themselves for the ministry. There was much discontent, but few dared to give it tongue. In 1550 Hugh Latimer, who had spoken too plainly to please the Council, was ordered to preach no more before the king. In their despair people looked to the discredited Somerset as a possible deliverer from the misrule of the Council. But the king coldly upheld Warwick against his uncle, and Somerset was arrested, convicted of felony, and beheaded on 22nd January 1552, amidst the hearty sorrow of the people, who still looked on him as their friend. Warwick, now fully triumphant, was made Duke of Northumberland. He had the ear of the young king, and could carry everything as he would.

The Prayer Book of 1552.

The forms of the earlier years of Edward's reign seemed to the disciples of the Swiss reformers, who now directed the policy of the Church, to be wanting in primitive simplicity. Accordingly the Prayer Book of 1549 was recast, and superseded by the *Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.*, enjoined by the Act of Uniformity of 1552. This compilation marked a very great advance of the Zwinglian spirit. The changes in the Communion Service bring this out plainly. The words used in distributing the Bread in 1549 had clearly suggested the Real Presence. In 1552 new words were brought in which seemed to point in the direction of the Zwinglian doctrine that the Eucharist was nothing but a memorial Supper. But even these changes did not go far enough for many. Some objected to elaborate forms of prayer at all; many complained of the obligation of the communicants to receive the Sacrament on their knees. To satisfy them a rubric, called the *Black Rubric* by the foes of the advanced reformers, was added explaining that nothing idolatrous was implied in the custom. But great as were the changes in spirit, the real sympathy that Cranmer still showed for the ancient forms, and his rare command of dignified and appropriate language raised the Prayer Book of 1552 above the fierce passions of the hour, and made it one of the most permanent and precious results of the reign. Substantially it is the same as the present Prayer Book of the English Church.

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A new form of doctrine was now drafted in the *Forty-Two Articles* of 1553, largely based on the Lutheran confession of faith, and the basis of Elizabeth's Thirty-Nine Articles. Even more than the Prayer Book, they show how completely the English Church had abandoned the doctrines of Henry VIII. and adopted those of the Reformers. A code of Protestant ecclesiastical law, called the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, was also drawn up, but there was no time to have it made law.

Northumberland's plan for the Succession, 1553.

9. Change succeeded change, until the misrule of the ruling faction produced murmurs even from the subservient Commons, who, in passing a new *Treasons Act*, insisted on adding a clause that no one should be convicted of treason except by the evidence of two witnesses at least. Nevertheless Northumberland, secure of the support both of the courtiers and the advanced reformers, seemed firmly established in power. Unluckily for him the king's health began to break up, and it was soon clear that the sickly and overwrought boy had not long to live. By Henry VIII.'s will, the Lady Mary was the next heir, and she was an uncompromising friend of the Mass. The dying king was much concerned at the light of the Gospel being put out by his death, and Northumberland easily made him the instrument of an audacious plan to change the succession. He persuaded Edward that he had the same power to determine who should be the next sovereign as Henry VIII. had exercised, though Henry had an Act of Parliament at his back, and Edward had not. He further induced the king to exclude from the succession not only Mary, but Elizabeth, who was not unfriendly to the new system. In their stead Edward bequeathed the throne to the *Lady Jane Grey*, the eldest child of Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, the daughter of Mary, Henry VIII.'s sister, by her second husband, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The innocent victim of Northumberland's ambition was a young girl of sixteen, of sweet temper, strong will, and great devotion to the reformed doctrines. She was so fond of her books that she stayed at home to read Plato, when all her family went out hunting. She was now married against her will to Northumberland's son *Lord Guildford Dudley*. Thus Northumberland hoped to reign through his daughter-in-law.

Edward loved Lady Jane, and gladly fell in with Northumberland's advice. There was more difficulty in forcing the scheme on the Council, but, like Northumber-

land, the councillors were afraid of Mary, and were too deeply pledged to draw back. Cranmer was loath to agree, but finally yielded with characteristic weakness. On 6th July 1553 Edward died.

Queen Jane and Queen Mary, 10-19 July 1553.

10. For two days the king's death was kept secret, and when further delay was impossible, Jane was proclaimed queen in London on 10th July, amidst a significant silence. Ridley preached in her favour to little purpose, and outside the capital no one thought of obeying her. Mary fled to the eastern counties, where the gentry of the most Protestant part of England flocked to her with every sign of enthusiasm. Northumberland hurried against her, but he had only reached Cambridge, when his troops mutinied, and he gave up the struggle. On 19th July, Suffolk told his daughter that her reign was over, and himself proclaimed Mary at the Tower gates, and the news was welcomed amid "bell ringing, blazes, and shouts of applause." The conspirators and their victims were cast into prison. On 3rd August the new queen made her solemn entry into London. The Protestant misrule was over, and the daughter of Henry VIII. had come to restore her father's house against the self-seeking duke, who had played for high stakes and lost.

CHAPTER IV.

Mary and the Romanist Reaction (1553-1558).

Character of Queen Mary.

1. Though only thirty-seven, the new queen was prematurely aged by weak health, and soured by her miserable girlhood. She was of low stature, thin, and delicate, with grave and sedate looks, and plain features, though her piercing eye commanded respect, and her deep-toned masculine voice could speak eloquently and strongly. She had good abilities, and had been well educated, knowing three languages, and delighting in music. Her kindness and charity made her beloved by her servants and intimates. Though the fierce Tudor will and temper flamed up from time to time, she had learnt by adversity to keep them under strict control. Friendless as she had been, she had ever remained true to her mother's memory, and was proud of her Spanish descent and kinship to the Emperor, no less than of her unblemished orthodoxy and

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ardent devotion to the ancient faith. She was known to be utterly opposed to the policy of her brother's ministers, and in welcoming her as queen, Englishmen hoped to get rid of the self-seekers and innovators, who had brought the realm so low.

2. The first acts of Mary gave general satisfaction. The prisons were opened, and old Norfolk, Gardiner, Bonner, and the other victims of Protestant policy were restored to their dignities. A new Council was set up which contained few of Edward's advisers, and Gardiner was made Chancellor.

The Restoration of the System of Henry VIII., 1553-1554.

A very few victims atoned for the attempt to uphold Jane Dudley. Though Lady Jane and her husband were condemned to death, there was no thought of carrying out the sentence. Her father, Suffolk, was released, through Mary's affection for her mother; and only Northumberland, with two of his subordinate agents, was put to death. On the scaffold, Northumberland avowed himself a Catholic, and set down all the misfortunes of England to the breach with Rome. The Protestant bishops were deprived, imprisoned, or driven beyond sea, and foreign Protestants were ordered out of the realm. Parliament soon met, declared Mary Henry's lawful daughter, repealed Edward VI.'s Acts concerning religion, and brought back the Six Articles, the Mass, and the unmarried clergy, leaving the Church as it had been at the death of Henry VIII. For more than a year, no further religious changes were effected. Mary even assumed her father's title of Supreme Head of the Church. Most Englishmen were well content with the queen's restoration of Henry VIII.'s middle way, but Mary was by no means satisfied with it. The daughter of Catharine of Aragon as little loved the system of her father, built up, as it was, on her mother's shame, as she loved the innovations of her brother. Her ardent wish was to have things as they had been before her mother's marriage was questioned. Politically she was anxious to restore the imperial alliance. Ecclesiastically, she was eager to have back the Pope and the monks. Both her desires met with strong opposition, but ultimately her fierce persistency almost realised her objects.

3. Parliament strongly urged the queen to marry an English nobleman, but there was no one who seemed suitable, and Charles V., who had always befriended his cousin in her days of trouble, offered her as a husband his son, *Philip*,

The Spanish Marriage Treaty, January 1554.

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Prince of Spain, who was eleven years her junior, and a widower. To many of the Council, including Gardiner, the proposal seemed a dangerous one. The pair were personally ill matched, and as Charles V.'s health was already broken, Philip was likely soon to inherit most of his dominions. Though he had a son by his former marriage, English patriotism, remembering that lucky marriages had built up the dominions of Charles V., revolted at the possibility, if the little Don Carlos were to die, of England being absorbed in the Spanish Empire. Even an alliance with Spain was no longer looked upon with much favour, despite the ancient ties that bound the two countries. Moreover Philip was already famous for his uncompromising zeal for Catholicism, and a union with him could hardly be effected on terms that left Henry VIII.'s legislation standing. All these reasons only made Mary the more anxious to complete a match, which would at one stroke realise all her ambitions. She answered Parliament that it had no right to limit her choice of a husband, and at once began negotiations for her marriage with Philip. In January 1554 the marriage treaty was drawn up. Husband and wife were to assume each other's titles, but careful provision was made that England should be separate and independent from Spain, that none but Englishmen should hold office in England, and that England should not be dragged into the war, which Charles had been waging against France since 1552.

The Wyatt Rebellion, Jan.-Feb., and the Spanish Marriage, 25th July, 1554.

4. Three popular revolts followed the announcement of the treaty and showed how much the marriage was hated. Suffolk, forgetful of what he owed to Mary's mercy, strove to raise the Midlands, while Sir Peter Carew stirred up his native Devonshire, and *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, a gallant young Kentish gentleman, son of Wyatt the poet, started an insurrection in Kent and Sussex. Suffolk was easily defeated and taken prisoner; Carew fled to France without accomplishing anything, and Wyatt's rebellion alone proved formidable. Fifteen thousand turbulent Kentishmen followed him on his march to London, and occupied Southwark. There was a panic in the City, but the queen went down to the Guildhall and filled the Londoners with courage by her timely and courageous eloquence. Meanwhile Wyatt, abandoning Southwark, crossed the Thames at Kingston and hurried to London from the west. As soon as he got among the

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houses, he was overpowered and captured. The queen dealt with this second rising more sternly than with the first. Not only were Suffolk and Wyatt and other actual rebels executed, but Lady Jane and Lord Guildford were also put to death under the old sentence. Gardiner urged that the Lady Elizabeth, whose claims the rebels had been thought to favour, should incur the same fate. She was imprisoned in the Tower, but Mary could not bring herself to lay hands upon her sister, and Wyatt with his dying breath declared that she had had no knowledge of the conspiracy. A little later Parliament gave a grudging approval of the marriage treaty, though it was not until July that the sluggish Philip came to England and was married to Mary by Bishop Gardiner in Winchester Cathedral. Philip prudently kept aloof from English politics, following the shrewd advice of Renard, his father's ambassador. He persuaded his wife to set free her sister Elizabeth, who was now again received into the queen's favour. With great wisdom Elizabeth henceforth kept on fair terms with her sister, zealously attending Mass, and scrupulously keeping herself free from suspicion of disloyalty.

The Reconciliation with Rome, Nov. 1554.

5. Mary had now accomplished half her purpose, and immediately set about carrying out the reconciliation with Rome. She had to contend against the active hostility of some and the indifference of most of her councillors. Gardiner, her chief adviser, had won his reputation by defending the Royal Supremacy, but the experience of Edward's reign led him to think that Henry VIII.'s middle way was impossible, and that there was no choice save between the Pope and the extreme Protestants. As he had always fought against the latter, he had now no scruple in going back to his allegiance to the former. Love of money, not religious principle, long delayed the papal restoration. The lay nobles, who had been enriched with the spoils of the Church, were hard to win over, especially as it was known that the queen was as anxious to restore Church property to its ancient owners as she was to bring back the Pope. Even the Emperor and the Pope were reluctant to hurry the English into an unwilling restoration of the Papacy; and few shared Mary's impatience at the long delay except her cousin, Cardinal Pole, who had for nearly twenty years represented uncompromising hostility to the Anglican Reformation at the Roman court, and had since her accession been vainly

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trying to effect an entrance into the country as papal legate. At last it was seen that the Pope could be restored only if the monasteries were frankly abandoned to their lay owners. The Pope promised not to insist upon the restitution of Church lands, and all difficulties were removed. In November 1554 Parliament met at Westminster. The sheriffs had been exhorted to return members of "a wise, grave, and Catholic sort," and the result showed that the art of managing elections was already well understood. Parliament repealed Henry VIII.'s legislation against Rome, revived the ancient laws against heresy, and declared unlawful the title of Supreme Head of the Church, which Mary had borne for nearly two years. One of its first acts was to reverse the Act of Attainder, which in Henry's time had been passed against Cardinal Pole. The legate now arrived in London, and was rowed up to Westminster in a barge of state, at whose prow glittered a great silver cross, the emblem of his office. Mary welcomed him with the utmost warmth. "The day I ascended the throne," she declared, "I did not feel such joy." A few days later, Pole solemnly absolved England from the guilt of schism and pronounced its restoration to Catholic unity. After eighteen months of hard struggle, Mary had undone the work of her father, almost as completely as she had upset that of her brother. Public opinion, if not enthusiastic, did not oppose the change. There had been revolts against the Spanish marriage. There were none against the reconciliation with the Papacy.

The Marian Persecution, 1555-1558.

6. Now that the ancient Church had been fully restored, there still remained the question of how to deal with those who obstinately refused to accept the Marian reaction. These were comparatively few in number. The rule of Somerset and Northumberland had in no wise made the English nation Protestant; but there were many zealous reforming clergy, and in the southern and eastern parts of the country they had a considerable following. It was against all the traditions of the time that these should be allowed to worship after their own way. Everybody agreed that to tolerate error was both a sin and a mistake, and it was looked upon as something like rebellion for a subject to presumptuously reject the religion of the state. Henry VIII. had burnt Protestants and hung Papists. Edward VI. had burnt Anabaptists and shut up Romanists in prison. Calvin was equally intolerant, and Charles V. was busily

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engaged in stamping out heresy in the Netherlands. It was inevitable then that those who refused to accept Mary's changes should be persecuted, and it is unfair to regard Mary and her ministers as specially blameworthy for doing, a little more energetically than usual, what all parties agreed that it was right to do. Early in 1555 Pole set up a commission to try heretics, and on 2nd February John Rogers, a prebendary of St Paul's, who had taken a prominent part in translating the Bible into English, was the first martyr. Others rapidly followed. Bishop Hooper of Gloucester and Worcester, had opposed the rash attempt to set aside Mary, but had, early in the new reign, been thrown into prison, and had been used "worse and more vilely than the veriest slave." He was now deprived of his bishopric, and condemned as a heretic. To make a more public example, he was sent down to Gloucester, and burnt on 9th February, in the very town where he had upheld extreme Protestantism. A less prominent bishop suffered in March in Bishop Ferrar of St David's, who, for similar reasons, was burnt at Carmarthen, the chief town of his diocese. Before the end of the year nearly one hundred Protestants had been horribly slaughtered.

Martyrdom of Hooper, 9th Feb. 1555.

Among the chief of the victims were Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer. Latimer was now an old and "sore bruised man," and he had carefully kept free from the snares of Northumberland, living now in the country, but still rising at two in the morning to study, and preaching twice every Sunday. He was summoned to London, but every chance was given him to escape, as many others had escaped, to the Continent. The old hero scorned to flee, and cheerfully went up to London for his doom. Ridley and Cranmer were in a worse plight, being both deeply implicated in the Northumberland conspiracy. But it was thought better to wait and try them as heretics, than to hurry them to a swifter doom as traitors. In March 1554, Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer were all sent to Oxford, to dispute with Catholic divines on the doctrine of the Mass. Latimer declared that he was "no better able to discuss theology than to be Captain of Calais, but that he had read over the New Testament many times without finding the Mass in it, nor yet the marrow-bones and sinews thereof." After a stormy discussion, they were all adjudged heretics; but long delays now followed, and it was not till September

Martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer, 16th Oct. 1555.

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1555 that a commission of bishops went to Oxford to deal finally with them. After more disputations, Ridley and Latimer were sentenced on 1st October, and on 16th October were taken out to die on the north side of the town, "in the ditch over against Balliol College." Both refused to recant, and were fastened to the stake by an iron chain, while Ridley's brother was mercifully allowed to hang bags of gunpowder round their necks to shorten their sufferings. As the faggots were lighting, old Latimer cried, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as I trust shall never be put out." He died with little pain, but Ridley suffered terrible torments.

Martyrdom of Cranmer, 21st March, 1556.

Cranmer still remained. There were legal difficulties in dealing with him, as he had been consecrated before the schism began, and had duly received his *pallium* from the Pope. He was therefore summoned to answer for heresy at Rome, but the Pope appointed a commissioner to try him in England. This involved long delays. It was months after he had witnessed from his prison Ridley and Latimer going to their doom, before his turn came for judgment. However, he was condemned at Rome, and, after his deprivation, the Pope appointed Pole Archbishop of Canterbury by papal provision. On 12th February 1556 Cranmer was solemnly degraded from his orders, and after his priestly garb had been torn from him, he was clad in a poor yeoman's gown, and handed over to the secular arm. He was now plied with arguments and entreaties to recant. He was nearly seventy, and "sore broken in studies." He had never been a man of strong character, and his views had shifted so often, that he might well have been still perplexed with doubts. Moreover he had firmly believed in the Royal Supremacy, and now the Supreme Head of the Church had chosen to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Pope. At last he was persuaded to recant. His cruel enemies made him drink the cup of humiliation to the dregs. He was forced to sign no less than seven forms of abjuration, in one of which he abjectly compared himself to the penitent thief on the cross. But his weakness could not save his life, for there was no mercy for the man who had divorced Catharine of Aragon and bastardised her daughter. Despite his recantations, on 21st March he was doomed to die. Before the execution a sermon was preached over

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him in the University Church, and at the end he was called upon to read his abjurations. But he had won back his courage in the presence of death. After a few indifferent remarks, he addressed himself to the purpose. "I come," he said, "to the great thing which so much troubleth my conscience. I renounce and refuse all such bills and papers as I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And as my hand offended, my hand therefore shall first be punished, and shall be first burnt." Amidst general astonishment he was hurried from the church to the stake. When the wood was kindled, he plunged his right hand into the flame, exclaiming, "This hand hath offended." His courageous end did much to redeem the weakness of his life.

Gardiner died in 1555, but Pole and Bonner kept up the persecution. Before Mary's death there had been two hundred and eighty-six victims in less than four years. The martyrs were either clergymen or poor and humble folk, and practically all came from a small corner of the country. In the North, in Wales, and in the South-west there were no Protestants to burn. Four dioceses contributed nearly all the sufferers. From Bonner's diocese of London (Middlesex, Essex, Herts) came nearly half. Next in the order of victims was Pole's diocese of Canterbury, including most of Kent. Norwich (Norfolk and part of Suffolk), and Chichester (Sussex) were the only other dioceses where victims were numerous, though in fourteen other sees there were a small number of deaths, ranging from seven to one. The limitation of the persecution to so short a time and so small an area, made it the more severe; and callous as was the Englishman of the sixteenth century, sympathy with the martyrs did more to set up a Protestant party in England, than all the preaching of Ridley or the laws of Somerset and Northumberland. As usual persecution overshot the mark.

Mary's Misfortunes.

7. Already, perhaps, conscious that the persecution was a failure, Mary feverishly strove to win back for her Church its old place in her subjects' hearts. She persuaded her reluctant Parliament to restore First Fruits to the Pope, and strove in vain to rekindle the old love of the monastic life. Despite her crippled finances, she reopened several religious houses, including the royal foundation of St. Peter's, Westminster, where the shrine of St. Edward was again pieced together and brought back to

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its proud place behind the high altar. Few of her subjects followed her example, and her zeal only excited suspicion and mistrust. The home government of Mary was little more efficient than that of her brother, and the House of Commons turned restive for the first time since the Tudors became sovereigns. There were several threatened risings. The most formidable was that of *Thomas Stafford*, a grandson of Buckingham, who seized Scarborough Castle, with French help, and declared himself Protector of England, but was taken and executed. Protestant refugees of the bolder sort got ships from France and turned to piracy, plundering the English coasts. Moreover, Mary's health was giving way, and her domestic life was very unhappy. Save Pole, she had no real friend; and Philip, her husband, had left her in the autumn of 1555, and neglected her utterly for nearly two years. In 1557 he came back to England, and again pretended affection, in the hope of persuading her to break the marriage treaty, by helping him in his wars against France.

War with France, 1557-1559.

8. Between 1552 and 1559 another great struggle was fought between France and the Empire, in which Henry II. joined the German Protestants in defeating Charles V.'s policy in Germany, and combined with Pope Paul IV. to overturn his domination in Italy. Both parties looked for the help of England, and so early as 1553 the French had wished well to Lady Jane Grey because the Emperor supported Queen Mary. Charles V., crippled with gout and weary at the failure of his schemes, now made up his mind to abdicate. He had lost all hope of upholding the unity of his dominions, and was forced to yield up his German possessions with the prospect of the imperial succession to his brother Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the founder of the junior or Austrian branch of the house of Hapsburg. In 1556 Charles surrendered all his other dominions to Philip, who thus became King of Spain and the Indies, King of Naples, Duke of Milan, Lord of the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands and of the Free County of Burgundy. Despite the loss of the Empire Philip II. was still the chief prince of Europe, and he resolved to make a great effort to end the languishing war.

In 1557 Mary was persuaded to declare war against France, but the English took little part in the struggle, which Philip was able to bring to a triumphant close without them. In 1557 the great victory of *St. Quentin* laid

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France at his feet, while his generals fought Pope Paul IV., who, at the head of an Italian alliance, was seeking to restore the French power in Italy. England was made the scapegoat of Philip's successes. In the dead of winter Francis, Duke of Guise, the best French general, suddenly swooped on Calais, whose tottering walls and scanty garrison were quite unprepared to resist a siege. On 6th January 1558, *Calais* was stormed, and a few days later the fall of Guisnes completed the loss of the last lands held in France by the English crown, the last survival of the glories of the Hundred Years' War. Meanwhile Paul IV. and the Italian princes were utterly beaten, and Philip became master of Italy as much as his father had ever been. The furious old Pope revenged his defeat at the hands of Spain by turning savagely on Cardinal Pole, and depriving him of his position as papal legate, on the ground of his having once held views about justification by faith not unlike those of Luther. By a strange irony, the man who had devoted his life to the papal cause ended it under the frown of the Pope.

Loss of Calais, 1558.

9. Mary keenly felt the failure of her policy at home and abroad. She had lost Calais; she had made herself hated by her subjects; she had burnt the Protestants, and yet she was on bad terms with the Pope. She was racked by a mortal malady. More than all she felt her husband's coldness and cruelty. Yet sad as was her plight, she never lost her courage. "The queen," wrote Philip's ambassador, "does all she can; her will is good, and her heart is stout, but everything else is wrong." In the autumn of 1558 she was dying of dropsy. She made her will, leaving what money she had to the monks and friars, and magnanimously devoting her last moments to securing the succession of her sister. On 17th November she died and was buried, not in her robes of state, but in the garb of a nun. "When I am dead," she said to one of her ladies, "you shall find Calais lying upon my heart." Next day Cardinal Pole followed her to the grave. Both were pious and well-meaning enthusiasts, and both died conscious that their life's work had been a failure.

Death of Mary and Pole, 17th and 18th Nov. 1558.

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CHAPTER V.

The Reformation Settlement in England and Scotland.

1. The daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn was just over five-and-twenty when the death of her sister called her to the English throne, in accordance with her father's will. She was above the middle height, with strong features, a broad brow, a great hooked nose, hazel eyes, fair complexion and masses of light auburn hair. She had a magnificent constitution, and seemed almost incapable of fatigue, working nearly as hard as her father at the business of ruling her kingdom, yet always finding time for the endless frivolities of her court. She delighted in hunting, was proud of her skill in dancing, and was never weary of watching plays, masques, and shows. Nothing pleased her better than going on progress, visiting the houses of the nobles and gentry, and making herself popular with all classes. She was as careful as her father in upholding the ceremonial side of her office, and, like him, she was hearty, kindly, and affable when she was pleased, but terrible in her anger. With her father's kingly qualities came also a good deal of his coarseness and insensibility. She had few scruples, was utterly regardless of the truth, and sometimes a touch of ferocity showed that she was Henry's true daughter. Even in smaller matters there was little that was womanly about her. She spoke freely, swore good round oaths, ate and drank heartily, kissed her friends if she were pleased, and beat them when she was angry. She was as self-centred as Henry himself, and if she did her best for her country, it was only because, with fine Tudor instinct, she could not separate its interests from her own. She had, like all Henry's children, been carefully educated. Her schoolmaster, Roger Ascham, tells us that she spoke French and Italian as well as she talked English, that she was fluent in Latin, and had a fair knowledge of Greek. She wrote an exquisite hand, and was a good musician. But she had more information than culture; and her somewhat practical education did little to supply her lack of softness, imagination, and sympathy. She preferred action to reading, and was almost as much outside the wonderful literary movement that marked the end of her reign, as she was unaffected

Character of Queen Elizabeth.

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by the deeper religious emotions of her age. She was at bottom a cold, clear-headed, far-seeing politician, without sentiment or deep feeling, but strong, courageous, and persistent, and well able by her regal bearing to inspire enthusiasm to which she herself was a stranger. Yet there was a lighter and more frivolous side to her nature, which showed that there was something that she had inherited from her mother. Her vanity was colossal, and no flattery was too gross to be unacceptable to her. As she grew old, she concealed the ravages of time by paint, false hair, and gorgeous millinery, setting herself off with many-coloured dresses of barbaric design, and delighting in wearing monstrous farthingales, and towering ruffs, "supposing haply that the eyes of her people (being dazzled by the glittering aspect of those her outward adornments) would not so easily discover the marks of age and the decay of natural beauty." She was very undecided, especially in little matters, and in writing and speaking she affected an obscure style "that she might not write in such phrases as were commonly used." But however hard it seemed for her to make up her mind, she showed rare constancy of purpose in pursuing for nearly forty-five years the policy that she had marked out for herself at the beginning of her reign. She had no near kinsfolk and few real friends, and was too greedy of power to share it with any one, even with a husband, so that, though few queens were more faithfully served, she grew terribly lonely in her old age. She was excessively mean and parsimonious, knowing that she could only keep herself independent of her Parliaments by carefully husbanding her resources. She was shrewd enough to use her little vanities to conceal the strength of her purpose and the force of her will. But those have much misread her character who have made Elizabeth a weak queen, aimlessly swayed by conflicting impulses, and only kept to high resolves by the unflinching self-sacrifice of her advisers.

Elizabeth's statesmen and courtiers.

2. Elizabeth had a great admiration for her father, and her real ambition was to follow as closely as possible in his footsteps. Like her father, she kept her ministers as long as they were useful, and, as she never changed her policy as Henry did, or sent off the exponents of a former phase of feeling to the block, her statesmen grew grey and died in her service. Though she was niggardly in assigning rewards or honours to her most trusted helpers, and utterly unscrupulous

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in making them the scapegoats of her risky or unpopular acts, she clave to them with strange fidelity. *Sir William Cecil*, who had already done good service to both Edward and Mary, was her Secretary of State from her accession to 1572, from which date to his death, in 1598, he acted as Lord Treasurer of England. He is the typical statesman of her reign, shrewd, cautious, methodical, and wise, with nothing heroic about him, but prudently ruling both his own household and the realm of England, always quietly striving to screw up the hesitating queen to take up a more defiant and Protestant policy, but ever faithful to the state and uncorrupted by gifts, steering the crooked and devious policy of his mistress with admirable dexterity, simplicity, and cheerfulness, and receiving no higher reward than the barony of Burghley, which made him "the poorest lord in England."

William Cecil, 1520-1598.

His brother-in-law, *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, "a plain man, direct and constant," was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal from 1558 to his death in 1579, without so much as receiving the higher dignity of the Chancellorship as the reward of his faithful service. Office went almost by heredity, *Sir Robert Cecil*, Burghley's second son, becoming Secretary before his father's death, and taking as prominent a position in the queen's declining years as William Cecil had done in an earlier generation. Another chief helper of Elizabeth was *Sir Francis Walsingham*, Secretary from 1573 to his death in 1590, the most reserved yet dexterous and insinuating of politicians, whose spies wormed out the secrets of England's enemies, and who, for all his unswerving and unscrupulous devotion, died so poor that he left hardly enough to pay for his funeral.

Sir Nicholas Bacon, 1509-1579.

Sir Robert Cecil, 1563-1612.

Sir Francis Walsingham, 1536-1590.

Beyond the small circle of plain and unostentatious workers, stood the great ring of courtiers who amused Elizabeth's leisure and glorified her beauty and wisdom. To this motley crew she showed a liberality never manifested towards her responsible advisers. Many were mere pleasure-seekers; others intrigued against the ministers and upheld the King of Spain or hardly concealed their sympathy with the Catholics, while others, like *Lord Robert Dudley*, were ostentatious patrons of extreme Protestantism, though there was little that was Puritan in their life or manners. Robert Dudley, younger son of the wretched Duke of Northumberland, was con-

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1532-1588.

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spicuous for his goodly person, showy dress, and skill in the tactics of a courtier. He was about Elizabeth's own age and her greatest friend. She called him her "sweet Robin," made him Earl of Leicester, and would have married him, had she not resolved to live and rule alone. Though not without ability, he was a worthless fellow, gluttonous, cruel, overbearing, and vain, and believed, on suggestive but insufficient evidence, to have murdered his first wife, Amy Robsart, that he might be free to marry the queen. Down to his death in 1588, the queen never altogether lost her affection for him, and marred at least one of her boldest enterprises by entrusting it to his incompetent hands.

3. The utter failure of the reigns of her brother and sister could not but convince Elizabeth of the excellence of the middle way which Henry VIII. had so resolutely pursued. Her first great care was to apply it to the settlement of religion. Though she had cheerfully attended Mass under Mary, she was known to be disaffected to her sister's policy, and a swarm of Protestant exiles, driven away by Mary's persecution, had now hurried back to England clamouring for a reformation more thoroughgoing and complete than even that of Edward VI. At the same time the ministers and bishops of Mary were still in power, and any sudden change must at once excite their hostility. Elizabeth thus stood in a very difficult position, but she was shrewd enough to steer her way round the many quicksands and reefs that beset her. She had no decided personal feelings to warp her judgment. She had very little religious sentiment, and cared nothing for the theology of the rival churches, though she loved a stately worship and reverenced ancient forms. Candles gleamed and a silver crucifix glittered on her chapel altar, and until Parliament altered the law, she upheld the Mass as the legal service of the realm. But she had a strong English feeling, and strove to rise above the sectional policy of the last two reigns, and re-establish religion on a broad national basis, reforming so far as would give some satisfaction to the reformers, but retaining so much of the old as would encourage the lovers of old ways.

Elizabeth and the Via Media Anglicana.

4. If Elizabeth had been left to herself, she would probably have brought things back to the state they were in in 1547, or in the first year of Mary's reign. But a national church with the Mass and the Six Articles, but without the Pope, was not at the moment practicable. Christendom was hopelessly divided between the

The Parliament of 1559.

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Roman and anti-Roman camps; and though most plain Englishmen would have preferred King Henry's policy, Elizabeth saw that the papal party could only be fought with the help of the Protestants, and that their support was only to be obtained by going back largely to the system of Edward VI. Finding Convocation opposed to all change, Elizabeth at once had recourse to the Commons. In January 1559, her first Parliament met, and despite the unanimous opposition of the bishops, passed new Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.

The Act of Supremacy 1559.

The *Act of Supremacy of* 1559 was styled an "act restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same." It renounced the papal jurisdiction as emphatically as the Act of Henry VIII., but it dropped the title of Supreme Head of the Church, which had proved so offensive to ecclesiastical sentiment, and described the queen as the "only Supreme Governor of this Realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal." The *Oath of Supremacy* imposed by the act was to be taken by all ecclesiastics, all temporal officers and by all graduates of the universities, and the penalty for upholding foreign jurisdiction was, on the third offence, the death of a traitor. A royal proclamation further admonished "simple men," that the queen only claimed such authority "as anciently belonged to the crown," and did not "challenge power of ministry of divine service," *i.e.* distinctly clerical power.

The Act of Uniformity, 1559.

By the *Act of Uniformity of* 1559, the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was in substance restored, as the only lawful form of church service. Several significant alterations were however made, calculated to disarm resistance, like the modifications in the Act of Supremacy. The most important change was the one that ordered that both the forms employed in the two Prayer Books of Edward VI. in the administration of the Communion should be amalgamated so that both the Zwinglian and the traditional views of the Eucharist might seem to be allowed. An offensive petition in the Litany, praying for deliverance from the "Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities" was also omitted: while the famous *Ornaments Rubric* was added, enjoining that "all ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained as were in the Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI., until other order shall be taken by the Queen's Majesty."

By other acts of the same Parliaments, the queen's title to the crown was recognised, First Fruits and Tenths restored to the Crown, and the monasteries, restored by Mary, suppressed. It is significant that no proposals were at once made to bring back a Protestant system of doctrine by reviving Edward VI.'s Forty-Two Articles, or that draft code of Protestant Canon Law, the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.*

5. By these broad measures Elizabeth restored Protestantism in England. But the Elizabethan Settlement,

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though clothed for the most part in the forms of Edward VI., was inspired by the spirit of Henry VIII., rather than that of Somerset or Northumberland. Under Edward there had been constant changes, but no finality. No one knew what would go next, and everything seemed unsettled. Elizabeth now took Edward's system, and, making important modifications in it, set up what had been but a temporary halting-stage, in a time of unending change, as a final and permanent constitution for the English Church. Henceforth the queen's policy was simple. She had fixed the form of the Church, and had now to enforce obedience to it. With all its Protestant trappings, it was the *Via Media* of Henry VIII. over again, with a stately Liturgy, the traditional form of episcopal government, and the aspiration after continuity with earlier times. But it was the settlement of a statesman, not of a churchman. The most religious people in the country were either Romanists or Calvinists, and disliked it. Such a politic compromise could inspire little enthusiasm. Nevertheless Elizabeth upheld her policy with admirable courage and consistency. Though not wholly pleasing to her most active subjects, it interpreted pretty faithfully the wishes of the inert and easy-going majority, who were well content with her position. Before Elizabeth died, she had the gratification of knowing that her settlement was accepted by the great mass of her people, and that the Elizabethan *Via Media* had power to excite religious zeal and spiritual emotion, as real and effective as the extremes which at one time seemed to attract all enthusiasts to them. And after her death her spirit lived on, so that the Elizabethan Settlement, which even the armed Puritanism of the seventeenth century could not finally overcome, remained, and remains, under many changes of government, and many fluctuations of religious feeling, the ordered form of the Church of England.

General character of the Elizabethan religious Settlement.

6. The settlement had been steadily opposed by the clergy, headed by the bishops. It was with difficulty that Elizabeth had found a prelate willing to crown her, and all the bishops, with one exception, refused the Oath of Supremacy, and were deprived of their sees. In most cases they spent the end of their lives in prison, like Bishop Bonner, though some escaped to the Continent, while others were released by the clemency of the new government. Elizabeth's course had been made

The old and the new bishops.

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easier by the death of Cardinal Pole leaving the see of Canterbury vacant. In September 1559, she chose as his successor *Matthew Parker*, a learned Cambridge scholar, who had been Dean of Lincoln under Edward VI., and, when deprived as a married man under Mary, had preferred to live quietly in England to escaping to the Continent with the advanced reformers. He was a grave, wise, and sober man, a great student of the Fathers, and a lover of the Middle Ages, a bountiful patron of scholars, and a liberal benefactor of his university, delighting in collecting old manuscripts, editing chronicles and writing on the ecclesiastical antiquities of Britain. Parker, like Elizabeth, looked on things from a purely English stand-point, and, after the queen, he was at first almost the only prominent upholder of the middle way. Down to his death in 1575, he laboured with great energy and tact in seeing that the Elizabethan Settlement was made a reality. The queen showed more confidence in him than in her other prelates, though all his exertions could not prevent her appropriating ecclesiastical property, bullying the bishops, and generally ruling the Church with almost as high a hand as Henry himself. In 1559, Elizabeth set up a permanent *Court of Ecclesiastical Commission*, or *High Commission Court*, which was empowered to exercise on her behalf her supremacy over the Church. Parker was first on the commission, and the new court gave him and his mistress the means of enforcing the law.

Archbishop Parker, 1559-1575.

The High Commission Court, 1559.

7. At first Parker found little difficulty in dealing with the avowed friends of the Pope. They were few in number and destitute of leaders. The main difficulties he had to face were with the disloyal and careless who inclined to the old school, and with the hasty and zealous champions of a more thorough reformation than Elizabeth had permitted. A mere handful of Queen Mary's clergy had followed the example of the bishops, and given up their livings. The great majority remained on, reading the Prayer Book instead of the Mass, but showing in their sluggish fashion no love for new ways, and a great horror of Protestant heresy. Among the laity, even avowed Catholics largely conformed and attended the English services. Parker did what he could to impress his opinions upon this inert mass. Here time was his greatest friend, for it replaced the lukewarm by better-educated and more active friends of the New Faith. The real problem

Parker and the Roman Catholics.

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was that while the old-fashioned clergy were only passively hostile, the ardent Protestants were fiercely opposed to the policy of Elizabeth.

8. The chief trouble was with the returned exiles from Germany and Switzerland. When driven abroad for their devotion to their faith, they had found but a cold welcome from the stiff and pedantic Lutherans, but had been warmly received by the great French Protestant, John Calvin, who up to his death in 1564 reigned like a despot over both Church and State in the free city of Geneva. He had there set up a model church with clearly-defined and rigid doctrines, that taught that God was a stern just task-master as inexorable as nature, and dealing out salvation and reprobation in accordance with His predestined decrees. Side by side with this dogmatic system, which was called *Calvinism*, he had established a system of church-organisation and discipline as rigid and inexorable as the gospel which he expounded. Rejecting the office of bishops, he made presbyters all of one order, though some, the *ministers*, were set apart to teach and preach, and others, the *elders*, simply to bear rule. Individual congregations were joined together into larger aggregations, and, over each of these, councils, called *synods* and *presbyteries*, held authority. This system was called *Presbyterianism*. Calvin's churches worshipped God with the utmost simplicity, rejecting all forms and ordinances they did not find in the New Testament. The Church dominated the State as strictly as the church of Hildebrand or Becket had ruled the kingdoms of the Middle Ages, and enforced a strict moral discipline over the whole community. From their profession of purity in life, doctrine, and worship the English followers of this school were called *Puritans*.

The Marian exiles and Calvinism.

9. The influence of Calvin convinced the English exiles that even the system they had accepted under Edward VI. was far removed from apostolic purity. In some of their churches they scrupled to read Edward VI.'s Prayer Book, and the famous dispute known as the *Troubles of Frankfurt* broke their little band into hostile camps, of which the larger and more energetic was opposed to the use of the English Liturgy. On their return Elizabeth gave bishoprics to the leaders of the more moderate party, such as *John Jewel*, made Bishop of Salisbury, and *Edmund Grindal*, who succeeded Bonner at London. Even these moderate men were Calvinist in doctrine, and had little love for the forms and ceremonies that delighted Elizabeth and Parker. The more extreme section of the exiles regarded the Elizabethan church as little better than the Roman, and merely gave an unwilling allegiance to it because they hoped that, as in Edward's days, fresh

The Troubles of Frankfurt, 1555.

The Puritan Bishops.

Elizabeth and the Puritans.

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changes would quickly follow, until the English Church became just like the Church of Geneva.

It was only from this energetic, high-minded, but narrow and intolerant band that the English Church could derive sufficient active teachers and preachers to wage war against Rome. But they were very unfit agents for carrying out Elizabeth's ideas. Their very activity led to incessant religious controversy. Their scruples made them refuse to wear surplices or conform to the ceremonies enjoined by the Prayer Book. Instead of thinking and teaching as Elizabeth ordered them, they obstinately insisted on thinking for themselves. It was in vain that the queen and her archbishop tried to reduce their unruly spirits to order.

In the sixteenth century everybody believed that the true Church must be one, and that all men must be forced to belong to it. Elizabeth prided herself on her liberality when she allowed people what she called "liberty of conscience," which meant that she permitted them to think as they liked, as long as they went to church every Sunday and did not attack the established system. Moreover, no party would have been content with toleration, each one wished to dominate. If a few Roman Catholics withdrew from Elizabeth's church and held services of their own, the Puritans did not as yet aspire to follow their example, being warned by Calvin himself that though the Common Prayer "contained much that was antiquated and foolish," yet they were bound to accept it and hope for better times.

For the first few years of Elizabeth's reign the Puritans had it all their own way. The ceremonies which they hated were seldom enforced, and they so far prevailed in Convocation that that body pressed for the restoration of King Edward's Articles. In 1563 these *Articles* were reduced to thirty-nine in number and carefully revised with a view to making them less offensive to friends of the old faith. Elizabeth did her best to prevent their acceptance by Parliament, and it was not till 1571 that she allowed the bill which forced the clergy to subscribe to them. Before this period the steady repression of Puritanism had begun. In 1565 Parker issued a series of directions to the clergy called *Parker's Advertisements*, which ordered that the minister in all parish churches should wear "a comely surplice with sleeves," and insisted on a stricter observance of the forms enjoined by the Act of Uniformity. The *Advertisements* did not change but rather relaxed the existing law, and

The Thirty-nine Articles, 1563.

Parker's Advertisements.

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Elizabeth with characteristic caution never gave a formal assent to them. Nevertheless, they were received with a storm of protest from the Puritan clergy. However, the ceremonies were rigidly enforced, and in 1566 about thirty London clergymen were deprived of their benefices for their obstinate refusal to wear the prescribed vestments. Persecution embittered the struggle, and before long the ardent Puritans shifted the ground of their attack. Instead of simply rejecting vestments and ceremonies, they condemned the whole episcopal system and demanded that the Church of England should be made Presbyterian like the Church of Geneva. In 1572 *Thomas Cartwright*, who had been expelled for his Puritan views from his professorship of divinity at Cambridge, gave voice to this opinion. He took up and defended a book called *An Admonition to Parliament*, written by two of his friends, and supplemented it by a *Second Admonition*, in which he denounced the Prayer Book as "an unperfect book, picked out of that popish dung-hill the Mass Book," and declared that the episcopal system was "Anti-Christian and devilish and contrary to the Scriptures."

The Admonition to the Parliament, 1572.

10. Parker died in 1575, and *Edmund Grindal* his successor was friendly to the moderate Puritans. He soon came into conflict with the queen by refusing to put down clerical meetings for the discussion of the Scriptures called *Prophesyings*. The Puritans approved of these assemblies as "a notable spur unto all the ministers to apply to their books, which otherwise would give themselves to hawking, hunting, cards, tippling at the ale-house, and other such-like vanities." Elizabeth, however, hated these discussions as leading to divisions and disorders, and peremptorily ordered the archbishop to stop them. On Grindal's refusing, he was suspended from his functions, and died in 1583 in disgrace.

Archbishop Grindal, 1576-1583.

The Prophesyings suppressed.

11. Elizabeth chose as her next archbishop *John Whitgift*, an old rival of Cartwright's at Cambridge, who, though a zealous Calvinist, strenuously upheld the ceremonies, and through the High Commission Court dealt with the Puritans with great severity. He defeated the attempt of Cartwright to superimpose the Genevan system on the English Church, and was fiercely attacked by the Puritans in what are called the *Martin Marprelate Tracts*, in which the episcopal system was denounced

Archbishop Whitgift, 1583-1604.

The Martin Marprelate Tracts, 1588.

with extraordinary violence. In 1593 *John Penry*, a fanatical Welshman, who was convicted of having a large share in writing these tracts, was executed for libel and for inciting rebellion. Penry was an honest enthusiast who made a noble end. A popular rime showed the bitterness of the conservative North against his teaching:

Death of Penry, 1593.

> "The Welshman is hanged
> Who at our kirk flanged,
> And at her state banged;
> And burnt are his books;
> And though he be hanged,
> Yet he is not wranged;
> The deil has him fanged [taken]
> In his crooked clooks." [claws]

12. Despite persecution, the mass of the Puritans remained discontented conformists, or became what were called *Nonconformists*, that is, they found devices for remaining in the Church without conforming to the ceremonies, still believing that Presbyterianism was the better way. A few of the bolder spirits broke from the Church altogether, and learnt from their leader, *Robert Brown*, a distant kinsman of the Cecils, that the "kingdom of God was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather by the worthiest, be they never so few," and that "the people of every parish ought to choose their bishop, and that the precise who refuse the ceremonies and yet preach in the Church strain at a gnat and swallow a camel, and are hypocrites like Master Cartwright." They set up particular congregations of their own and maintained that each of these was a separate self-governing Christian church. They denounced all national organisation of religion, and said that the magistrates ought to have no concern with the Church. They were the first *Protestant Dissenters*, and gradually got the name of *Independents*, because of their theory that each congregation should form a church by itself. They were also called *Brownists* from their first leader, and *Sectaries* or *Separatists*, because they formed distinct sects, which openly separated from the communion of the Church. But they were very few and were bitterly persecuted. Even harder was the lot of the *Anabaptists*, mainly fugitives from the Continent, who took their name from their belief that those christened as infants ought to be baptized over again as adults. These

The Brownists and the beginnings of Protestant dissent.

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were the Protestant extremists, and were disliked, not only for their religious, but also for their civil and social doctrines which led to Socialism. Several Anabaptists were burnt as heretics during this reign. Parliament, though sympathising with the moderate Puritans, emphatically showed its dislike of the Separatists by passing, in 1593, an act which punished with banishment and death "frequenters of conventicles and seditious sectaries."

Beginnings of Anglican theology.

Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, 1593.

13. The faint beginnings of Independency and the continued discontent of the Puritans within the Church showed that a united Protestantism was an impossible dream. Before the end of Elizabeth's reign, a new school of divines had grown up, whose teaching tended to draw a deeper line between Churchmen and Puritans. The greatest of these was *Richard Hooker*, Master of the Temple, who published in 1593 his famous book on the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, in which, in stately and noble prose, he defended the Church-system against the Puritans, by showing that practices sanctioned by long use, and beautiful and seemly in themselves, were not to be rejected because they were not directly enjoined in the Scriptures, since the law of God was to be sought, not only in the precepts of the Bible, but also in the natural laws of heaven and earth. Before long, some went further than Hooker, and taught that a church without bishops was no church at all. The policy of Elizabeth had triumphed, though at great cost. The great mass of the population was heartily attached to her Church. Yet, with all their narrowness, the Puritans, whom she persecuted, were among the staunchest and most upright of her subjects, and their expulsion deprived the Church of much that was strong and high-minded. However, the strife between Elizabeth and the Puritans was no mere contest about names and forms, but involved the whole question of the future of the Church. It was only through the strenuous and often violent warfare, which Elizabeth and her bishops waged against the Puritans, that the Church of England remained different from the Church of Geneva.

Beginnings of the Reformation in Scotland.

14. While Elizabeth thus successfully combated Genevan ideals in England, the violent outbreak of the long-deferred Reformation of Scotland testified to the full force of Calvin's influence. Since the little Queen Mary had been sent to France for her education, her mother, *Mary of Guise*, the

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sister of the conqueror of Calais, Duke Francis of Guise, had striven to uphold a French and Catholic policy in Scotland, where the inordinate wealth of the bishops and abbots powerfully attracted the cupidity of a poor and unscrupulous nobility, while the Church, with its carelessness and corruption, had utterly lost hold over the people. Mary of Guise kept back the reforming tide for many years, but the only result of her careful policy was to make the inevitable flood more overwhelming and destructive. In the evil days that followed the capture of St. Andrews, and the battle of Pinkie, the first leaders of Scottish Protestantism had sought refuge in England. Among them was a priest named *John Knox*, the son of a poor burgher of Haddington, who, when more than forty years of age, had thrown in his lot with the reformers, and joined the murderers of Beaton at St. Andrews, glorifying their "godly act," though he had had no part in it. In his fervid sermons he taught the defenders of the castle, that "the Pope was Anti-Christ, the Mass an abominable idolatry, and that there was no Purgatory." When the French took the castle, he was sent as a galley-slave to France, whence he escaped to England in 1549. There he became a popular preacher of extreme Protestantism, and one of King Edward's chaplains, refusing a bishopric, and drawing up, as was believed, the *Black Rubric* of Edward's Second Prayer Book, which explains that kneeling at the Communion involves no adoration of the elements. On Edward's death he fled to Geneva, where he became an ardent disciple of Calvin, and thence went to Frankfurt as minister of the English exiles in that city. His refusal to read Edward's Prayer Book led to the troubles that split in twain the exiled congregation. Indignant at the persecution which the two Marys were dealing out to the Protestants of England and Scotland, he wrote a wild denunciation of all female rule, in his *Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. On Mary's death he sought to return to England, but Elizabeth stopped the way, and Knox lamented that his "Blast hath blown from me all my friends in England." In 1559 he boldly returned to Scotland, where Rome was still ascendant. From that moment, until his death in 1572, he devoted all his masterful energy and unconquerable will to the establishment of a Genevan reformation in Scotland. Stern, hard and rigid, a cruel bigot, and a fierce reckless

Character and early history of John Knox, 1505-1572.

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partisan, he redeemed his narrower qualities by his high-souled unselfishness, his absolute straightforwardness, and his utter fearlessness. He was the only great man among all the reformers that spoke the English tongue. He stamped the deep impress of his character on all future history of the Scottish people, who rightly admire him as the chief creator of Modern Scotland. He brought with him the last and the greatest fruit of the close connection between Scotland and France, when he set up in his native land the complete and logical structure of French Protestantism. But he was the first Scot to see that the Reformation had ended the old alliance of Scotland and France, and the first Scot to welcome a close union with the English, as the only means of securing the reforming cause in his own country. His policy triumphed when, at Elizabeth's death, the union of the English and Scottish crowns, which Henry VIII. had thought impossible, was peacefully accomplished, and it triumphed even more signally, when in the next century the Puritans of England, with Scottish help, almost succeeded in destroying Elizabeth's Reformation Settlement and in uniting the two churches, as well as the two states.

The Lords of the Congregation and Mary of Guise, 1551-1560.

15. About the time of Knox's return, the Scots nobles had formed a league against the bishops. Under the leadership of the *Lords of the Congregation*—this was the name given to them—the Scots people exhausted their pent-up fury against the old Church. The Mass was put down; churches and monasteries were burnt to the ground, and the lands of the Church appropriated by the victorious nobles. Mary of Guise, though broken in health and spirits, struggled hard against the rebels, and, obtaining help from France, she soon made such a brave show, that the Lords of the Congregation were forced to appeal to Elizabeth for assistance.

Elizabeth helps the Scots, 1560.

The English queen was in a difficulty. She hated rebels, and believed that any ruler had the right to make his subjects worship in his own way. Moreover, she detested the author of the *Blast against the Regiment of Women*, and feared lest the establishment of Calvinism in Scotland might unduly encourage her English Puritans. But there was an obvious political advantage in detaching the Scots from France and the Papacy, and her ministers, stronger Protestants than she was herself, did not fail to press this on her. At last her interests got the better of her principles, and

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early in 1560 she sent a fleet to Scotland, though she still professed to look with disfavour on the Scots rebels. The English joined hands with the Lords of the Congregation, shut up the French in Leith, and straitly besieged it.

The death of Mary of Guise, and the Treaty of Edinburgh.

In June the heroic regent died; and with her perished the best hopes of the French and Catholic cause in Scotland. Next month the defenders of Leith signed the *Treaty of Edinburgh*, by which both the English and the French troops were to quit Scotland.

16. The Scottish Protestants profited by the absence of settled government to complete the work of reformation. In August 1560, the Scottish Parliament met, and at once

Establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland, 1560.

abolished the power of the Pope, and imposed the penalty of death on all who for a third time celebrated or attended "the idolatry of the Mass." It accepted a body of Calvinistic doctrine which Knox had rapidly drawn up, and empowered him to draw up a scheme for discipline and Church organisation. The result was Knox's *First Book of Discipline*, which set up the Presbyterian system with its parity of all ministers, and its rigid system of councils and synods, culminating in the *General Assembly* of the whole church in a single representative ecclesiastical Parliament, which soon reduced all Scotland to dependence on the Kirk. He also brought in the bare and austere worship of Geneva. The nobles rejected Knox's further scheme for devoting all the ancient ecclesiastical revenues to the maintenance of the new ministers, the relief of the poor, and the setting up a system of parish schools, that the whole population might be taught God's Word. The Protestant lords kept a tight hold of the monastery lands which they had seized, and even insisted on keeping up nominal bishops, who might continue as the formal possessors of those Church lands which they were not strong enough to seize outright. They let Knox do what he liked in regard to doctrine and discipline; but he found it hard to secure for his new clergy a bare subsistence from *teinds* or tithes. All his other proposals were carried out. Though the absent Queen Mary vouchsafed no assent either to the Treaty of Edinburgh or to the acts of the reforming Parliament, no heed was paid to her action. Scotland had become for all practical purposes a Calvinistic Republic.

17. Thus was the Scottish Reformation accomplished in these very years in which the English Reformation assumed

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its final form. Never were two movements more strongly contrasted. The greediness of the nobles for Church lands is almost the only feature that is common to them. In England the Reformation had been carried out by a despotic sovereign, and was political, hesitating, compromising, half-hearted, and imposed on a reluctant and indifferent nation by royal authority. But, being the work of the state, it became a national movement, so moderately and judiciously conducted as to keep the reformed church in touch with the best traditions of the ancient ecclesiastical system. Like most English revolutions, it was carried out piecemeal and slowly, with the result that the old and the new ran so imperceptibly into each other that it was hard to say where began the break of continuity, if there were a break at all. In Scotland the Reformation came as a revolution imposed on a reluctant sovereign by rebel nobles and fiery ministers. The Reformers prided themselves on digging a deep trench of separation between their own perfect system and "the blind old days of Papistry." Every vestige of the past was swept away. The fate of the ruined abbeys of England was meted out to nearly every great church in Scotland, and every wave of religious enthusiasm was marked by the destruction of some ancient shrine by "the rascal multitude," which thought thus to carry out the teaching of Knox himself. The Scots Reformation was systematic, logical, thoroughgoing, and destructive. In time it became a movement even more intensely national than its English parallel. But the modern Scots nation was itself the creation of the Reformation, while the English nation shaped the course of the English movement to its own likeness. Yet different as were the two events, common Protestantism soon brought the two nations together, and the Great Britain of modern times must honour Knox and his companions, as well as Henry VIII. and his great daughter, among its founders.

Contrast between the English and Scottish Reformation.

18. While Knox and the Congregation were utterly destroying the ancient Scotland, its young queen grew up to womanhood as a Catholic and a Frenchwoman. She had been carefully brought up, among the royal children of France, and knew Latin, Greek and Italian, though she was studiously kept from any knowledge of the English tongue either in its northern or southern form.

Character and early history of Mary Queen of Scots, 1542-1561.

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She was well instructed in poetry and literature, and sang well, accompanying herself on the lute. Her famous beauty consisted, not so much in any exceptional regularity of features, as in the extraordinary brilliancy of her colour and the exquisite grace and charm of her manner. She was tall and well made, was as strong as a man and enjoyed perfect health. Her brow was broad and ample, her chin square and fully developed; her eyelids were heavy, and her lips were commonly closely compressed; her hair was of that shade of brown which ripples like gold in the sun, and her hazel eyes were clear and bright. Though brought up amid the luxury and corruption of the Valois Court, her personal habits were of the simplest. She delighted in hunting, hawking, and in open-air life; and wished that she was a man "to know what life it was to lie all night in the field, or to walk on the causeway with a buckler and broadsword." Yet at times she would lounge idly in bed all day, only rising at night for a ball or a revel. Naturally hot-tempered and outspoken, she learnt to discipline her emotions to obey her strong will, so that, save in the one supreme crisis of her life, she hardly allowed herself to be dominated by her passions. "She seemeth," wrote an observant opponent, "to regard no ceremonious honour besides the acknowledgment of her estate royal. She showeth a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, to be very familiar. She showeth a great desire to be revenged on her enemies, and readiness to expose herself to all perils in hope of victory. She desireth much to hear of hardiness and valiancy, commending by name all approved hardy men, although they be her enemies. The thing she most thirsteth after is victory, so that for victory's sake pain and peril seem pleasant to her. Surely she is a rare woman; for as no flattery can lightly abuse her, so no plain speech seemeth to offend her." It is the fashion to contrast the graceful, beautiful, passionate Queen of Scots with the astute, cold, cruel Elizabeth. But, in truth, there were more points of comparison than contrast between their real dispositions. Mary was as hard, as unscrupulous, and as cruel as her great rival. As with Elizabeth, ambition and love of power were her great motive forces. Both allowed caprice and wilfulness to impair the results of their wonted tact and caution, though in this respect the deeper, more womanly nature of Mary, brought up in a more tropical and unhealthy atmosphere and exposed to worse difficulties and more real

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temptations, was less controlled by the dictates of her policy, and she never worked so hard, or showed such persistent tact, as Elizabeth. Neither did she ever identify herself with her people as did the English queen. Like Elizabeth, Mary was born the leader of a religious party, and yet few women of the time, except Elizabeth, had less real religious feeling. But Mary, though driven, more than once, to open dissembling, was unswervingly faithful to the Catholic cause, upholding the traditional faith as a good soldier maintains against the enemy a strong position entrusted to his charge. As a mere girl, she struggled hard to obtain ascendency over her wretched husband, Francis II., that through him she and her mother's kinsfolk might rule France. Driven from her early home by his death, she heroically strove to undo the work of the Reformation in Scotland, and sacrificed her domestic happiness to the prospect of leading the Romanists of England. In her efforts to carry out these impossible tasks, she knew how to win loyal and enthusiastic support, and incurred many bitter and unscrupulous enmities. The real Mary Stuart is neither the suffering saint of her worshippers, nor the graceful tigress of her foes, but a strong, vigorous, hard-hearted though very human figure, well capable of exciting admiration, though undeserving of the deep affection and sympathy she was able, like others of her self-willed, ill-fated race, to inspire. With her return to Scotland in 1561 began the personal contest between her and Elizabeth, that was only finally determined by her death twenty-six years later.

CHAPTER VI.

The Counter-Reformation and the Rivalry of Elizabeth and Mary Stewart. 1559-1587.

Treaty of Le Cateau Cambresis, 1559.

1. The general war was already languishing when Elizabeth came to the throne, and in April 1559 peace was made at *Le Cateau Cambresis*, near Cambrai, by which Spain obtained the absolute mastery in Italy and vouchsafed some compensation to the beaten French by leaving Calais in their hands, so that England had to pay the price of the Spanish victories.

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The conclusion of the treaty of Le Cateau is one of the great turning points in European history. It marks the end of the long struggle for Italy, which had begun in 1494. Henceforth Italy remained a submissive dependency of Spain and ceased to have a history of its own. It also ended the long rivalry between Charles V. and France by securing the triumph of Charles's son, without much regard for its bearing on the European balance of power. The epoch-making character of the period was increased by the strange series of fatalities that beset the leading actors in the European drama, and left their places to be filled by a newer and younger generation. Soon after the death of Mary of England, Charles V. died in retirement in Spain. Henry II. of France was accidentally slain at a tournament given to celebrate the peace, and the fiery Paul IV. also perished before the end of the year. *Philip II.*, freed from his father's control, became absolute master of Spain, the Indies, the Netherlands, and Italy, while the South German possessions of the house of Austria, along with the newly won thrones of Hungary and Bohemia, constituted the hereditary possessions of his uncle, who now became the *Emperor Ferdinand I.* Despite the division of Charles's inheritance into two, Philip still remained by far the strongest monarch of Europe, and the senior and junior branches of the Hapsburg house remained on friendly terms, through fear of the French. France, however, was in a state of rapid decline. After Henry II.'s death his three sons, *Francis II.* (1559-1560), *Charles IX.* (1560-1574), and *Henry III.* (1574-1589), successively became its kings, but they were feeble and worthless, and quite unable to continue the strong policy of their father and grandfather, either at home or abroad.

2. The Treaty of Le Cateau is even more important in the history of religion than in the history of politics. During the course of the war, the relations between Lutherans and Catholics in Germany had been settled by the *Religious Peace* of 1555, and Lutheranism had ceased to be active. But through all these years, Protestantism, in its Calvinistic form, had been spreading so rapidly in Middle Europe, that the frightened Spanish and French Courts made the necessity of the Catholic powers uniting to put down heresy a main motive for concluding peace. Philip II. was proud of his position as the great champion of the Catholic cause, but he saw with dismay that the Netherlands

State of Protestantism in 1559.

were honeycombed with Calvinism, and set to work with brutal thoroughness to root out the plague. In France, the nobles of the south, whose feudal ambitions had been severely checked by Francis I., were now again aiming at a revival of their disorderly freedom, and made common cause with the Calvinists, even when they did not become Protestants themselves. An organised Calvinistic party, half-religious, half-political, strove to make itself supreme in France, much as the Congregation and Knox had successfully striven to break down Rome and the Monarchy in Scotland. It was no time for the Catholic powers to fight out their ancient quarrels, when the unity of their dominions, no less than the supremacy of their faith, was threatened by determined and fanatical rebels.

The Beginnings of the Counter-Reformation.

Side by side with the growth of Calvinism, the forces of Catholicism revived. The first preaching of Luther and Zwingle had found the Catholic world corrupt, lax, indifferent, and divided. A few years later, a great religious revival broke out in Spain and Italy, which enabled the Catholics of the south to answer the zeal of the Protestants of the north with a zeal as great as their own. The enthusiasm for mediæval religion, that had remained a living force in Spain, was stirred up to greater heights, and spread to Italy, where it stifled the spirit of the Renascence, already worn out and corrupt. Within a generation a wondrous change came over the Papacy, and the Roman Catholic Church; and by the time of the treaty of Le Cateau, the *Counter-Reformation*, or the *Catholic Reaction*, was in full career. The Papacy had reformed itself. Instead of the political or artistic or merely self-seeking Popes of the days of the Renascence, the Popes of the Counter-Reformation were as austere, as religious, and as enthusiastic as Calvin himself. With no further chance of playing a great part in politics, they resumed their ancient ambition of directing the faith of the West, and strove with all their might to win back the world from Protestantism. New religious orders were set up to preach Catholicism to the heathen, the heretic or the indifferent. The most important of these was the *Order of Jesus*, established in 1540 by Ignatius Loyola, an enthusiastic Spanish gentleman, who, being cut off from the career of arms by a wound that he received when fighting the French, threw his chivalrous ardour into the service of the faith, and

Establishment of the Jesuits, 1540.

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founded a new type of religious order, in which the most intense religious zeal was to be turned, by an iron system of military discipline, to winning souls to the Church. The Jesuits took the threefold monastic vow, along with a special vow of obedience to the Pope. They rejected the seclusion from the world, and the rigid routine of external observances that had absorbed the older orders, and set themselves to converting the world by living in it, and influencing it as profoundly as they could. Their influence soon spread like wildfire from their first homes in Spain and Italy. They became the most successful of missionaries in America, in China, and the Indies. They started a new system of education, by which they sought to win back the younger generation from Protestantism to the Church. They became preachers to the people and confessors to the kings. Wherever they went, their devotion, their disciplined zeal, their self-sacrifice, their pliancy, and their hard work gained them ardent followers. They were the most effective instruments of the Counter-Reformation. But for those whom no argument would reach, there still remained the revived and reorganised *Inquisition*, which sought out and tried heretics, and delivered them over to the state to be burnt. The worst practical abuses of the Church were put an end to by the *Council of Trent*, which held its final sessions in 1563; and which defined and explained the doctrine, and improved the discipline of the Church, while drawing a deep dividing line that separated it definitively from all forms of Protestantism. Its work completed the reorganisation of the Roman Church, which the preaching of Loyola had begun. Its effect was to divide Europe into two hostile religious camps, well prepared for combat. When the treaty of 1559 ended political warfare, religious warfare took its place.

Revival of the Inquisition.

The Council of Trent, 1545-1563.

From the treaty of Le Cateau to nearly the end of the sixteenth century, the ancient struggles for the balance of power seemed almost suspended in favour of the fierce conflict of Jesuitism and Calvinism in every country in Middle Europe. Philip of Spain was soon waging religious war against the revolted Netherlanders: and in France the Calvinists rose in constant rebellion. National feeling seemed for the time extinct, and all over Europe Catholics looked to Philip as their natural leader in the war against heresy, and never found his help denied. Protestants had no similar leader.

The struggle of Jesuit and Calvinist.

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and it was a constant source of embarrassment to Elizabeth that they called upon her to act as their champion. So strong was the force of circumstances, that, however unwillingly, and however much she might protest, she drifted into the position of the leader of European Protestantism. But there was a still further difficulty that beset her path. The old national animosities were too strong to die down altogether, and, despite their desire to make common cause against heresy, Frenchman and Spaniard still watched each other with suspicion. This was so far the salvation of England, that it made improbable the combination of the Catholic powers against her, but it necessitated a careful attention to the political as well as to the religious balance of Europe. Before all these embarrassments, Elizabeth found refuge in a policy of hesitation and mediation, that was seldom heroic, and never straightforward. But it kept England as free as possible from the intrigues of the Continent: it preserved her from invasion, and, after many dangers, ended by securing the liberty and independence of the nation.

European Politics after 1559.

3. Despite the Treaty of Le Cateau, France and Spain remained very jealous of each other. This led Philip of Spain to ignore the religious changes, and to continue friendly with Elizabeth, and even to offer to marry her. Though the daughter of Anne Boleyn could not wed her sister's widower, Elizabeth was too much afraid of France, not to wish to keep Philip on her side.

England's danger from France and Scotland, 1559-1560.

For the first ten years of her reign she was in constant danger from France, and the French queen of Scots. On Henry II.'s death Francis II., the husband of Mary Stewart, became French king, and led by his wife's uncle, Francis, Duke of Guise, was eager to combine a vigorous Catholic policy with an attack on England. Despite the treaty of peace, the French queen assumed the style of Queen of England, and strict Catholics declared that Anne Boleyn's bastard could never be lawful queen. But France could do England little immediate harm, and the establishment of Protestantism in Scotland more than compensated Elizabeth for the vain claims of the French queen over England. Moreover, on Francis II.'s death, the Guises fell from power, and, under Charles IX., the queen mother, *Catharine de' Medici* controlled French policy. She was an astute, cold, unscrupulous Italian, who sought to uphold the royal authority by vainly balancing

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Catholics against Protestants. The immediate result of her policy was the outbreak of religious war in France. The Calvinists or the *Huguenots*, as they were generally called, were soon worsted by the Catholics, and appealed to Elizabeth for help. Elizabeth after long hesitation, succumbed to the temptation of making a party in France. The Huguenots put Le Havre into her hands, in return for assistance so insignificant that it hardly affected the course of the struggle. In 1563, the French factions made peace, and united to drive the English from Le Havre. After a sharp struggle they succeeded, and the hope of holding a compensation for Calais was destroyed. Fresh civil war soon broke out in France, which gradually became less and less able to do harm to England, though the wish to do so long remained.

War with France, 1562.

4. Another result of the triumph of Catharine de' Medici was the return of Mary Stewart to Scotland. Mary had no longer any prospects, either of happiness or power, in her adopted land, and she courageously went back to her mother country, to contend almost single-handed against the Calvinistic aristocracy and clergy. She received but a cold welcome, and the dense fog in which she landed foreshadowed, Knox thought, the "sorrow, dolour, darkness and impiety" that attended the coming of a popish queen. She did all that she could to make herself popular. She accepted the religious revolution that had been carried out without her consent, and only insisted on liberty of worship for herself in her palace chapel. Knox thundered against the "toleration of idolatry" which this involved. "One Mass," he declared "is more fearful to me than ten thousand armed enemies." He denounced with equal zeal her "French fillocks and fiddlers," and the "skipping and dancing" at her court, "not very comely for honest women." It was in vain that she sought to win him over by her blandishments. He left her presence unmoved. "If there be not in her," he said to his friends, "a proud mind, a crafty wit, and indurate heart against God and His Word, my judgment faileth me." Despite this brutal attitude, Mary held her own, and for the four years after her arrival there was unwonted peace in Scotland. Many of the nobles were won over to her side. She left the administration in the hands of the able and crafty *Maitland of Lethington*, and of her half-brother, *Lord James Stewart*, whom she created Earl of Moray, though he was an ardent Protestant.

Return of Mary Stewart to Scotland, August, 1561.

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5. Four years of inaction taught Mary that there was not much to be hoped for from Scotland. She impatiently turned her eyes to the larger and more fruitful realm over the Border, and sought to establish connections with England, where the Roman Catholics, in obedience to orders from Rome, were withdrawing themselves from the parish churches, and looking with increased discontent on Elizabeth and her policy. They were eager to win Mary to their side; and Mary, whose great ambition was to secure the English crown, either as Elizabeth's successor, or, if she could, as her supplanter, greedily accepted their advances. She had been for some time contemplating matrimony. Rejecting Elizabeth's suggestion that she should wed Lord Robert Dudley, or the Guises' plan of matching her with some great foreign potentate, she resolved to marry her cousin, *Henry Stewart, Earl of Darnley*, the nominee of the English Catholics. Darnley was a tall, good-looking, worthless creature, with neither brains nor honesty, but he was, after Mary, the next in succession to both the Scottish and English thrones, being the son of the Earl of Lennox, who represented a younger branch of the house of Stewart, and of Margaret Douglas, the daughter of Margaret Tudor, by her second husband, the Earl of Angus. He had been brought up in England, and, though still conforming to the English Church, was looked upon by the English Catholics as their natural leader. Elizabeth was so alarmed at the marriage that she incited the Scottish nobles, headed by Moray, to revolt against it. In July 1565 Mary married Darnley. In October she chased her brother over the Border.

The Darnley marriage, 1565.

6. Flushed by her double triumph, Mary prepared for the restoration of Catholicism in Scotland; but she soon found that the husband, whom she had married for ambition, was too foolish and treacherous to be any help to her in carrying out her plans. Accordingly she promoted a low-born Italian, *David Riccio*, to be her secretary and chief helper. Riccio had been one of the singing men in her chapel, and his head was rather turned by his sudden elevation. He made himself hated by his fine clothes, his haughty bearing, and his increasing intimacy with the queen, and excited the frenzied jealousy of Darnley, and the sullen hatred of the grim nobles, whose power he had usurped. After the wild Scottish fashion Darnley joined with his kinsfolk and some Protestant lords in a plot to murder the favourite

The murder of Riccio, 1566.

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On 9th March 1566, when Mary was entertaining Riccio at supper in Holyrood, the conspirators burst into her presence. The shrieking secretary, who clung for protection to the skirt of her gown, was dragged into an anteroom and brutally murdered with their daggers. Mary was intensely indignant, but preserving her coolness with rare courage, she cleverly won over Darnley by her blandishments, so that the weak youth abandoned his associates as easily as he had abandoned his wife. His defection broke up the conspiracy, and the murderers fled, like Moray, to England, where they were readily received by Elizabeth.

Mary and Bothwell.

7. Three months after Riccio's death, Mary gave birth to her only child, the future James VI. of Scotland and James I. of England. His birth greatly strengthened her position as a claimant to the English succession, while in Scotland she was already triumphant. But in this crisis of her fortunes she sacrificed her ambitions to her eagerness to be revenged upon her treacherous husband, and succumbed before the malign influence of the one man that ever strongly appealed to her passions. Her first husband had been a sickly and degraded child; her second was a vicious fool, who was too unstable either to help or hinder her fortunes, but who personally excited her strongest repugnance. *James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell*, was the type of the ruffianly Border noble, fierce, brave, reckless, unscrupulous, strong, and with unusual intellectual force to give direction to his daring courage and resistless energy. He soon became her chief adviser and companion, and scandal was busy with their names. Conscious that he possessed the queen's affection, Bothwell set to work to clear away the obstacles to their union. He held conference with some of the discontented nobles at *Craigmillar*, where they signed a bond that Darnley "should be put off by one way or another, and, whosoever should take the deed in hand, they should defend it as themselves." Bothwell himself undertook to carry out the deed, and his opportunity came when Darnley, who was recovering from a serious illness, took up his residence at *Kirk o' Field*, a lonely house outside the southern wall of Edinburgh. There, on 9th February 1567, he was visited by Mary and Bothwell, who left him late in the evening. A few hours later Edinburgh was startled by an explosion that blew the Kirk o' Field to pieces. Darnley's dead body was found, "without a mark or hurt on it," not far from the ruined house. On reaching

Murder of Darnley, 1567.

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the city Bothwell had privately returned to the Kirk o' Field, and personally directed the murder of his rival. How far Mary was actually guilty, the evidence is hardly sufficient to determine. Still there is little doubt but that she knew and welcomed the steps which Bothwell was taking to deliver her from Darnley.

8. Mary professed indignation at her husband's murder, and offered a reward for the apprehension of the assassins; but a placard secretly posted on the Tolbooth door, declaring that he had been done to death by Bothwell with her own consent, expressed the public view of the matter. Lennox, Darnley's father, accused Bothwell of the murder, and a day was fixed for the trial; but the queen took care that this should be but a sorry farce. Lennox was afraid to appear, and no evidence was tendered against Bothwell. The frightened court acquitted him, and Mary took this as an excuse for putting herself openly on his side. Bothwell at once set about getting a divorce from his wife, that he might be free to wed the queen. But even the sluggish public opinion of Scotland was deeply roused, and Mary did not dare to marry him openly. It was accordingly arranged that he should pretend to run off with her and force her to consent to the union. On 24th April, as Mary was returning from Stirling to Edinburgh, Bothwell bore down on her and carried her off, with a show of violence, to Dunbar. In a few days they returned to Edinburgh, Bothwell still leading her by the bridle as a captive. He now obtained his divorce from his wife, and a few days later was married to Mary, after the Protestant rite.

The Bothwell marriage.

9. All Scotland was horrified at the union of the adulterous queen with her husband's murderer. The very nobles, who had urged Bothwell on, took advantage of the scandal to combine against him and annihilate the royal power. It was to no purpose that Mary attended Protestant sermons and prohibited the celebration of Mass. Her people rose in revolt, and the troops that she had gathered together to defend her cause at *Carberry Hill*, outside Edinburgh, refused to strike a blow in her favour. Bothwell fled to Denmark, where he died in prison ten years later, a raving madman. Mary was taken prisoner, and treated with scanty courtesy. She was shut up in the island castle of *Lochleven* in Kinross, and forced to yield up her throne to her infant son. Moray acted as regent for the little James VI., and carried out

Deposition of Mary, 1567.

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a strongly Protestant policy. But the endless factions of the Scottish noble houses soon gave the discredited queen another chance of striking a blow for power. After eleven months of captivity, she escaped from her island prison, whereupon the great house of Hamilton rallied to her cause and raised all Clydesdale on her behalf. Moray showed prompt activity in putting down the rebellion. On 13th May 1568 he defeated his sister and the Hamiltons at *Langside* not far from Glasgow. Mary galloped away southwards from the fatal field, and on reaching the Solway, crossed in a fishing-boat to Workington, hoping to find in England the protection and support denied her in her native land.

Lochleven and Langside, 1568.

10. Mary's arrival threw Elizabeth into the greatest embarrassment. Though she had protested against her rival's deposition, Elizabeth was afraid to help her to win back the Scottish throne, and was equally afraid to let her cross over to France, lest she should be able to renew the dying connection between her old home and Scotland. Yet keeping Mary under restraint in England had dangers of its own. The English Catholics were getting more unruly, and the passing of severe laws against them, and the rigid enforcement of the Oath of Supremacy, had done little to frighten them. Mary's infatuation for Bothwell was now over, and she was again the champion of Catholicism and the claimant of the English succession. It might well be more dangerous were she to continue to abide in England, the focus of every Catholic conspiracy, the undoubted next heir by blood to the childless Elizabeth and the rightful Queen of England in the judgment of most good Catholics. Under these circumstances Elizabeth found her best refuge in her usual policy of hesitation and delay. Her strongest card was the personal discredit into which Mary had fallen by reason of Darnley's death and the Bothwell marriage. She now announced that before she could take any decided action she must investigate the grave charges brought against the deposed queen, and for that purpose appointed a body of commissioners, of whom the Duke of Norfolk was president, who held conferences, first at York and afterwards at London. Moray and other Scottish nobles laid before the commission a series of letters and love poems, alleged to have been exchanged between Mary and Bothwell, and called the *Casket Letters* from a

Mary Stuart in England, 1568.

The Conferences at York and London.

The Casket Letters.

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captured casket, in which it is said they had been found on the day when Mary's cause was lost at Carberry Hill. Mary's friends have always strenuously denied the authenticity of these letters, pretending that they had been forged. There is nothing in the character of the Protestant nobles which makes this unlikely, but there is little in the letters that Mary might not well have written. If genuine, the correspondence was such conclusive proof of the queen's guilt, that Norfolk begged Moray to keep them back, and Mary's advocates, alarmed at the probable result of a trial, protested that, as a sovereign, she could not submit herself to the jurisdiction of Elizabeth. Mary sought a personal interview with the English queen, who, however, declared that she could not "without manifest blemish of her own honour receive into her presence" a suspected murderess. Finally, Elizabeth resolved not to allow the charges to be thoroughly investigated, and the commission ended lamely by declaring that nothing had been urged against Moray and his friends "that might impair their honour or allegiance," and nothing had been proved against the Queen of Scots "whereby the Queen of England should conceive any ill opinion of her good sister." It suited Elizabeth's policy that Mary should remain under a cloud in England, so that she might ultimately be used or condemned, according to the course of circumstances, and meanwhile her suspected character should make her a less attractive centre for Roman Catholic intrigues. Moray went back to Scotland, secure of Elizabeth's support, and Mary remained in honourable restraint in England. For the next eighteen years the land was beset with perpetual plots, rebellions, and threats of invasion, all of which had for their object the elevation of Mary into the throne of Elizabeth.

The Revolt of the Northern Earls, 1569.

11. The *Revolt of the Northern Earls* in 1569 was the first fruit of Elizabeth's policy with regard to the Queen of Scots. The north of England was still as disaffected to the Protestant religion, and as fully under the influence of the great families as in the old days when the gentle and simple alike of Yorkshire followed the banner of the Five Wounds of Christ in the Pilgrimage of Grace. *Thomas Percy*, son of the Sir Thomas who had been beheaded for his share in the Pilgrimage, was now *Earl of Northumberland*, having been restored by Queen Mary to the title forfeited by his father's treason. He was proud of his family influence, obstinate

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in his adherence to the old religion, and profoundly dissatisfied with Elizabeth's policy. He now joined the young *Earl of Westmorland*, *Charles Neville*, who shared his views, in intriguing with the Spaniards in favour of Mary. Summoned to London to account for their conduct, the two earls refused to leave their estates, and called upon their neighbours and tenants to join them in revolt. It was as if the days of the Wars of the Roses had come back, when local lords led their followers to the field against the Crown, and threatened to break up the unity of the national life. Northumberland joined Westmorland at Raby, whence they marched to *Durham*, seized the town, and caused the Latin Mass to be celebrated in the cathedral, before a great gathering of northern Catholics. The Pope sent his blessing to their enterprise. On 22nd November the rebels, who had marched south from Durham to Ripon, mustered their forces on *Clifford Moor*, hoping to make a dash upon Tutbury in Staffordshire, where the Queen of Scots was imprisoned. But Northumberland and Westmorland were dull and timid, and *Thomas Radcliffe*, *Earl of Sussex*, the President of the Council of the North, showed prudence and policy in his preparations to resist the revolt. The Queen of Scots was moved from Tutbury to Coventry, far beyond the rebels' reach. The two earls retired to the north, and wasted the time in besieging and conquering Barnard Castle. On Sussex's approach they dared not risk a battle, but disbanded their troops, and on 16th December fled over the border. Stern punishment was meted out to their unhappy followers, and the collapse of the rebellion made Elizabeth stronger than ever.

Murder of the Regent Moray, 1570.

12. Never was Protestantism more triumphant in Britain than at the beginning of 1570. But the enthusiasm of the Catholics would not let the heretics remain victorious, and new attacks followed hard on each victory. In January 1570 as the Regent Moray was riding through the narrow street of Linlithgow, he was shot dead by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh to gratify a private quarrel. An attempt was made by Mary's partisans to take advantage of his death; and three years of confusion and civil war ensued in Scotland, until the strong unscrupulous rule of *James Douglas*, *Earl of Morton*, made regent in 1573, again restored order and Protestant ascendency, and Mary's cause, which had profited nothing by the days of conflict, seemed more hopeless than ever. Of more value to Mary than her brother's death was

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the action of *Pius V.*, the stern Inquisitor, with whom the austerest spirit of the Counter-Reformation attained the papal throne. In February 1570 Pius issued a bull excommunicating Elizabeth and releasing her subjects from allegiance to the heretic queen. In May the bull was published in England by the daring of a Catholic gentleman named *Felton*, who posted up a copy of it on the door of the Bishop of London's house. Felton was discovered, tortured, and, glorying in his act, was cruelly butchered at the place of his bold deed. Henceforward there could be no compromise between Elizabeth and the Roman Catholics. Pius's action had made it very hard for any English Catholic to remain at once obedient to the Pope and loyal to the queen. A very few might maintain that the Pope was going beyond his powers in interfering with the civil government of England, but in an age of the fiercest religious passions such a view seemed treason against the head of the Church. Henceforth the Romanist was almost bound to be a traitor to Elizabeth. A bitter struggle ensued, and a long series of Catholic plots showed how earnestly the active Romanists strove to carry out the Pope's wishes. But it was a measure of doubtful wisdom for Pius thus to emphasise the incompatibility of the position of a good Catholic and a good Englishman. English national feeling was indignant at the presumption of the foreign potentate, who aspired to usurp the functions of the English Parliament. Pius's action united all shades of English Protestantism in enthusiastically upholding the queen as the champion, not only of the Protestant religion, but also of the independence of the English people. The very Puritans that Elizabeth was persecuting heartily supported her in her struggle against Rome, recognising that her life alone stood in the way of a reaction more complete than that which had marked the reign of her sister.

Pius V.'s Bull of Excommunication, 1570.

13. The Parliament of 1571 answered Pius's sentence by passing acts that made it treason to introduce papal bulls into the country, to be reconciled with the Roman See, or to be the cause of the conversion of others to the Roman faith. Luckily for Elizabeth there was no immediate need to use these stern weapons against the Pope. England kept true to the queen, and the continued jealousy of France and Spain made it impossible for the two foremost Catholic powers to unite to execute the bull of deposition. France, hitherto Elizabeth's chief enemy,

Anti-Roman legislation, 1571.

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was distracted by war and faction, and even Mary Stewart ceased to expect effective help from the weak government of her wretched brothers-in-law. Philip of Spain had become the undoubted leader of European Catholicism, and henceforth the discontented Romanists of England and Scotland sought help from him, rather than from France. The result was a gradual change in the relations between Elizabeth and Philip. The Spanish king, hitherto ever anxious to uphold Elizabeth despite her heresy, was henceforth the centre of every attempt to dethrone her and put the half-French Mary Stewart in her place. But Philip was as slow and cautious as Elizabeth, and even his religious zeal did not suffer him to pursue this policy with his whole heart. He was still afraid of Elizabeth joining the French against him, and rekindling an European war. Elizabeth was equally afraid of the union of Spain and France. The result was that though England and Spain gradually drifted into deadly hostility to each other, both Elizabeth and Philip feared to declare open war. This underhand hostility, this deadly hatred, cloaked under pacific forms, produced a state far worse than war. But for more than fifteen years longer England and Spain were still nominally at peace.

Foreign Relations of England.

The danger from Spain.

14. The failure of the rebellion of 1569 did not discourage the foes of Elizabeth. A Florentine banker named *Ridolfi*, who had long resided in England, now strove to unite all who wished for the release of Mary and the restoration of Catholicism, and persuaded the Duke of Norfolk to put himself at the head of the movement. *Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk*, was the son of the poet Earl of Surrey, and early in Mary's reign had succeeded his grandfather, Henry VIII.'s threatened victim, to the only duchy that still was left in England. He was popular, well-meaning, manly in bearing, and the richest nobleman of his time. He had conformed to Elizabeth's religion and had been trusted by her with some high appointments, but he was only a lukewarm friend of the reforming cause. He was indignant that his wealth, blood, and ability should be so little esteemed at court, and that his power remained but insignificant in comparison with that of low-born men, like Cecil and Walsingham. He was now a widower, and in the days of the Conference of York, Maitland of Lethington had craftily suggested to him that the best way to end

The Ridolfi Plot, and the execution of Norfolk, 1571-1572.

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all troubles would be that he should marry Mary, who might then be restored and recognised as Elizabeth's successor. To clear his way, Mary's marriage with Bothwell was pronounced invalid. The dazzling prospect thus opened out turned Norfolk's confused brain, and made him henceforth the puppet of every conspiracy. In 1569, the Northern Earls had advocated his marriage with Mary, and his relations with the rebels had been so suspicious, that he was for a time imprisoned. However he protested that he desired to wed the Queen of Scots with Elizabeth's good will, and as her true subject, and before long, on renouncing his marriage purpose, he was released. Ridolfi now plied him with specious arguments, and persuaded him to embark in open treason. Norfolk signed a declaration that he was a Catholic, and ready to lead an armed rebellion, if assured of the support of the King of Spain. Ridolfi was a sorry plotter, and before any overt action had been taken, the threads of the conspiracy had been unravelled by Cecil. In January 1572, Norfolk was tried and convicted of treason. A violently Protestant Parliament urged Elizabeth to carry out the sentence, and mete out a similar doom to the Queen of Scots. The queen compromised matters by ordering Norfolk's execution, five months after his sentence. He died proclaiming his innocence, and declaring that he "never was a Papist since he knew what religion meant." In her anger against Philip of Spain, Elizabeth sent the Spanish ambassador out of the country, and at Cecil's instance entered upon protracted but insincere negotiations for checkmating Spanish hostility, by marrying herself to the brother of the French king.

Peaceful times in England, 1572-1577.

15. With the failure of the Ridolfi conspiracy, the extreme tension which had begun with Mary Stewart's arrival in England ceased. For the next five years, Elizabeth was undisturbed by conspiracies and rebellions, and was able to wage war against the Puritans, and strengthen her authority at home, undisturbed by any fear of foreign interference. Mary remained quietly in her English prison, and the regents of her little son bore undisturbed sway in Scotland. Despite the papal excommunication, Elizabeth was stronger than ever. France sank into worse and worse disorder, and the attention of Philip was fully absorbed by the outbreak of the Revolt of the Netherlands.

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16. Each of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, which were now ruled by the King of Spain, had its separate institutions, and was proud of its local liberties. Ever since the Burgundian inheritance had fallen to the House of Austria, attempts had been made to weld the seventeen provinces together, into one centralised despotic state. Charles V. had sought to combine this policy with the extirpation of heresy, and after the treaty of Le Cateau, Philip set to work systematically to root out heresy, and set up his own absolute authority. The great nobles, though mostly Catholics, strenuously resisted him, and Philip sent the *Duke of Alva*, his best Spanish general, to overawe them. From 1567 to 1572, Alva ruled the hapless Netherlands with an iron hand, strove to stamp out Protestantism by wholesale executions, and with the help of a large Spanish army effectively crushed the political opposition. But in the north, and especially in the wealthy seafaring provinces of Holland and Zealand, nearly the whole population was fiercely Protestant, and even Alva found persecution of little avail to change the faith of a whole nation. The hardiest of the Hollanders fled to their ships, and soon found that the rich and defenceless merchantmen of Spain became their easy prey. Encouraged by their success, the whole of the provinces of Holland and Zealand rose in a desperate revolt in 1572, and chose as their leader *William, Prince of Orange*, called the Silent, a man of strong character and moderate Protestant views, and possessed of vast estates at Nassau on the Middle Rhine, and in the Netherlands, as well as of the Principality of Orange on the Lower Rhone. Alva did his best to put down the revolt, but the rebels cut the dykes, and flooded the low-lying country, so that his progress was exceedingly slow. Conscious of his failure, Alva obtained, in 1573, permission to return to Spain. His successor, *Requesens*, continued the severe struggle, but neither the military resources of Spain, nor the wealth of the Indies, availed to stamp out the rebellion. In 1576, Requesens died suddenly, whereupon the Spanish army, angry at not getting its pay, burst into mutiny, and plundered Antwerp with such fiendish cruelty, that resentment of this *Spanish Fury*, as it was called, spread the revolt all over the Netherlands. In 1576, the Seventeen Provinces all united in the *Pacification of Ghent*, by which Protestants and Catholics alike pledged themselves to uphold their traditional liberties, and procure the expulsion of the Spanish troops. Before long, however, national and religious differences split up the confederacy. The Catholic provinces of the south were induced by the new governor, Philip's gallant bastard brother, *Don John of Austria*, to return to the obedience of Philip, on his promising not to garrison the land with Spanish troops, and to abandon his attack on their franchises. In 1579, the seven northern provinces, which were mainly Protestant, including Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Groningen, Friesland, and Overyssel, concluded the *Union of Utrecht*, which flatly renounced all obedience to Spain, and became a federal republic under the hereditary stadtholdership, or lieutenancy, of the Prince of Orange. This was the beginning of the Dutch Republic, or the Commonwealth of the *Seven United Provinces*. After Don John's death, Philip's

The Revolt of the Netherlands.

The rule of Alva, 1567-1573.

Revolt of Holland and Zealand, 1572.

Government of Requesens, 1573-1576.

Pacification of Ghent 1576.

Union of Utrecht, 1579.

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governor was *Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma*, who continued in office from 1578 to his death in 1592. Parma was an excellent general, and a shrewd statesman, whose diplomacy won over the southern provinces, while his arms won notable triumphs over the rebellious north. Philip aided him with all his resources, knowing that, if the heretical Netherlanders succeeded in maintaining their liberty, a deadly blow had been dealt to the supremacy of Spain, and to the integrity of his dominions as well as to the progress of the Counter-Reformation, that was still in its full career of success.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572.

17. In the same year as the revolt of Holland, came a fresh crisis in the history of French Protestantism. Under Charles IX., the queen mother, Catharine de' Medici, had aspired to hold the balance between Protestants and Catholics, but in 1572, fearing that the Huguenots were becoming too powerful, she turned her son against them. The result was the fearful *Massacre of St. Bartholomew*, which took place on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August. The Huguenots lost many of their leaders, though like their Dutch brethren, they were not cowed by brutality, but took to arms with the courage of despair. In 1574, *Henry III.* succeeded Charles IX., and went back to the old policy of his mother of balancing between the two confessions. As the Catholics were the stronger, the king, though a Catholic, took care to prevent the Huguenots being too badly beaten. The Protestants were now headed by *Henry, Duke of Bourbon and King of Navarre*, who was the next heir to the throne, while the Catholic leader was now *Henry, Duke of Guise*, the son of Duke Francis, the conqueror of Calais. Disgusted that the Catholics were prevented by the king from reaping the fruits of victory, Henry of Guise formed the *Catholic League*, which strove to uphold the interests of religion without regard to the interests of the crown. The result was a perpetual struggle, and the weak king, unable to carry out effectively the part of a mediator, rapidly lost influence.

The three Henrys, and rise of the Catholic League.

Effects of the Counter-Reformation on politics.

18. The religious contest in the Netherlands and France soon gave Elizabeth ample opportunities for revenging herself on the Spanish and French Courts, which had in her days of adversity intrigued with her domestic enemies and threatened invasion on behalf of Mary Stewart. Religious passions were so excited that national feeling had become much weaker, and it seemed in every country the most natural thing in the world for men to call in foreigners of their own religious belief, to put down fellow countrymen of the opposite way of thinking. The revolted Netherlanders and the sorely pressed Huguenots both turned for help to Protestant England, just as the English Catholics and the Catholic League in France looked up to Philip of Spain for support. England was extremely sympathetic with the struggling Calvinists in the Netherlands and France, and

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from the beginning of the religious wars English volunteers had gladly fought on their behalf, and English money had flowed freely to their assistance. But the earnest Protestants hoped that the queen would openly interfere, and uphold with all her resources their persecuted brethren on the continent. Elizabeth took a very different view of the matter, having no sympathy with the Dutch or Huguenots, and fearing lest Philip should retaliate by intrigues with the English Catholics. Circumstances, however, were too strong for her. Her best statesmen, like Cecil and Walsingham, thought that Elizabeth ought to frankly take up the position of leader of Protestantism all over Western Europe. In some measure her ministers forced Elizabeth's hand, but her hand was still more forced by the action of her ardent Protestant subjects. Besides giving help in men and money to the revolted Protestants, the more adventurous English lost no opportunity of insulting or robbing a Popish prince. They joined with the Dutch in plundering Spanish merchant ships and Spanish colonies. We shall see in the next chapter the rise of English naval power and the action of the bold adventurers, who waged open war against Spain beyond the ocean, when the two countries remained nominally at peace. The result was that to the intense religious hostility of England and Spain was now added an equally sharp commercial antagonism. It required all the coolness and policy of Elizabeth and Philip to avoid open war, and though shrinking from this, both sovereigns sought to retaliate by all means in their power. Though Elizabeth continued to protest that she would have no dealings with rebels, yet she was gradually induced to give material though grudging support to the revolted Netherlanders. She characteristically cloaked her change of front with lying protestations that deceived no one. About 1577 troubled times again began. Don John of Austria, now governor of the Netherlands, proposed to invade England, restore Catholicism, and marry Mary Stewart. In the same year Francis Drake started on his famous voyage round the world, during which he played such havoc with Spanish colonies and trade. Philip retaliated by inciting a Catholic reaction in Scotland, and by sending troops to Ireland, which was at the moment in revolt against Elizabeth [see chap. viii.]. In the Netherlands the successes of the Duke of Parma, Don John's successor, excited Elizabeth's

The growing antagonism between England and Spain.

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fears, especially as the Protestants were slowly but surely losing ground in France. But of all the causes of alarm, none were so formidable as the systematic efforts which were now being made by the Roman Catholics to win over England.

19. Despite all the efforts of Rome, England seemed to be becoming more and more Protestant. There was a thin but continued stream of exiles who fled to the continent for conscience' sake; but in England Mass was rarely said, the Roman clergy were few, scattered, and wanting in energy, and as time went on, the great body of Englishmen was slowly becoming reconciled to the *Via Media* of Elizabeth. A determined effort was now made to re-kindle the zeal of the English Romanists, and win back those lovers of ancient ways who were slowly drifting into the open fold of the English Church. In 1568, a man of energy and ability, *William Allen*, a Lancashire gentleman's son, who had abandoned England rather than take the Oath of Supremacy, set up at *Douai* in Flanders a college for English Catholics, which before long became specially devoted to training up young Englishmen for the Roman priesthood, that they might return to their native country as missionaries of the faith. The disturbances that followed on the Pacification of Ghent made Douai an unsafe place for Allen's college, and in 1578, it was transferred to French territory at *Reims*, where it flourished under the protection of the Duke of Guise. Before long the pupils of Douai and Reims came over to England as apostles of the Counter-Reformation. Great results followed the work of these *seminary priests*. The Catholics ceased to attend their parish churches, and met together to hear Mass, said secretly by one of the wandering missionaries. They sent their children abroad to school and strove in every way to keep aloof from the Protestants. The success of the seminarists soon began to excite the alarm of the government, especially as these priests, bound by the bull of Pope Pius, taught that Elizabeth had no right to the throne, and that good Catholics ought not to obey her. The severe penal laws passed in 1571, when the fear of the Bull of Excommunication was new, had hitherto slumbered unused, but in 1577 Cuthbert Mayne, a pupil of the college at Douai, was arrested in a Cornish house and executed

The college at Douai and Reims.

The Seminary Priests.

Execution of Cuthbert Mayne, 1577.

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at Launceston as a traitor for denying the queen's supremacy, and having in his possession the printed copy of an insignificant papal bull, which brought him under the law.

20. Three years later a new and more formidable type of missionary appeared than the "secular" seminary priests.

The Jesuit Invasion, 1580.

In June 1580, *Robert Parsons*, the first Jesuit who came to England, landed at Dover, disguised as a soldier, with a "buff suit, laid with gold lace, and hat and feathers suited to the same." He was a dexterous political intriguer, who at once made his presence felt. He was soon joined by the high-souled, sweet-tempered enthusiast, *Edmund Campion*, another Jesuit priest. Henceforwards the Jesuits, though always few in numbers, exercised enormous influence on the course of the Roman mission, animating the secular priests with something of their spirit, though incurring before long their bitter hostility.

Parsons and Campion at once set actively to work, travelling all over the country at great risk, saying Mass, hearing confessions, strengthening the zeal of the active and winning over the lax or indifferent to the faith. The extent of their success was magnified by the terror which the name of Jesuit inspired, and Parliament, when it met in 1581, passed a new series of rigid laws against the Romanists. It was made an offence, punishable by a fine of £20 a month, not to go regularly to church, and the *Popish Recusants*, who persisted in staying away, had to be men of good substance if they were not to be ruined by their refusal. A keen search was made for the Jesuits, and, though Parsons escaped to the Continent, Campion was betrayed and apprehended. Amidst the execrations of the mob, he was taken to the Tower in July 1581, closely pinioned, with a paper stuck in his hat, bearing the inscription, "Campion the seditious Jesuit." It was found very hard to bring him under the law of treason, for he was a religious enthusiast, who cared little for politics, and, far from teaching sedition, he had explained away the bull of excommunication and could not be convicted of disloyalty to the queen. He was cruelly tortured, and when "worn with the rack, his memory destroyed, and his force of mind almost exhausted," he was compelled to hold a public disputation against well-prepared Protestant divines, wherein he showed such patience,

The Recusancy Laws, 1581.

Martyrdom of Edmund Campion, 1581.

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readiness, and simplicity that he extorted the admiration even of his persecutors. When his trial came, he was not so much as able to hold up his hand to plead without assistance. He was convicted, on the scanty evidence that satisfied the judges in the treason trials of the time. "If our religion do make us traitors," he declared, "then are we worthy to be condemned, but otherwise we are as true subjects as ever the queen had. In condemning us you condemn all your own ancestors, for what have we taught that they did not uniformly teach?" On 1st December 1581 the high-souled Jesuit suffered the last penalty of the law at Tyburn. From his safe refuge on the Continent, his associate Parsons devised new plots against the queen.

The Anjou marriage scheme, and Elizabeth's active intervention in the Netherlands, 1581.

21. Thoroughly frightened by the Jesuit invasion, Elizabeth fell back on the ancient scheme of a French marriage, hoping that if the representatives of moderate Protestantism and moderate Catholicism were thus united, the extreme tension of religious excitement might be relaxed, and a general political opposition to Spain might be organised. A treaty of alliance was signed in 1581 between England and France, and in the same year, *Francis, Duke of Anjou* [before 1576, Duke of Alençon,] younger brother of Henry III., and the only other surviving son of Henry II., appeared in England, to woo the queen in person. It was a strange courtship, and yet it was the most serious of all the many marriage projects in which Elizabeth had ever engaged. The queen was now forty-eight years old, and Anjou was only twenty-seven, contemptible in intellect and character, and so repulsive in appearance, with his ugly pock-marked face, great head, and harsh croaking voice, that Elizabeth jestingly called him "her frog." He now manifested a fantastic devotion to Elizabeth, and one day in the great gallery of the palace at Greenwich, Elizabeth gave him a kiss, put a ring upon his finger, and presented him to her household as her future husband. Anjou was despatched to the Netherlands, where it was hoped that a Catholic prince might revive the Pacification of Ghent, by binding together Protestants and Catholics alike against Philip of Spain. With unwonted generosity, the queen lavished vast sums to support his enterprise. It was the first time that Elizabeth had actively interfered on behalf of the revolted Netherlanders. But Anjou's incompetence soon spoilt all

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his fair prospects. In 1583, his disorderly soldiers wreaked a *French fury* at Antwerp, which equalled in hideousness the Spanish fury that had followed Requesens' death. Thereupon the Flemish towns, disgusted at his folly and treachery, drove Anjou from the country, and he went back to France, where he soon died. Despite the Greenwich kiss, Elizabeth soon repented of her foolish promise, though she supported him to the end in his scheme of establishing himself in the Netherlands.

22. The French alliance did little to save Elizabeth from Spain and the Jesuits. Protestant ascendency was threatened in Ireland (see page 519) and Scotland as well as in England. Since 1573, the Earl of Morton had acted as regent in Scotland. He was a fierce, rough, vicious man, "ower mickle given to the world," but he kept sound order, and maintained the English alliance, seeking, in his dislike of the Presbyterian clergy, to make the constitution of the Church more nearly correspond with the English fashion. In 1579, *Esmé Stewart, Count of Aubigny*, the nephew of the late Earl of Lennox, went over from France to Scotland, on the pretext of claiming his uncle's inheritance. He was a secret agent of the Pope and the Duke of Guise, and his real object was to bring about a Catholic reaction in Scotland. He dexterously wormed his way into the favour of James VI., who was now a precocious, suspicious, over-educated boy of thirteen. James made him Duke of Lennox, and he soon became so strong, that he accused Morton of the murder of Darnley, and in 1581 procured his conviction and execution. Lennox now hoped to bring the young king over to Catholicism, but he still had to contend against the fierce opposition of the Presbyterian clergy, who were not won to him, either by his attack on their enemy Morton, or even by his profession of Protestantism.

Esmé Stewart attempts a Catholic reaction in Scotland, 1579-1582.

The Raid of Ruthven, 1582.

In 1582, the *Raid of Ruthven* was carried out by the Earl of Gowrie, in the interests of the nobles and clergy. James was practically taken prisoner, and forced to dissociate himself from Lennox, whereupon the baffled intriguer returned to France. James, as he grew up to manhood, cleverly endeavoured to shake himself free from the fetters into which the clergy and nobles had cast him. So far as he could, he now continued Morton's policy, both as regards the Church and England. The Jesuit attack on Scotland had utterly failed, and the

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young king remained more firmly attached than ever to Elizabeth.

23. The danger in England was not so easily surmounted, Priest after priest underwent the hideous penalties of treason, but other enthusiasts readily came to supply their place. As the conflict thickened, both sides threw scruples to the winds. In 1582, Parsons and Allen arranged in conjunction with Philip II. and Guise a great plot for the murder of Elizabeth, Guise promising to send an army to make his cousin Mary queen and to restore Catholicism, as soon as the assassination had been effected. In 1583, Francis Throgmorton, a subordinate agent of the conspiracy, was arrested, and forced by torture to disclose the whole story. The queen ran a very real risk, for the religious zealots of the age used assassination as one of their favourite weapons. Twenty years before, Guise's father, Duke Francis, had been murdered by a Calvinist enthusiast. The founder of the Dutch Republic, William of Orange, after escaping from several previous attempts, was pistolled, 10th July 1584, by a Catholic fanatic named Balthazar Gerard.

The Throgmorton Conspiracy, 1583, and the Bond of Association, 1584-5.

It was the crisis of the long struggle. Early in 1584, Elizabeth finally expelled the Spanish ambassador. The murder of Orange renewed the fears for the queen's safety, and the loyalty of her subjects now expressed itself in a novel form. In November 1584, on the proposal of the Council, a *Bond of Association* was drawn up by Burghley and Walsingham, which all classes of Englishmen eagerly entered into. The Association pledged its members to defend the queen, and in the event of her murder, bound them to put to death any person on whose behalf the deed was committed, so as to prevent the assassins from reaping the fruit of their crime. This was a clear intimation that the murder of Elizabeth would be followed by the death of the Queen of Scots. In 1585, Parliament met and confirmed the Association. It also passed an Act banishing all Jesuits and seminary priests, and inflicting the penalties of treason on any that returned. Henceforth the mere presence of a Roman missionary involved his conviction for treason. But Elizabeth and her Parliaments can hardly be blamed for fighting assassination with all weapons in their power.

24. During these years the Catholic cause made great progress, both in the Netherlands and France. In 1585,

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Parma captured Antwerp, and the Netherlanders in their despair offered the sovereignty of their states to Elizabeth.

Leicester in the Netherlands, 1585-6.

The queen was too prudent to accept this offer, but she sent an army to help them, under the command of her dearest friend Leicester, whose pride and quarrelsomeness made him unfit for so delicate a task, and who was now in broken health, and as unable as Anjou himself to make headway against Spain. Among the gallant youths who followed Leicester to the Low Countries, eager to fight the Spaniards, was his accomplished nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, poet, romance-writer, and soldier, who got his death wound in an heroic charge near *Zutphen*. In 1586, Leicester disobeyed the queen's instructions, by accepting from the States-General the absolute government of the Seven Provinces. He then quarrelled with the Dutch, calling them "churls and tinkers," and rightly complained that Elizabeth refused to send him supplies. In September 1586, he went home in disgust, leaving the Dutch to secure their liberty for themselves.

25. Despite the Bond of Association, a new plot was formed in 1586 for murdering Elizabeth, and simultaneously releasing the Queen of Scots. The instigator of this was the seminary priest *John Ballard*, and his instruments were *Anthony Babington*, and other well-born Catholic youths. The plot was hatched in London, where Babington and his friends talked over the details at supper-parties in taverns, and sought divine assistance by hearing Mass regularly. Babington was a vain fool, who, anxious above all things to acquaint Mary with his design, rashly wrote her long letters describing every detail of the plot. These Mary answered, giving her approval to the murder of her rival. Walsingham's spies soon got wind of the conspiracy, and obtained possession of some of the correspondence between Mary and Babington. In September 1586, Babington, Ballard, and five of their associates were executed. Babington boasted on the scaffold that he had engaged in a deed lawful and meritorious. He was taken down from the gallows before he was dead, and the last grim operations of the law were performed on his still living body.

The Babington Conspiracy, 1586.

26. The Babington Conspiracy settled the doom of Mary Stewart. For many years she had been the focus of every plot, but remained unharmed in her prison, though stern Protestants had long clamoured for her death. The

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unscrupulous dexterity of Walsingham had now procured evidence against her of direct complicity in the design to murder the queen. In September 1586, she was taken under close custody to Fotheringay Castle, near Peterborough, where, in October, she was tried on this charge, and condemned, though she vainly protested that Elizabeth could exercise no jurisdiction over a crowned queen. This conviction cut her off from the succession, under the Act of Association, but Parliament, which met in the end of October, urged the immediate execution of her death sentence. "We have seen," said the Lords and Commons, "by how manifold, most dangerous and execrable practices Mary, commonly called the Queen of Scots, hath compassed the destruction of your Majesty's sacred person, bringing us and this noble crown back again into the thraldom of the Romish tyranny, and utterly ruinating and overthrowing the happy state and commonwealth of this realm. We therefore humbly beseech your Highness to take speedy order to execute the sentence, because we cannot find any means to provide for your safety, but by the speedy execution of the said queen." Even these strong words could not induce the queen to order Mary's execution. After long and pitiable hesitation, she signed the death-warrant, but soon after she was cowardly enough to urge Sir Amyas Paulet, the gaoler of the Queen of Scots, to murder her privately, so that the odium of a public execution might be avoided. Paulet refused to do this, and the Council, losing patience, directed Davison, the Secretary of State, to despatch the warrant to Fotheringay.

Trial and execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. 1586-87.

On February 7th, 1587, Mary was ordered to prepare herself for execution on the following day. She made ready to meet her fate with that admirable courage which had not been impaired, even by the weary years of imprisonment that had aged her before her time. Next morning she was taken to the great hall of the castle, where the scaffold had been erected. She played her part with consummate power, and turned a deaf ear to the clumsy exhortations of the Dean of Peterborough. "I die," she said, "a true woman to my religion, to Scotland, and to France. I have always wished the union of England and Scotland. Tell my son I have done nothing prejudicial to the dignity of his crown." Her remains were buried at Peterborough, hard by the tomb of Catharine of Aragon. There they rested until her son, after his accession to the English throne, transferred them

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to a nobler tomb at Westminster. Elizabeth loudly protested that the execution was carried out despite her wish, and made the unlucky Davison the scape-goat of her excuses to James. But it was she who profited most by the deed. There was no longer any object in forming plots to murder Elizabeth, when the next successor to the throne was the Protestant King of Scots. The worst dangers to Elizabeth and Protestantism passed away with the tragedy at Fotheringay.

CHAPTER VII.

The Elizabethan Seamen and the Triumph of Elizabeth. 1587-1603.

Trade and adventure in Mediæval England.

1. Up to the middle of the sixteenth century, England was distinguished neither for its trade nor its seamanship. Englishmen seemed to foreigners to be an unadventurous. easy-going, moody, and contemplative people, careless of progress and neglectful of commerce, but loving good living, hard knocks, booty won in war, and, in the intervals of fighting, living lazy and inactive lives on their fields at home. Until the fifteenth century the foreign trade of England had been largely in the hands of foreigners, such as the Venetians and the Germans from the Hanse towns, these latter having a factory in London called the *Steelyard.* It was a step in advance when Englishmen began to open up foreign markets for themselves, and when the restlessness of the early sixteenth century broke down the traditional system of farming, and left many either to shift for themselves or to starve. Yet few saw any remedy for the woes of England except in bringing back the good old times, and fewer still looked to any new occupations to take away the hands that were no longer wanted on the land. There was a slight development of manufacturing industry when the persecution of Alva drove many of the weavers of Flanders and Brabant to take refuge in England and teach their new countrymen a little of their own rare skill. But the first beginnings of the new impulse are to be seen in adventure rather than in trade, and, even when successful adventure opened out new avenues of commerce, in trade rather than in manufactures.

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2. The revelation of a new world by Columbus and Vasco da Gama had hardly affected England at all, though conspicuous among those who followed on the track of Columbus was *John Cabot*, a Venetian settled in Bristol, who had been sent on two voyages of discovery by the foresight of Henry VII. (1496-1498). Cabot discovered the coasts of Labrador and Nova Scotia, but nothing practical came of his enterprise, and his son, Sebastian, finding little encouragement, save fair words and promises from Henry VIII. and Wolsey, quitted the country of his birth, and took service with the Emperor Charles V. With little help from the state, the undaunted Bristol merchants sent out under Henry VIII. various expeditions of discovery, that first gave England a share, however small, in the Newfoundland fisheries and the trade with West Africa. The stirrings of the new impulse became stronger under Edward VI., soon after whose accession, Sebastian Cabot was tempted back to England. The London merchants were suffering from severe depression of trade and the competition of the foreign merchants of the Steelyard. Cabot remedied some of the grievances of the English merchants against the Steelyard, and was made governor of the *Company of Merchant Adventurers*, the chief English society of traders. In 1553, at Cabot's suggestion, an expedition was sent out with *Sir Hugh Willoughby* as admiral and *Richard Chancellor* as pilot, with the object of opening up trade with the strange countries of the north and east, and, if possible, of discovering a *North-East passage* to China through the Arctic seas. The little squadron was assailed by a great tempest off the Norwegian coast, in which Willoughby, with two of the ships, was separated from the rest of his company. The admiral sought to winter in the north of Russia, but, after a long series of misfortunes, the whole of both crews were starved or frozen to death. Chancellor had better luck with the remaining ships, successfully reaching the White Sea, and establishing friendly relations with Russia. Chancellor visited Ivan the Terrible at his capital in Moscow, and opened out a trading connection with Russia, so successfully that a *Muscovy or Russia Company* was started, and in 1556 he set forth on a second voyage, during which he perished in shipwreck off the coast of Scotland. The Russian trade at once became important, and the friendship of the Czar was highly prized

Henry VII. and the Cabots, 1496-1498.

The dawn of activity.

Expedition of Willoughby and Chancellor, 1553.

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by Elizabeth. But Chancellor's greatest fame was that he was the first Englishman who made a name as a discoverer, and the true precursor of the Elizabethan mariners.

The Reformation and seafaring adventure.

3. The impulse to seamanship and navigation was the direct result of the great stirring of men's minds that followed the Reformation. The restless adventurers who took to the sea were of a class which was specially open to the new doctrines, and, though careless of theology and reckless in their lives, they were sound Protestants and great haters of the Pope. Greed of gain was even more powerful with them than religious enthusiasm, and in those days when even the narrow seas of Europe were swarming with robber craft, the line between the peaceful trader and pirate was by no means a hard and fast one. Already in Mary's reign some of the fiercer Protestant refugees took to the sea, and, working from the French coasts, despoiled the ships of Philip and Mary with special zest. Before long, the English adventurer began to look further afield. While England had been asleep, Spain and Portugal had conquered great empires in the New World, though neither country had great love of colonising, and Spain had not even skill in commerce or seafaring. The English mariners found that it was easier to make money by robbing the richly-freighted galleons of Spain than to trade honestly on their own account, or run the risks and dangers of experiments in distant colonisation. The wealth and defencelessness of the Spanish trading-ships made them an easy prey, and religious zeal excused cupidity by reckoning it a merit to despoil Papists. Moreover, the Spaniards kept their American colonies under strict tutelage, and they retained for the mother country an absolute monopoly of trade with them. The dearness and scarcity that flowed from monopoly made the Spanish colonists themselves welcome the heretic free-traders, who cheapened commodities and brought them the stores of which they stood in need. Partly as pirates, partly as smugglers, English mariners were beginning to make a name for themselves, and side by side with these lawless traders went more legitimate commerce and love of adventure.

4. Among the most daring of English seamen in the days of Henry VIII. was William Hawkins of Plymouth, who made three voyages to the Guinea coast and Brazil, and opened up the first trade between England and South America. His second son, *John Hawkins* (1532-

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1595), followed in his father's footsteps, making, when still a young man, voyages to the Canaries, where he learnt "that negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola, and that they might easily be had upon the coast of Guinea." In 1562, he equipped a squadron of three ships, and freighted them with negro slaves obtained in West Africa by violence and purchase. These he sold to excellent advantage to the Spanish planters of Hispaniola, who were at their wits' end for want of suitable labour. So enormous were Hawkins' profits, that in 1564 he started on a larger expedition for the same purpose, the Queen lending him his chief ship, the *Jesus*. He again obtained his miserable cargo of slaves, though this time with more difficulty, but the Spanish officials were forewarned, and strove to prevent the bold smuggler from selling his wares in America. Hawkins answered that they must either fight him or buy his cargo, whereupon the Spaniards allowed him to dispose of the negroes without further trouble. He reached home laden with wealth, and was henceforward a famous man. In 1567 he started on a third voyage, but this time he met with disaster. Attempting to force the inhabitants of *San Juan de Ulloa* (the modern Vera Cruz, the port of Mexico) to buy his slaves, he was entrapped in the harbour by a strong Spanish fleet. A desperate encounter was fought in the narrow port, in which Hawkins was ultimately overborne by numbers. He lost his profits and most of his ships, and got back to England with the greatest difficulty. Hawkins was a shrewd, keen-sighted trader, aiming simply at filling his purse by fair means or foul, malicious, rude, covetous, and false. But he was terribly efficient at his work. By opening out the slave-trade, he changed the whole future of tropical America, making possible the planter-aristocracy, enriched by negro labour, which now rapidly succeeded the gold-seekers and adventurers of the early days of Spanish settlement, and pointing the way to a traffic which heaped up unhallowed gains on English merchants for more than two hundred years. No one then thought of the wickedness and cruelty of the trade.

The three slave-trading voyages of John Hawkins, 1562, 1564, and 1567.

5. The Spanish Government bitterly resented Hawkins' interference with their monopoly of trade, no less than his demonstration of the military weakness of their colonial power. Many lesser men followed his example; and the Spaniards retaliated by laying violent hands on English seamen and handing them over to be tried and burnt as heretics by the Inquisition. This state of things grew up when Philip and Elizabeth were comparatively friendly. After 1572 the attacks on Spanish trade became more constant, as the revolted Dutch joined hands with the English marauders, and even surpassed them by their skill and dexterity in opening up avenues of commerce. As time went on, the greedy commercial spirit was in somewise ennobled by romantic love of adventure, and a sort of crusading enthusiasm. The enthusiasm for

Development of the adventurous spirit after 1572.

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discovery first prompted the voyages of ***Martin Frobisher*** (1535-1594), while ***Francis Drake*** (1540-1596) stood foremost among these Puritan crusaders, equally alert for gain, glory, and war against the Papists.

Frobisher's Northern Voyages, 1576-1578.

In 1566 Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a high-souled and adventurous Devonshire gentleman, wrote a *Discourse of a Discovery for a New Passage to Cathay*, in which he urged that efforts should be made to discover a *North-West passage* to China by way of the north coast of America. Ten years later, Leicester's brother, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, fitted out two tiny ships, each of twenty-five tons burden, and sent Frobisher, a strong, rude Yorkshireman, already famous as a sailor and privateer, to find out the new way to the East. On his first short voyage Frobisher barely touched the fringe of the undiscovered country, but brought back with him a black ore, which an Italian alchemist declared to contain gold. This at once excited the cupidity of those who supplied the mariners with resources, and Frobisher's two subsequent voyages, in 1577 and 1578, were turned from the fruitful work of discovery to an eager quest of the gold-bearing mineral. It was found that the ore produced no gold at all; and the speculators and adventurers, who had furnished Frobisher with funds, turned against him, and neglected him utterly.

Drake's Voyage to the West Indies, 1572.

6. Francis Drake, a Tavistock man, whose father was a dependent of the rising house of Russell, was a kinsman of John Hawkins, and accompanied him on his third slave-trading voyage, barely escaping with his little fifty-ton ship, the *Judith*, from the carnage in Vera Cruz harbour. He afterwards strove to make good his losses in that fatal trip by two voyages on his own account to the West Indies. In 1572 he sailed with two small ships on a third journey from Plymouth, "with intent to land at *Nombre de Dios*" [a port on the isthmus of Darien], "the granary of the West Indies, wherein the golden harvest brought from Peru and Mexico to Panama was hoarded up till it could be conveyed to Spain." He duly reached his destination, and, after a sharp fight with the Spaniards, took possession of Nombre de Dios, where he seized great stacks of silver bars and took a treasure-barge, heaped up with gold, pearls, and jewels. Drake fainted from a wound he had received in the skirmish, and his followers, fearful of the Spaniards, bore him back to his ships. He afterwards landed again, and ascended a mountain, at the summit of which he climbed a tall tree, and from its top looked down on the Pacific. He fervently prayed "Almighty God to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea,"

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which had hitherto been navigated by the ships of Spain alone. In 1573 he was back at Plymouth, with enough spoil to make him a rich man for life. Four years later, Drake set forth on the most famous of his voyages, with a little fleet of five vessels, of which the largest, his own ship the *Pelican*, was of no more than one hundred tons, though sumptuously fitted with "rich furniture, silver vessels, and divers shows of all sorts of curious workmanship." This time he made his way to South America, and bravely sailed through the dangerous Straits of Magellan into the unknown ocean, on which he had prayed to navigate his fleet. He had already encountered many risks, had wrestled with furious storms, and put down a dangerous mutiny. Alone of his little fleet, the *Pelican* (which on entering the straits he had renamed the *Golden Hind*) was left. He now worked his way northwards up the western coast of South America, and soon wrought terrible havoc on the Spaniards, who had few means of defence, not dreaming that an enemy would ever appear to contest their power. A Spanish gentleman, who commanded one of the ships that Drake captured, sent a vivid account of the daring Englishman to the Governor of New Spain. "The English general is about thirty-five years of age, of small size, with a reddish beard, and is one of the greatest sailors that exist. His ship sails well. His crew are all in the prime of life, and as well trained for war as old soldiers of Italy. He treats them with affection, and they him with respect. He has with him nine or ten young gentlemen who form his council, but he is not bound by their advice. He has no privacy: all these dine at his table. He has all possible luxuries, even to perfumes. None of these gentlemen either sits down or puts on his hat in his presence without repeated permission." The *Golden Hind* being now laden with spoil, Drake resolved to sail home across the Pacific and round the Cape of Good Hope. He successfully overcame the many difficulties of this long and unknown voyage, and in September 1580 safely got back to England, being the first captain that had sailed round the world, Magellan, his predecessor in this adventure, having died in the attempt, though his ship successfully completed the circumnavigation. Drake's praises were now in every one's mouth. The queen herself dubbed him a knight on the deck of the *Golden Hind* at Deptford.

Drake's Voyage Round the World, 1577-1580.

7. The Spaniards clamoured for Drake's punishment,

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and for restitution of the property that he had taken, but he came back at a time when the crisis with Spain was approaching. It was the period of the Jesuit mission to the three kingdoms, and even Elizabeth could not but feel that the time had gone for affecting to be on good terms with Spain. She answered Philip with fair words, and continued to encourage Drake as much as she could. If she had small sympathy to spare for the heroic Netherlanders, she had a real regard for the hero who enriched her coffers and opened out new avenues to English adventurers and traders.

The breach between England and Spain, 1580-1587.

During the next few years, the Angevin marriage scheme, the active intervention of Elizabeth in the Netherlands, the proved assistance which Philip gave to the would-be assassins of the queen, and the continued sufferings of English sailors in the dungeons of the Inquisition, all contributed to embitter the relations of the two countries. In 1580 Philip annexed Portugal, and found a new offence in the support which Elizabeth gave to Dom Antonio, the representative of the ancient royal house, who sought in vain to assert his claims to the throne. After the expulsion of the Spanish ambassador in 1584, war was imminent. Philip proceeded to lay an embargo on all English ships and property found in his dominions. Drake was, in 1585, sent by the queen with a fleet of twenty-five ships to make reprisals, and Frobisher, now restored to credit, was his vice-admiral. Drake plundered the Spanish port of Vigo, and thence sailed to the West Indies, whence he came back in 1586, after having destroyed many Spanish settlements, but with booty hardly commensurate with the greatness of the expedition. Next year, the execution of the Queen of Scots filled up the measure of the heretic queen's enormities, and Philip prepared for revenge. At last, after nearly twenty years of lawless hostility, England and Spain stood at open war with each other.

In his deliberate way, Philip made ready for a great invasion of England. In April 1587 Drake went to Cadiz, where he sailed straight into the port, sank or burnt more than thirty ships, and ruined the Spanish preparations. This exploit he called "singeing the King of Spain's beard." He then turned southwards, and struck upon a new source of plunder by capturing a huge carrack, laden with a rich cargo from the Portuguese East Indies. Philip at once renewed his preparations, and

Singeing the King of Spain's beard, 1587.

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Drake urged a fresh expedition, rightly believing that by constantly attacking the Spanish harbours, he could free England from all danger of invasion. Elizabeth, fearing lest in the fleet's absence Spanish troops might be suddenly thrown into the country, overruled his proposal, and left Philip undisturbed to fit out his Armada.

8. Thanks to Elizabeth's hesitation, the Spanish fleet was ready to sail by the summer of 1588. Philip's plan was to send the fleet to Flanders, whence it was to carry Parma, with his well-tried army, across the straits, and thus effect an invasion of England. It was hoped that the English Catholics would revolt on the landing of a Spanish army, and with that expectation, William Allen, the founder of the Douai seminary, was made a Cardinal, and was intended to play over again the part of Reginald Pole in the hoped-for reconquest of England to the Roman faith. Allen put his name to a violent pamphlet exhorting the English to accept Philip as the executor of the papal sentence. After the beheading of Mary, Philip's hands were free, for he no longer had a lurking fear lest Elizabeth's death should hand over England to France. He laid open claim to the English throne himself, by virtue of his threefold descent from the legitimate stock of John of Gaunt. As a matter of mere genealogy, he was nearer the blood of Edward III. than the Tudors, but the English throne has never gone, like a piece of land, to the nearest heir, least of all to a foreign prince, alien in religion and sentiment. Even the Catholics paid little heed to Allen's exhortations. It was no longer mainly a war of religion, though religious hatred still embittered the struggle on both sides. It was a national war between two great nations, which had become for more than a generation rivals from every point of view.

Preparations for the Armada.

England had no trained army to match Parma's veterans, and there was still a fear of a Catholic rising. Her best hope, therefore, was to fight Philip at sea, where Englishmen had shown that there was no reason to be afraid of Spain. Yet terror magnified the size and numbers of Philip's fleet, though practical sailors knew from experience that the *Invincible Armada*, as some braggart Spaniards called it, was nothing very formidable. It was true that the English ships looked much smaller than the Spanish, because while the Spanish ships were piled up high, fore and aft, with deck above deck, the English were comparatively low in the water, and had a less unwieldy superstructure at

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the ends. Yet as far as tonnage went, the English ships were on the average only a trifle smaller than those of the Spaniards, while the largest ships of both navies were about the same in size. Hawkins (who after his failure at Vera Cruz had married the Treasurer of the Navy's daughter, and had succeeded to his office) had supplied the Royal Navy with an excellent series of new ships, built and rigged with all the practical improvements which his skill and experience had suggested. The result was that the English ships were more seaworthy, easier to navigate, and able to sail quicker and nearer to the wind. The English vessels had more sailors than the enemy, and their guns were more numerous, larger and better served. The smaller English ships, of the type that had composed the fleets of Drake and Hawkins, were out and away more efficient than the smaller Spanish ones. Even the armed merchantmen had done good service as privateers or pirates. The crews were experienced mariners, grown accustomed to the boisterous seas of the north in the fishing grounds off Iceland or Newfoundland. The Spaniards, on the other hand, regarded the fleet as mainly important in making an invasion possible. Their fleet was numerically imposing, but many of their ships were mere transports or victuallers, which could take no part in naval warfare. Moreover, even their men-of-war carried as small a number of sailors as could work the ships, and these mariners had mostly won their sole experience of the sea in the Mediterranean or the Tropics. Every vessel was crowded with soldiers to swell Parma's army of invasion, and the seamen were treated as inferiors and roughly ruled by their soldier passengers. The ships, too, were so hastily fitted out, that they were often unseaworthy, or at least ill-found for a long voyage. The only great Spanish seaman, whose rank was high enough to ensure him the supreme command, was the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who died on the eve of sailing. Philip foolishly gave his office to the high-born and well-meaning young *Duke of Medina Sidonia*, who knew little of the sea, had no experience in war, and was not clever enough to profit by the advice of wiser men. The best and bravest of the Spanish nobility commanded the ships and squadrons, but they were mere soldiers, anxious to get ashore and begin what they thought would be the real struggle. If they had to fight at sea, their great object was to board the enemy and carry on a hand-to-hand struggle on deck. They despised artillery as a cowardly sort of weapon. It was

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therefore the policy of the English to avoid close fighting, where the greater numbers of the Spanish soldiers and their discipline and experience in warfare would be sure to tell.

Elizabeth gave the chief command to the Lord High Admiral, *Charles Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham*, the grandson of the Norfolk who won the battle of Flodden, and cousin of the Norfolk executed in 1572. His father and two of his uncles had already held the office of Admiral, and he was not unworthy of his post, being dignified, shrewd, cautious, brave, and working admirably with his subordinates. Many of his kinsfolk and other great noblemen fought under him, but his chief helpers were the two best practical sailors in England, Sir Francis Drake, who was Vice-admiral, and John Hawkins, who was Rear-admiral. Martin Frobisher was captain of the *Triumph*, the largest ship in the fleet. A vast army was rapidly collected on land, over which Elizabeth set her old favourite Leicester, who died a month after the struggle had ended. Though the English had to raise their army and create most appliances for carrying on war on a large scale, even by sea, they were ready before the Spaniards. In the early summer the Admiral posted his ships in the "chops of the Channel," between Scilly and Ushant, and anxiously awaited the arrival of the grand fleet. At last in despair he put back to Plymouth. Meanwhile *Lord Henry Seymour*, son of the Protector Somerset, with the *Squadron of the Narrow Seas*, kept a sharp eye on Parma, who had collected a great store of flat-bottomed boats and barges to cross over the straits, as soon as Sidonia's arrival gave Spain even a momentary command of the sea.

The English Commanders.

9. In May 1588, the Armada sailed out of Lisbon, but rough weather and insufficient equipment forced the fleet to put back to the north Spanish ports, and it was not until 12th July that it finally started. On 19th July it was descried entering the Channel, and a strong south-west gale blew it rapidly up the narrow seas. The English let it pass Plymouth, where many of their own fleet lay, and then sailed out in pursuit. For the next week an almost continuous battle raged between the two fleets. The English had the "weather gage," that is to say, were on the side of the wind, and while their greater power of sailing enabled them to tack easily and escape, the wind prevented the foremost Spaniards coming to the help of their rearward brethren, on

Armada in the Channel, July 1588.

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whom the brunt of the battle fell. The English cleverly avoided coming to close quarters, and poured their heavy fire into the towering hulks of the Spaniards, doing dreadful execution on the close-packed masses of soldiers that swarmed within them. In their vain desire to fall aboard the English, the Spaniards aimed at their masts and rigging, hoping to cripple them, but their gun practice was not good enough and their guns too light to have effect. Day after day, ship after ship of the Spaniards was cut off and captured by the English, or avoided capture by running on the French coast. But the long artillery duel, a novelty in those days, used up the ammunition of both fleets. The English were forced to depend on scanty supplies brought from shore from day to day, but the Spaniards, who had no such resource, were much worse off. In the midst of the struggle the Admiral summoned some of his most valiant captains to his flagship, and dubbed them knights, Hawkins and Frobisher being among the number. From the very beginning of the fighting the Spaniards never had a chance, and after being chased all up the Channel, they cast anchor in Calais roads, fully conscious of their desperate condition. "The enemy pursue me," wrote Sidonia to Parma. "They fire upon me most days from morning to nightfall; but they will not close and grapple. I have given them every opportunity. I have left ships exposed to tempt them to board, but they will not, and there is no remedy, for they are swift and we are slow. We have consumed our ammunition, and our men are worn out."

The battle off Gravelines, 29th July, and the defeat of the Armada.

10. No rest was allowed to the unlucky Spaniards. They lay so near the French shore that they could not be attacked where they were moored. Thereupon the English sent blazing fire-ships upon the Spaniards at anchor, so that, in terror of utter destruction, they slipped their cables and once more took to the open sea. The English were now reinforced by Seymour, and actually had more ships than the enemy. Abandoning former tactics, Howard prepared to give the final blow to the weakened Spaniards. On 29th July the decisive battle was fought off *Gravelines*. The English had again the weather gage, and bore down on the Spaniards, whose fleet formed a great half-moon. The battle raged fiercely from nine in the morning till six in the afternoon, and was altogether in favour of the assailants. "Great was the spoil and harm

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that was done to them," wrote one of the English captains. "When I was furthest off, I was not out of the shot of their arquebuses, and most times within speech one of another. Every man did well, and when every one was weary and our cartridges spent, we ceased and followed the enemy, who bore away in very good order."

The struggle was now virtually over. Sidonia still kept his ships well together, despite their damaged condition and the loss of spirit which always follows defeat. Southerly winds now prevailing, he found it best to sail northwards, and thence got home round the north of Scotland and west of Ireland. High gales still continued, and proved fatal to the leaky and battered ships, whose wrecks strewed the Irish coast. The English soon desisted from pursuit, their provisions and ammunition again failing, and malignant fever having broken out in the fleet. Less than half the Armada got back to Spain. The attack on England had utterly and hopelessly failed.

The results of the English victory.

11. The defeat of the Armada marks the end of the thirty years of constant difficulties by which Elizabeth had hitherto been beset. There was no longer any question of whether Englishmen could be forced to accept a king or a creed from abroad. The failure of Philip's fleet ensured the independence of England. It ensured the victory of Protestantism. It made easy in the next generation the union with Scotland and the conquest of Ireland. It secured a large share of the New World to our sailors and adventurers, made England a great naval power, and enabled her to become before long a great trading and colonising state as well. It was the triumph of the restless energy and high-souled patriotism of the new generation, and was immediately followed by the mighty growth of the drama and the unique outburst of genius that made the end of Elizabeth's reign the most wonderful period in all our history.

The freedom of the United Provinces.

In its European aspect the defeat of Philip was the most serious check encountered by the victorious forces of the Counter Reformation, which nevertheless had succeeded in winning back to Catholicism most of the doubtful countries of middle Europe. It secured the freedom of the Seven United Provinces, and enabled them to win greater gains than even England from the weakness of Spain on the seas. Under the rule of the son of William the Silent, Maurice (1587-1625), the Dutch resisted the attacks of Parma and his successors, and Philip was forced to conciliate the southern Netherlands by making them an

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almost independent state under his daughter Isabella and her husband the Archduke Albert of Austria. Nor was the defeat of the Armada less epoch-making in France. In 1588 the Guises and the Catholic League broke openly from the wretched Henry III., who revenged himself by procuring the murder of Francis of Guise. Henry III. was forced to take refuge in the Huguenot camp, and next year was himself assassinated by a Catholic fanatic. His death made the Huguenot leader, Henry of Navarre, Henry IV. king of France.

The triumph of Henry IV. in France.

The League joined with Philip in striving to prevent Navarre's recognition, and the Civil War blazed more fiercely than ever. French feeling was divided, since the mass of Frenchmen disliked a Protestant king, though they also resented the interference of the Spaniards. Henry IV. was no religious enthusiast, but a clear-headed, shrewd, unscrupulous statesman after Elizabeth's own heart. In 1593 he turned Catholic, and was soon recognised as king by all patriotic Frenchmen. Gradually the war of Protestant and Catholic in France developed into a national war between France and Spain, just in the same way as the Armada had turned the religious struggle in England into a national war with Philip. Elizabeth and Henry IV. formed a close alliance against their common enemy. Thus the general European conflict of Protestant and Catholic settled down into an ordinary war, which the allies fought so successfully that the political balance of Europe, which Philip had so long threatened to overthrow, was restored on a sound footing.

The Treaty of Vervins and the Edict of Nantes, 1598.

In 1598, wearied out with adversity, Philip made the *Treaty of Vervins* with France, and died in the same year. In the same year Henry IV. showed that he had not forgotten his old Protestant associates, by issuing the *Edict of Nantes*, which gave the Huguenots wide toleration for their religion and political privileges that were all too liberal for the interests of national unity.

The War between England and Spain, 1588-1603.

12. England and Spain continued at war until the death of Elizabeth. The animosity of the two nations was so fierce that peace seemed quite out of the question. The English Catholics joined loyally with the Protestants in fighting the Spaniards, and only a small minority followed firebrands, like Allen and Parsons, in continued hostility to Elizabeth's government. The papal bull of excommunication was forgotten. The Pope, who himself feared Philip's power, was not wholly dissatisfied at the defeat of the Armada. Yet the stern laws against the Catholics were still added to, and Catholic martyrs were still sacrificed to the English treason laws. These were more and more victims of religious persecution, for there was no longer the least danger of the Catholics attaining supremacy. Elizabeth's policy had so completely triumphed that they had become an insignificant and unpopular minority.

The later stages of the war with Spain were mainly

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fought at sea. In 1589 Parliament urged that the Spaniards should be attacked in their own country by way of reprisals, and Drake sailed with a strong expedition to the coast of the Peninsula. The shipping at Corunna was burnt and a large number of troops landed in the hope of capturing Lisbon. A fatal error was made, however, when the English left the sea to fight on land, with scanty numbers and less experience. The attack on Lisbon failed, and so severely did the expedition suffer that not half those who sailed got back to England. The more ambitious enterprises of the later years of Elizabeth's reign were seldom as successful as the humbler efforts of the early pioneers. The Spaniards were now better prepared and more accustomed to the English way of fighting. In 1591 an expedition sent to the Azores under Lord Thomas Howard to lie in wait for the treasure-laden galleons of Spain, was assailed by so strong a Spanish squadron that Howard prudently retired before them. His vice-admiral, *Sir Richard Grenville*, who sailed in the *Revenge*, Drake's flagship in 1588, delayed his departure until the Spanish fleet had cut him off from the rest of the squadron. Though retreat was still open to him by sailing in the contrary direction, he resolved to cut his way through the whole Spanish fleet, which lay stretched to windward. As he sailed under the lee of the great galleons, he was at once becalmed, assailed on every side, and boarded by the enemy. For fifteen hours Grenville and his hundred and fifty fever-stricken men held out against the whole Spanish fleet. At last, when scarcely twenty were left alive, and Grenville had been mortally wounded, the *Revenge* was captured. Practical men denounced the wilful rashness of the obstinate commander and his disobedience to his superior's orders. But the extraordinary heroism of the resistance, told in lofty prose by Grenville's kinsman, Sir Walter Raleigh, has immortalised the story of the fight of the *Revenge* as the most brilliant of all the deeds of English seamen.

Drake's Expedition in 1589.

The Fight of the Revenge, 1591.

In 1595 Drake, with Hawkins as vice-admiral, was sent on an expedition to the West Indies, but the Spaniards were prepared for them. They won few successes and captured no treasure, and early in the campaign Hawkins was cut off by fever. In January 1596 Drake himself died, and was buried at sea, so that, as a Devonshire rimer sang,

Last expedition and death of Drake and Hawkins, 1595-6.

> "The waves became his winding-sheet; the waters were his tomb:
> But for his fame the ocean-sea was not sufficient room."

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Philip II. was now growing old, but he resolved to make a last effort to avenge himself on the English. Following on Drake's earlier tactics, Elizabeth sent a great expedition to destroy the Spanish fleet in harbour, before it was ready to sail. The Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham, was placed in command, though jointly with ***Robert Devereux***, second Earl of Essex, the Admiral taking the lead at sea and Essex on shore. After a fierce fight, in which Raleigh took a main part in revenge for his kinsman Sir Richard Grenville, the ships in Cadiz harbour were destroyed and the town itself taken by storm. Essex, young and ardent, was for following up the attack, but Howard insisted on going home, and on his return to England the queen made him Earl of Nottingham. After this rude lesson, Spain gave up all hopes of revenge, and the war languished for the rest of the reign.

The threatened Armada and the Cadiz Expedition of 1596.

13. The spirit of adventure and discovery continued to inspire English mariners. Thomas Cavendish, between 1586 and 1588, followed in the path of Drake, and successfully circumnavigated the globe, spoiling the Spaniards after the fashion of his great predecessors, and sailing home up the Thames with broadcloth and silk over all his canvas, and his tops gilt. Between 1585 and 1587 John Davis strove to renew the exploits of Frobisher by opening out the North-West Passage, and, though failing in his impossible enterprise, he added much to men's knowledge of the northern seas.

Later Elizabethan voyages of Discovery.

Cavendish and Davis.

14. Constant attempts were now made to plant English colonies in the lands revealed by the hardihood of our seamen. The pioneer of English colonisation was *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, who as early as 1583 sought to establish an English settlement on the dreary coasts of Newfoundland. But the climate was adverse, the colonists were lazy, lawless, and mutinous, and Gilbert was too haughty and wayward to command their affection or obedience. He was forced to return to England with the only two ships that remained to him. The season was autumn and the voyage was stormy. Rejecting the comparative safety of his bigger ship, the *Golden Hind* (which was only of forty tons burden), Gilbert sailed home in the *Squirrel*, a mere boat of ten tons, which was overwhelmed by the tempest. The men on the *Golden Hind* last saw

Attempts at American colonisation.

Gilbert and Newfoundland, 1583.

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Gilbert "sitting abaft with a book in his hand, and crying to us, 'We are as near heaven by sea as by land.' But the same night suddenly the frigate's lights went out, and in that moment she was swallowed up." Gilbert's half-brother, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, the most versatile and accomplished of all the Elizabethan heroes, stepped into his place. In 1585 Sir Richard Grenville, the hero of the *Revenge*, who was their cousin, attempted to establish, under Raleigh's direction, a new colony more to the south, in a land which Raleigh named Virginia in honour of the virgin queen. The first expedition was an utter failure, and Drake took the colonists back to England. In 1587 and in 1590 other expeditions were sent out, but neither of them succeeded. Raleigh was too busy at home to go out himself, and the only permanent result of his efforts was the introduction into England of tobacco and the potato. Undeterred by his Virginian failure, Raleigh now started an entirely different enterprise, and in 1595 sailed to South America, hoping to explore the valley of the Orinoco, and the region then called Guiana, in which he believed there existed a wonderful city called *El Dorado*, where gold abounded beyond the dreams of avarice. His enemies mocked at his enthusiasm, and on his return he wrote his *Discovery of Guiana* as a justification of his action. For the rest of the queen's reign Raleigh abandoned adventure and discovery for vain endeavours to gain power at court whereby he might rise to authority in the state and carry out his great ideas.

Raleigh and Virginia, 1585-1590.

15. The old servants of Elizabeth were now passing away. Leicester died in 1588, and Walsingham in 1590. Burghley alone remained, and sought to hand on his power to his second son, Robert Cecil, the Secretary of State. As Burghley grew older, he became more cautious, set his face against a policy of adventure, and would willingly have made peace with Spain. After his death in 1598 Robert Cecil continued to uphold his views, while the more active party was represented by Essex and Raleigh. Raleigh, with all his gifts, was headstrong, self-seeking, and unpopular. He quarrelled with Essex, and lost his position at court. Essex, Leicester's step-son, was the favourite of the queen's old age. The great-grandson of Anne Boleyn's sister, he was one of her nearest living kinsmen. Loving him for his beauty, gallantry and devotion to her, she in 1599 entrusted him with the difficult

The Cabinet and the Court of Elizabeth's old age.

The fall of the Earl of Essex, 1601.

task of suppressing the Irish rebellion [see page 150]. The wayward young man mismanaged things utterly, and after losing most of his troops, hurried back to court without leave, to justify himself to his mistress. Elizabeth was mortally offended at this breach of orders, and put him in prison. In 1600 he was released, but ordered not to go to court. He was like a spoilt child, and now sought to win back by force the favour which his sovereign still withheld from him. In 1601 he strove to excite a revolt of the Londoners, hoping with their help to drive Cecil from power and recover his position. The attempt completely failed, and Essex was convicted and executed as a traitor. His tragic fall established Cecil more firmly than ever in the old queen's favour.

Elizabeth and the Parliaments, 1559-1601.

16. As the danger from abroad lessened, Elizabeth had increasing trouble with her own subjects. Besides the fierce conflict waged between Whitgift and the Puritans, Elizabeth now began to have difficulties with her Parliaments. In the early years of her reign, the queen had striven to base her civil government on the support of Parliament. She soon found that the days of Henry VIII. were over, and that neither Lords nor Commons would submissively ratify her commands. Her early Parliaments irritated her by persistently urging her to marry or at least to name a successor. They also gave great offence by criticising her ecclesiastical policy, recommending conciliation towards the Puritans, and urging her to uphold a frankly Protestant policy at home and abroad. Yet at all grave crises they gave her strong and even enthusiastic support, and were ever willing to vote supplies to carry out a forward policy. Elizabeth, therefore, aimed at getting parliamentary assistance on great occasions, but in ordinary times she summoned Parliaments as seldom as she could. There were only thirteen sessions of Parliament during the forty-five years of her reign, and on one occasion nearly five years elapsed between two meetings of Parliament. As Elizabeth seldom ventured to raise money save by parliamentary grant, this policy involved her practising a rigid economy. If the Commons got out of hand, she did not scruple to rebuke them, to silence them, or to send leading members to the Tower. As the reign went on the character of the parliamentary opposition somewhat changed. It complained less of the queen's ecclesiastical policy, and more of her domestic administration, which, like that of all the Tudors, cared little for the forms of law,

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and, though generally efficient, was arbitrary and capricious. Signs were gathering that the Tudor despotism was ceasing to be necessary. The character of the House of Commons changed very much for the better. Nearly all the strongest and most daring of the Elizabethan heroes—Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, Grenville, among the number—were Members of Parliament, and it was absurd to suppose that a body containing such men would be content to register the royal orders, and not aspire to have a share in the work of government. Parliament now became exceedingly jealous of its rights; and every special privilege belonging to members, save perhaps that of freedom of speech, was successfully vindicated before Elizabeth died. However, the rare tact of the queen long deferred the crisis. She had the true Tudor insight into public opinion, and all her haughty speeches did not prevent her constantly employing the most watchful care in adapting her measures to suit the wishes of her subjects. Nevertheless she did not neglect more direct means of influencing the Commons. She did her best to get members returned who would accept her policy. She created over thirty new boroughs, which were called upon to return members, not because of their importance, but because they were under her influence, and could help her to pack the Commons' house. Her chief minister, Sir Robert Cecil, sat in every Parliament, and was perhaps the earliest English statesman of the first rank who devoted himself to the task, afterwards so important, of managing the House of Commons and keeping it in a good temper. Elizabeth was very chary in granting new peerages, and the bishops, who were a third of the House of Lords, combined with the courtiers in giving her a majority, despite the more critical attitude of the older families. Yet, despite all these precautions the last Parliaments of Elizabeth saw the outbreak of a severe contest between Queen and Commons that clearly foreshadowed the troubles of the next century.

The Monopolies and the Parliamentary contest in 1601.

17. Among the thrifty queen's favourite ways of rewarding her courtiers was the grant of a *Monopoly*, that is the exclusive permission to sell a certain article, the result of which was that the holder of the right could raise its price and enrich himself, as he had no fear of competition. The grant cost Elizabeth nothing, and was often very lucrative to the recipient. A famous example of such a grant was the monopoly of sweet wines, which she had given to Essex in the

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days of his favour, but refused to renew after his failure in Ireland. These monopolies became so numerous and included so many common articles of necessity that the burden to the nation became a very real one, and in 1597 Parliament remonstrated with the queen against the abuse of the practice. The queen answered civilly but evasively, "hoping that her subjects would not take away her prerogative, the choicest flower of her garden, and promising to examine all patents and abide by the touchstone of the law." In 1601 another Parliament met and found that patents of monopoly were more freely conferred than ever. When the list of monopolies was read before the Commons a member cried out, "Is not bread among the number? Nay, but it will be, if no remedy is found for these before the next Parliament." Sir Robert Cecil and his cousin, Francis Bacon, vigorously defended monopolies, but the outcry became so high that even a courtier like Raleigh deemed it prudent to publicly renounce his patents. Elizabeth wisely gave way before the storm. She told the Commons that she would revoke all the monopolies that she found weigh heavily upon her people. She graciously thanked the Commons for their action. "Had I not," said she, "received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of an error, only for want of true information." In granting her a liberal subsidy, the grateful Commons clearly expressed what they and Elizabeth both felt was the true relation between Crown and Parliament. "We consider," they said, "that your Majesty and we your subjects are but one body politic, and that your Highness is the head and we the members, and that no good or felicity, peril or adversity can come to the one but the other shall partake thereof." With these striking words the last Tudor Parliament came to an end.

The last years and death of Elizabeth, 1603.

18. Elizabeth was now growing an old woman, but she still walked, rode, danced, and hunted with something of her former vigour. In 1602 even her robust constitution began to fail. She refused all medicine, took little food, but declined to go to bed, and sought to conceal her desperate plight. Her ministers were troubled about the future of the monarchy, for she still persisted in her early policy of refusing to designate her successor. By Henry VIII.'s will, Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp (the grandson of the Protector Somerset), whose mother was Catharine, Lady Jane Grey's sister, was the lawful heir to the throne. But no one

seriously pressed his claims, and the legitimacy of his birth was somewhat doubtful. Cecil had long been anxious for the succession of the King of Scots, whose hereditary right and Protestantism made him the most acceptable candidate, even apart from the advantage of the union of the two kingdoms, which his succession involved. The dying queen was urged to express her will. She gave no sign when her ministers spoke of the King of Scots, but when Seymour's name was mentioned, she cried, with something of her old energy, "I will have no rascal's son in my seat, but one worthy to be a king." On 24th March 1603 her unconquerable spirit yielded itself to death.

CHAPTER VIII.

Wales and Ireland under the Tudors.

The Tudors and the British Islands.

The Tudor Kings were not satisfied to establish their rule merely over England. Like Edgar or Edward I., they aspired to reduce the whole of the British Islands under their sway. We have seen how Henry VIII.'s plan to unite England and Scotland had been made futile by the brutality of his methods, though under Elizabeth the Reformation first really bound the two countries together, and rendered possible the union of the two realms under Henry VII.'s great-great-grandson after her death. We must now see how Henry VIII. joined Wales and other great franchises with his English kingdom, and how, after nearly a century of struggle, the last days of Elizabeth witnessed the completion of the effective English conquest of Ireland.

The Principality, the March, and Cheshire before 1536.

2. Since the suppression of the revolt of Owen Glendower, Wales and the March of Wales had been the scene of no very striking events. Harsh penal laws, passed when the fear of Owen and his Welshmen was still a living force, had imposed on the Welsh all sorts of disabilities. The English towns and castles were kept apart as a garrison, and intermarriage between the two races was sternly forbidden. Yet the arm of the English King was far too weak to enforce such cruel statutes, and in reality the Welsh lived a disorderly and independent life, caring very little for any sort of law. The old distinction between the *Principality* and

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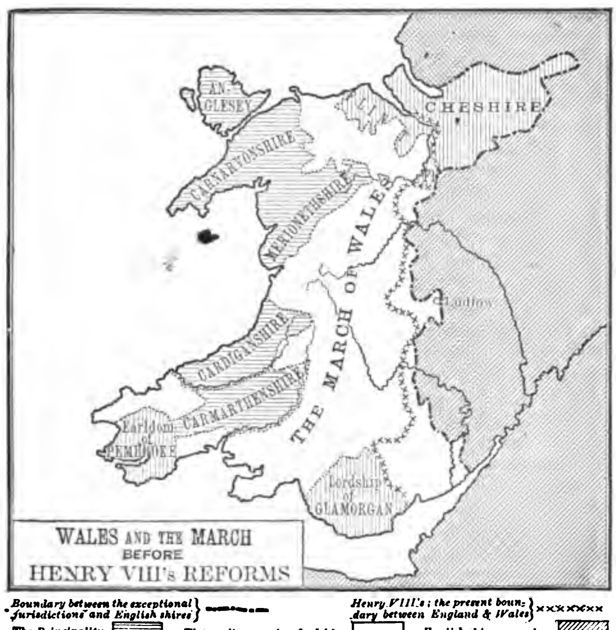
the *March* was still kept up. In the Principality, the eldest son of the English King ruled as Prince of Wales. Edward I., the conqueror of the Principality, had divided his land into the five shires of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, and had set up a rude imitation of the English system of local institutions. Very similar was the state of things in the *County Palatine of Chester*, of which the county of Flint was a sort of dependency. It was, like the Principality, ruled by the King's eldest son, but under his title of Earl of Chester, and was as distinct as Wales itself from the general English system, being a little feudal state, standing by itself ever since Norman times. Exactly the same was the condition of the many petty feudal lordships that jointly formed the *March of Wales*, and still remained as relics of the first Norman conquest of southern and eastern Wales in the reigns of William II. and Henry I. Each *lordship marcher* was governed on its own system, bound to the English crown by the homage done by its lord, but having no relations with the Principality. The enormous number of petty jurisdictions made the March even more lawless than the Principality. It was easy for robbers and murderers by crossing the next boundary to withdraw themselves into a separate state, where a different justice was administered by another set of officers. As time went on, the various lordships marcher fell into the possession of the great baronial families of England, and, still later, many of them escheated to the crown, especially in 1399 when the marcher lordships of the Dukes of Lancaster, and in 1461 when the Mortimer marcher district, including all central Wales, was united to the crown by Edward IV. Thus, before the accession of the Tudors, the king or his heir were direct lords of nearly all Wales, either as Prince of Wales, Earl of Chester, or lord of the various marcher lordships. Yet no attempt was made to weld the different districts together in a single system.

The Council of Wales at Ludlow.

3. Both Yorkists and Tudors were specially connected with Wales; the Yorkists as heirs of the Mortimers, and the Tudors, because on the male side they were of pure Welsh descent, the laws against the intermarriage of Welsh and English not preventing Owen Tudor, the Anglesey squire, from marrying the widow of Henry V., and their son Edmund from wedding the heiress of the Beauforts, who, after the slaughter of the Wars of the Roses, handed on to her son Henry VII. the representation

of the House of Lancaster. Edward IV. started the beginnings of a better system when he sent down a council to Ludlow, the old home of the Mortimers, to act as advisers and assistants of his little son, the Prince of Wales who perished in the Tower. Henry VII. continued the Council, and by naming his heir Arthur showed that he was not unmindful of his father's ancestry. Henry VIII., when he



WALES AND THE MARCH BEFORE HENRY VIII's REFORMS

had no son to be Prince of Wales, made the Lady Mary Princess of Wales and kept on the Council in her name. Gradually the Council changed its character, and from being the personal council of prince or princess, it grew into a body specially entrusted with the administration both of the Principality and the March, being called the *Council of Wales* and sitting permanently at *Ludlow*, which thus

became the capital of sixteenth century Wales; while the President of the Council, generally a political bishop or a great nobleman, became in practice its governor. The Council at Ludlow quite changed the character of the district under its charge, putting down with a strong hand the constant family feuds, robbery, and bloodshed that had put the whole land permanently at the mercy of a swarm of petty local tyrants, and making Wales as peaceful as any part of Henry's dominions.

The Union of England and Wales, 1536.

4. In 1536 Henry VIII. carried a series of laws through Parliament which entirely changed the legal position of both the Principality and Marches. Hitherto they had belonged to the English kings, but had been no part of England, but rather a dependency of it. Henceforth, so far as law could make two nations one, complete equality was established between them. The petty lordships marcher were practically abolished. Henceforth the marcher had no more authority over his property than the lord of any English manor. All Wales was made "shire ground," a phrase that in Tudor times meant the bringing in of the whole English system of local government. The old shires of the Principality were reorganised, and in some cases enlarged. New shires were built up out of the lordships marcher, the greatest of which became the centres round which the new counties were grouped. The ancient palatine earldom of Pembroke and lordship of Glamorgan were made the nucleus of the modern Pembrokeshire and Glamorganshire. The new shires of Montgomery, Radnor, Brecon, and Monmouth were established. Other marcher lordships were annexed to the English counties of Shropshire, Hereford, and Gloucester, which thus first attained their modern dimensions. The thirteen counties, old and new, into which Wales and its March were now divided, each received precisely the same organisation as an English shire, with sheriffs, justices, sessions, coroners, and the rest. Moreover, they were called upon to return members to the English Parliament, one knight for every shire (two for Monmouth), and one burgess from their grouped boroughs. Cheshire was also allowed to return members for the first time. The only thing that was now peculiar to Wales was the continuance of a special judicial system with special judges for Wales and Chester, which went on till the reign of William IV. But under Charles II., Monmouthshire was included in an English circuit, and so cut

off from the remaining counties. Henceforth Wales enjoyed the same law and privilege as England. The union of the two countries was complete.

The Reformation in Wales and the Welsh National Revival under Elizabeth.

5. Henry VIII.'s reforming measures had little effect in altering public feeling in Wales. The people accepted the abolition of the Papacy and the monasteries, but went on with their old beliefs, just as if nothing had happened, thus almost realising the king's ideal of religion. Under Mary, the Welsh returned without difficulty to the old faith. So few were the Protestants that the whole land only supplied three martyrs to the Marian persecution, one of whom was the English bishop of St. Davids, Ferrar, while the other two were humble sufferers from the English towns of Cardiff and Haverfordwest. Under Elizabeth the real reformation in Wales began, being set on foot by a few zealous Welshmen, who had learnt Protestantism under Edward VI. or at Geneva. They saw that the new gospel could only reach the people if taught in their native Welsh; accordingly they set to work to translate religious books into the vernacular. The two chief Welsh reformers were the layman *William Salesbury* of Llanrwst and *Richard Davies*, also a Carnarvonshire man, who had been an exile at Geneva under Mary, and was after Elizabeth's accession made bishop, first of St. Asaph and then of St. Davids, and became chief adviser of Cecil and Parker on Welsh affairs. By their care the first *Welsh New Testament* and the *Welsh version of the Prayer Book* were published in 1567. Unluckily, the two friends now quarrelled. The result was that it was not until 1588, a few months after the defeat of the Armada, that the single-handed zeal of *William Morgan*, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, enabled a *Welsh Translation of the whole Bible* to be printed. It was now possible to preach with effect in Welsh; and before the end of Elizabeth's reign the Welsh were quite won over from Rome, though it was a harder matter to preach them out of those ancient customs, that to Puritans, like Davies, seemed mere relics of Popery. Puritanism, however, hardly existed in Wales, save in the English-speaking districts of the south and east, which were in closer touch with Puritan England. John Penry, the only famous Welsh Puritan of the time, [see page 454] drew a most gloomy picture of the religious condition of Wales, and urged on Parliament to take further action for spreading Protestant ideas, for, said he, "unless the magistrate doth uphold Christ's honour

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against Satan, it will fall to the ground." His account, however, is that of a morose fanatic. In reality, though much of Welsh life was still rude and coarse, the country was in a condition of rapid progress. It had for the first time enjoyed peace and sound law, and the beginnings of the Reformation in Wales led to a strong national revival that made its influence felt on every side for good. Schools were set up; a Welsh college founded at Oxford; Welsh grammars, dictionaries, histories were written; Welsh literature again flourished; many Welshmen rose to eminence in the service of their Church, both in Wales and England. Agriculture prospered now peace was secure and markets accessible. As Churchyard, the Welsh poet, sang in describing the worthiness of Wales:—

> "Markets are good, and victuals nothing dear,
> Each place is filled with plenty all the year;
> The ground manured, the grain so doth increase
> That thousands live in wealth and blessed peace."

The coal mines of Flintshire and Glamorganshire were developed. The Society for the Mines Royal, set up in 1567, opened up the lead mines of Cardiganshire. The extinction of piracy made the coasts safe for trade. Many Welshmen emigrated into England and won good positions in camp, court, and mart. Everywhere the policy of the Welsh line of English kings had proved abundantly successful.

State of Ireland at the end of the fifteenth century.

6. English rule in Ireland had fallen to its lowest ebb during the Wars of the Roses. Only in one corner of Ireland was any pretence of English government kept up. This was the *English Pale*, a region that ran along the east coast from Dundalk to Dublin and the Wicklow hills beyond, while on the land side a steep dyke marked its boundary in long straight lines. Within this little district, the commands of the Lord Deputy and his Council were fairly well obeyed; and a system, based on English law, was kept up. The Irish Parliaments now represented little save the Pale and a few scattered boroughs. Outside the Pale, lands that had once been shire-ground had become split up into a considerable number of petty states, practically independent, always quarrelling with each other, and seldom troubling themselves even to make a formal acknowledgment of the power of the English crown. They were governed in two ways, the one as lawless as

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the other. Some were small feudal states, turbulent and anarchic as feudal lordships ever were, which were ruled by the heads of the great Anglo-Norman houses, settled in Ireland ever since the reign of Henry II. The others were the Irish tribal communities, governed after a disorderly and patriarchal fashion by elective chieftains, chosen by their tribesmen from the ruling family of the sept or clan. Down to the sixteenth century, the account which Gerald of Wales gave of the Irish of Henry II.'s time still held good of their descendants [see Part I. pages 103-104].

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the hard-and-fast line that once separated the native Irish from the Anglo-Norman colony had gradually broken down. The Norman lords wore the Irish dress, used the Irish language, put out their children to foster with Irish nurses, and adopted all the lawless and picturesque traditions of their native land, becoming, as was said, "*Hibernicis Hiberniores*," more Irish than the Irish themselves. In Ulster and Connaught, the Normans had so thoroughly fallen in with Irish ways, that they dropped their ancient family names for names of the Irish fashion. In Leinster and Munster some difference was still kept up, and here the chief Norman houses bore sway. The greatest Norman house, that of the Geraldines or *Fitzgeralds*, was divided into two branches. The elder stock was most powerful in the Pale and in Leinster, and its head bore the title of Earl of *Kildare*. The younger branch was planted in South Munster or *Desmond*, and had at its head the Earls of Desmond. These two divisions of the Fitzgerald family were separated from each other by the lands of the rival Norman house of the *Butlers*, Earls of *Ormonde*, or East Munster. They still held the best of the plain country, while the Irish septs lurked in the hills, whence they perpetually ravaged the farms of the lowlands. Among these septs the *O'Tooles* and the *O'Byrnes*, who lived in the Wicklow hills, commanded the country to within a few miles of Dublin. In Ulster, Norman influence was as good as forgotten, and great clan chieftains ruled over the *O'Neills* of middle and eastern Ulster, and the *O'Donnells* of the wild west or Donegal, the two fiercest, strongest, most warlike, and most thoroughly Celtic of all the Irish septs. In Connaught, degenerate Normans, like the *Burkes* (De Burghs) of Clanricarde, shared with Irish tribes, like the *O'Connors*, the sovereignty of the poorest part of Ireland. The various feudal houses and native tribes were constantly

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at war with each other. The Irish law made murder atonable by a money payment, and neither law nor tradition did anything to bring about a better state of things. It was no wonder that, when the two most disorderly forms of government known thus struggled for mastery, disorder should be chronic. The English king's *deputies*, not strong enough to set up firm rule, did something to make matters worse by preventing any house or tribe that seemed likely to overtop the others pushing to its fulness a power that might have helped to stay the tide of anarchy.

Ireland and Henry VII.

7. Henry VII. was so weak at home that he left Ireland to itself, appointing the Earl of Kildare his Deputy in Dublin, because he was the strongest of the Irish nobles, and would be sure to rebel if he did not have all his own way. "All Ireland," he was once told, "could not rule the Earl of Kildare." He answered, "Then let the Earl of Kildare rule over all Ireland," hoping thus best to conceal his weakness. The system did not work. Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck both found a ready welcome from the Irish, with the Earl of Kildare at their head. To avoid further danger, Henry broke with Fitzgerald, and sent an English soldier, *Sir John Poynings*, as Deputy to Ireland. In 1494, Poynings held a famous *Parliament at Drogheda*, which passed an Act of Attainder against his predecessor Kildare, and also the Act called *Poynings' Law*, which forbad the Irish Parliament to pass any statute that the English Council did not approve of, and so definitely made Ireland dependent on the English Government. It was the first step towards the real conquest of Ireland by the Tudors; but for the moment it bore little fruit The former Deputy, Gerald Fitzgerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, was pardoned in 1496 and restored as Deputy, the old system proving the cheaper and easier.

The Parliament of Drogheda and Poynings' Law, 1494.

Henry VIII. and Ireland.

8. In the first part of Henry VIII.'s reign no fresh steps were taken to secure the English supremacy. When Kildare died in 1513, his son, Gerald Fitzgerald, the ninth earl, succeeded to the Deputyship almost as a matter of course, and, with a few short breaks, remained Deputy for the next twenty years, though he unscrupulously used his authority to avenge himself on his private enemies, and aimed at building up the Fitzgerald influence without any care for the general welfare of Ireland. Twice Henry superseded him, but the king's first experiment of sending the Earl of

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Surrey (afterwards Duke of Norfolk) as Deputy broke down, because it was too costly to rule Ireland after the English fashion, and his second attempt at setting up Anne Boleyn's kinsman, the head of the Butlers, against him failed, because the Butlers were no match for the Fitzgeralds, who surrounded them on both sides, cut them off from access to Dublin, and turned the whole Pale against them. At last, in 1534, the cup of Kildare's iniquities was filled, and he was angrily summoned to England and thrown into the Tower, where an early death saved him from Henry's vengeance. But he had left his son Thomas as his substitute in Ireland, and, as soon as the news of the father's imprisonment was known, the son raised all the Geraldines in revolt against the king. This young Fitzgerald, called *Silken Thomas*, from the silk fringes which his followers wore on their helmets, was a "headlong Hotspur" of the utmost recklessness and daring, but he failed hopelessly in winning over Dublin to his side, and all his energy was required to ward off the attacks of the Butlers, who upheld the royal cause. In 1535 Henry VIII. sent Sir William Skeffington with a force of English troops, who, after a five days siege, took by storm the great Geraldine castle of *Maynooth*, and forced the rebel leader to surrender under vague promises of mercy. His five uncles were treacherously arrested, though some of them were quite guiltless. In 1537 all six were hanged at Tyburn. The Kildare country was ruthlessly devastated, and the Kildare family only saved from extinction by the escape of the boy Earl Gerald to France.

The Geraldine Revolt of 1534-5.

The easy suppression of the Geraldine revolt showed that Henry, if he chose to exercise his power, was stronger than any noble house in Ireland. In 1536 the aged Skeffington died, and was succeeded by *Lord Leonard Grey*, brother of the Marquis of Dorset, who, having married a Fitzgerald, was likely to deal gently with the cowed clan. The rule of Grey and his successor, Sir Anthony St. Leger, was marked by another great advance of English influence. The Irish Parliament abolished the papal power, recognised Henry as head of the Irish Church, and suppressed the monasteries. Neither Norman nor Irish lords raised any resistance, gladly accepting the monastery lands as their share of the spoils, and being further conciliated by a lavish

The Royal Supremacy, the conciliation of the native chieftains and the recognition of Henry as King of Ireland.

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creation of new titles. For Henry gave earldoms and baronies to many of the great clan chieftains, the head of the O'Neills becoming *Earl of Tyrone*, the chief of the O'Briens of Thomond becoming *Earl of Thomond* [north Munster], and the descendant of the Burghs *Earl of Clanricarde*. In 1541 a Parliament was held, which the new peers attended, and in which they gladly recognised their benefactor Henry as King of Ireland. Former English kings had only styled themselves Lords of Ireland.

Henry VIII. meant to try to rule Ireland effectively by conciliating the Irish lords, both Norman and native; while he sought to induce them to accept English law and English ways along with their new titles. The experiment soon proved an almost utter failure. Henry could only rule Ireland by force, and he was not able or willing to pay the cost of an Irish army. The new earls and barons used the spoils of the monasteries to strengthen themselves against the king and each other, and the old feuds broke out again with all their old rancour. Lord Leonard Grey leant to his wife's kindred and played the game of the Fitzgeralds as openly as the Earls of Kildare had done, till he was recalled to England and beheaded by his implacable master in 1541. His successor, St. Leger, limited his efforts to reducing the septs that bordered on the Pale. His abandonment of the distant parts of Ireland was a practical confession that Henry had grasped at more than he could hold.

Ireland and Edward VI.

9. Under Edward VI. efforts were made to extend Protestantism to Ireland as well as England, but they met with little success. There were no Protestants in Ireland, even among the chieftains who had renounced the Pope in order to get monastic lands. In remote districts popular piety had even prevented the suppression of the monasteries, and the Franciscan friars continued the chief religious teachers of the native Irish, finding a better response from their unruly flocks now that Protestantism began to be identified with English influence. The Protestant teachers sent over from England were not of the best sort. The most conspicuous among them was the learned scholar and hot controversialist, *John Bale*, who, being made Bishop of Ossory, strove to instruct his diocese by having his own

The Reformation.

plays, written to teach Protestantism, acted at the market-cross at Kilkenny on Sunday afternoons. Yet even Bale was only sent to Ireland because

he was too foul-tongued and intemperate to win preferment in England. Under Mary the Pope and the Mass were restored, but the queen's deputy, *Thomas Radcliffe*, afterwards Earl of Sussex, went to war vigorously against the Irish septs, and his victories increased the racial hatred of English and Irish at the moment when religious causes of difference were, for the last time, absent. Sussex conquered the districts and *Leix* of *Offaly*, and made them shire-ground; the advance of English law being marked in Ireland as in Wales by the growth of new counties or by the revival of old ones. Sussex called his two new shires Queen's County and King's County, after Mary and her husband Philip, with the new fortresses of Maryborough and Philipstown as their capitals. Such Irish, as were still allowed to live there, were compelled to dress and order their lives after the English fashion. Many, however, were driven out and replaced by English settlers. This was a further step forward in the conquest of Ireland, and one which, in subsequent generations, was to prove most important. The English colonists brought in a higher civilisation and a greater energy, but they treated the Irish as savages possessing no rights, and butchered and cheated them without scruple. The Irish retaliated to the utmost of their power, and the establishment of Mary's colonists in Leinster was but the beginning of a savage war of races, which made more difficult the future solution of the Irish problem.

Ireland and Mary.

King's and Queen's Counties.

10. Sussex remained Deputy of Ireland after Elizabeth's succession, and the religious changes which had been carried out in England were duly extended to Ireland by the local Parliament. The queen had her hands so full at home that she was anxious to keep Ireland at peace, and fell back on her father's policy of ruling Ireland through her friendship with the local chieftains. The course of events in Ulster made it very difficult to pursue this line of conduct. Con O'Neill, first Earl of Tyrone, had procured from Henry VIII. the reversion of the title and the barony of Dungannon for his illegitimate son Matthew, whose mother was a smith's wife at Dundalk. The earl was now growing old and his eldest legitimate son, *Shane* [John] *O'Neill*, indignant at the preference shown to his half-brother, waged war against his father and the baron of Dungannon, and finally murdered the latter and drove the former to take refuge within the English Pale, where he died. Shane now procured his

Elizabeth and Shane O'Neill, 1558-1567.

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election as The O'Neill, or chief of the clan, and set to work to establish his power on a firm basis in Ulster. Sussex did his best to make head against him, and planted a garrison on the Cathedral Hill of Armagh, which was a perpetual thorn in his side. But he had neither men nor money sufficient to conquer Shane, and even failed in a plot which he had formed for his assassination. It was a great triumph for Shane when he went, in 1562, to London to plead his cause before Elizabeth in person. The handsome chief and his following of *gallowglasses*, with their long curls, bare heads, wide-sleeved saffron shirts, shaggy coats of frieze and broad axes, created a great sensation in London. Brought before Elizabeth, Shane fell on his knees, and "confessed his rebellion with howling." "For lack of education and civility," he declared in Irish, "I have offended." He won the queen's graces by asking to be allowed to attend on the Lord Robert Dudley, "that I may learn to ride after the English fashion, and run at the tilt, to hawk, to shoot, and use such other good exercises as I perceive my said good lord to be meet unto." Yet at the very moment when Shane was learning "civility" under Elizabeth's suitor, his emissaries were clearing the way for him in Ulster by murdering his nephew, the young Baron of Dungannon, his brother Matthew's son. Despite this, Elizabeth sent Shane home with many marks of favour. During the next few years he made himself absolute master of Ulster. He put down his rival among his own clan, he defeated the hostile septs of the O'Donnells, the Maguires, and the O'Rileys, and utterly defeated the Scots of the Macdonnell clan, who had recently settled in Clandeboye or Antrim. In 1566 Sussex was replaced by *Sir Henry Sidney*, who tried in vain to reduce Shane's power. "Lucifer," he wrote, "was never so puffed up with pride and ambition as O'Neill." Shane gloried in his rebellion, declaring that, "If it were to do again, I could do it, for my ancestors were kings of Ulster and Ulster was theirs, and Ulster is mine and shall be mine." "He continually," wrote Sidney, "keepeth six hundred armed men, as it were his janissaries, about him. He is able to bring five thousand soldiers to the field: he is the only strong man in Ireland. His country was never so rich or so inhabited. He armeth all the peasants, the first Irishman who ever did so." He intrigued with the Scots, the French, the King of Spain, and the Pope. Never had Irish chieftain been so powerful for many a generation.

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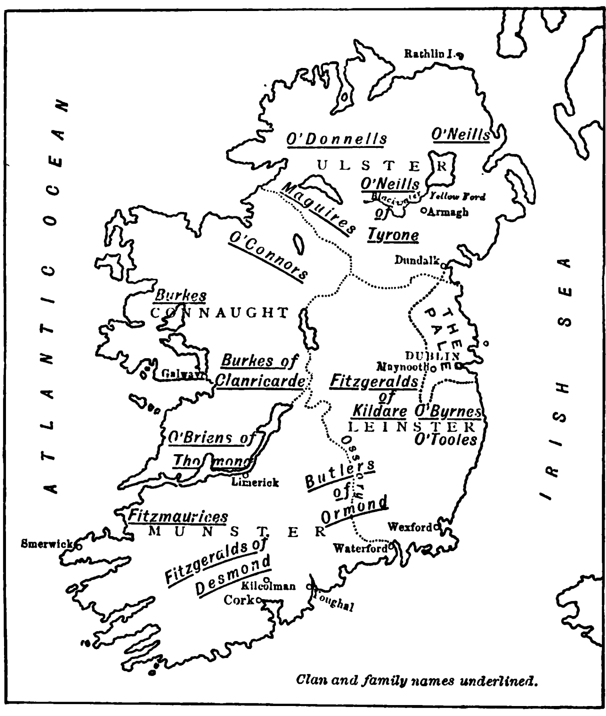
Feeling that Shane's power must be extirpated at any cost, Sidney in 1567 proclaimed him a rebel, and invaded Ulster. On the approach of the Deputy's army, the O'Donnells and other conquered clans threw off Shane's yoke, and joined heartily with the English. Shane dared not risk a battle, and was soon so hard-pressed that



Clan and family names underlined.

he fled for refuge to his old enemies, the Macdonnells of Antrim, who hacked him to pieces, and threw his body into a pit. Shane was the ablest of Irish clan chieftains, and his failure showed how impossible it was for the lord ot a sept to make himself supreme beyond the tribal

limits. He was no national Irish hero, and outside his clan, all men rejoiced at his fall. He was a man of the worst character, cruel, tyrannical, licentious, gluttonous, and drunken. He spoke no tongue but Irish, and could not write his own name. Yet he was one of the greatest soldiers and diplomatists of his time, and for nearly ten years set Elizabeth at defiance.

Walter, Earl of Essex, fails to colonise Clandeboye, 1573-1576.

11. Ulster remained quiet for some years after Shane's fall; nominally it was made shire-ground, and in 1573, an attempt was made to extend to it the policy of colonisation, already attempted in Mary's time further south. *Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex*, the father of the favourite of Elizabeth's old age, and a brave soldier and earnest Protestant, volunteered to colonise Ulster, and bring it under English control. The queen made over to him Clandeboye or Antrim, and agreed to share with him the cost of raising troops and building forts. But his rashness and want of foresight soon made his position intolerable. He embroiled himself both with the O'Neills and the Scottish MacDonnells, and did not scruple to employ hideous treachery and ruthless slaughter, to encompass his ends. The murder of MacPhelim O'Neill at a banquet, to which he had been invited by Essex, and the massacre of the Scots in Rathlin island, turned all parties against him. He quarrelled with Fitzwilliam the Deputy, who gave him no help. His English followers found that there was no prospect of peaceful settlement or of comfortable livelihood, and went home in disgust, or died of famine, disease, or in battle. At last Essex gave up in despair, and died in 1576. His attempt at colonisation had proved an utter failure.

Sir Henry Sidney's government, 1575-1578.

12. *Sir Henry Sidney* was reappointed governor in 1575, and held office till 1578. He had long been President of the Council of Wales, and turned his Welsh experience to good account in his more difficult Irish charge. He was the strongest of Elizabeth's Deputies, showed extraordinary activity, and was full of plans for the extension of the royal authority His constant journeys to the remotest parts of Connaught and Munster made the Dublin government something more of a reality than it had been, and his institution of provincial governments under presidents in those provinces made the pressure of the central authority better felt. He was influential with the queen, having married Leicester's sister,

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the Lady Mary Dudley, and their young son, Philip Sidney, was already looked up to as the most brilliant and attractive of the young gentlemen that surrounded Elizabeth. But Elizabeth disliked Sir Henry's activity, because it was too expensive, and in 1578, he cheerfully went back to Ludlow to resume the more grateful task of the government of Wales. With his departure new troubles soon began to afflict Ireland.

Ireland and the Counter-Reformation.

13. Up to this time, Ireland had been a world by itself, and the struggle of tribe against tribe, or of the native Celts against the English government, had had little relation to the general current of European movements. The constant trouble that Ireland gave to Elizabeth, now tempted the queen's enemies to back up the Irish resistance, and use the Norman lords and Celtic septs, as instruments of the Counter-Reformation, and of Spanish aggression. Pope Gregory XIII., seeing the failure of the attack on England, prepared an expedition to invade Ireland, and, despite a first failure, sent in 1579 to Kerry *James Fitzmaurice*, a member of the Desmond branch of the Geraldines, who had been driven into exile for earlier rebellions. Fitzmaurice landed in Kerry with a small force of Spanish and Italian troops, despatched without Philip's nominal sanction, and accompanied by a refugee English priest, *Dr. Nicholas Sanders*, famous as a controversalist, who had been appointed papal nuncio to Ireland. Fitzmaurice soon perished obscurely, but the smooth tongue of Sanders persuaded his great kinsman, *Gerald Fitzgerald, fifteenth Earl of Desmond*, to rise in revolt against Elizabeth. All Munster thus fell away, and the new Deputy, *Lord Grey de Wilton*, who now came to Ireland, with the poet Edmund Spenser as his secretary, had hard work to deal with the rebellion. But as the O'Donnells had helped Sidney against the O'Neills, so now the Butlers helped Grey against the Fitzgeralds, and Elizabeth, thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of Ireland going over to Spain or the Pope, made greater efforts than she had been wont to do in putting down Irish disaffection. Among the young Englishmen that now went over to Ireland, eager for booty and adventure, was Walter Raleigh, the captain of a company of one hundred soldiers.

Fitzmaurice and Sanders, 1579.

The Desmond Rebellion, 1579-1583.

The Geraldines were unable to hold the field against a regular force, and the rebellion was gradually stamped out

in detail, with cold-blooded cruelty. The Spanish garrison, which had gallantly defended itself at *Smerwick*, was forced to surrender in 1580, and was put to the sword without scruple, having no better right to be there than the English seamen on the Spanish Main. Desmond and Sanders took to the hills, where Sanders perished miserably of disease or starvation, while Desmond was betrayed to the Butlers and stabbed in his bed. The ill-paid soldiers of the queen took out their wages by plundering and maltreating the Irish. All Munster was made a desert, and thousands of homeless peasants perished of the famine and pestilence that came in the train of war. The wretched survivors lived on dead carrion, and the herbs of the fields.

14. More than half a million acres in Munster were now adjudged forfeited to the crown, and redivided into shires.

The Plantation of Munster, 1584.

A systematic attempt was made to replace the Irish inhabitants by English settlers; and *Sir John Perrot*, formerly President of Munster, was made Deputy in 1584, to superintend the carrying out of the plantation. The forfeited estates were granted out in great plots to English *gentlemen undertakers*, who were to reserve some of the land as their own demesne, and parcel out the rest among English farmers. But the *Plantation of Munster* was never fully carried out, and so far as it was attempted it soon broke down. The undertakers were either adventurers, eager to make money, or English officials who took little trouble about their cheaply won Irish estates. English farmers of the right sort were not forthcoming in sufficient numbers, and those who came found that the undertakers exacted such extortionate rents, that they could hardly make a living, though exposed to ceaseless dangers and hardships. Before long they were crowded out by the Irish who, anxious to get back to their old haunts, offered much higher rents, and were actually preferred as tenants by the greedy adventurers. A few poor English gentlemen strove to make their home in Ireland, as, for example, Spenser the poet, who settled down at *Kilcolman*, a ruined castle of the Desmonds, where he collected the materials for his famous *View of the State of Ireland*, which gives such a powerful picture of the unhappy condition of the Ireland of his days, and urges strongly an English conquest more systematic and thoroughgoing than Elizabeth's economy would ever allow. Much suffering would have been spared to Ireland, had Spenser's stern but wise advice been followed. Subsequent rebellion made short work of the

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scattered English settlers, and almost the only permanent result of the Plantation of Munster was the establishment of a large number of English landlords in the estates once ruled by the Geraldines.

15. Despite the Munster Plantation, Ireland was as unsettled as ever, though something was done to promote the spread of Protestantism, and the establishment of Dublin University in 1591 was evidence that the queen's government was not altogether unmindful of scholarship and learning. Yet such a measure did not touch the native Irish, while the steady and oppressive development of the English power, and the growing enthusiasm of the Irish for the Catholic cause, were beginning to weld together the divided septs and races of Ireland into something resembling a nation. In the last years of Elizabeth's reign, a third series of Irish revolts broke out with more fury than ever. The beginning of them was in Ulster, where, some years after Shane O'Neill's death, his nephew, *Hugh O'Neill*, younger brother of the Baron of Dungannon murdered in 1562, was, after being educated in England, sent home to build up an English party among the O'Neill clan. For many years Hugh struggled against Tirlogh Lenogh, chosen The O'Neill after Shane's death, and, failing to get the better of his rival, was so friendly to the government, that he fought against Desmond in Ulster, and was rewarded by the revival of the earldom of Tyrone in his favour. However after Tirlogh Lenogh's death, Hugh was chosen The O'Neill by the tribe, and soon forgot his English "civility" and put himself at the head of the Irish Celtic party. He was less able, but more far-seeing and cautious, than his uncle Shane. He did not aspire to conquer the rival septs of Ulster, but rather to induce them to follow him against the common enemy. Besides thus building up an Ulster party, he professed himself a staunch Catholic, and soon received promises of help from Philip II.

Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone.

Tyrone's relations with the English now became very threatening. More than once he was at open war with the Deputy, but peace was somehow patched up, and at last, in June 1598, he received a pardon in return for a submission on terms that would have almost destroyed his power. He took advantage of the lull to attack a fort on the Blackwater, and in August cut to pieces the army sent to its relief, under Sir Henry Bagenal, at the battle of the *Yellow Ford*. This unexpected victory spread

The Revolt of O'Neill, 1598.

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consternation in Dublin, and delight over all native Ireland. Tyrone now appeared, not simply, like Shane, the would-be conqueror of Ulster, but the representative of the Irish race and of Catholicism, against the foreign and heretic conqueror; but he himself was the last to realise his great position. After a time, however, he sent a force to Munster, and "the very day it set foot within the province, Munster to a man was in arms before noon." *James Fitzgerald*, nephew of the last Earl of Desmond, put himself at the head of the rebels, and assumed the title of Earl of Desmond, though the queen's friends called him in scorn the *Sugan* or "straw-rope" earl. Amidst dire atrocities the few remaining relics of the Munster Plantation were destroyed. The planters had not force or courage even to resist, and, as many as could fled in a panic to the towns. Among them was Edmund Spenser, who, luckier than many of his fellows, escaped with his life, though one of his children perished in the flames of his burning house at Kilcolman. "In the course of seventeen days," boasted the Irish annalists, "the Irish left not within the length and breadth of the country of the Geraldines a single son of a Saxon, whom they did not kill or expel." It was the first act in the long war of races and religions, that makes up so much of the modern history of Ireland.

The Munster Revolt under the Sugan Earl of Desmond, 1598.

In abject fear lest the Spaniards should combine with the rebels, Elizabeth sent, in 1599, her former favourite *Robert Devereux*, *Earl of Essex*, with whom she had just been reconciled, to put down the Irish revolt. He was given extraordinary powers as lord-lieutenant, and was promised an army of nearly twenty thousand men. But he mismanaged matters very badly, and his troops, who showed rank cowardice under his unsteady direction, melted rapidly away. After utterly failing in Munster, Essex rashly went against Tyrone with less than three thousand men, and was compelled to accept a humiliating truce. Without leave to quit his post, he hurried back to England, where he soon met his fate.

Robert Earl of Essex's failure, 1599.

In 1600 *Charles Blount*, *Lord Mountjoy*, succeeded Essex in Ireland. He was a strong, shrewd, unscrupulous man, whose private life was notorious from an intrigue with Essex's sister, Penelope Rich, whom he afterwards married. Mountjoy was a good soldier, and, after three years of hard struggle,

Mountjoy ends the Rebellion, 1600-1603.

he completed successfully the work in which his predecessor had so signally failed. He began his task in Munster and soon pressed the rebels hard. In 1601 four thousand Spaniards came to their assistance, but were soon besieged by him in *Kinsale.* O'Neill marched to the relief of Kinsale with a strong force drawn from all parts of Ireland, but, on 24th December, Mountjoy won a decisive victory over him. Soon after the Spaniards surrendered, and open war in Munster was at an end. The Sugan Earl was captured in 1601, hiding in a cave, and, with unwonted mercy, sent to the Tower of London, where he remained a prisoner until his death. Mountjoy planted forts and garrisons in Munster, which effectively suppressed the embers of the revolt and kept the people down for the future. He then turned against Hugh O'Neill, who still held most of Ulster against the queen, though his former associates Hugh O'Donnell now fled to Spain and Hugh's brother Rory submitted to Mountjoy, and was made Earl of Tyrconnel. The combat was thus narrowed to a struggle between Mountjoy and the O'Neills. Tyrone soon found that he could not match the disciplined troops of the deputy, and on 3rd April 1603 he gave in and made terms, abjuring the title of The O'Neill and all foreign alliances. News had not yet reached Ireland that Elizabeth had died on March 24th. Thus the Irish revolt ended with the queen's life. Ireland was at last conquered, but the cruelty of the long process, the result largely of the queen's overthriftiness and hesitation, left ineffaceable memories behind. Law and order were secured, but they were dearly purchased at the price paid for them.

Rule of Chichester, 1604-1614.

16. Mountjoy had facilitated the conquest by the easy terms he had granted to some at least of the vanquished chieftains. His successor, *Sir Arthur Chichester*, who ruled Ireland from 1604 to 1614, had no policy for keeping Ireland permanently at peace save by wholly destroying the Irish or making them Englishmen by main force. He forced the dependents of the great chieftains to hold their lands directly of the crown, strove to create a class of small freeholders, and attempted to enforce recusancy fines for non-attendance at church, after the English fashion. The pardoned Tyrone bitterly resented these attacks on his tribal independence, and in 1607 fled from Ireland for ever, fearing a plot against him. With him went Rory O'Donnell the new-made Earl of Tyrconnel. Chichester and the king

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refused to recognise the Irish law and custom, by which the land belonged not to the chief but to the clan, and, though they had been previously trying to get the tribesmen on their side against the chief, they profited by the flight of the chieftains to upset the whole tribal system. The withdrawal of the two earls was deemed evidence of their guilt. The land over which they had ruled in the patriarchal fashion, including a great part of Ulster, was treated as private property and confiscated for their treason. In these districts Chichester (not deterred by Essex's failure in Antrim and Perrot's in Munster) successfully carried out the policy of colonisation recommended by Bacon.

The Plantation of Ulster, 1610.

The forfeited country was divided between English and Scottish colonists, a few estates being granted as a favour to such of the native Irish as had remained loyal. The dispossessed natives were driven from their homes to the barren west; and the *plantation* was so energetically carried through, that north-eastern Ireland, the rudest region and the one most hostile to Elizabeth, became a new Protestant and Puritan Ireland, peopled by peaceable English farmers and tradesmen, who turned the wilderness into good farming country, and made it prosperous, but who kept down with stern severity and treated as their inferiors the native Irish, who still lingered as cotters among them. The Ulster plantation brought with it new difficulties, but it ended many of the old ones, and made permanent the English conquest of Ireland, by establishing in it a strong and vigorous colony, whose interests and very lives depended upon the keeping up of the English and Protestant connection. Before their influence the old tribal Ireland slowly melted away. But the Irish remained, and with the disappearance of their old anarchic institutions, the old tribal hatreds that had kept them asunder began to die away also. United by its newfound zeal for Catholicism, no less than by the oppression that bound its tribes down in a common servitude, Celtic Ireland sullenly bided its time for revenge.

CHAPTER IX.

England under the Tudors.

1. Despite the practical despotism of the Tudor kings, the framework of the mediæval constitution continued

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unchanged, and Henry VIII. and Elizabeth's policy of ruling through the House of Commons even increased the dignity of Parliament. An Elizabethan writer wrote thus of the High Court of Parliament: "This house hath the most high and absolute power of the realm, for thereby mighty princes have been deposed, laws enacted and abrogated, offenders of all sorts punished, and corrupted religion disannulled or reformed. What the people of Rome did in their Comitia the same may be done by the authority of the Parliament house, wherein every particular person is intended to be present, if not by himself, by attorney."

The Constitution under the Tudors.

The constitution of both Houses of Parliament underwent important changes during the century. The whole character of the House of Lords was altered. The removal of the abbots gave the lay peers a decided preponderance for the first time. The change in the character of the episcopate made the successors of the prelates, who had led the opposition in mediæval Parliaments, the obedient and submissive creatures of the Crown. The secular nobles remained so small a body that the episcopal vote was still important. The largest number of lay peers that sat in any of Henry VIII.'s parliaments was fifty-one. Very few of the mediæval families still remained. Houses like those of Stafford and Howard, which, under Henry VIII., were looked upon as typical representatives of the ancient aristocracy, won their importance only at the very end of the Middle Ages. They were soon outnumbered by the new peerage, which sprang up in the service of Henry VIII., and was endowed with the spoils of the monasteries. The new nobles, such as the Russells, Earls of Bedford after 1550, and the Cavendishes, Earls of Devonshire after 1618, were an official nobility dependent on the Crown and supporting the Crown, both from loyalty and policy. Bit by bit the remaining ancient houses were forced to accept the same position or were destroyed. After the great house of Stafford had been broken by Wolsey's triumph over Buckingham, the Howards gave up the struggle and won a new importance in the service of the Crown. Two Dukes of Norfolk were Treasurers all through the reign of Henry VIII., and the speedy catastrophe which overwhelmed the poet Earl of Surrey, and his son, Elizabeth's Duke of Norfolk, showed them how hopeless it was to aspire to the independent attitude of a mediæval baron. The old tradition died hardest in the north, but the proscriptions

The House of Lords.

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which followed the Pilgrimage of Grace and the Revolt of the Northern Earls in 1569 destroyed the last remnants of the power of that historical nobility beyond the Humber, which from the days of Magna Carta to the Wars of the Roses, had been so tenacious of its local position and so inveterate in its opposition to the Crown. Elizabeth created peers so sparingly that the numbers of the House of Lords slightly declined during her reign. Before her death, the stronger houses of the new creation were beginning to take up a more independent position. The smallness of the numbers of the peers did something to augment their individual dignity and importance.

The House of Commons.

The House of Commons largely increased in numbers. Under Henry VIII., members came for the first time from Wales, Cheshire, Berwick, and Calais. New boroughs were freely created all through the century, Elizabeth adding some sixty new members from this source. We have already seen how, despite these additions, and despite increased skill in the art of managing Parliaments and elections, the House of Commons took up an increasingly independent tone. Nevertheless, there were as yet few occasions of conflict between Crown and Parliament. It was universally agreed that the provinces of the two were different. Neither Elizabeth nor Henry wished to prevent Parliament having its due share in legislation and taxation, nor did either monarch seriously attempt to interfere with its right of criticism and remonstrance. The Tudor Parliaments never aspired to control the executive. The ordinary government of the country they left entirely in the hands of the Crown.

Growth of the executive power.

The central Government.

2. The strengthening of the executive power is a marked feature of Tudor times. The chief mission of the Crown was to secure peace and order, and to put down the overpowerful subjects who in the days of York and Lancaster had done only what was right in their own eyes. Before the end of the century, turbulent and lawless England had become peaceful and law-abiding. Even in the remotest parts of the country the authority of the Crown was now universally respected.

The Secretaries and the Council.

As the work of government became more elaborate, even princes like Henry and Elizabeth were forced to entrust to others a large part of their power. The Tudor ministers were in all cases chosen freely by the Crown, and ruthlessly removed if they ceased to carry

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out the royal policy. Many of the more dignified of the ancient offices of state, such as the positions of Treasurer, or Chancellor, or Admiral, went by prescriptive right to great noblemen, who could not devote all their energy to the king's service, and who were not always clever enough to wield any wide influence. The tendency now was for these high officials to limit themselves closely to their own departments, leaving the general superintendence of the whole executive government, and the large discretionary powers which this involved to fall more and more into the hands of the two principal secretaries, first called during Elizabeth's time *Secretaries of State*, whose political importance dates from the Tudor period. The haphazard and spasmodic control of mediæval times became inadequate. The Crown now aspired to regulate all the ordinary affairs of life. A permanent foreign policy had to be kept up. Constant watchfulness was necessary to enforce the laws, and the volume of legislation was enormously increased. The Secretary, as a rule a man of humbler social rank than the great officers, but of stronger ability and of more complete devotion to his political work, became the assistant, the eye and hand, of the king his master. Nothing was too great and nothing was too small to escape his notice. From the activity of the Tudor Secretaries grew up all the elaborate departments of state of later times.

The Privy Council and its offshoots.

The wide *Concilium Ordinarium* of earlier times was now practically extinct, and the smaller and more confidential *Council*, often now called the *Privy Council*, was the chief consultative body and mouthpiece of the executive power. So strong was its influence that the Tudor period has not been inaptly described as the period of government by Council. The number of councillors was small, including as a rule about seventeen or eighteen persons, who took a special oath, and who in most cases held official positions under the crown. It was characteristic of Tudor policy that this body included as a rule statesmen of very different ways of thinking, as for example the men of the old and the new learning during the reign of Henry VIII.; and the tendency of the sovereign to listen sometimes to one party and sometimes to another produced fluctuations of policy which suggest a sort of rudimentary form of party government. It is, however, a mistake to exaggerate the amount of influence of the Council on the Crown. The Council was always the king's

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council: the Crown acted and the councillors only advised, and very often the Crown refused to follow their lead. Yet as the councillors had to carry out the royal will, their influence in fashioning details must have been considerable, and neither Henry nor Elizabeth was disposed to limit their independence so long as they knew their place. Besides its administrative work, the Council issued *ordinances* or *proclamations*, which tended more and more to usurp the place of Acts of Parliament, so as to encroach upon the legislative power. It also exercised very important judicial functions, being in this respect the chief instrument by which the authority of the Crown was maintained and the reign of law upheld. Its jurisdiction was partly appellate and partly original. The latter is of the greatest importance, and especially its criminal jurisdiction, which, gradually growing up during the fifteenth century, assumed a new importance under the Tudors. In 1487 a special Act of Parliament had set up a new court called the *Star Chamber* [see part i, pages 359-360], most of whose members were privy councillors, to deal with great offenders. By the accession of Elizabeth the constitution and powers of the Star Chamber had considerably changed. It now consisted of all the privy councillors and the chief justices as well. To it was gradually transferred all the criminal business that had occupied the Council in earlier times, as well as the special jurisdiction over great offenders given to it by the Act of 1487. Henceforth the Star Chamber is little more than the Council sitting in its judicial capacity. As long as Elizabeth lived it was not unpopular, though its legal basis was questionable. It was looked on as the protector of order, as well as giving individuals redress of their grievances in more equitable and quick ways than the hide-bound traditions of the common law allowed. The Star Chamber did for the whole nation what the *Council of the North* [see page 412], or the *Council of Wales* [see page 507], did for particular parts of it. It was not until Whitgift first used the court to suppress religious opposition that it began to be criticised. It was not until the Stewart period that the court called into existence to put down baronial anarchy was hated as being mainly directed towards depriving Englishmen of their civil and religious liberties. Even before that time the *Court of High Commission* [see page 450] had made itself odious by its inquisitorial methods and harshness in dealing with Puritans, though even that body did good

The Star Chamber.

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work in reducing the abuses from which the Elizabethan Church suffered so much.

3. What the Council and the Star Chamber did for the central administration, the *Justices of the Peace* did for the local government. It is a striking proof of the popular character of the Tudor sovereignty that its local agents were not paid state officials, but the gentry of the shires and the merchants and tradesmen of the towns, discharging voluntarily and gratuitously the ever-increasing functions entrusted to them by the Crown. The Justices of the Peace not only exercised judicial functions over petty offenders, but in their *Quarter Sessions* carried out the whole of the administration of the shire, whose ancient court, the *shiremoot*, was now practically obsolete, save when it met for the purpose of returning knights of the shire to Parliament. Besides their original function of suppressing riot and disorder, the justices in Tudor times were entrusted with the carrying out of regulations affecting industry and trade, and especially the *Statute of Apprentices* of 1563, which empowered them to fix the rate of wages and settle disputes between employers and their workmen. They were also administrators of the Elizabethan Poor Law; they hunted out vagrants, Popish Recusants, and Non-conformists ; they administered the oath of allegiance, and Elizabeth prohibited the country clergy from marrying without the advice and approval of two justices of the peace. The constant schooling in every branch of administration which the work of a justice involved gave the gentry an excellent political and judicial training which prepared them for their work in Parliament. If the first result was to send them to Parliament with the habits of an official, naturally prone to uphold the Crown, the habit of obedience gradually passed away, while the training in affairs and the cautious and balanced judgment still remained. It is because the Tudors ruled through the country gentry, that the sons and grandsons of the agents of the royal autocracy were able to control and defeat the government of the Stewarts.

Local government.

The Justices of the Peace and Quarter Sessions.

4. Another Tudor institution was that of the *Lords Lieutenant*. By acts of Edward VI. and Mary a Lord Lieutenant was appointed by the Crown in every county to act as commander of the local *Militia*, the only organised armed force that Tudor England possessed. *Deputy Lieutenants* were appointed to assist

Lords Lieutenant.

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him. Everybody was still compelled to serve in the militia or to provide a substitute, and a law of Mary, embodying the principle of the ancient Assize of Arms, fixed the amount of arms, armour, horses, and equipment to be provided by all property holders for the use of the national force, even the clergy being compelled to contribute their share. The little body called the *Yeomen of the Guard*, to defend the royal person, a few companies of paid soldiers to defend Calais and Berwick, and a small but well-armed and highly paid force of Spanish and Italian mercenaries that Henry VIII. had established, were the only approaches to a standing army in Tudor times. Most despots have ruled ultimately by armed force. It was the special glory of the Tudors that their only way of suppressing popular revolt on a large scale was through the popular militia. It was considered a great innovation when the rebellion of 1549 was suppressed by Henry VIII.'s foreign mercenaries, and no subsequent ruler ventured to repeat the ill-fated experiment of the Council of Edward VI.

The Militia and military forces of the Crown.

5. Even the navy was levied and equipped on popular principles. The subject was bound to defend the realm by sea as well as by land, but while every able-bodied man was thought fit without further preparation to fight on land, the special training and experience required for naval warfare limited the obligation to serve at sea to the coast districts and the seaports; and especially to the Cinque Ports and their Lord Warden. Moreover, there was a permanent royal navy, built and fitted out by the king out of his general revenue, and manned, when necessary, by pressed men. The king's ships set the example of improvements in naval architecture. Henry VIII. did a great work in setting up and equipping the royal navy on modern methods. He bought many fine ships from abroad and had others constructed at home. The *Great Harry*, built by him in 1515, marks an epoch in our maritime history. He also established dockyards, organized the *Navy Office* and set apart certain officers to manage the civil branches of the navy under the Lord High Admiral. We have already seen how the retired corsair and smuggler, Sir John Hawkins, built a new English navy that was easily able to outmanœuvre and outsail the boasted galleons of Spain, after that the poverty of the Crown under Mary and Edward had reduced the royal navy so that it was not strong enough to clear the Narrow Seas of pirates. Even

The Navy.

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under Elizabeth, on great occasions, like the resistance to the Armada, armed merchant ships supplemented the royal fleet. In those days of lawlessness at sea, every trader was armed and used to fighting, and the line between merchant and pirate was by no means closely drawn. The increase of our merchant navy had much more to do with the growth of our maritime greatness than that of the royal navy.

Growth of commerce and the commercial spirit.

6. With the growth of trade, merchants greatly flourished. How important the trader had now become is shown in the whole career of *Sir Thomas Gresham* (d. 1579), the princely merchant who acted as financial agent for Henry VIII.'s three children, and who was famous as the founder of the *Royal Exchange* at London, and for setting aside a large portion of his vast fortune to found in *Gresham College* a popular teaching university in London, though the scheme carried out fell far short of this. Yet lovers of old ways complained that merchants had become a "clog to the Commonwealth," keeping up prices with their monopolies and combinations, and recking of little but their private gain. There was a class of "bodgers," who bought up corn, and exported it even in times of scarcity, and thus artificially raised prices in England, or sold it to the poor after it had become rotten and unwholesome. But the commercial spirit had now affected all classes. The most heroic of the Elizabethan adventurers had as keen an eye to the main chance as the modern speculator or stock-jobber. The highest families in the land were infected with this spirit. The queen herself had shares in desperate piratical adventures against Spain. Nobles became graziers and farmers, and sold their game and venison. One noble lady did not scruple to ride herself to market to see that her butter was well sold. The farmers were not content with what they could get at the nearest market town, but would send their corn twenty miles to market in the hope of getting a better price. But this increased bustle and activity did good as well as harm. Men found that they could only live by striking out new lines for themselves.

Competition, and the fierce struggle for existence which it involved, was no longer lamented as an unmixed evil, but accepted as a stern necessity. If the weakest inevitably went to the wall, the stronger and fiercer could make better conditions, and the state did something to

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mitigate the wretchedness of those who are least able to fend for themselves. The result was that the economic miseries that in the beginning of the century had attended the break-up of the social system, found partly, at least, their gradual remedy. It is instructive to compare the sad picture of the condition of England drawn in More's *Utopia* in the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign with the more elaborate *Description of England*, which a Puritan parson, William Harrison, compiled in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. We see from the latter how material wealth and prosperity were enormously increased. The enclosure of commons, and the turning of arable land into pasture, ceased when the demand for English wool fell off, partly because with an increased output the quality deteriorated, and partly because the manufacturing cities of the Netherlands, the prey of war and persecution, no longer enjoyed their former prosperity. Agriculture again flourished. "The soil," wrote Harrison, "had grown to be more fruitful, and the countrymen more peaceful, more careful, and more skilful for recompense of gain." More attention was devoted to manuring the crops, and manuals of agricultural practice both in prose and verse, were widely circulated. Corn-growing again became profitable, and the cultivation of hops, newly brought in from the Netherlands, took so firm a root that many Kentish orchards were destroyed to make way for the new crop. A greater variety of fruits, vegetables, and salads were cultivated in gardens. Before the end of Elizabeth's reign, the American root, the potato, began to be grown, though little used for a long time. The decay of towns ceased with the new growth of trade and the increase of manufactures, so that men, who under Henry VIII. or Edward VI. had no alternative but to become sturdy beggars, were able to find employment at home, or to take to the sea, or serve in the constant wars abroad, or emigrate to distant parts of the earth. Even gentlemen did not scruple to take to piracy. Harrison lamented the absence of plantations, yet the failure of the Plantation of Munster showed that there was no longer a great unemployed class, eager to take up new occupations. Yet till the end of Elizabeth's reign there were still plenty of beggars and thieves, despite sharp laws sharply executed.

Completion of the Economic and Agrarian Revolution.

With the increase of wealth and prosperity, all classes of the community profited. The yeoman class revived.

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"These were they," says Harrison, "who in times past made all France afraid." "They now," he adds, "commonly live wealthily, keep good houses, and travail to get riches." "Many by their labour and industry have got so much wealth that they have bought up the lands of the unthrifty gentry." The artificer and the husbandman were no less prosperous, and Harrison cannot praise these classes too highly: "so merry without malice, and plain without inward craft, that it would do a man good to be in company among them." With the hope of keeping up the supply of skilled workmen, which the decayed guild system of the Middle Ages had provided for, the famous *Act of Apprentices* was passed in 1563, enacting that no one should be allowed to exercise a trade until he had served a seven years' apprenticeship at it: but the law raised as many problems as it solved. The unskilled labourer profited but slightly from the general improvement, since wages rose little, and prices grew rapidly.

The Beginnings of the Poor Law.

7. The stern statesmen of early Tudor times refused to contemplate a class of men who were willing to work but could get no employment, though the history of the period shows clearly that such a class did exist. They attempted to stamp out by harsh laws the swarm of sturdy beggars who preferred a lawless, vagabond life to honest labour, while they allowed the sick and impotent to solicit public charity. Henry VIII.'s law gave the deserving poor licences to beg, and ordered the church-wardens of every parish to collect alms in church, which they were to devote to the maintenance of the poor. The able-bodied beggar was to be "tied to the end of a cart, naked, and be beaten with whips till his body be bloody by reason of such whipping." Barbarous as this law was, the Act of Edward VI. repealed it, because of "the foolish pity and mercy" shown by those who should have carried it out, and sought as we saw [see page 429] to put down vagabondage by branding, slavery, and a felon's death. This brutal law was repealed within two years, and Henry VIII.'s Act revived, with more careful provision for the collection of alms by the appointment of collectors who were to request all householders to give a weekly sum, and had power to report to the bishop all those who refused to set apart some proportion of their means for the relief of the poor. Under Elizabeth a systematic Poor-Law gradually grew up. In 1563 Elizabeth's *First Poor-Law* made compulsory the contributions to be col-

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lected for poor relief. In 1572 Elizabeth's *Second Poor-Law* further systematised the whole plan. It was no longer left for each individual to assess himself, and the collectors of the rate were "to build habitations for the impotent and aged, and send strangers back to their own homes." Side by side with this were new laws against vagabonds, who were to be "grievously whipped." At last, in 1597 and 1601, two more statutes, the *Third and Fourth Poor-Laws* of Elizabeth, set up our poor-law system as it remained until the new Poor-Law passed in 1834. By these laws justices were ordered to nominate *overseers* in each parish, who had power to raise the sums necessary for the relief of the poor of that parish by taxing every inhabitant. The law of 1601 was looked upon as so satisfactory, that Robert Cecil boasted, "Our ordinary begging-poor are now provided for." The poorest now had a legal right to live.

Increase of luxury and comfort.

8. The standard of comfort for all classes was greatly raised in the course of the century. Under Henry VIII. a small class of the community had rioted in somewhat barbaric profusion, but the mass of the commons had no other idea of luxury than a gross abundance of victuals and drink. Even the houses of the gentry were uncleanly; and fastidious foreigners, like Erasmus, complained that it was the common practice to conceal the filth of the floors by a covering of rushes, which were renewed but once or twice a year. The constant epidemics bore witness to the want of sanitation, and the poorer people lived in wretched houses built of mud. Queen Mary's Spaniards had noted how "the English have their houses built of sticks and dirt, though they fare like kings." Under Elizabeth everything changed. Instead of a "good round log under his head," the meanest man had his bolster or pillow. Despite a great rise in prices, people now found money for more luxuries. Stoves, chimneys, glazed windows, glass drinking-vessels, rich hangings and carpets, solid oak furniture artistically carved, sound and clean bedding, and pewter platters instead of wooden ones, became common even among farmers and townsmen. Even at an earlier date an Italian observer had noted that "there is no small innkeeper who does not serve his table with silver dishes and drinking-cups, and no one, who has not in his house silver plate to the value of one hundred pounds, is considered by the English to be a person of any consequence." At last

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Englishmen began to aim, not only at show, but at comfort. The conveniences of modern civilised life were now first freely available even to the rich. A good idea of the luxury that prevailed is given in a song which describes the preparations at a great house for a royal visit:—

> "Set me fine Spanish tables in the hall,
> See they be fitted all;
> Let there be room to eat
> And order taken that there want no meat.
> See every sconce and candlestick made bright
> That without tapers they may give a light.
> Look to the presence; are the carpets spread
> The daïs o'er the head,
> The cushions in the chairs,
> And all the candles lighted on the stairs?
> Perfume the chambers, and in every case,
> Let each man have attendance in his place."

Lovers of old ways regretted the march of luxury. "When our houses were builded of willow," said Harrison, "then had we oaken men; but now our houses are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but many, through Persian delicacy crept in among us, altogether of straw. Now have we many chimneys, and yet our tenderlings complain of rheums and catarrhs."

Food and Drink.

9. Diet became more varied and wholesome. The introduction of hops improved the quality and keeping-powers of beer, but wine was still largely consumed. After the Reformation had made many forget the ancient ecclesiastical fast-days, attempts were made to prohibit the use of flesh meat on Fridays and other fasts, lest the fisheries should be discouraged and the sea-faring class decline in prosperity. The rise in the prices of wheat and rye, the popular bread-stuffs, forced many poor men to eat bread made of "horse-corn," such as beans, peas, oats, and lentils; but as a rule there was plenty of meat and beer for all ranks. While the nobles, "whose cooks are for the most part musical-headed Frenchmen and strangers," exceeded in the number and changes of meat, the merchants were as lavish at their feasts as their social superiors. Most men ate only two meals a day, dinner at eleven, or twelve, and supper at five or six.

Dress.

10. Dress was varied a good deal during the century. Early in the century, men wore more gorgeous and extravagant clothes than women. Henry VIII. was dressed, when he met Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, in "a garment of cloth of silver, of

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damask, ribbed with cloth of gold, so thick as might be; the garment was large and pleated very thick." On ordinary occasions men wore a short coat, cut low in the neck, with a loose gown with long sleeves by way of over garment, long hose and broad-toed shoes, and handsome hats made of velvet or cloth. The ladies wore close-fitting dresses, with long tight sleeves, and an ugly close-fitting head-gear that concealed the hair, which was dragged back, and stowed away in a round cap at the back of the head. As the century went on, women's dress became richer and more costly, but less graceful and dignified. Elizabeth herself set a very bad example by her barbarous extravagances. Puritan satirists had an easy mark in the new fashion of dressing hair, "frizzled and crisped, laid out on wreaths and borders, propped with forks and wire, and surmounted by gold wreaths, bugles and gewgaws." A characteristic feature was the ruff, in its origin a loose collar, brought in by the Spaniards, but before long so ridiculously exaggerated, that a great fan-like structure of lace or lawn was upheld by wires, till it overtopped the fantastically dressed hair, and starch, "the devil's liquor," as Puritans called it, was invented to stiffen the fabric. Women wore long-peaked "stomachers," to make them long-waisted like the queen, and ate gravel and tallow, to get Elizabeth's fair complexion; while they dyed their hair red to suit the queen's colour. Equally ridiculous was the hoop or farthingale, also a Spanish invention, which grew to an enormous size. Men's dress followed suit, though with less extravagance. They now wore trunk-hose, stuffed so tightly that they were hard to get into, and beneath them curiously wrought stockings. Boots were so elaborate that no gentleman could walk even for a small distance, and many of both sexes kept themselves out of the mud by the Venetian high-heeled shoe, called a "chopine." Hats were exceedingly elaborate; and fashion changed from year to year. "Except it were a dog in a doublet," exclaimed Harrison, "you shall not see any so disguised as are my countrymen of England."

Classes of Society.

11. Class distinctions were still strong, though it became easier for men to rise from one class to another. The gentry stood as a rank apart, though the wealthy merchant, or the successful professional man, found that it was by no means impossible for him to join their numbers. The professions grew in importance, though the one great profession of the Middle Ages, that of

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the clergy, was in a depressed condition. The Reformation had left the clergy a poor and despised class, unpopular with the laity, and of mean social estimation. There were few livings now that would support a scholar, and by the middle of the century, the universities, which earlier in the century had shown increasing affection to the new learning, became desolate, and there was imminent danger of their colleges following the fate of the monasteries, though under Elizabeth a revival took place. Harrison complains that careless patrons sold their livings, or presented their servants and dependents to them. The owners of the monastery lands would not give enough to pay competent vicars to serve the churches whose tithes had gone to them on the fall of the religious houses. The married clergy were hardly pinched, even where the celibate priest might have lived in comfort. Elizabeth robbed and bullied her bishops, and the local magnates followed her example by ill-treating the parish clergy. "The Church," says Harrison, "is now the ass for every man to ride on."

The Clergy.

Other professions grew up at the expense of the clerical class. The lawyers throve and multiplied. "All the wealth of our land," says Harrison, "doth now flow unto our common lawyers. The time hath been when our lawyers sat in Paul's upon stools, against the pillars, to get clients, but now some of them will not come from their chambers to the Courts for under ten pound." The Inns of Court now became great law-schools, giving much prestige to the barrister, so that many country gentlemen and men of family went up to London for a few terms to study law in them. The medical profession saw its status improved under Henry VIII., who established regius professorships of physic at Oxford and Cambridge, and in 1518 gave a charter to Linacre, and other leading practitioners, incorporating them as the *College of Physicians*. Henry also gave a charter to the *College of Barber-Surgeons*, and an Act of Parliament of his time separated these two classes that had hitherto been confused, by ordering that no barber should practice surgery, and no surgeon should shave people or dress their hair. Physicians and surgeons demanded such high fees, that Latimer complained that "physic is a remedy prepared only for rich folks, for the poor is not able to wage the physician." It was long before the new spirit began seriously to affect medical practice,

Lawyers, Physicians, and Surgeons.

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but the age of the Renascence saw the casting off of the ancient authorities, that had prevented the progress of knowledge, and with the revived study of anatomy, medicine became more scientific, and more efficacious.

The Education of a Gentleman.

12. Education became more comprehensive. Though the Elizabethans were careless of tradition, and proud of their superiority over their forefathers, there was no previous time in which general culture was so much sought after as part of the equipment of a gentleman. In the Middle Ages, study was confined to a professional class of scholars. That class was still in existence, and held in high honour, but the rude unlettered noble of the Middle Ages was replaced by the cultivated, intelligent, scholarly gentleman of the Elizabethan age. Well-read and learned women were not rare, and the ladies at Elizabeth's court commonly spoke several languages with fluency. But the Renascence idea of education went further than this. A gentleman was not only to be cultivated, but an expert in fencing and all manly exercises, polished in manner, and careful and elegant in his garb. It was a result of this wider view of education that travel became more common. It was now a part of every gentleman's, as well as of every scholar's education, to visit Italy, whence they brought back, along with greater refinement and keener intellectual and artistic tastes, a recklessness in morals, and a contempt for religion that too often made the "Italianate Englishman a devil incarnate." Italian influence was strong in every department of Elizabethan life; and, when Italy itself had outlived its best days, some touches of its former fine spirit extended itself to England. Within England communication became easier, and, though most men and women still travelled from place to place on horseback, coaches were introduced, which, though cumbrous, heavy and springless, were looked upon as dangerous luxuries, which only the effeminate would presume to use. All travellers went armed, even the clergy generally had a hanger or a dagger, and the lay traveller seldom went abroad without pistols. Gentlemen always wore rapiers, and most men carried daggers. The roads were still infested with robbers.

Travel.

Architecture.

13. The changes in architecture marked the completely altered temper of the times. Under Henry VIII., large and stately Gothic buildings were still constructed, as, for example, Bath Abbey or Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, though there is little of the best

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Gothic spirit in them. Even after the Reformation the Gothic fashion lingered on, and since, instead of building new churches, men were mostly engaged in pulling down old ones, it is rather in manor houses, castles, and halls, than in ecclesiastical structures, that the old spirit continued. Gradually the taste for classical or Renascence architecture was brought over from France and Italy, though even then builders continued to build on Gothic lines, while enriching their structures with classical ornaments and details. The ultimate result of this process was the effective, though composite style, which we often call Elizabethan. The best examples of this are to be seen in the sumptuous and luxurious country houses, which the nobles of the time reared for themselves. Pure Gothic for this purpose went out with Wolsey's beautiful palace at Hampton Court, though it long lingered on in the numerous colleges built or rebuilt at Cambridge and Oxford up to the middle of the next century. Good examples of the newer style can be seen in Knole and Penshurst (the home of the Sidneys) in Kent. The Protector Somerset brought into England an Italian architect, *John of Padua*, to build his great palace in the Strand; and a stronger Italian influence is seen in houses like Longleat and Hardwick, in the ruins of Leicester's palace at Kenilworth, and to a less extent in Wollaton, near Nottingham. The conservative Harrison, while rejoicing in the "many goodly houses erected in this island," preferred the simpler and solider style of Henry VIII.'s time, and speaks contemptuously of the newer sort, as "rather curious to the eye, like paper-work, than substantial for continuance," though experience has now proved that the fantastic over-ornamentation of the Elizabethan mansion has not prevented it standing the wear and tear of time. The houses of the newer fashion were marked by spacious galleries, great windows filled with glass, chimneys to carry off the smoke, while within them were elaborate furniture and fittings, that made life much more luxurious than in the cramped castles of the Middle Ages. There was no longer any need to fortify private houses, since life and property were now fairly secure. Gentlemen could now surround their homes with fair gardens, and pleasant parks, wherein they took great delight.

The other arts were less flourishing than architecture, and the best that was done in them was mainly produced by foreigners. There was indeed an English school of musicians, including a great band of madrigal writers, and

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church-composers, like Merbecke and Tallis, who enriched the Protestant service books with dignified and appropriate music. In Elizabeth's reign, song-writers, like Byrd and Dowland, gained a deserved reputation for sweetness and strength; and Dr. Thomas Campion was not only a famous composer of music, but wrote words to his songs, that show him to have been a graceful and eloquent lyric poet. The English painters and sculptors were, however, of little merit. Foreigners such as John of Mabuse had been employed by English patrons, but in the early part of the period, England could produce no better painter than John Crust, who recorded the splendours of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, with wooden fidelity to appearances. Henry VIII., who royally loved art, gave pensions to various foreigners, mostly Flemings, but including some Italians, through whose work we possess representations of at least the outward appearance of the nobles and courtiers of his time. A very different type of work marked the appearance of the famous German, *Hans Holbein*, first of Augsburg and then of Basel, who came to England in 1526, with letters of introduction from Erasmus to More, and who soon enjoyed such constant patronage, that, save for a few holiday visits to Basel, he remained in England till his death of the plague in 1543. His uncompromising truthfulness and great technical skill enabled him to paint Henry and his age as they really were. And even more important to us than his paintings is his collection of drawings, preserved at Windsor, which sets forth with rare ability the character and fashions of the time. Holbein left no school here, and, after his death, portraiture fell to meaner hands, such as the weak Gwillim Stretes, who painted the notabilities of Edward VI.'s. time; the more vigorous Sir Antonio More, a Fleming trained in the Italian school, who was paid high prices for his sombre and dignified representations of Mary and her court; the Italian Federigo Zucchero, the best of the painters of the vain but thrifty Elizabeth; and the whole crowd of refugees from the Low Countries, like Mark Gheeraerdts of Bruges, who were also fashionable in their day. Better art was shown by the rising school of miniaturists, led by Nicholas Hilliard, a Devonshire goldsmith, and the Frenchman Isaac Oliver, and his son Peter, whose works make the first faint step towards an English school of painting. Sculpture was at an even lower ebb, as

Music.

Sculpture and Painting.

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most Elizabethan tombs show, with all their picturesque quaintness. The most notable examples of that art were the effigies of Henry VII. and his mother, the Lady Margaret, made for Westminster Abbey by *Torrigiano*, the most eminent of the Italian artists that Henry VIII. succeeded in enlisting for a time in his service. While her father welcomed great artists to his court, Elizabeth had neither the wish nor the money largely to employ them. But the higher standard of artistic sensibility that had now grown up is seen in the greater merit as works of art of her coins, which, moreover, by reason of their containing good weight of honest gold and silver, did much to revive English trade, distracted by Henry VIII. and his first successors' debasements of the currency.

Early Tudor Literature.

14. For nearly three-quarters of the sixteenth century, the amount of good literature produced in England was not large. In the early part of the period, the printing-press made what was best in the old literature more easily accessible, and the love of reading spread more widely. The taste for Chaucer's style still lived on, and the poets of the time still modelled their verse upon his. Conspicuous among them was Stephen Hawes, a follower of Lydgate's, who died about 1523. The ancient tradition still remained stronger and more fruitful in Scotland, where William Dunbar and Gawin Douglas worthily upheld the school of James I. and Henryson, which later put forth its last utterances in Sir David Lindsay (d. 1555), a herald and a courtier of James V., who attacked the abuses of Church and State, in strong biting satires that did much to prepare the way for the Reformation. Another old-fashioned poet was John Skelton, whose short doggerel rimes, denouncing his arch-enemy, Wolsey, have some freshness and vigour, and whose pretty lyrics show the last declining rays of Chaucerian influence. The real literary importance of the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign rests rather with the bringing in of the Renascence impulse by a band of young scholars than in the amount of actual literary production. The one notable English-born book of the time was More's *Utopia*, which was written in Latin, but which, though addressed to the cosmopolitan world of scholars, of whom Erasmus was the chief, had a very definitely English bearing, if not in the remedies that it suggested, at least in the evils which it unveiled [see pages 393-394]. By the influence of

The old school of poets.

The scholars of the New Learning.

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More and his friends, England was brought into close touch with the deepest movements of the great European world, just at the moment when the Reformation was to break up for ever the cosmopolitan world of scholars, who used Latin as their familiar idiom, and, like Erasmus, had friends in all countries, though belonging to none themselves. What was actually written in prose in English was of a more commonplace sort; though the great output of dull ordinary books, more valuable for their matter than for their manner, should not be forgotten. The patriotic impulse made history a favourite study. Lord Berners (d. 1533), beguiled the leisure of his Calais command by his idiomatic and racy translation of Froissart, which delighted the revived chivalry that followed Henry VIII. to the field against Francis of France. A whole school of chroniclers, such as Fabyan, Grafton and Hall, the London alderman, told in abundant detail, and with some rude skill, the recent annals of England; and More himself wrote a *History of Richard III.*, which expanded the orthodox Lancastrian theory of the usurper's character; while antiquarian and topographical research was represented by the patient and unwearied Leland, and Latimer's shrewd, homely, forcible *Sermons* have real literary value. Sir Thomas Elyot described in his book on *The Governour* (1531) the ideal of the education of a gentleman; and, at a rather later date, that robust Yorkshire scholar, Roger Ascham (1515-1568), set forth in straightforward English, such as the people themselves spoke, the praises of archery and old-fashioned ways in his *Toxophilus*, and in his *Schoolmaster* strove to make it easier for children to learn the Latin tongue. Ascham was in some ways the most characteristic English writer of his time. A convinced but prudent reformer, he won over Henry VIII. by his love of English sports, and survived to uphold ancient ways during the reign of his pupil Elizabeth. Though changes were more slowly wrought in prose than in verse, it is hardly too much to say that Ascham stands to prose almost as Wyatt and Surrey stand to English verse.

Prose writers.

15. The Italian impulse which Ascham so profoundly hated first made its mark on English poetry through its influence on Sir Thomas Wyatt, a courtier and diplomatist of Henry VIII. (d. 1542), and on Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (d. 1547), the last victim of Henry's jealous wrath; who, though he never visited Italy, followed and bettered Wyatt,

Wyatt and Surrey, and the new school of poetry.

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in reading and imitating her poets. "Wyatt and Surrey," wrote an Elizabethan critic, "were novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, and greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesy." They both employed Italian metres, such as the *sonnet* and the *ottava rima*, and Surrey (though Wyatt failed to acclimatise the *terza rima*) was able to bring in the "strange metre" of *blank verse*, also suggested by the Italians, which was to prove so potent a weapon in the hands of our dramatists for two generations. Both poets were extensively read in manuscript, and became popular and widely imitated. When the verses of Wyatt and Surrey and their followers were first printed in *Tottel's Miscellany*, (1557), so called from the bookseller Tottel who published it, the new impulse had been given from which Elizabethan poetry was to spring.

Early Elizabethan poetry.

The progress of the new spirit in poetry was extremely slow. For the first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign a swarm of minor poets exercised themselves in the metres of Wyatt and Surrey, but very few of them produced work of permanent or original merit. His own time praised George Gascoyne (d. 1577) as "a witty gentleman, and the very chief of our late rimers"; but his fame soon passed away. In 1559 and 1563 were published the two volumes of an historical poem called, *A Mirror for Magistrates*, written by various hands, in which, amidst much inferior verse, the grave and stately *Induction* by Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, reaches the highest level of imagination that was attained by the early Elizabethan poets. More verse was written than was printed, as gentleman preferred to circulate their rimes in manuscript among their friends, and there was hardly as yet a professional literary class. It was an Italian fashion to publish miscellaneous volumes of verse; and the *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, issued in 1576, contains a typical collection of the poetic work of the period. An increasing output of stirring ballads represented the more popular side of poetry. Good dictionaries (such as Florio's), and grammars, and a whole literature of translations in verse and prose enabled those who were not professed scholars to study and appreciate the masterpieces of classic and Italian literature. The romantic fiction of Italy and Spain was thus made extremely popular, and gave our authors subjects and models for the creation of similar literature in English. Books on arts, crafts, and accomplishments,

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began to be written in England. FitzHerbert's *Husbandry and Surveying*, Tusser's *Five Hundred Points of Gooa Husbandry* (in verse), and George Silver's *Paradoxes oj Defence*, a treatise on sword-play, are excellent examples. The fashionable Platonic mysticism even penetrated to England, and its greatest professor, Giordano Bruno, stayed in England, was a friend of Philip Sidney and his set, and not without influence on Shakespeare himself. The fierce theological controversies of the time produced a copious stream of pamphlets and polemical works, conspicuous among which was Bishop Jewel's Latin *Apology for the Church of England*, and John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, better known as Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, which described with simple vigour, though with little care for truth, the pathetic history of the Protestants who died for their faith, and belaboured the friends of the old Church with coarse violence. The Scottish prose classic of the period is without doubt John Knox's *History of the Reformation*.

The relation between Literature and Action and the transition to the Great Age.

16. The critical years in the political history of Elizabeth's reign were those in which true Elizabethan literature bursts forth with strange suddenness and glory. Between 1579 and 1582, Drake came home from his voyage round the world; the Jesuits and the seminary priests set forth on their mission to win back England to the old faith; Philip sent Spanish troops, and the Pope a legate, to stir up Ireland; Esmé Stewart plotted a Counter-Reformation in Scotland; Elizabeth openly helped the revolted Netherlanders; and Gilbert and Raleigh first indulged in their dreams of English colonies in the New World. With the publication of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579), begins the flowering-time of Elizabethan poetry. The prose romances date from the printing of Lyly's *Euphues* in 1579, and the composition of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* in 1580. Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*, written about the same time, worthily begins our later critical literature. In 1582, Watson's *Hecatompathia* began the great outburst of sonneteering. A few months before Drake started for his voyage round the world, Burbage opened the first English theatre in Shoreditch, and ten years later, in 1587, the date of the execution of Mary Stewart, Marlowe produced, in his play of *Tamburlaine*, the first masterpiece of the Elizabethan drama. From these memorable years onwards, there is no cessation to the flow of great works. The most creative and original period of English literature

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gilded the old age of the Island Queen with undying glory; and the chief masters continued their work well into the next century, for much of what is almost distinctively Elizabethan was written under James I.

Edmund Spenser and the new poetry.

17. With the publication of *The Shepherd's Calendar* Edmund Spenser became the first great poet of the new era. His fame was still new when he settled down, as we have seen, in Ireland, whence he was driven, after nearly twenty years of prosperity, by the last Desmond rising, to die next year in London, poor and disappointed, though never neglected. His unfinished epic the *Faerie Queen*, written in Ireland, and published in 1589 and 1598, enshrined in the richest and most musical of verse all that was best in the spirit of the English Renascence, love of fancy and chivalry, enthusiasm for culture, delight in allegory, in mystic Platonism, in quaint adventure and in old-fashioned fairy tales, burning patriotic enthusiasm for England and her queen, earnestness of moral purpose and complete sensuous enjoyment of beauty, and fierce hatred of the Pope and the Spaniard, who seemed embodiments of all that was unlovely and evil.

Spenser is one of the foremost of English poets, but the fine imagination and art that appear so prominently in his work were reflected in the verses of a crowd of lesser singers, who caught some sparks of his poetic spirit. His famous master Ariosto was made to live in the English tongue by Sir John Harington's flowing translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, while Edward Fairfax's refined and poetic rendering of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* did the same service for another of his Italian models. George Chapman's translation of Homer told the tales of Achilles and Ulysses in a way that went straight home to the Englishman of the Elizabethan age. Spenser's *Amoretti* or love-sonnets ushered in the great circle of sonneteers, though themselves strongly influenced by the *Sonnets* in which his friend and patron, Philip Sidney, immortalised an unhappy love for Penelope Devereux, Lady Rich, the "Stella" of his poems. The sonnets and love poetry of the time continued to be issued in miscellanies, such as *England's Helicon* and Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*. They reach their supreme height in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. But nothing shows so powerfully how the pure spirit of poetry was in the air than the exquisite grace and spontaneity of many a nameless and forgotten lyric to be found lurking in the song-books

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of the time, or flashing like jewels amid the gold and silver of Elizabethan dramatic literature.

Many other types of poetry flourished. From the impulse given by the *Mirror for Magistrates* sprang the patriotic poetry which culminated in the *History of the Civil Wars* of the "well-languaged" Samuel Daniel, and in *England's Heroical Epistles*, and the other lengthy historical poems of Michael Drayton, who in his *Polyolbion* sought to glorify in sonorous verse all the wonders of Britain. Both Daniel and Drayton were also conspicuous among the sonnet writers, though neither of them kept up long to their highest level, either in lyric or narrative verse. A deeper note is struck in the philosophical Platonic poems of Sir John Davies, and in the melancholy force and gravity of Fulke Greville, Lord Brook, while William Drummond of Hawthornden's graceful love sonnets and solemn religious poems, and the Earl of Selkirk's fine plays, showed that some touch of the Elizabethan spirit had crossed the Scottish border.

The beginnings of the Elizabethan Drama.

18. Faithfully as Elizabethan poetry mirrors back the spirit of the great age, its fullest and largest life is best represented by the wonderful outburst of dramatic literature, which is its unique glory. The old mysteries and moralities [see part i. p. 274], which had been acted for many generations, were now on the decline, though they still kept up a popular taste for dramatic performances of a rude sort, while since Henry VIII.'s time comic *Interludes*, such as John Heywood wrote for the bluff king's court, gradually added a more human interest to the drama than could be got from the allegories, in which the morality writers set forth abstract representation of Virtues and Vices. The scholars of the Universities and Inns of Court, inspired by the spirit of the Renascence, read and acted Latin plays, such as those of Seneca and his Italian imitators, and gradually began to copy them in English. Before long they wrote dramas that seemed more adapted to English taste, and thus bit by bit a rude dramatic literature grew up by the middle of the sixteenth century. Bishop Bale's *King John*, though still mixed up with the machinery of the morality, prepared the way for the dramatic presentations of English history, which stirred up the patriotism of the age of the Armada. The disreputable Eton schoolmaster, Nicholas Udal, gave a boisterous picture of London life in *Ralph Roister Doister*, our first comedy; and Lord Buckhurst

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finished before 1562 the dull and formal *Gorboduc*, the first regular tragedy. During the next twenty years playwriting became common, and, though most of these plays had not much literary merit, or sustained interest, the representation of them became a widespread popular amusement.

19. At first plays were acted in the halls of gentlemen's houses, in the courtyards of inns or in any other possible spot. A new departure was made in 1576, when a company of players that were patronised by Leicester, at the head of which was James Burbage, built *The Theatre* at Shoreditch, the first building set apart for dramatic performances in the country. After this theatres soon muitiplied. As the Puritan magistrates of London showed great hostility to the players, partly because of their free living, and partly because they acted plays on Sundays, Burbage and his fellows found it prudent to build their theatres in the suburbs. The *Curtain* soon arose hard by *The Theatre* in Shoreditch, and in 1598 Burbage's son built the famous *Globe Theatre* at Bankside on the Surrey side of the Thames, hard by the Paris Garden, whither the citizens flocked on Sundays and holidays to enjoy the brutal but favourite sport of bull- and bear-baiting. The Globe was a summer theatre, and the same actors played in wintertime at the *Blackfriars Theatre*, within the City, erected by the elder Burbage in 1596. These were the chief Elizabethan playhouses. Though there was little profit to be made as yet by the penning of plays, the drama became so fashionable an amusement that large sums could be made by the proprietors of the playhouses, and a thrifty actor and playwright, who invested his savings in shares in the theatres, was able, like Shakespeare, to retire in middle life on a comfortable fortune, or, like his friend Alleyn, become the lord of a suburban manor and grantor of considerable estate to such a pious and charitable foundation as Dulwich College. The best of the Elizabethan theatres were but rude structures, a circular or hexagonal building, built of wood and partly covered with thatch, and largely open to the weather, except on the side of the capacious stage, which ran forward into the middle of the area, and was big enough, not only to give ample room for the actors, but to allow notable patrons to sit on stools at the back of it to witness the performance, while the common people, the "groundlings," stood closely packed in the pit. The few ladies who attended hid themselves away masked in the

The first theatres.

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boxes, which were ranged in several tiers round the sides of the house and protected those of the better quality from the weather. Performances were always in the afternoon, beginning between one and three o'clock. There was no scenery, and the properties were poor, though the dresses were often costly. Boys acted the women's parts, and there was a constant variety in the performances.

Marlowe and the first generation of the great dramatists.

20. With the opening of the first public theatres, the quality of English dramatic literature underwent a marvellous change. Soon after 1580 a group of young men, who had got a taste for the drama at Oxford and Cambridge, settled down in London, where they lived roystering and reckless lives, and began to write plays for the new theatres. These pieces were often bombastic, crude, and sensational, but they showed a fire, an action, and a vein of true poetry that promised better things from their writers. With the production of *Tamburlaine the Great*, by the most gifted of the number, Christopher Marlowe, in 1587, the great age of the drama had definitely set in. In a few years Lyly the Euphuist, Greene, Peele, Nash, Kyd, and a crowd of others began writing for the stage. After the success of *Tamburlaine* blank verse became the fashion, though the earlier plays were largely written in prose or rime. In the intemperate, passionate, and tragic career of Marlowe the first stage of the Elizabethan drama reached its culminating point. His greatest play is *Dr. Faustus* (about 1589). He perished miserably in a tavern brawl before he was thirty (1593), yet in the six or seven years, over which his dramatic career extended, his fiery passion and resistless force had raised him, despite many extravagances, to an immortal seat among the great poets of the world.

Shakespeare and his successors.

About the time of the production of *Tamburlaine*, William Shakespeare (1564-1616), a youth of two or three and twenty, left his home and family at Stratford-on-Avon and came to London to push his fortunes. He soon made his way as an actor and a playwright, working up old plays into a more literary and attractive shape, and, strongly under the influence of Marlowe, made his first essays in original poetry and drama. His original plays begin with *Love's Labour's Lost*, with its satire on Euphuism, Arcadianism and the fashionable Latinist pedantry; and with the boisterous farce of the *Comedy of Errors*, founded on one of Plautus' plays, already copied by Ariosto. By

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1592 he had written his fervid youthful tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*, and not long after was following hard on the steps of Marlowe's *Edward II.* in his *Richard III.* About 1594 the *Merchant of Venice* shows that he had attained the full height of his powers. His early poems were now published and he had reached a high reputation, competent fortune, and a distinguished social position. Before Elizabeth died he was a leading shareholder of the Globe, the owner of New Place, the finest house in Stratford town, and is described in legal documents as "William Shakespeare, gentleman of Stratford." There was such a demand for his plays that, though the theatre managers seldom gave them to the world, unauthorised and piratical editions began to be issued of the more popular of them. He had written *As You Like It*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Hamlet*, and was already recognised by his fellows as the greatest of their company, almost as clearly as he has been hailed in after ages as the greatest of poets of all time. His profound knowledge of the human heart in all its phases, his naturalness, his glowing fancy, his deep passion, abundant humour, unique command of the mother tongue, wisdom, self-restraint and ripeness of judgment stand by themselves in all literature. Round him clustered a great school of dramatic writers, whose work, beginning in the last years of Elizabeth, came to a climax under James I. [see book vii. chap. viii.], and then slowly decayed, until the last of the Elizabethan dramatists laid down his pen on the eve of the Great Civil War.

Prose.

21. The prose literature of the later years of Elizabeth did not reach the same high level as poetry or the drama. There were as yet few received standards of prose composition, though force, energy, inspiration, and matter did something to supply the want of art, and the best spirit of the time is often discernible beneath the quaint conceits, the tangled convolutions and heavy sentences of the prose style of the period The habitual use of the Book of Common Prayer, and the wide circulation of the various translations of the Bible, especially of the popular Calvinistic *Genevan version*, did something to establish a standard of dignified simple, and self-sustained style, though none of these qualities are very evident in the extravagant controversial pamphlet-literature that was so eagerly read, until the majestic dignity of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* raised party polemics into sound literature. This book remained

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the greatest masterpiece of modern English prose until the publication of the famous *Essays* of the rising lawyer, Francis Bacon, in 1597, which, modelled on Montaigne and Plutarch, happily inaugurated a kind of writing very congenial to Englishmen. Lyly's famous *Euphues*, in which he introduced the lofty style of the Spaniard Guevara, and Sidney's *Arcadia*, inspired by the *Diana* of another Spaniard, Montemayor, began the English romantic novel, to whose growth Nash, Greene, and Lodge all contributed, but which was, despite wide-spread popularity, eclipsed by the drama, wherein many of the early novelists found their ultimate vocation. In 1578 Raphael Holinshead published his *Chronicles*, which became the popular history of Elizabeth's time, and furnished the dramatists, from Shakespeare downwards, with their historical plots. To this book Harrison prefixed his *Description of England*, which we have so often quoted. In 1579 Sir Thomas North's racy and idiomatic version of Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* did an even better service in regard to ancient history, standing to Shakespeare's Roman plays in even closer relation than Holinshead stands to his English chronicle dramas. Sidney's *Apology for Poetry* started the critical school, later represented by Webb's *Discourse on Poetry* and Puttenham's elaborate and useful *Art of English Poesie*, published in 1589. No aspect of literature was more important than the large output of books of travel and adventure culminating in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, first published in 1589, and again in a fuller form ten years later. This prose epic sets forth in simple and unvarnished style the heroism and lawlessness of the famous seamen, links together the action and the literature of the time, and makes us realise most vividly the unity, as well as the many-sidedness of the greatest and fullest period of English life

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BOOK VII.

THE STEWARTS AND THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN KING AND PARLIAMENT.

1603–1689.

INTRODUCTION.

THE strong monarchy of the Tudors died with Queen Elizabeth. The great outburst of the many-sided energy of the Elizabethan age gradually lost its force during the less heroic times of her Stewart successors.

Yet the seventeenth century was no period of reaction. It witnessed a progress more real, because more deep, than even that which sprang from the revolutions of the sixteenth century, though this new movement assumed a less majestic garb.

The Stewart period witnessed the new birth of the House of Commons. England had now outgrown the need for the Tudor despotism, and the Stewarts, seldom in sympathy with their people, hurried on the inevitable change by their unwisdom and self-seeking. A long struggle between king and Parliament began with the first Stewart king, which ended by overthrowing the old constitution by the *Great Rebellion*, the death of Charles I. on the scaffold, and the setting up of a commonwealth. But Parliament itself perished in the ruins of the monarchy, and freedom-loving England was ruled by an army and its general. Such a government was only tolerable through the genius of one man. Military monarchy became anarchy when the strong hand of Cromwell could no longer guide his soldiery, and England welcomed with one accord the restoration of Charles II.

Side by side with the political revolution went a religious

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revolution. The first half of the century had witnessed a twofold religious revival. It saw the growth of *Puritanism* and the growth of *Arminian Anglicanism*. The *Anglicans* made common cause with the monarchy, and were overwhelmed with it in the *Puritan Revolution*. But the nation lamented the fall of the Church still more than the fall of king and Parliament. The *Restoration* of king and Parliament involved the restoration of the old Church.

The Restoration did not undo the work of the Puritan Revolution. It put the authority of Church and king on a broad basis of popular support. The direct rule of the monarchy was nearing its end, and the nation, divided into the two great parties, that aimed respectively at order and progress, gradually assumed, through the House of Commons, the control of its own destinies. However, Charles II. and James II. were not loyal to the new state of things. They sought to overthrow the Constitution both in Church and State. Neither had men yet learnt tolerance. The restored Church persecuted the *Puritans* it no longer retained within its pale. The *Revolution of* 1688 was therefore necessary to complete the triumph of Parliament which the revolution of 1641 had begun, and to secure *Toleration* and *Individual Liberty*.

Besides this great struggle, half-political, half-religious, the seventeenth century witnessed many other far-reaching changes in England.

It saw a temporary eclipse of English power abroad. A nation divided against itself could not make its influence felt in the counsels of Europe. One result of this was the establishment of the overwhelming *preponderance of France* under Louis XIV. But the glories of Cromwell's foreign policy show that this decline was due to no deep-seated causes.

The seventeenth century witnessed a great development of our *wealth* and prosperity, the beginnings of our *trading supremacy* and *Colonial Empire*, and the first union of the whole British islands under a single rule. It saw a new era in literature, and it beheld Englishmen for the first time leading the world of scientific discovery. It was an age of strange contrasts, but taking it as a whole it was a glorious age.

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CHAPTER I.

James I. and the beginnings of the Struggle. 1603-1625.

1. On March 24, 1603, James, King of Scots, was proclaimed King of England amidst general rejoicing. He was a man of good height, with a fair delicate skin, blue rolling eyes, and a tongue too large for his mouth. Some weakness in his legs made him walk with a shambling circular gait, and sit very awkwardly on horseback. He was careless in his dress, wearing his favourite clothes till they were almost in rags, and his ungainly figure looked the more clumsy since he quilted his doublet as a protection against assassination. He never washed his hands, but rubbed his fingers lightly with the wetted end of a napkin. He lived simply on roast meat and fruit, and never ate bread. Fond as he was of sweet wine, his strong head was never disturbed by it. He spent most of his time in the country, busied with hunting, hard study and gossiping with his favourites. His wife, *Anne of Denmark*, the sister of Christian IV., had long yellow hair, and a white skin "far more amiable than the features it covered." She was a well-meaning frivolous woman, fond of masques and balls. As she grew older she leant towards the Roman Catholics.

Accession, character and policy of James I.

James was good-natured and affectionate, an indulgent husband and father, and a faithful friend. He was, however, hot-tempered, nervous, cowardly and without any sense of dignity or decorum. Possessed of plenty of ability, he often took shrewd views of men and things, and had been so well taught by the famous scholar, George Buchanan that he had become the most learned prince in Europe. He wrote clever but pedantic books about politics and theology, and a furious "counterblast" against the new habit of smoking tobacco, which he detested. He honestly loved peace, and moderate courses; but he was weak and unstable, and never turned his gifts to proper account. He was extraordinarily vain and conceited, and easily moved by flattery. He seemed quite a foreigner, with his rough northern ways, and harsh Scottish tongue. He was now thirty-seven years old, with fixed habits.

James was proud of his statecraft, and had a high notion

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of the divine right of kings, thinking it almost blasphemy in subjects to go against the will of the Lord's Anointed. He was always talking foolishly about the absolute power of the crown, and saying that the liberties of the people depended on his favour. But while he was magnifying the monarchy in theory, the actual authority that Elizabeth haa wielded slipped unnoticed from his hands. Yet James had the wisdom to see that his right course was to follow as closely as he could on Elizabeth's footsteps. But he never really understood wherein the secret of Elizabeth's strength had rested. Above all he did not see that his interests and those of his subjects were really the same, and, unlike Queen Elizabeth, he took no pains to understand his people, or carry out their wishes. He was quite out of touch with public opinion. Under his rule the old Tudor harmony between king and people came to an end. The personal defects of the king soon embittered and precipitated the inevitable conflict between them. A strong parliamentary opposition, half political, half religious, grew up in antagonism to the royal authority. The result was the great struggle between Crown and Parliament, which lasted nearly all through the seventeenth century, and did not end until the triumph of the Commons was secured by the driving out of the Stewarts from the throne. The first act of this long and fierce contest was fought out under James, but as yet both parties to it were unconscious of where it would take them.

2. The Council and ministers of Elizabeth were kept in office, and with their help James strove to rule England as the old queen had done. *Sir Robert Cecil* remained Secretary, and in 1605 was made Earl of Salisbury. He was so small a man that James called him his "pigmy" and "little beagle," and his enemies spoke of his "wry neck, crooked back and splay foot." He was stiff and official in his ways, but courteous, clear-headed and hard-working. So strong a hold did he keep on power that foreign ambassadors described James as a phantom king who left all the real work of government to his ministers. So long as he lived, Cecil kept up the traditions of Elizabethan statecraft. He was jealous of opposition, and coldly discouraged the rising ambition of his cousin, *Francis Bacon* (1561-1626), the brilliant Chancery barrister, whom he thought a mere visionary. In the same way he looked upon the gallant *Sir Walter Raleigh* (1552-1618) as an unscrupulous adventurer.

Robert Cecil, 1563-1612.

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He preferred to trust men of narrower mould, such as the Attorney-General, *Sir Edward Coke* (1552-1634), the greatest of the common lawyers, but the hardest, most pedantic and ungenial of men.

The discontented of every sort joined together in a series of plots against Cecil. The selfish and cowardly Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, formed what was called the *Main Plot* against him, and even talked of deposing James in favour of the Lady Arabella Stewart, the daughter of Darnley's younger brother, and an Englishwoman born. Quite independent of Cobham's design was the *Bye Plot*, or the *Treason of the Priests*. This was a foolish scheme of the Roman Catholic secular priest, William Watson, to seize James and keep him a prisoner until he gave freedom to the Catholics, and made the conspirators his chief advisers. But the Jesuits, who hated their rivals, the secular priests, got hold of the story and revealed it to the ministers. Before long the Main Plot was also discovered and Cobham arrested. Thereupon he made a lying confession which implicated his friend, the reckless and discontented Raleigh. The conspirators were tried and condemned. The guilty priests were executed, but nearly all the laymen were pardoned at the foot of the scaffold. Among those convicted was Raleigh, whose condemnation had only been secured by very doubtful measures. Attorney-General Coke conducted the prosecution with coarse brutality. "Thou hast a Spanish heart," he cried, "and thyself art a spider of hell. There never lived a viler viper than thou." Raleigh, though telling lies freely to screen himself, behaved in the main with dignity. Though the sentence passed against him was not carried out, he was never formally pardoned. He remained many years in the Tower with the death sentence still hanging over his head, and amusing himself with experiments in chemistry, and by inditing in sonorous prose his *History of the World.* The Lady Arabella, who was quite innocent of all treason, was treated kindly by James until, in 1610, she married William Seymour, who was dangerous to the King as the grandson of Catharine Grey, and an inheritor of her claims to the throne by the will of Henry VIII. She was then thrown into prison, where she died raving mad in 1615.

The Main and the Bye Plots, 1603.

3. Foreign affairs, the Puritans, the Roman Catholics and Parliament, were the chief difficulties of the new

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monarch. In 1604, James, who hated war, made peace with Spain by the *Treaty of London*, on terms which left him free to help our allies, the Seven United Provinces, who continued the fight against their old tyrants till the *Twelve Years' Truce* of 1609. Robert Cecil kept up friendly dealings with France, and showed watchful distrust of Spain. In 1610, England joined Henry IV., the famous king who had restored the French monarchy, to prevent the establishment of a Roman Catholic prince as Duke of Cleves. It seemed as if a general war of Protestant and Catholic were likely to break out in Germany; but the murder of Henry IV. by a Catholic fanatic deprived the German Protestants of the hope of French help, and peace was restored. Louis XIII. (1610-1643), the new king, was a boy; and his mother, Mary de' Medici, was a great friend of the Spaniards. Salisbury continued our alliance with the German Protestants.

Foreign Policy, 1603-1612.

4. The state of the English Church was still critical. Despite the activity of Whitgift, many of the clergy still held Puritan opinions. The Scottish Church, in which James had been brought up, almost realised the ideals of Calvin, and the Puritans hoped that a Presbyterian and Calvinistic king would sympathise with their ways of thinking, and allow their views to prevail by carrying out a further reformation of the church. On James's way to London, the *Millenary Petition* (so called because it expressed the opinions of a thousand Puritans) was presented to him, begging for a relaxation of the ceremonies, which they looked on as rags of Popery. James ordered a conference of the two Church parties to meet at Hampton Court on 14 Jan. 1604. The Puritan clergy, led by Reynolds, asked for a revision of the Prayer Book, a new translation of the Bible, and the enforcement of Calvinist doctrines. Bishop Bancroft, of London, almost the first Protestant bishop to teach that a Church without bishops was no true Church at all, was the spokesman of the friends of the Elizabethan Settlement. He reminded the Puritans of the "Ancient Canon that schismatics were not to be listened to when they spoke against their bishops"; but the king, who delighted in theological argument, showed a better temper, and agreed to order a revised translation of the Bible. Yet James knew very well that his interest lay in supporting the Elizabethan Settlement, and he hated the Scottish system of church government which

The Church and the Puritans.

The Hampton Court Conference, 1604.

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he regarded as hostile to his power. As soon as he saw that the Puritans wanted to set up the Scottish system, the king flew into a passion. "A Scottish Presbytery," he cried, "agreeth as well with monarchy, as God with the devil. Stay for me seven years, and then if you find me pursy and fat, I will perhaps harken unto you, but until I am lazy let that alone." James thus declared his adhesion to the church policy of Elizabeth, and the Puritans went away dissatisfied. All that resulted from the conference were some small changes in the Prayer Book that pleased nobody, and the noble *Authorised Version of the Bible*, which was finally published in 1611.

A few months afterwards Bancroft became archbishop of Canterbury, on Whitgift's death, and turned out three hundred Puritan ministers from their livings. Bancroft's successor, *George Abbot* (1610-1633), inclined towards Puritan views. But the whole current of Church opinion set in strongly against them. Led by the holy ascetic *Lancelot Andrewes*, bishop of Ely and then of Winchester, a new school of churchmanship grew up which laid stress on the continuity of the Church with the Church of the Middle Ages, insisted on the necessity of the Apostolical Succession and of Episcopal Ordination, held high views of Sacramental Grace, and found in an elaborate ritual and in the symbolism of the Middle Ages the best stimulants to devotion. They followed the Dutch professor Arminius (from whom they were called *Arminians*) in rejecting the cold Calvinism which all parties had held under Elizabeth. Strong in his principle of "No Bishop, No King," James himself, in later life, leant towards their views, regarding the servile bishops as the best check upon his unruly subjects, and the Church as the safest prop of the throne. In 1621, Abbot, whose influence had long been waning, had the misfortune to shoot a keeper as he was hunting deer in Bramshill Park. Friends of the new ways, such as the learned and indefatigable *William Laud*, and the scheming Welshman *John Williams*, refused to be consecrated as bishops by the homicide, and for the rest of his life Abbot remained under a cloud. Meanwhile, the Puritans were driven to despair; many left the Church altogether and joined the *Brownist* separatists, who were so harshly treated that some of them sought freedom to worship God in the wildernesses of America. But the mass of the Puritans

Beginnings of Arminianism.

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remained discontented Conformists, hoping against hope for better days to come.

The Popish Recusants and the Gunpowder Plot, 1605.

5. James had declared that he would not persecute the Roman Catholics so long as they remained good subjects, and made himself unpopular with the rigid Protestants by trying to suspend the cruel recusancy laws. But the Romanists, like the Puritans, wished not for toleration, but for supremacy: and James became alarmed at the numerous conversions to Popery. Severe penalties were therefore imposed on the friends of the old faith, and several priests were executed. In despair, the more desperate recusants turned to treason. *Robert Catesby*, a Warwickshire gentleman of birth and property, whose handsome face, eager enthusiasm, and winning manners made him a born leader of men, formed a conspiracy to blow up the king and Parliament with gunpowder. *Thomas Percy*, a kinsman and steward of the Earl of Northumberland, *Thomas Winter*, and *John Wright* fell eagerly into his scheme. They brought from Flanders *Guy Fawkes*, a Yorkshireman, who had fled from England through his zeal for the Pope, and had served as a soldier of fortune in the armies of the king of Spain. Fawkes' coolness and courage made him a fit instrument to carry out their desperate design. The conspirators now hired a coal-cellar underneath the House of Lords, where they piled up a great heap of powder barrels hidden under faggots with the object of blowing up King, Lords, and Commons on 5 November 1605, the day of the meeting of Parliament. Money falling short, they added to their band three rich young gentlemen—Tresham, Rokewood, and Digby. A great gathering of Catholic gentry of the Midlands was to be collected on the pretence of a hunt at Dunchurch. It was hoped that the assembly would rise in revolt when the news of the explosion spread, seize the Princess Elizabeth, James's little daughter, who was living at Combe Abbey near Coventry, and proclaim her as queen.

As Nov. 5 drew near the newer conspirators became uneasy at the Catholic lords being involved in the fate of their heretic colleagues. Catesby's fanatic zeal made light of the difficulty, but Tresham warned his brother-in-law, Lord Monteagle, not to attend Parliament. Monteagle sent on his letter to Cecil, who gave the plotters full time to concert their schemes, and finally, on Nov. 4, carefully searched the cellars, discovered the powder, and took

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Fawkes prisoner. The bold desperado boasted that he was about to blow the Scots back again to Scotland, but torture of the severest sort soon forced from him the names of his accomplices Meanwhile Catesby and the rest rode in hot haste to Warwickshire, hoping still to carry out the other part of this plot. But the huntsmen at Dunchurch refused to rise in revolt, and the little band of thirty conspirators fled to Holbeach, near Stourbridge, in Staffordshire. An accidental explosion of the powder got to defend the house hurt some, and frightened the rest as a judgment of God. The Sheriff of Worcestershire came up with the forces of the shire and surrounded the house. Thoroughly aware that the end was come, the plotters prepared themselves by prayer for their last fight. Catesby and Percy stood back to back, and, fighting desperately, were shot down by the same bullet. Catesby crawled on his knees to a picture of the Virgin and died kissing and embracing it. Fawkes and his comrades in London were executed as traitors, glorying in their deed. Some Jesuit priests, including *Henry Garnett*, the Provincial (or head) of the order in England, were incriminated in the plot. For nearly a week they hid in a hole in Hindlip Hall near Worcester, "chiefly supported by broth conveyed by a reed through a little hole in a chimney that backed another chimney in a gentlewoman's chamber." But want of air drew them "like ghosts" to surrender. At their trial Garnett admitted that he had been told of the conspiracy under the seal of confession, but protested that he abhorred the murderous design. In May 1606 he suffered the penalties of treason. Catholic Europe believed that a small picture of the martyr, surrounded by rays of glory, had been miraculously formed on a husk of straw on his scaffold. The day of the deliverance from the Gunpowder Treason was made a national holiday, and the stern laws against the recusants were enforced with a new rigour.

The King and the Parliament.

6. James's want of success in dealing with the Puritans and the Roman Catholics foreshadowed his failure to understand the temper of his Parliaments. In the House of Lords the new Tudor nobility had now acquired a sufficient standing to be able to act with independence and dignity, but they were generally outvoted by the cringing bishops and the swarm of courtier lords who owed their existence to James's reckless prodigality in the distribution of peerages and honours. However, the sturdy squires and merchants of

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the House of Commons had now learnt to take a wiser and broader view of the national interests than the packed parliaments of the Tudors, and not all the creations of new boroughs, that represented nobody but the court and ministers, could prevent the overwhelming preponderance of the real representatives of the freeholders and men of substance throughout the land. Strongly conservative in their love of English ways and hatred of sweeping changes, the Commons cherished the liveliest devotion to the well-ordered liberty which was the traditional birthright of all Englishmen, and were learning to look back, past the despotism of the Tudors, to the palmy days of constitutional freedom under the Edwards and Henrys. They now found in the adroit and subtle lawyers of London spokesmen and leaders, who were more than a match for the courtiers, and before long the country gentry themselves began to stand forth as orators and statesmen. Even before Elizabeth's death, the monopoly quarrel had shown that the House of Commons no longer re-echoed the policy of the Crown as in Tudor times. James tried to take up the same high line with his Commons as Elizabeth had done, but the man and the time combined to render his efforts futile. The Commons had deferred to the wishes of the old queen, but no ties of gratitude or interest prevented their now taking up a more decided attitude. They were determined to vindicate their rights against the king, and watched even his most harmless actions with suspicion. James, on the other hand, was full of well-meant plans of great reforms, which they cared nothing about. He expected as implicit an obedience as Elizabeth had exacted. But while Elizabeth always realised that she and her subjects were members of the same body politic, with common interests and ambitions, James fell into a fatal habit of bargaining with his people, like a sharp huckster cheapening his wares.

The First Parliament of James, 1604-11.

The Session of 1604.

James's *First Parliament* met in March 1604, and continued its sessions until 1611. Francis Bacon was prominent among the guiding spirits of its earlier debates. A long wrangle at once broke out between king and Commons about privilege of Parliament. James had claimed that the Court of Chancery should decide all disputed elections. The Commons replied that their House alone was competent to deal with questions affecting its own composition, and succeeded in compelling James to give way.

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They then pressed for reforms in the Church, though protesting that they "had not come in any Puritan or Brownist spirit to work the subversion of the state ecclesiastical as it now stands." In the same spirit they demanded the regulation of the abuses of the feudal customs of *Purveyance* and *Wardship*.[1] James paid little attention to their complaints, and annoyed them by declaring that their privileges depended on his good pleasure, and could be revoked at his will. They gave him no subsidy, but plenty of wholesome advice. They drew up a straightforward and manly *Apology* for their conduct. "If your Majesty," they said, "will consider our petitions for ease of those burdens under which your whole people have long time mourned, then you may be assured to be possessed of our hearts for ever." "I wish you would use your liberty with more modesty" was James's petulant answer. "If I should show favour except there be obedience, I were no wise man." When Parliament separated in July the great struggle had begun all along the line.

The Proposed Union with Scotland, 1608.

The session of 1606 was mostly taken up in framing fresh laws against the Popish recusants, who were made the scapegoats of the Gunpowder Plot. The later sessions brought the relations of King and Commons from bad to worse. In 1608, James's scheme for a further union with Scotland was finally laid before Parliament. Though James was now king of both kingdoms, the two realms were still as two foreign countries in their relations to each other. The king wisely saw that the personal Union of the Crowns needed to be supplemented by a political union of the kingdoms. He was the more eager for this as his position in Scotland was so much weaker than in England, and he wished to rule with equal power in his old and in his new inheritance. He looked forward to the time when there would be "one Parliament, one law, one Church, and one nation." Bacon seconded his plans with so much ardour, that he was at last admitted to favour as Solicitor-General.

1 Purveyance was the ancient right of the crown to take from subjects such provisions and goods as were necessary for the use of the king and his court, paying for them at the king's discretion. Wardship was the right of the crown to act as guardian for feudal tenants who came to their estates under age; the king receiving the profits of the estate as the reward of his trouble. Many attempts had been made to regulate both customs during the Middle Ages, but both were very liable to abuse.

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But the slow imagination of the country gentry saw nothing of the brilliant visions of the king and the philosopher, and believed that they were scheming to upset the old Constitution for the benefit of the greedy and poverty-stricken Northerners with whom England had been so long at enmity. So strong was this feeling, that all James ventured to ask for was, that Englishmen and Scotsmen should no longer be aliens in each other's country, and that freedom of trade between the two nations should be established. But all that he could get was the repeal of the harsh laws that treated Scotsmen as enemies. Despairing of Parliament, he turned to the judges, who, in *Calvin's Case* (properly *Colvill's Case*), decided that the *post nati*—that is, Scots born after James became King of England—were, by virtue of their allegiance to the English King, in the same position as natural born Englishmen (1608), thus declaring the *ante nati*—Scots born before 1603—foreigners.

Bate's Case, 1606, and the New Impositions, 1608.

James was heavily in debt, and sorely in want of money. But he found difficulties even in raising the revenue which Elizabeth had collected without the least trouble. In 1606, *John Bate*, a Turkey merchant, refused to pay a duty on currants that had been arbitrarily imposed by Elizabeth, urging that no one was bound to consent to a tax exacted without the consent of Parliament. The judges of the Court of Exchequer, before whom the matter was brought, decided in favour of the king's right to raise export and import duties, because they were levied, so they argued, not mainly to get revenue, but by virtue of the king's undoubted right to regulate trade. In 1608, Salisbury became Lord High Treasurer, and resolved to make a desperate effort to set the king's finances straight. He took advantage of this decision to issue a *Book of Rates* which, without Parliamentary authority, brought in a large number of increased customs duties, known as the *New Impositions*, from which a revenue of £70,000 a year was expected. So hard did the Treasurer work, that he cut down the king's debt from a million to three hundred thousand pounds. But he could not persuade James to live soberly or cease lavishing his gold and lands on his favourites. The result was that recourse was again necessary to Parliament.

In Feb. 1610, Salisbury laid his demands before the Commons, who answered him by drawing up a whole catalogue of grievances. They complained of the New

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Impositions, of the abuses of feudal tenures, of the king's mildness to Popish recusants, and of a law-book called the *Interpreter*, the writer of which, Dr. Cowell, taught that the king was above the Parliament, and that "subsidies were granted by Parliament in consideration of the king's goodness in waiving his absolute power to make laws without their consent." James threw over Cowell, and Salisbury proposed an elaborate scheme called the *Great Contract*, by which the king was to give up the obsolete and vexatious feudal revenue in return for the payment of his debts and a fixed addition of £200,000 a year to his income. But both parties haggled so long about details, that no definite result could be arrived at. At last James dissolved Parliament in Feb. 1611, and angrily declared that he had not "a sincere patience," and would accept no supply "if they were to sauce it with taunts and disgraces." To relieve his distress, he now offered the new hereditary title of *Baronet* to all gentlemen of position who would advance him £1080. Less than a hundred persons were found to buy so cheap a dignity. It is to James's credit that the sums thus lent were generally paid back. A few years later, however, James sold two peerages for £10,000 a piece.

The Great Contract, 1610, and the Breach between King and Commons, 1611.

In 1614, want of money forced James to summon his Second Parliament. Afraid of a repetition of his earlier troubles, the king entered into negotiations with a number of prominent members of the former House of Commons, who advised him to make concessions, and promised that if he did so, they would strive to influence the elections in favour of ministerial candidates, while they undertook to manage the House, and persuade it to meet readily the royal necessities. From this curious bargain these gentlemen were nicknamed the *Undertakers*. But they entirely failed in their attempts, and public opinion rose indignant that so narrow a clique should venture to speak on behalf of the Commons of England. Parliament repudiated its ancient leaders, and drew up a long list of complaints, conspicuous among which were the New Impositions. Hot disputes at once arose, and James became so irritated that he dissolved the Parliament before a single act had been passed or any supply granted. For this reason the wits called it the *Addled Parliament*.

The Addled Parliament, 1614.

7. Weary of King James's weakness, Englishmen looked

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with hope towards his children. James's eldest son, *Henry, Prince of Wales* (b. 1594), already showed signs of taking up a line of his own. He was a slow-minded, headstrong, but capable youth, fond of all manly sports, and eager for renown as a soldier. He was passionately attached to his sister, the Lady *Elizabeth* (b. 1596), a bright, winning girl, who, in 1612, had married *Frederick V.*, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the leader of the South German Calvinists. This very popular match was a great triumph for the Protestant party, and the crowning work of Salisbury's political life. Before it could be completed, the Lord Treasurer died, worn out before his time by the cares of State. Before the year was out, a sudden attack of typhoid fever carried off Prince Henry, to the universal sorrow of the nation. His younger brother *Charles* (b. 1600) was made Prince of Wales in 1616.

The Royal Family and Court.

Salisbury had always had to contend against a Spanish party in the Council led by the brother and younger son of the Norfolk executed by Elizabeth, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, and Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, the Lord Thomas Howard of the Azores fleet in 1591 [see page 499]. The Howards now hoped to succeed to Salisbury's power, and reverse his policy. James had no faith in them, and preferred to be his own minister, and rule directly with the help of clerks and subordinates. "I would rather have a comfortable man of ordinary parts," he used to say, "than the rarest man in the world that will not be obedient." But he hated trouble, and wanted some one who would look after details and serve his interests, but who was too ignorant or insignificant to have a settled policy of his own. He resolved, therefore, to take into his confidence some docile youth who would amuse his leisure, act as his private secretary, and save him from saying no to importunate suitors. He chose for his purpose *Robert Ker* or *Carr* (1587-1645). Sprung from the fierce Border family of the Kers of Ferniehurst, the favourite was a "straight-limbed, well-favoured, strong-shouldered, and smooth-faced fellow"; but his merits, however, did not extend beyond his good looks, and his "rich and rare parts," even in James's partial eyes, were "powdered and mixed with strange streams of unquietness, passion, fury, insolent pride, and settled obstinacy." Carr first attracted James's notice in 1607, when he broke his arm at a tilting match in the king's presence. He soon became

The Favourites.

Robert Carr.

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James's constant companion. In 1609, he was enriched by Raleigh's forfeited manor of Sherborne, though the king had the grace to give Raleigh's family some sort of compensation for their loss. In 1611, he was made Viscount Rochester, being the first Scotsman to take his seat in the House of Lords. After 1612, he became the all-powerful favourite.

Murder of Overbury and Fall of Somerset, 1613-1616.

If James leant on Carr, Carr himself was so ignorant of his new part, that he depended very much on the advice of *Sir Thomas Overbury*, an ambitious and overbearing but high-minded man of letters. So little indeed could Carr do for himself, that he is said even to have got Overbury to write his love-letters for him to the Lady Frances Howard, the daughter of Suffolk, but married in early childhood to *Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex*, the son of Elizabeth's favourite. Lady Essex was violently in love with the handsome Scot, and sought to procure a divorce from her husband. Her kinsfolk, the Howards, supported her strongly, hoping that if she were free to marry Rochester, she would win him and the king over to the Catholic policy. In 1613, through James's influence, the marriage of Lady Essex was declared invalid, but a new obstacle now presented itself to her union with the favourite. Overbury pleaded strongly against the match. Such was his hold over Rochester, that it was thought safest to get him out of the way. He refused to go beyond sea as an ambassador, and, as a last resource, was shut up in the Tower for this disobedience to the king's commands.

Lady Essex, a woman without shame or scruple, was furious against Overbury, and resolved to take his life. She formed a regular plot with professional poisoners, who sent the prisoner tarts and jellies mixed with deadly drugs. Overbury soon fell sick, but still lingered despite the efforts of the gang. At last an apothecary's boy managed to kill him outright. His death was set down to natural causes, and in Dec. 1613, Rochester, now made Earl of Somerset, was wedded to the murderess of his old comrade. For nearly two years the Howard faction triumphed. But their enemies, led by Archbishop Abbot, were ever on the watch, and Somerset grew so insolent with power, that even James began to be weary of his fits of temper. Yet his influence at court remained considerable till the confession of the apothecary's boy revealed to a horrified world the tragedy of Overbury's death. The whole hideous story was soon brought to

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light. The instruments of the crime were tried, convicted, and executed. Lady Somerset pleaded guilty before the House of Lords, and was sentenced to death (1616). Somerset, however, protested his ignorance, though adjudged by his peers to be an accessory before the fact, and therefore equally liable to the penalties of murder. James spared the fallen pair their lives, and after seven years' imprisonment, they were released from the Tower, and spent the rest of their days in obscurity. Puritan England stood aghast at the horrors which had been worked almost in the presence of the sovereign. It was even whispered that the king himself was closely implicated in the tale of crime. But James was innocent of all save credulity, weakness, and folly.

Rise of Buckingham, 1613-1617.

James soon found a new favourite in *George Villiers* (1592-1628), the younger son of a well-born but poor Leicestershire knight, and a youth of "straight and goodly stature, lovely complexion, and handsome features." Proud, high-spirited, good-humoured, quick-witted, and gracious in his manner, Villiers was in every way more attractive than the shallow, morose Border laird, though he was badly educated, vain, fickle and arrogant. His weak head was soon turned by his success, and, though not dishonest, he often stooped to questionable courses. James loved him like a son, and called him "Steenie," while Villiers addressed his sovereign as "dear dad and gossip." Wealth, honours, titles, offices, were heaped upon the fortunate young man. Created a peer in 1616, he became Earl of Buckingham in 1617, and Duke in 1623. He was appointed Lord High Admiral with a charge to watch over and improve the declining navy. The gravest churchmen and the wisest councillors became humble suitors for his favour. Laud attached himself closely to the giddy worldling, hoping that his influence would win over the king from his Calvinism and make him heartily support the struggling Arminian cause. Bacon, slowly mounting the ladder of preferment after his cousin's death, was profuse in tendering his good advice. Bacon had at last won a good name at Court. He had fought the battle of the prerogative in his long contest with his old rival Coke, who was now Lord Chief Justice, and struggling manfully to uphold the majesty of the Common Law against the subtle aggressions of the Crown. In 1616, Coke was dismissed from his office. In 1617, Bacon was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. He was soon raised to the

Bacon, Lord Chancellor, 1618.

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higher title of Lord Chancellor, and created Viscount St. Albans. Foremost among the other advisers of the king was the quick-witted *Lionel Cranfield*, who had started life as a London apprentice, but had won favour at Court by his zeal, activity, and knowledge of business, and was now entrusted with the impossible task of setting James's finances in order, as Lord High Treasurer and Earl of Middlesex. He was self-seeking and knew nothing of politics, but he did some good in getting rid of abuses and maladministration.

Foreign Policy.

8. James's foreign policy still fluctuated wildly. His steady object was to maintain peace and the balance of power, and, in particular, to prevent religious wars. He thought the best security for the peace of Europe was a hearty alliance between himself as the leader of the Protestants and Spain as the chief Catholic power. One party at his Council, headed by the Howards, was altogether in the pay of Spain. Another, led by the Puritan Archbishop Abbot, sighed for a renewal of an aggressive war against the great enemy of the Gospel. English public opinion inclined to this simple policy, which the king was broad-minded enough to reject. But James, with all his honesty of purpose and all his statecraft, often made himself the tool of the Spanish faction. Yet he was shrewd enough to see both sides, though his deplorable weakness in action led to the extraordinary result that he was always trying to carry out two foreign policies at once.

Buckingham at first opposed the Howards' party, but was gradually led to become friendly with Spain by the astute Spanish ambassador *Gondomar*. In 1616, an old plan for marrying Prince Charles to the Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III., was again taken up. Yet, at the same time, king and Council eagerly accepted a rash proposal of Raleigh quite incompatible with a Spanish alliance. This was a scheme for a voyage, in quest of gold, to Guiana, which Sir Walter had discovered in 1595, though it was within the sphere which the Spaniards claimed as their own, and in which they had established settlements.

Raleigh's last Voyage and Death, 1617-1618.

9. More than twenty years had now passed since Raleigh came back from his first voyage to Guiana. Yet in his long solitude in the Tower the mind of the adventurer still teemed with plans for revisiting the shores of the great river Orinoco, and seeking out afresh the strange El Dorado, the city of marvels and the home of fabulous wealth, where the descendants of the Incas were still imagined to rule in savage state, and

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were eager to share the treasures of their gold mines with the daring Englishmen who would save them from Spanish tyranny. Raleigh offered to lead an expedition to a mine far removed from Spanish settlements, and was, in 1616, released from the Tower and allowed to fit out a little fleet, though he was so poor that he could hardly furnish his ships with provisions, and the adventure was so doubtful that tried mariners shrunk from the risk. In March 1617, Raleigh set sail in the *Destiny* for the Spanish Main, having solemnly promised that he would molest no Spaniards, but peacefully seek out the promised mine. The voyage was long and difficult. Some of the ships turned back, others were destroyed by tempests. Sickness raged among the sailors, and when at last the remnant of ten ships cast anchor in the mouth of the Orinoco, Raleigh himself was prostrate with fever, and the dispirited crews had lost all hope of success. But the high soul of the admiral rose superior to his troubles. "We can make the adventure," he declared, "and if we perish, it shall be no honour to England or gain to his Majesty to lose one hundred as valiant gentlemen as England hath in it." He recked little of his promises, and sought to kindle the cupidity of his followers by appeals to the old buccaneer spirit. "There is no peace beyond the line," was his cry. 'If the mine fail, there is still the Mexican treasure fleet."

Raleigh remained at the mouth of the Orinoco, while his faithful lieutenant, Thomas Keymis, led five ships and 400 men up the river in quest of the mine. For three weeks the little fleet struggled bravely up the swift current of the mighty stream. But as they neared the place where they believed they would find the mine, the new Spanish settlement of San Thomé blocked the upper reaches of the river. Keymis attacked and burnt the little town after a sharp conflict, in which Raleigh's son was slain. But the Spaniards still lurked in the thick woods, and Keymis found that his prospects of further advance were very doubtful. At last the seamen themselves would fight no longer, and Keymis was forced to return to the admiral with tidings of hopeless failure. "You have undone me by your obstinacy," was his stern reproof to his luckless subordinate. Keymis went to his cabin and ran a dagger through his heart. Raleigh prepared for further assaults on the Spaniards; but the "rabble of idle rascals" (so he scornfully called his crews), insisted on an immediate return to England. In June 1618, the *Destiny* was back at Plymouth, and the admiral was at once arrested. Gondomar demanded that he should be sent to take his trial in Spain for piracy, and James was in no humour to uphold him any longer. At last the king resolved that the easiest way to get out of his difficulty would be to order Raleigh's execution under the old charges of treason for which he had been convicted in 1603. On 29 Oct. 1618 the last of the race of Drake and Gilbert fell under the headsman's axe, showing the greatest courage and constancy on the scaffold. Protestant England looked upon him as a hero, recking little of his violent deeds, and believing that he was sacrificed to gratify the Popish tyrant of Spain.

10. A great religious war now began to devastate Germany, and soon spread over all central Europe. In 1618, the *Thirty Years' War* broke out with the revolt of the Protestant nobles of Bohemia from their Catholic king

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the Emperor Mathias. Next year Mathias died, but the Bohemians refused to recognise as their new king his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, a rigid Catholic, who was now head of the German branch of the Austrian house, and the Emperor Ferdinand II. They chose instead Frederick, the Elector Palatine, as their Protestant king, hoping that his father-in-law, King James, and his other powerful kinsfolk, would be ready to help him. Frederick was the leader of the discontented Calvinists of Southern Germany, who had long watched with dismay the progress of the *Catholic Reaction* that was fast winning back their neighbours' lands to Popery, and had long been eager to appeal to the sword. They now declared in favour of Frederick's claims to Bohemia. The war became a general struggle of the more active German Protestants, who had united in the Evangelical Union, and the Romanist princes who had formed the Catholic League. But most of the Lutherans of the North held aloof, leaving the brunt of the fighting to fall on the Calvinists.

The Bohemian Revolution, 1618, and the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648.

James was much perplexed by these new troubles. He loved his daughter and her husband, but he hated war; and, above all, an aggressive religious war. He studied the constitution of Bohemia, but he could not persuade himself that Frederick had any right to the throne. "The Palatine," said Buckingham, "is mounted on a high horse, but he must be pulled off to listen to his father-in-law." This was soon brought about, for, in 1620, Ferdinand won the battle of the *White Hill*, near Prague, and soon afterwards drove Frederick out of Bohemia. English Protestant zeal was warmly in favour of the spirited Elector. Volunteers took up arms on his behalf, and even James became indignant when a Spanish army occupied parts of the Palatinate; for the same reasoning which led him not to countenance the aggressions of Frederick led him to heartily dislike the aggression of the Catholics on his son's lawful dominions. He permitted the English volunteers, under Sir Horace Vere, to garrison the fortresses of the Elector, and prepared for war. But he had no money, and still shirked strong measures. By the end of 1622, the Catholics had conquered the Palatinate, and its ruler was a homeless fugitive.

11. James's great object was henceforth the restoration of his son-in-law to his hereditary dominions. He now hoped to carry this out by means of his Spanish alliance. But

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the long negotiations for the marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta had broken down in 1618, on James at last finding out that there was no chance of making the match, unless he was prepared to allow full freedom of worship to the Roman Catholics. In 1620, however, Spain again had need of James, and Gondomar, who had left England after the rupture of the negotiations, came back to renew his proposals for a marriage treaty. James was now quite eager for the scheme, believing that he could persuade the new Spanish king, Philip IV. (who had succeeded his father in 1621) to use his influence on the Emperor to give up the Palatinate and restore peace on the old conditions. Spain was really playing her own game, and using James as a tool. The religious difficulty protracted the negotiations, and Spain wished for the match chiefly because she hoped to make England Roman Catholic, though she was also anxious to prevent James from siding with the United Provinces, with whom she was again at open war since 1621.

The Spanish Marriage, 1620-1624.

In 1622, John Digby, Earl of Bristol, the most far-seeing English diplomatist of the age, was sent to Madrid to urge the suit, but the negotiations still hung fire. Buckingham, who ruled Charles as absolutely as he had ruled his father James, persuaded the prince that the best way to break through the diplomatic cobweb was to go to Spain and woo the Infanta in person. In Feb. 1623, Charles set out on his chivalrous mission accompanied by Buckingham. But the Infanta had resolved that she would wed no heretic, and the Spanish Court set about converting Charles to the Catholic religion. Charles, however, had been taught by Laud to be a sound Protestant, and never wavered in his faith. The Spaniards now postponed completing the negotiations on the ground that the Pope had not yet granted the dispensations necessary for the marriage. Thus Charles was kept many months at Madrid waiting for dispensations, which the king and his minister Olivarez had secretly urged the Pope to refuse. Impatient at the delay, Charles attempted to carry on his suit in person, regardless of the stiff etiquette of the Spanish Court. "The Infanta was in the orchard, and there being a high partition wall between, the prince got on the top of the wall and sprung down a great height, and so made towards her; but she, spying him first of all the rest, gave a shriek and ran back." Finally, Charles was told that he might marry the Infanta if he liked, but that

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she must remain in Spain, until he had actually got the hoped-for freedom for the English Catholics. Charles now saw that he was being tricked, and hurried back to England, furious at the slight put upon him, and eager to go to war to restore his sister to the Palatinate. Bristol tried to keep open the negotiations, but was soon recalled in disgrace.

12. Buckingham got the credit of the breach with Spain, and for a short time he and the prince were really popular. They now set their hopes on an alliance with France, which was again strongly opposed to Spain. It was agreed that Charles should marry Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV. and the sister of his successor, the young King Louis XIII. (1610-1643); but a promise of favour to the recusants was contained in the treaty that chilled the rising enthusiasm of the English people. Great preparations were made to fight the Spaniards. An alliance with the Dutch was set on foot. Subsidies were promised to James's brother-in-law, Christian IV. of Denmark, who had undertaken to support the distressed Protestant cause. Twelve thousand soldiers were levied in England to serve under the Protestant adventurer, Count Mansfeld, in an attempt to win back the Palatinate. But there was no order nor method in this sudden burst of energy. Adequate supplies were still wanting, and Mansfeld's troops, hurried up the Rhine in the cold season in open boats and without provisions or shelter, died off like flies, before reaching the seat of war. The French proved but self-seeking allies, and all things remained in confusion.

The Breach with Spain, 1624-1625.

13. After the dismissal of the Addled Parliament, James had got on as best he could for seven years without Parliamentary grants or fresh law-making. His foreign troubles at last compelled him to have recourse to Parliament. In 1621, a new Parliament assembled, eager to support the Protestant cause in Germany, but profoundly distrustful of the king. James asked for a large supply, "it being best," as he said, "to treat of peace sword in hand." The Commons, led by the former Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, postponed voting money until all abuses had been investigated. *Monopolies* had now become as pressing an evil as in the later days of Elizabeth, being granted very freely by James in the hopes of encouraging trade, and often getting turned from their proper purpose by the greed and dishonesty

The Last Two Parliaments of James I.

The Parliament of 1621.

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of the manufacturers. But James was not guilty, as the Commons believed him to be, of a systematic plan for robbing the nation by means of these monopolies, though many of them were undoubted grievances. Especially bitter were the complaints against the monopoly for licensing inns and regulating ale-houses, which the greedy monopolists, led by *Sir Giles Mompesson*, had used so selfishly that drunkenness and disorder were encouraged. The monopoly for making gold and silver thread was also bitterly denounced, though it was in intention an attempt to set up by protection a new manufacture in England. The Commons were furious. They sent *Sir Francis Mitchell*, who had a large share in the ale house patent, to the Tower, and drove Mompesson from the country. Buckingham prudently threw over the monopolists. James revoked most of the patents, and the storm for a time was stilled.

Fall of Bacon.

Lord Chancellor Bacon, a conspicuous friend of the monopolies, was next singled out for attack. Some aggrieved suitors charged the Chancellor with receiving bribes, though deciding the cases against the would-be corrupters. The Commons sent up the complaints to the Lords for investigation, thus practically, though not formally, reviving the old system of *Impeachment*, in which, as in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Commons, as a grand jury of the nation, solemnly charged an offender before the House of Lords acting as judges. Bacon scorned to defend himself. He protested that he had never given corrupt judgments, but he admitted that in accordance with the bad custom of the day, he had received presents from suitors, both before and after he had decided their cases. He was expelled from his office, fined, and imprisoned, though James released him almost at once from the Tower, and ultimately forgave him the fine. He remained henceforth in retirement, a disappointed and broken-spirited man, consoling his enforced leisure by working out part of the great plans of literature and philosophy, for which he had hitherto wanted leisure. He died in 1626, "leaving his name and memory to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations and the next ages." The monopolists, Mompesson and Mitchell, were formally *impeached* and condemned in much the same way.

Fairly good feeling had existed up to this point between king and Parliament. James had abandoned the monopolists and Bacon. The Commons voted a subsidy, and separated in June for the vacation, after making a

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solemn declaration in favour of the Elector Palatine, "sounded forth with the voices of them all, lifting their hats in their hands as high as they could hold them." In November the Houses again assembled, only to hear that James's diplomatic efforts had been fruitless, and that money was required to defend the Palatinate. But they could not see how James could be in earnest as the Protestant champion, while he was still seeking in Spain for a Popish bride for his heir. They, therefore, petitioned James to wed the prince to a Protestant. James angrily ordered them not to presume to offer advice on subjects on which it was not asked. The Commons drew up a protest insisting that they had the right to offer advice on any subject. James went down to the House, tore out the protest from the Commons' Journals, and soon afterwards dissolved the Parliament, sending Coke and other leading members to the Tower.

The Parliament of 1624.

14. James's fourth and last Parliament met in 1624, after the failure of the Spanish marriage treaty. The Commons were as eager as Buckingham and the prince to fight the Spaniards, but the king desired a land war in Germany, while the Commons were for a naval war against Spain. All parties agreed to impeach and disgrace the Treasurer Middlesex, nominally for corruption, really for opposing the war. A declaratory act against monopolies (that is, an act which maintained that they were already illegal) was also passed. But even under the most favourable conditions, the want of harmony of king and Commons still made itself felt. On 27 March 1625, the old king died of a fever, leaving everything unsettled.

CHAPTER II.

The Personal Government of Charles I. 1625-1638.

Character and Policy of Charles I.

1. Charles, Prince of Wales, was twenty-five years old when he became king. He was tall, dark-skinned, and handsome, with a long, fine face, large black eyes, thick eyebrows, a pointed beard, and black curly hair. In childhood he had been "weak in his joints and especially his ankles," but as a man he was strong and vigorous, an expert in the tilt yard, playing a good game at tennis, and shooting well both with the gun and

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crossbow. He looked noble on horseback and loved hunting as much as his father. He was well educated and took a great interest in theology. He was very attentive and devout at prayer and sermons, and strongly attached to the Church of England. He was also fond of music, painting, and sculpture, having the Italian taste for ancient statues, and making a good collection of pictures. He was temperate, chaste, and serious, driving away from his Court the fools and parasites that had delighted his father, and ever maintaining his personal dignity. But his ability was not great. Reserved, shy, and cold, he wanted sympathy, insight, and imagination. He was slow of speech and never cured himself of a slight stammer. He neither thought nor expressed himself clearly, and lived constantly in a dream world of his own. He was wanting in directness, straightforwardness, and force, and was both vacillating and incurably obstinate. He understood the temper of his subjects even less than his father, and was quite unfit to act as king in a troubled time of transition. He boasted that he could not "defend a bad nor yield in a good cause," and, conscious that he meant well himself, he always regarded his enemies as influenced by the worst motives. He was seldom straightforward, and his thoughts were so confused that he could never be tied down by any promise or fixed to any course of policy. He developed a hopeless habit of prevarication, and no trust could be placed in his word. He was completely ruled by Buckingham, in whom he had an unbounded confidence. In May 1625 he married Henrietta Maria, the youngest daughter of Henry IV. Queen Mary was a quick-witted girl of fifteen, "nimble and quick, black-eyed, brown-haired, and in a word a brave lady." But she was frivolous, light, and pleasure-loving, and soon developed a taste for underhand intrigue that did her husband's cause much harm.

Foreign Policy, 1625-1629.

2. The foreign policy of the new reign was already marked out for it. Charles still earnestly desired to restore his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine, and to be avenged of the affronts put upon him by Spain. For the former object he required an alliance with the German Protestants, who now continued the Thirty Years' War with the help of Christian of Denmark, Charles's uncle. With this purpose Buckingham went to the Hague and made a treaty with Denmark and the United Provinces, by which large subsidies were again promised to the Danes. Charles

Danish Period of the Thirty Years War, 1625-1629.

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had no funds, and, despite the treaty, sent but scanty help in men or money to King Christian, who in 1626 was entirely defeated by the Catholics at the *Battle of Lutter*, and was forced to give up the struggle in 1629 by the *Peace of Lübeck*, in which he abandoned northern Germany to the Emperor and the Catholic League. Thus the cause of the Elector Palatine was for a time hopelessly lost, and the outlook looked black for the German Protestants.

Alliance with France, 1625.

The second main object of Charles's policy, the attack on Spain, involved a close alliance with France, where the ideas of the brilliant Cardinal Richelieu were already obtaining an ascendency over the sluggish mind of Louis XIII. Richelieu wished to carry on Henry IV.'s policy, and make France a strong despotic but national state at home, and break down the power of the Austro-Spanish house abroad. He therefore welcomed the alliance with the English, the Dutch, and the German Protestants. But the Huguenots, the French Calvinists, had obtained by the Edict of Nantes not only religious toleration, but political powers that made them dangerous to the French monarchy. They were constantly in rebellion, and were in close union with the discontented nobles. Before the Crown could become really supreme, before France could safely join in a great European war, Richelieu thought that it was necessary to put down their rebellion, and destroy their political power. Anxious to get French help against Spain as soon as possible, Charles foolishly lent Louis XIII. some English ships, though knowing that they might be used to coerce the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle. But the crews deserted in a body, and only a single English seaman consented to serve a foreign and Popish master.

The Spanish War and the Cadiz Voyage, 1625.

In 1625 Charles sent Sir Edward Cecil (afterwards Lord Wimbledon), a grandson of the first Lord Burghley, and a nephew of Robert Cecil, with a land and sea force against Cadiz, hoping that he would cut off the yearly treasure fleet on its way from America to Spain. The men were raw levies, ill paid and mutinous, and the ships largely merchantmen pressed into the service. The soldiers landed near Cadiz, and drank themselves dead drunk with a store of wine that they discovered. They returned to the ships without venturing to face the enemy, and at once set sail. The Spanish treasure fleet now got safely into Cadiz, whereupon Cecil returned to England. The boasted revival of the exploits of the Elizabethan heroes ended in a lamentable failure.

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Want of funds prevented any further serious attacks on the Spaniards.

The good understanding with France soon came to an end. When Charles married his French wife, he had rashly promised to deal gently with the Popish recusants, though the strong Protestant zeal of his Parliaments made it quite impossible for him to alter the law in their favour. The French complained that Charles had broken his word. They also resented Charles's action in driving Queen Mary's French attendants out of the country, because they incited her to quarrel with her husband and dislike English ways. Moreover, Richelieu had given up hopes of immediately taking part in the German war, and had turned his main energies towards crushing the Huguenots. Violently changing his policy, Charles took up the cause of the French Protestants, and resolved to defend La Rochelle, which was now threatened with a siege by Richelieu. In July 1627 Buckingham sailed with a great fleet to its relief. He landed on the island of Rhé, not far off from the beleaguered town, but he failed to capture the fort of St. Martin, the chief town of the little island. His badly fed and disorderly troops could not endure the long and fatiguing campaign. After the French had poured reinforcements into Rhé, the rash and inexperienced commander was forced to abandon his positions. He got back to England in November, having lost nearly 4000 men. Next year another fleet was despatched, after Buckingham's death, under the Earl of Lindsay, but it failed to break through the strong moles and palisades which barred the approach to La Rochelle harbour, and was forced to return. The Protestant capital was now forced to surrender, and Charles lost his last hope when the civil war in France was thus brought to an end by the utter defeat of the Huguenots and the destruction of their political power. The king's pretentious foreign policy had been a hopeless failure. A vigorous policy abroad implied union at home, and every movement of Charles was hindered by the hostility of his Parliaments.

Breach with France, 1626.

Expedition to Rhé, 1627.

Fall of La Rochelle, 1628.

3. The struggle of king and Parliament became more embittered than ever with the new reign. Things were rapidly getting to a deadlock from which there was no escape save by the triumph of either the one or the other. In June 1625 Charles's First Parliament assembled, but, despite the king's urgent appeals

The Parliament of 1625.

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for money to enable him to carry out his Protestant foreign policy, the Commons would only grant two *subsidies* (about £140,000), and proposed to renew for one year only the customs duties called *Tonnage and Poundage*, which since Henry IV.'s time had always been given to the king for life. The plague was now raging in the narrow streets and foul alleys of London, and the session for safety's sake was transferred to Oxford. There the Commons renewed their complaints. They were indignant that Papists were let off lightly and bad Protestants received with favour. They declared that they had no sympathy with Charles's risky and enterprising foreign schemes, and finally pointed to Buckingham as the real source of troubles. "It is not fit," declared Phelips, the outspoken leader of the Commons, "to repose the safety of the kingdom upon those that have not parts answerable to their places." Charles dissolved the Parliament in anger to save a formal attack on his favourite. He thought, and with good reason, that the Commons had played him false in refusing to support the war which their predecessors had advocated. Their best answer was that they could not make lavish grants until the ministry had their confidence. But such a plea took away from the king his hitherto undisputed right of ruling the country as he thought fit. The claims of the Commons went back to the days when Henry IV.'s Council was nominated in Parliament, and anticipated the modern cabinet system, which a century later resulted from the triumph of the Parliament. It could hardly be expected that Charles would give up his power without a struggle. His stiffness and pride even made it impossible for him to lessen the hostility of Parliament by partial concessions. He thought both his interests and his honour were involved in upholding Buckingham against his people.

The Parliament of 1626.

Though Charles had dismissed one Parliament, his financial necessities at once compelled him to summon another one. The Second Parliament of Charles met in February 1626, after the failure of the Cadiz expedition had brought home to wise men the folly of Charles in going to war when out of the confidence of the bearers of the nation's purse. The plain-speaking leaders of the previous Parliament were made sheriffs to keep them out of the House, but a new leader was found in Sir John Eliot, a fervid, high-minded, and eloquent young Cornish squire, who had hitherto been an enthusiastic friend of Buckingham on personal grounds, but had at last lost all confidence

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in his former idol. Eliot compared Buckingham to Sejanus, the wicked favourite of the Roman Emperior Tiberius, and easily induced the Commons to impeach him before the Lords, though many of the charges now brought against him were untrue or exaggerated. Charles made matters worse by a foolish attempt to keep Bristol, Buckingham's enemy, out of the House of Lords, and by throwing Eliot into prison while Parliament was still sitting. Succeeding in neither of these measures, he dissolved Parliament in June, protesting that he would allow the Commons freedom to offer counsel, but no liberty of controlling his government.

The General Loan and Darnell's Case, 1626-1627.

4. The breach with France now followed, and Charles was obliged to provide money for the expedition tô Rhé by levying a *forced loan*. The legality of such an impost was very doubtful, for it was agreed that regular taxes could only be levied after Parliamentary grant, and an Act of Richard III. prohibited even a benevolence, that is, a compulsory gift to the king. But the Crown lawyers argued that, despite the statute against benevolences, there was no law that forbade the king from borrowing his subjects' money. All sorts of oppressive means were taken to enforce the loan, such as billeting soldiers on the obstinate, enforcing martial law on peaceful citizens, and shutting up the incurably intractable in prison. Among this last class were Eliot and most of the leaders of the Commons. To test the lawfulness of Charles's action five of the prisoners, Sir Thomas Darnell, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Erle, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edward Hampden obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* from the King's Bench. By this writ every gaoler was compelled to produce in court the body of any captive entrusted to his charge, and to specify the offence for which he had been committed, so that if the prisoner were detained unlawfully the judges could order his release. In this case the gaoler returned to the writ that the five knights were kept in custody by the special command of the king. The five knights' lawyers urged that they should be tried or let out on bail, as Magna Carta denied such power to the Crown, while the king's attorney showed that such commitments had been very usual. The timid and perplexed judges sent the five knights back to prison, thus practically deciding in the king's favour, but they shirked declaring the general principle that the king could imprison his subjects at his discretion. A little later Charles set the five captives free. He had at length realised that his only

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hope of relieving La Rochelle was by summoning another Parliament.

5. Charles's Third Parliament met on 17th March 1628. Sir Thomas Wentworth, member for Yorkshire, became spokesman of the prevailing discontent. Wentworth was anxious to uphold the king's authority, but he had no confidence in Buckingham, and wished to drive him from power. He now made an effort to mediate between the king and Commons. It was maintained in Parliament that Charles had no legal right to send men to prison without trial or bail, or to raise loans or to billet soldiers on householders. Wentworth contented himself with bringing forward a bill which abolished for the future the powers claimed by the king in these matters. But Charles would not give up the power of imprisonment, though willing, as he said, "to maintain all his subjects in the just freedom of their persons and safety of their estates." Wentworth now stepped aside, and was succeeded by more thoroughgoing opponents of the crown, such as Eliot, Coke, John Pym, and the famous antiquary and lawyer John Selden, "the chief of learned men reputed in this land." Coke now proposed that Wentworth's bill should be restated in a more drastic form, and that in addition all martial law should be declared illegal. He brought forward the *Petition of Right.*

The Parliament of 1628-1629.

This was a declaratory act, reciting that the rights claimed by Charles were already illegal by old statutes, and especially *Magna Carta* and the so-called statute *de tallagio non concedendo* (really the Confirmatio Cartarum of 1297). It therefore denounced as unlawful: 1. The levying of gifts, loans, benevolences, or taxes without consent of Parliament. 2. The imprisonment of persons without any cause shown. 3. The billeting of soldiers and sailors on householders against their wills. 4. The issuing of commissions of martial law.

The Petition of Right, 1628.

The Petition easily passed the Commons, and, after some debate, was accepted by the Lords. Charles did not venture openly to reject it, but sent back a long and evasive answer that meant nothing. The House was indignant. Selden moved that Buckingham's impeachment should be renewed. The Lords pressed the king for a clear reply. At last, on 7th June, Charles gave the royal assent to the Petition. It was a great victory for the Commons, for the Petition of Right was worthy to be put beside Magna Carta itself as a landmark in the history of English liberty. In their gratitude they voted Charles five subsidies (about

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£350,000), but within a few days new disputes arose. The Commons impeached the Arminian clergyman Dr. Mainwaring, and renewed their attack on Buckingham. The king had levied Tonnage and Poundage since his accession without any parliamentary grant. This the Commons now declared to be a breach of the Petition of Right. Charles, in disgust, prorogued Parliament.

Tonnage and Poundage, 1629.

In Jan. 1629, Parliament again assembled, and busied itself with calling some of the Arminian clergy to account for having brought back Popish ceremonies to the churches. It then again took up the question of Tonnage and Poundage. Charles had seized the goods of a merchant named Rolle, who was a member of the House of Commons, on account of his refusal to pay the hated tax. John Pym wished to raise the whole question of the legality of the imposition. But the Commons, on Eliot's motion, took a narrower ground, and declared that the attack on Rolle was a breach of the privilege of Parliament. Charles would not allow the custom-house officers to answer for their conduct before the House. The dispute waxed hotter than ever. A short adjournment did not turn the Commons from their purpose. On 2nd March, the Speaker Finch announced that the king decreed that the House should adjourn. A great shout of "No!" arose. Eliot rose to speak, and, as Finch was leaving the chair, two stout members, Denzil Holles and Benjamin Valentine, held him down struggling in his chair, while Eliot moved three resolutions, branding as enemies of the kingdom those who brought in innovations in religion or advised the levying of Tonnage and Poundage without a Parliamentary grant, or voluntarily paid those duties. A scene of wild confusion followed. Hot and reckless speeches were uttered. The doors were locked, though an usher was knocking at them with a message from the king. The Speaker refused to put Eliot's resolutions. At last Holles put them himself, and loud shouts of "Aye!" declared them carried. The Commons then streamed out to hear their prorogation. On 10th March Parliament was dissolved, and for eleven years no new one was summoned.

Imprisonment and Death of Eliot, 1629-1632.

Eliot, Holles, and Valentine were brought before the King's Bench charged with riot and sedition. They refused to plead before an inferior tribunal, claiming their privilege as members of the High Court of Parliament. But the judges laid down that as riot and sedition were offences, and as there was no

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Parliament any longer in existence which could punish them, their own court had jurisdiction in the case. The accused still refused to plead, and were sent to the Tower, where, in 1632, Eliot died of consumption. Charles vindictively refused him a grave among his ancestors at Port Eliot.

6. Between the first and second session of Charles's third Parliament, Buckingham had been murdered. The popular cry against him had risen higher and higher. Ballads were sung in the street denouncing him as a monster of crime and folly. A quack-doctor, named Lambe, was brutally murdered by a mob of London apprentices, for no other crime than his intimacy with the favourite. Buckingham's friends exhorted him to wear a shirt of mail under his clothes, but he refused, saying, "there are no Roman spirits left." In August 1628, he went down to Portsmouth to hasten the preparations for the new expedition to relieve La Rochelle. On 23rd August, he was struck down by the knife of a fanatic named Felton. The crime was the result of private spite, not of political animosity. Felton had served as a lieutenant in the expedition to Rhé, and had been refused promotion and denied his pay by the duke. But he became a hero in the eyes of the mob. When he was hurried off to the Tower, the crowd shouted, "God bless thee, little David! The Lord comfort thee!" A minister wrote an eulogistic poem on the murderer—

Murder of Buckingham, 1628.

> "Let the Duke's name solace and crown thy thrall,
> All we for him did suffer—thou for all;
> And I dare boldly write, as thou darest die,
> Stout Felton, England's ransom he doth lie."

Felton was hanged at Tyburn: Buckingham's body was buried "in as poor and confused manner as hath been seen at Westminster, an armed guard protecting the slain tyrant's corpse from the insults of the mob." Charles called him a martyr, and bitterly regretted his loss. Henceforth, the king was his own minister, and Buckingham's removal, instead of improving the relations between king and people, took away the last barrier between Charles and the indignation of his subjects.

7. A new epoch in Charles's reign begins with 1629. On the one hand the king was deprived of the support of Buckingham, while on the other, the last stormy session of his third Parliament had shown conclusively that king and Commons could no longer live side by side on the old terms. Charles's claim to rule the country as he liked

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was now answered by the counter claim of Parliament to withhold supplies, if his ministers or policy were not to their liking. This meant that the Commons practically claimed supremacy in the state, for, though they professed to respect the king's ancient and undoubted prerogatives, yet they insisted that whenever there was a difference of opinion between them and the monarch, Charles should give way to the representatives of the nation. Despite their constant protest that they claimed nothing but the time-honoured liberties of the people, this was really a new and revolutionary pretension. Charles had, therefore, a good deal to say for himself. He too, like the Commons, could point to a long series of precedents in his favour. He too, like the Commons, could honestly protest that he desired to uphold the ancient constitution, and abhorred all innovation. His case was in a way stronger than that of the Commons. While he only attacked details, the Commons were really striving to change the spirit of the whole system. However, the profession of both parties, that they were but looking back on an ideal past, shirked the real question, which was what was best for the future. What neither king nor Commons could see was, that the nation had outgrown the traditional institutions of the country, and that new necessities required a new adjustment of power. There were only two issues possible. Either Charles must make himself what Richelieu had made Louis XIII., an absolute king ; or Parliament must make itself the strongest thing in the state and the ultimate source of power. Both parties still refused to realise what lay before them. In the eleven years of personal government which now followed, Charles still professed to be ruling as a constitutional and lawful king in the spirit of the Tudors. But this attempt led him to a series of mean tricks and quibbles, almost worse than an open defiance of the law. He never learned, with all his experience, that he could never hope to succeed as long as he continued to set his interests on one side and those of the nation on the other. Even Louis XIII. owed his power to being at bottom the head and representative of the French nation. Charles never tried to formulate a policy, or to form a national royalist party. He never even set on his side the growing love of old ways in the Church and the sturdy English love of individual liberty, which were beginning to resent the Puritan narrowness and the religious intolerance

The Period of Arbitrary Rule, 1629-1640. Beginnings of the Revolution.

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of the Commons. Charles fought for his own hand alone, and with incurable blindness and obstinacy plunged headlong into the courses which finally brought about his ruin.

8. Charles was henceforward his own prime minister, his dull, suspicious nature admitting no one to his full and complete confidence. His rule of eleven years was a long catalogue of failure. His first difficulty was to make the revenue balance his expenses, now that all hope of Parliamentary aid was gone. For this he trusted largely to Lord Treasurer Weston, who, in 1634, became Earl of Portland. Weston was a man of "imperious nature, yet always in a terrible fright and apprehension, a man of big looks and mean and abject spirit." Despite the action of Parliament in 1629, he continued to levy Tonnage and Poundage. He revived an old law that inflicted heavy fines on all gentlemen who held by military service an estate of land worth £40 a year and had neglected to get themselves dubbed knights. He evaded the Monopolies Act of 1624 by setting up a *Soap Company*, to which he gave the exclusive right of selling soap, as corporations were excluded from the operation of the Act. By prudence and economy the Treasurer restored some sort of order to the finances, and his general policy of letting things alone prevented great discontent among the people. After his death, in 1635, his pettifogging system of reviving obsolete legal claims for the sake of a paltry benefit to the exchequer was pushed forward more boldly. Fresh customs duties were imposed and fresh monopolist corporations set up. Commissioners were ordered to examine the limits of the royal forests, and inflict heavy fines on those who had encroached upon them. Yet all these devices did not give Charles an adequate revenue, while they made the king and his policy more and more odious to the people.

Treasurer Weston and the Finances, 1629-1635.

9. Among the many expedients employed for increasing the revenue the most famous was a plan, first suggested in 1634, by the Attorney-General Noy, that the port towns should be called upon either to provide the king with ships, or in their place to pay a money composition called *Ship Money*, with which the king might build ships for himself. There were plenty of ancient precedents for such an imposition, and Charles had an urgent need of increasing the royal navy to carry out his schemes of foreign policy, and asserting his claim to the sovereignty of the seas. The sums levied were generally

Ship Money, 1634.

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paid, and in 1635 inland as well as maritime districts were required to contribute Ship Money. Though Charles contended that it was merely a money composition in lieu of an ancient obligation to build ships to defend the realm, it became practically a new tax, levied without any Parliamentary authority in the very teeth of the Petition of Right.

Hampden's resistance to Ship Money, 1635-1638.

Among the writs for Ship Money issued in 1635 was one directed to the Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, ordering him to raise £4500 from his county, being the cost of a ship of 450 tons. Payment was resisted by *John Hampden* (1594-1643), the wealthy and well-born squire of Great Hampden in the same county, a man already conspicuous as a steady opponent of the royal pretensions both in his own neighbourhood and in the House of Commons, the close friend of the martyred Eliot, and a gentleman of culture, learning, high principle, ability, and refinement. His opposition to Ship Money made him a popular hero. But it availed little for the present. In 1638, a majority of the judges issued their decision that the new exaction was a lawful tax. Of the twelve judges who sat in the Exchequer Chamber, seven delivered their judgment in favour of Ship Money. But five judges declared (two for technical reasons) in favour of Hampden. "This decision proved of more advantage to the gentleman condemned than to the king's service," for the grounds and reasons left no man anything that he could call his own. For the future Ship Money was paid with extreme unwillingness. Sluggish public opinion at length grew disgusted with Charles's mean and pitiful financial policy.

Foreign Policy, 1629-1648.

10. Despite the ingenuity of Portland and the lawyers, Charles remained so poor that he despaired of carrying on the spirited foreign policy which he had upheld since 1624. The dissolution of 1629 left him still at war both with France and Spain. It was a critical moment in the history of Protestantism. Flushed with his triumph over Christian of Denmark, the Emperor Ferdinand had issued in 1629 his *Edict of Restitution*, demanding the surrender to the Roman Church of the ecclesiastical possessions that since the Reformation had been in the hands of the German Protestants. Despite their unwillingness to fight, the Lutherans of the North were now forced to take up arms to resist the threatened attack on their religion and possessions. Charles was compelled to hold aloof from the great struggle. In 1629 he patched up peace with France, which now again under Richelieu's guidance was preparing to help the German Protestants. In 1630 Charles was forced to make peace with Spain as well, thus practically

Peace with France and Spain, 1629-1630.

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abandoning his brother-in-law's hereditary dominions to their fate. Henceforward Charles watched with the utmost interest the progress of the great struggle in Germany, striving by negotiations and remonstrances to secure the restoration of the Elector Palatine, but mortified to find that no one listened to the appeals of a king without resources to enforce his wishes by the sword.

In 1630 Gustavus Adolphus, the hero king of Sweden, took up the Protestant cause when Protestantism in Germany was threatened with extinction. Within two years he had secured a magnificent triumph; but his death in 1632 again made the balance more doubtful. Frederick of the Palatinate, whom Gustavus had brought back to Heidelberg, died about the same time, and his widow and family were soon again homeless wanderers. Charles treated them with great kindness, sending what money he could to help his sister, and bringing up her three sons, Charles, Rupert, and Maurice at the English Court. After 1634 Richelieu at last openly entered upon the war, which went on its weary course until 1648, when the *Treaties of Westphalia* restored the old balance between the religious confessions of Germany, but only at the price of the hopeless break-up of German unity and the transference of some of the fairest of German territories to the dominion of the foreigner. The preponderance of France was established on the ruin of Germany, and her new monarch, *Louis XIV.* (1643-1715), and his shrewd minister the Italian Cardinal *Mazarin*, were enabled to carry out the work begun by Richelieu for the sluggish Louis XIII. One result of the treaty was that Frederick's son Charles got back part of his Electorate.

The Thirty Years' War, Swedish Period, 1630-1634.

French Period, 1634-1648.

11. Religion occupied the foremost place in the minds of Englishmen of the seventeenth century. The strife of the two great religious parties into which England was now divided complicated and obscured the plain and simple issue between Charles and his Parliaments. Side by side with the political revival of the claims of Parliament there had grown up a strong religious reaction from the dominant Calvinism of the previous generation. The House of Commons had identified itself with the Calvinists. Charles made a close alliance with the Arminians, and sought to both strengthen his power and carry out the religious ideas he thought best by favouring as much as he could the extension of their views. Alarmed at the fierce intolerance of the Commons, the Arminian clergy were forced to make common cause with the crown.

Puritans and Arminians.

William Laud (1573-1645), a Reading clothier's son, had from the first been the great adviser of Charles in Church matters. He had in early life fought against Calvinism at Oxford, where he became President of St. John's College, and was famous for his theological and Oriental learning. He had attached him-

Laud's Enforcement of Conformity, 1633-1640.

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self closely to the fortunes of Buckingham, and was made in 1621 Bishop of St. David's. King James had grave misgivings in promoting him. "He hath," said the shrewd old king, "a restless spirit which cannot see when things are well, but loves to toss and change and bring matters to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain." But Laud won great fame by his conference with the Jesuit Fisher, by which he confirmed Buckingham and Buckingham's mother in the Protestant faith. He was soon removed from his remote Welsh see to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. In 1628 he became Bishop of London, and in 1633 succeeded Abbot (whose power had long been on the wane) as Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a man of clear head, extraordinary command over details, and unbounded activity; pushing, zealous, and indefatigable. Though thoroughly religious and high minded, he had a trace of pettiness and bigotry withal, and, like Charles himself, lived too much in an ideal world of his own for him to understand the temper of other people. He worked with unwearied activity towards reforming the lax discipline of the Church, hunting out abuses, depriving the scandalous clergy of their livings, and striving to elevate the religious life of the whole nation. More broad and tolerant than the Puritans in his dislike of controversy about doctrines, and in his sympathy for men who differed in some ways from his views, he desired to bring the Church of England together by maintaining a rigid unity of ceremonies. "I laboured, nothing more," he himself said, "than that the external public worship of God—too much slighted in most parts of this kingdom—might be preserved, and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be, being still of opinion that unity cannot long continue in the Church when uniformity is shut out of the Chuıch door." Mainly for this object he revived the old custom of holding a *metropolitical visitation* of the whole of the Province of Canterbury (1633-1636). He forced the afternoon lecturers (set up in many churches as advocates of Calvinism) to wear surplices and read the Common Prayer before preaching. He removed the altars, which since Elizabeth's time had been movable tables in the middle of the church, and fixed them to the east end, railed off from the rest of the church, and taught the people to bow to them on entering the building. He forced the congregations of foreign Protestants to use the Prayer Book. He revived King James's *Declaration of Sports*, permitting the

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people to enjoy "lawful games" (such as archery and dancing) after service on Sunday. He reformed the Church Courts and sought to bring every offence against morals before them. Clergy and laity alike felt the weight of his hand. He worked much good, but also much evil; for his Church Courts were an intolerable tyranny, and by identifying the cause of the Church with the cause of Charles, he heaped up hatred for himself and nearly wrecked the Church altogether. His system of "Thorough" allowed no place for Puritanism within the Church and no toleration for it outside it. The first few years of Charles's personal government had passed away without any general outburst of feeling against it. Before long Laud's tactless activity excited the fiercest opposition. But for the present the *Court of High Commission*, the mouthpiece of the king's supremacy over the Church, was ready at Laud's service to crush out opposition to the imperious archbishop.

The Star Chamber and its Victims.

12. Charles had but few means to enforce obedience to his rule. Without a strong police or a standing army, he had no force under his control that could repress riot or rebellion, but the early opponents to his authority were mere isolated individuals who could be coerced by his lawyers and tribunals. The Common-Law courts had often helped the king, when Parliament had failed to support him; but their rigid respect for the letter of the law, and their distrust of all innovations, made them very unfit instruments for pressing Charles's later policy. Accordingly the king trusted more and more to those novel courts which had been set up in Tudor times to maintain law and order against an overpowerful nobility and a riotous population. These bodies had long outlived their use, and were now turned to subverting the liberty of the subject, and upholding the royal prerogative. Chief among these was the *Star Chamber*, and the *Council of the North*, a sort of local Star Chamber that sat at York. The Star Chamber now made itself odious by its severity and secrecy. In 1630 it ordered *Alexander Leighton*, a Scots minister who had turned physician, to be imprisoned "in a nasty dog-hole, full of rats and mice," flogged and cropped of his ears for writing a book against bishops called *Sion's Plea against Prelacy*. In 1633 it condemned to a heavy fine *Henry Sherfield*, formerly member of parliament for Salisbury, for dashing his stick through a painted window in a church, that "obscured the light and caused much superstition." In the same year it sentenced *William Prynne*, a

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learned lawyer and antiquary, but a narrow minded and intolerant theologian, to lose his ears in the pillory, pay a heavy fine, and be shut up during the king's pleasure for having libelled Queen Mary (who was fond of acting in masques), by his violent attack on the drama in his ponderous volume called *Histriomastix*, or *The Scourge of Stage Players*. In 1637 Prynne was a second time sentenced along with *Dr. Thomas Bastwick*, a physician who had written against bishops, and *Henry Burton*, a Puritan clergyman, who had lost his living for calling bishops "caterpillars" and "antichristian mushrumps." All three stood in the pillory together, after which the hangman cut off the stumps of Prynne's ears and the whole ears of his comrades. Their progress to the pillory was a triumphal procession, the people strewing herbs and flowers in their path, and roaring and weeping at their mutilation. They were then confined in distant prisons.

By such acts Charles and Laud gained a temporary triumph. Nor did they spare greater offenders. Laud's old rival, Bishop Williams of Lincoln, was fined £10,000 and shut up in the Tower on a charge of betraying the king's secrets. But to clergymen of Laud's own school every honour was paid. His successor as President of St. John's, Dr. Juxon, was made Bishop of London and Lord High Treasurer. The highest offices of state were conferred on clergymen who would uphold the Church and the prerogative.

Wentworth, 1593-1641.

13. Sir Thomas Wentworth was now the great ally of Laud in carrying out the system of Thorough. After his abortive attempt at mediation in 1628 he gave up the Parliament for the court. In 1628 Wentworth was created a peer and made President of the Council of the North. He was no mere apostate, for he had always desired a strong government which would carry out great reforms to suit the needs of the nation, and, like Bacon, he hoped for a more liberal policy from an enlightened king, with a Council of statesmen, than from the mob of intolerant country gentlemen that thronged the benches of the Commons. Wentworth was the strongest and ablest of Charles's advisers, and, had the king given him unlimited confidence, might well have played the part of an English Richelieu. But he was often thwarted by the factions of Charles's weak and irresolute cabinet. He was a man of "tall stature, but stooped much in the neck. His countenance was cloudy whilst he moved or

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sat thinking, but when he spoke he had a lightsome and pleasant air." "His apparel was plain and his fashion humble enough." Yet his "natural roughness" and the "terror of his bended brows" overawed opposition. He was harsh, stern, overbearing, and unscrupulous, and the one formidable enemy of the popular cause.

14. In 1632, Wentworth was made Lord Deputy of Ireland. Here he set himself resolutely to work to establish peace, order, and sound government. Despite the completion of the Conquest of Ireland and the Plantation of Ulster, the island was still full of disorder. Wentworth put down the civil wars which still went on between the native chiefs, cleared the seas of pirates, and dealt out even justice to every class of Irishmen. He encouraged agriculture, especially the growth of flax, and started the linen manufacture. He reformed the lax state of the Protestant Church, while conniving at the celebration of mass by the priests of the Catholic majority. Protestantism in Ireland began a real existence under prelates like James Ussher, the learned, moderate, and upright Archbishop of Armagh (1624); the holy William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore (1629), who learned the Irish tongue and procured the translation of the Old Testament into that language, and James Bramhall, the Deputy's chaplain, a strong and learned Laudian, and Bishop of Derry after 1634. In 1634, Wentworth half-threatened, half-coaxed the Irish Parliament into granting a large supply, with which he set on foot a numerous and well-disciplined army. The promises of redress of grievances by which the money had been obtained he shamelessly broke. He disgusted the ruling classes by such harsh and cruel acts as the condemnation of Lord Mountmorris to death for mutiny. He disliked the wild and disorderly ways of the native Irish, and spread terror among them by projecting a *Plantation of Connaught*, which would have driven them from their last retreats. He grasped clearly that strong government (such as England now administers in India) was the best remedy for Ireland's woes, and he made Ireland more rich and prosperous than she had ever been before. But he trampled on the feelings and rights of every class and creed. Celtic native and English colonist, Catholic and Protestant, joined together in fierce, silent hatred of their masterful governor. Yet for the moment the reign of Thorough was fully set up.

Wentworth's rule in Ireland, 1632-1640.

15. The union of the Scottish and English Crowns in

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1603, had involved many fateful results to the smaller and weaker country. The dignity, wealth, and power of the English monarchy stood in such vivid contrast to the insignificance and helplessness of a King of Scots, that it was inevitable that James should endeavour to make his authority as strong in Scotland as it was in England. He failed in his attempt to bring about a complete union of the kingdoms. For this, English opinion was not as yet ripe. He therefore set to work to remodel the institutions of Scotland after the fashion of those of England. He hoped in this way to make himself as powerful in Scotland as he believed that he was in his new kingdom.

Scotland under James I, 1603-1625.

The Highlands of Scotland, ruled by the clan chieftains, were quite outside the royal power. Even in the Lowlands the king was kept in check by a powerful, self-seeking, and tumultuous nobility, and a strong, strenuous, and popular clergy, who represented the new Scotland that the Reformation had produced. James's first object was to cut down the power of the Church, which, with its democratic leanings and love of absolute freedom from state control, stood in the strongest contrast to the law-abiding and king-respecting Church of England. "No bishop, no king," was James's generalisation from his Scottish experience. His great object was to restore Episcopacy in Presbyterian Scotland as the essential preliminary to the strengthening of the royal power. He had already, in 1600, set up nominal bishops in the Kirk. But these were mere state officials sitting in Parliament, without consecration, duties, or estates. Bit by bit James clothed these phantoms with power. In 1606, he drove Andrew Melville, the head of the Presbyterian opposition, into banishment, restored the bishops to their temporal lordships and estates, and set up *Constant Moderators* (in lieu of elective chairmen) in every Presbytery, putting in bishops when he could to hold these offices. In 1610 James persuaded a packed *General Assembly* at Glasgow to accept the bishops as moderators in each diocesan synod and as the ordainers of the clergy. The Scots bishops now got Episcopal consecration from England, and for the first time became realities in the Church, though simply as something added to the pre-existing Presbyterian system. In 1617 James visited Scotland. He told the Scots Parliament that the Scots were barbarians, and ought to learn the good customs of the English, since they had already adopted

The Restoration of Episcopacy, 1600-1610.

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from their neighbours the vices of smoking and wearing fine clothes. In 1618, he forced the General Assembly at Perth to accept the *Five Articles of Perth*, which directed that the Communion should be received in a kneeling posture, and that the chief Church festivals, such as Christmas and Easter, should be religiously observed. This was the limit of James's success.

Despite bishops and the Perth Articles, the Scottish Church was still Calvinistic and Puritan. Charles I., with the advice of Laud, resolved to carry on the anti-Puritan policy a good deal further. In 1633, he went to Edinburgh to be crowned King of Scots. He was accompanied by Laud. At his coronation the Scots bishops wore "white rochets and copes of gold," and "bowed the knee" before a crucifix "curiously wrought on the tapestry at the back of the altar." Charles set up a new bishopric in Edinburgh, having as its Cathedral the noble collegiate Church of St. Giles. He ordered the clergy to wear "whites," that is surplices, during divine service. He desired now to set up a liturgy instead of the long prayers without book that the Scots loved. Laud, ever eager for uniformity, wished to bring in the English Prayer Book, while the Scots bishops wanted an independent form of prayer of their own. At last, in 1637, a compromise was arranged. A special Scots Prayer Book was drawn up, based almost altogether on the English services, except that in those very points for which Puritans disliked the English book, the doctrines of Laud's school were brought out with greater emphasis. But the attempt to impose on Scotsmen the "mass book" of "black Prelacy" brought about a storm that was not to abate until it had laid low the mighty fabric of despotism that Charles had striven to build up in all the three kingdoms.

Charles I. and Scotland, 1625-1637.

CHAPTER III.

The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I., the Long Parliament and the Great Rebellion. 1637-1649.

1. For many years the people of the three kingdoms had submitted patiently to the growing tyranny. About 1637 public opinion began to stir itself from its lethargy. The strong feeling against the ecclesiastical despotism of Laud first made itself felt in the outburst of enthusiasm that made popular

The Beginnings of Resistance, 1637-1640.

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heroes of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton. Hampden's stand against Ship Money stirred the nation to anger against arbitrary rule in things temporal. Ireland became silently aglow with indignation against Wentworth. But the resistance of the Scots to Laud's service book was the spark that first fired the train of resistance.

The Scots Service Book and the National Covenant, 1637-1638.

2. In 1637 Laud's Liturgy was imposed on the Scottish Church by the king's command alone, neither Church nor Parliament being asked to ratify it by its authority On 23rd July the Dean of the new Cathedral of St. Giles' began to read the service to the congregation of waiting maids who, after the fashion of the time, were keeping places for their mistresses who went to church only for the sermon. His voice was soon drowned by shrieks of indignation. "The Mass is amongst us! Baal is in the Church," was the women's cry. A stool was thrown at his head, and the magistrates cleared the church of the congregation. The Dean then read the service through in the almost empty church, while the mob outside threw stones at the windows and banged violently at the locked doors.

All Scotland sympathised with the Edinburgh rioters. The Prayer Book was denounced on political as well as religious grounds, as an English production forced on the Scots by an English king without the leave of Parliament or General Assembly. As Charles persisted in upholding it, all Scotland fell away from his obedience. The nobles, who had hitherto supported the king against the clergy, now joined hands with their old enemies and took the lead in the national movement. Prominent among them were Archibald Campbell, the strong and politic, but cunning, greedy, and cowardly Earl of Argyll, and James Graham, the high-souled and chivalrous Earl of Montrose. The learned and strenuous Alexander Henderson led the revolt of the ministers. Through these men *four Committees* of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and burgesses were drawn up. They were called *The Tables*, and for all practical purposes made themselves the rulers of Scotland. In March 1638 all classes joined together in signing the *National Covenant.*

This was a renewal of the *Covenant of* 1581 with additional articles. By it the Scots pledged themselves to abhor "Papistry, as now damned and confuted by the Word of God and Kirk of Scotland," and to uproot all traces of its idolatries; to uphold the king's lawful authority, and to pledge themselves to "labour by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel as it was established before recent novations."

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Charles made an effort to prevent Scotland from slipping entirely away from his authority. He saw that he had gone too far, and sent down as his representative James Hamilton, Marquis of Hamilton, a weak, self-seeking courtier, anxious for compromises. It was a great triumph for the Scots opposition when Hamilton revoked the Prayer Book and summoned a *General Assembly at Glasgow* for November 1638. But the Assembly claimed jurisdiction over the bishops, whereupon Hamilton declared it dissolved. The Assembly, maintaining that the State had no right to interfere with the spiritual power, went on with its work all the same, and abolished Episcopacy.

The Glasgow Assembly and the Abolition of Episcopacy, 1638.

The Marquis of Huntly, head of the great Gordon clan, strove to raise the north-east in the king's favour, but was put down by Montrose. Charles thereupon resolved to coerce his unruly subjects by an English army. But the pressed men, who gathered together at Berwick to fight the Scots, were badly trained and out of sympathy with the king's policy. The Scots army which encamped against them on *Dunse Law* (a solitary hill over against Dunse, a town twelve miles from Berwick) was enthusiastic and well drilled, many of the troops, like the general, *Alexander Leslie*, having fought hard and well for the Protestant cause in Germany. Charles found that his men would not stand fire, and that it was useless to continue the campaign. On 18th June he signed with the rebels the *Treaty of Berwick*, by which it was agreed that the civil and religious grievances of Scotland should be settled by a free Parliament and Assembly. Before long the General Assembly and Parliament met and declared once more for the abolition of Episcopacy. Charles loved bishops so well that he broke his word, adjourned their sessions, and again resolved to have recourse to the sword.

The First Bishops' War, 1639.

3. Wentworth came over from Ireland to England and was made Earl of Strafford. His strong head and clear eye made him necessary to the weak king in such a crisis, and for the first time Charles really gave him his confidence. Strafford saw that Charles could not succeed if he blindly set himself against public opinion, and urged him to summon a Parliament. Very reluctantly Charles took his advice, and on 13th April 1640 his *Fourth Parliament* gathered together at Westminster. John Pym, a Somerset gentleman of great courage, resolution, oratorical skill, and statecraft, became

The Short Parliament, April-May, 1640.

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the leader of the Commons. Hampden, the hero of the resistance to Ship Money, ably seconded his efforts. Pym demanded that redress of grievances should go before supply. Charles offered to give up Ship Money in return for twelve subsidies—nearly a million of money. But the Commons wanted to get more and give less. On 5th May Charles dissolved Parliament just as the Commons were preparing to express their sympathy with the Scots. It was known as the *Short Parliament.*

The Second Bishops' War, 1640.

4. The dauntless Strafford still persuaded the king to wage offensive war against the Scots, and an army was again got ready for a Second Bishops' War. But the pressed troops were mutinous and discontented. Several regiments showed their Puritan sympathies by breaking open churches and making bonfires of Laud's new communion rails. At home an obstinate passive resistance made the continued levy of Ship Money excessively difficult, while the rumour that the wild Irish army was to be brought over by Strafford to take away Englishmen's liberty, spread a general indignation. The Scots did not wait for Charles's advance, but crossed the Tweed at Coldstream. For the first time in history, a Scots army marched through Northumberland amidst the welcome of the inhabitants. Even the fierce Highlanders, with their bows and arrows, plundered none save "Popish recusants" and the bishop and chapter of Durham. On 28th August, the English strove to defend the passage of the Tyne at *Newburn*, a few miles higher up than Newcastle. But the Scots, from the high ground on the north of the river, poured a well-directed fire on their enemies drawn up on the flat southern bank. The English broke and fled, and the Scots dashed through the river and occupied their position. Despairing of further resistance, Charles again entered into negotiations. In October, the *Treaty of Ripon* left Northumberland and Durham in the hands of the Scots as a security for the payment of the £850 a day which the king promised to pay the troops until the permanent settlement was effected. This was at last arranged in 1641, on terms that left all Scotland in the hands of the Presbyterians.

The Council at York

5. Charles, at his wits' end for money, now summoned a *Great Council* at York. This was a gathering of peers alone, and was a revival of the old Parliaments of nobles, which had fallen into disuse since the setting up of the Parliament of the Three Estates.

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However, the time had passed when the nobles could even pretend to act as a council of the nation without the representatives of the people. The Great Council told Charles that he must meet another Parliament. To such straits was he reduced, that he took their advice.

On 3rd Nov. 1640, the *Fifth Parliament* of Charles I. met together at Westminster. The whole of the Commons and a large minority in the Lords were now bent on pushing matters to a conclusion. Charles was at last at their mercy. He could only pay the Scots if they granted him a subsidy. The Scots army put, for the first time, an armed force at the disposal of the Parliament, while Charles himself had none. The king was forced to stand aside while a series of well-directed blows was levelled against the great fabric of despotism, so laboriously built up during the last eleven years. William Lenthall, a lawyer, was chosen speaker. Pym and Hampden were the leaders of the popular party. Among the less prominent of their followers was the member for the borough of Cambridge, Hampden's cousin, Oliver Cromwell, a Huntingdonshire squire of small means but good family, descended from a Welsh nephew of the famous Thomas Cromwell.

The Meeting of the Long Parliament, 3 Nov. 1640.

6. The first desire of the Commons was vengeance on the king's advisers. They believed that Strafford and Laud had formed a deliberate plot with the Pope to bring back despotism and Catholicism, and the queen's foolish intrigues and earnest requests for help from the papal agents gave some colour to the notion. On Pym's motion, Laud was impeached of high treason, as "the root and ground of all our miseries." The Lords sent him to the Tower. Secretary Windebank and Lord Keeper Finch fled to Holland. But the worst vengeance of the Commons was reserved for Strafford.

Execution of Strafford, 12 May 1641.

Sir Harry Vane, the ardent and visionary son of Secretary Vane, had found among his father's papers notes of a speech by Strafford in the Council in which he urged the king to use the Irish army to reduce either England or Scotland. On this was based an impeachment for treason, the Commons maintaining that Strafford's counsel amounted to levying war against the king. It was a wholly political and arbitrary interpretation of the rigid law of treason. Treason was an offence against the king; and the Commons really accused Strafford of treason against the nation, which was a crime that the law of England knew nothing of.

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The House of Lords, the judges of the impeachment, were no friends of Strafford, but many wished well to the king, and more were doubtful whether the law could thus be wrested. Despairing of convicting their enemy by this method, the Commons thought it wise to drop the impeachment, and preferred to follow one of the worst precedents of Tudor times by bringing in a *Bill of Attainder*. This was simply an ordinary act of Parliament, enacting by virtue of the absolute rights of the legislature that the person condemned should be put to death. The Bill of Attainder was carried in the Commons by two hundred and four to fifty-nine, and the minority were denounced in a placard as "*Straffordians*, betrayers of their country." The queen now gave her support to some hot-headed courtiers and officers who had formed what was called the *Army Plot*. This was an attempt to use the troops that had been collected to fight the Scots and were not yet disbanded, to coerce the Commons into desisting from their attacks on the King's ministers and policy. Pym discovered and denounced the intrigue. The Lords were frightened into passing the Bill of Attainder. Charles, after a pitiful hesitation, gave the royal assent, though he had lately assured Strafford that, "upon the word of a king, you shall not suffer in life, honour, or fortune." "If my own person only were in danger," he now said, "I would gladly venture it to save Lord Strafford's life: but seeing my wife, children, and kingdom are concerned in it, I am forced to give way." On 12th May 1641, Strafford was beheaded on Tower Hill. "His condition," lamented Charles, "is more happy than mine."

Constitutional Reforms and Safeguards, 1640-1641.

7. A whole series of constitutional reforms was carried out by the victorious Parliament. Its first care was to destroy the chief supports of the system of arbitrary government. The Star Chamber was abolished, and its victims—Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton—were released from their prisons in triumph. The Court of High Commission, the Council of the North, and the other new courts by which Charles had sought to supersede the Common Law, shared the fate of the Star Chamber. The unconstitutional decisions of the judges were reversed. Ship Money was declared illegal. The levying of Tonnage and Poundage and the New Impositions, the levying of fines for not taking up knighthood, the pretensions of the king to enlarge the forests, were all unequivocally condemned.

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The independence of the judges was secured by the king promising that they should hold office during good behaviour, and not simply at the king's pleasure. The extraordinary powers which the Crown had claimed to inherit from Tudor times were brought to an end; and a legal check put for the future on all encroachments of the prerogative. Moreover, ample care was taken to provide for the future security of the Constitution. A *Triennial Act* was passed which enacted that not more than three years should pass by without a Parliament, and provided that, if the king did not summon one, other means should be taken to ensure its assembling. Also in the crisis of the *Army Plot* Charles was forced to accept an act that the existing Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. As with the impeachment of Strafford, there was practical unanimity in all these proceedings. The king had set himself against the nation, and now paid the penalty for his defeat. There was as yet no royalist party.

Ecclesiastical Reform and the formation of a Church Party, 1641.

8. The grievances in the Church were even more felt than the grievances in the State, and Parliament set to work with great zeal to break up the system of Laud. In 1640 the *Convocation of Canterbury* had granted Charles liberal supplies, and had passed new *Canons* declaring that "the most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right," and that "for subjects to bear arms against their kings was to resist the power ordained by God." Enraged by such acts, the Commons joined together with one accord in impeaching Laud, and in passing a Bill turning the bishops out of the House of Lords, which the Lords themselves rejected. Thereupon Sir Edward Dering brought forward, with Pym and Hampden's support, what was called the *Root-and-Branch Bill*, which proposed to do away with the bishops altogether, and put the control of the Church in the hands of nine lay commissioners. This measure first broke up the Long Parliament into parties. All were willing to get rid of the "innovations," and make the Church dependent on Parliament, but a large party in the House was warmly attached to the Church as set up by Elizabeth. Those who still loved Episcopacy and the Prayer Book stoutly opposed Dering's revolutionary proposal. This group found spokesmen in *Edward Hyde*, an able and rising lawyer, and in *Lucius Cary*, Viscount Falkland in the Scottish Peerage, and a man of the largest tolerance and liberality, with a warm heart, a sweet but impulsive

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temper, wide learning, deep religious feeling, and a rare sense of uprightness. They fought so well that the second reading of the Bill was only carried by a small majority. It had not got through its final stages when in September 1641 the first session of the Long Parliament came to an end.

The Incident and the Irish Rebellion, 1641.

9. In the summer of 1641 Charles went to Scotland, hoping, in return for his complete submission, to persuade the Scots to take up arms against the English Parliament. But the Scots and English were still on the best of terms. A plot called the *Incident*, to arrest Argyll and the Presbyterian leaders, was detected, and Charles, though vehemently denying all complicity, got much of the discredit of it. He returned to England more unpopular than ever.

A sudden rebellion now broke out in Ireland. After Strafford's return to England the government remained with two Lords Justices, the active Sir William Parsons and the aged and indolent Sir John Borlase. Parsons pushed forward Strafford's policy of colonising Connaught, and was eager to persecute the Catholics. The Irish Parliament was indignant and got quite beyond his control, especially as Charles, hoping to win Irish support, conceded everything that the Irish Commons asked for, and intrigued with the Catholic Lords of the Pale (descendants of the old Norman settlers) to get the Irish army brought over to help him in England. But behind the Catholic Lords were the multitude of oppressed and starving peasants and the newly conquered tribesmen of the north, eager for revenge and retaliation. In October 1641 a plot was formed by a few desperate Irish leaders to seize Dublin and at the same time attack the Ulster colonists. The assault on Dublin failed; but the Ulster rising succeeded. *Sir Phelim O'Neill*, a vain braggart desperado, raised the greatest of the ancient clans of Ulster against the Saxons who had supplanted them, and was before long joined by *Owen Roe O'Neill*, the gallant and high-minded chief of the clan, who in his exile had won great glory as a soldier in the Spanish service. Many of the scattered colonists of Ulster were barbarously murdered or tortured to death. Others were driven from their homes, destitute and hungry, to make their way to Dublin. Fearful atrocities were wrought on every side. The Strafford system of Thorough was violently overthrown. In England the greatest horror was excited, and men blamed the

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king, if not for stirring up the revolt, for engaging in the intrigues with the Papists, which had been the signal for the outbreak.

10. When Parliament met for an autumn session it was distracted by divided counsels. Pym and his party distrusted the king more than ever, and drew up the *Grand Remonstrance*.

The Grand Remonstrance. Formation of a Constitutional Royalist Party, 1641.

This was a long document of two hundred and four clauses, which enumerated all the unconstitutional acts of Charles from the beginning of his reign, and attributed "the root of all this mischief to a malignant and pernicious design of subverting the fundamental laws and principles of government upon which the religion and justice of this kingdom are firmly established." It demanded as remedies "that his Majesty shall employ in places of trust such as Parliament may have cause to confide in," and that "a general synod of the most grave, most learned, and judicious divines be assembled to settle the future state of religion."

The Remonstrance was a declaration that, despite all Charles's concessions, the Commons would be satisfied with nothing less than getting the government into their own hands, and abolishing the existing Church system. Such a policy drove the supporters of Hyde and Falkland to become a constitutional royalist as well as a Church party. They stoutly opposed that part of the Remonstrance which suggested revolutionary remedies. About midnight on 22nd November, after a hot debate, the followers of Pym and Hampden carried the whole document by the narrow majority of eleven.

Two days later Charles came back to London from Scotland. He sent out a proclamation in which he made himself the champion of the existing constitution in Church and State. He plucked up courage to reject the requests made in the Remonstrance. After some delay he even gave office to Falkland and his friend Colepepper. He had now for the first time the chance of making himself the leader of a great national party. But neither Charles nor his supporters had yet learned wisdom. The bishops were alarmed at the noisy crowds, that beset the House of Lords, crying "No bishops!" and withdrew from its debates, protesting that all that was done during their enforced absence was invalid. This annoyed the Lords, jealous of the prelates' claim to be an essential part of their House. It led the indignant Commons to impeach of treason Williams, recently appointed Archbishop of York, and eleven other bishops.

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11. Charles himself now went back to his old personal policy, and again put himself out of touch with public opinion. At the very moment when his admission of Falkland and Colepepper to office seemed the best proof of his wish to govern on constitutional lines, the rumour that the popular leaders had proposed to impeach the Queen led Charles to the most fatal false step that he ever made. On 3rd January 1642 he impeached Lord Kimbolton and five commoners, Pym, Hampden, Denzil Holles, Arthur Hazlerigge, and William Strode for having "traitorously invited a foreign power (the Scots) to invade England," and therefore for having conspired to levy war against the king. But the king's right to impeach was very doubtful and the Commons took no notice of the charge. Charles thereupon went down to the House attended by a great crowd of armed followers including "divers desperate ruffians." But the *Five Members* had been forewarned and fled to the City. Charles entered the House and stood before the Speaker's chair, searching eagerly round the room for the Five Members. "Where are they?" he said to the Speaker. Lenthall dropped on his knee and answered, "I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as this House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here." Charles once more looked over the benches. "I see that the birds are flown," he now said. "I do expect that you shall send them unto me as soon as they return hither." He then left the House amidst angry cries of "Privilege! Privilege!" His followers were eager for massacre and violence, but Charles went back to the palace, angry at his failure yet afraid of decided action.

The Arrest of the Five Members, 1642.

12. The Commons now moved to the City, which was enthusiastically on their side. Thoroughly baffled, Charles left Whitehall on 10th Jan., abandoning the capital and all the resources of the state to his enemies. Next day the Commons went back in triumph to Westminster. They had for the time broken with their love of old precedents, and had determined to show that they were masters. The Lords were forced by mob violence to accept their measures. Both Houses again sent to the king a bill "disenabling all persons in holy orders to exercise any temporal jurisdiction or authority," and therefore excluding bishops from the Lords. In his despair, Charles gave the royal assent to it. They next sent up a *Militia Ordinance*,

The Militia Ordinance and the preparations for Civil War, 1642.

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transferring the control of the trained bands of militia (which were in these days the only armed force in the country), to officers chosen by themselves. "Not for an hour," was Charles's angry answer. But the two Houses appointed a joint *Committee of Safety*, and decreed that the ordinance should be executed despite the king. They got possession of the chief fortresses, such as Portsmouth, the Tower of London, and Hull. Charles appeared outside the walls of Hull, but Sir John Hotham, the Parliamentary commander, shut the gates in his face. In June the king rejected the *Nineteen Propositions* which the Houses had presented to him at York, and which required him to surrender every scrap of power. Both sides raised troops and appointed generals. In July the first blood was shed at Manchester, when Lord Strange (afterwards Earl of Derby) sought to prevent the townsmen from carrying out the Militia Ordinance. On 22nd August, Charles set up his standard at Nottingham. This was the sign of civil war.

General Character of the Great Rebellion, 1642-1646.

13. The struggle that now began was called the *Great Rebellion* and the *Great Civil War*. It was no simple fight between despotism and liberty. Charles's concessions had made many who loved Parliament and the old constitution ardent in his support. With Hyde and Falkland still at their head, most of the party that had opposed the Remonstrance fought for the king. Bit by bit a majority of the Lords slipped away from Westminster and ranged themselves on Charles's side. Moreover, the ecclesiastical struggle complicated the political struggle. Many who still distrusted Charles, distrusted Parliament still more, since Parliament had pledged itself to overthrow the Church and set up a rigid and exclusive Calvinistic despotism over consciences. The real strength of the Royalist cause was still the Church party, which, though disliking Laud, loved the Prayer Book and Episcopacy. Side by side with it were the whole of the Roman Catholics, who, though expecting little from the Church, were sure to be bitterly persecuted by the Parliament. Dashing but unscrupulous soldiers of fortune, such as the king's nephews, the young Counts Palatine, *Prince Rupert* and *Prince Maurice*, fought bravely but plundered recklessly in the King's name. Like the mere courtiers, they cared nothing for religion and liberty, and the fortune of war often gave them the upper hand in the weak king's councils. They were specially

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favoured by the queen, who worked strenuously but foolishly on her husband's behalf.

The Rebellion was not complicated by any social issues, dividing class from class. Though the majority of lords and gentry fought for the king, a considerable minority ranged themselves with the Parliament, and supplied it with all its leaders, both in council and camp. Though fighting against the king, the supporters of the Parliament professed that they were upholding the monarchy, and always pretended to act in the king's name. But religion was the chief motive that impelled them to draw the sword. All Puritans who desired to reform the Church root and branch were eager for the Parliament, as were the growing sects of Separatists, who shrank from no revolution. The mass of the God-fearing yeomanry and the middle-class townsmen were against the king. As far as districts went, the rich and populous south and east were Parliamentary. London headed the resistance, though many of the rich merchants secretly wished well to the king. The whole of the royal navy declared for Parliament. The Eastern counties were banded together in an *Eastern Association* to uphold the Parliament, of which Oliver Cromwell soon became the leading spirit. The Puritan clothing towns of the West Riding were the centre of opposition to the Crown amidst Royalist Yorkshire. Nearly all Wales was ardent for the king. But the war was neither a war of classes nor one of districts. There was fighting in nearly every county besides the general great campaigns. The Royalists were nicknamed *Cavaliers*, and the Parliamentarians *Roundheads*, from the close cropped hair affected by some of the stricter sort. Both sides found it hard to collect funds, but the Parliament, which had possession of all the resources of the government, and controlled the wealthier part of the country, stood in a much stronger financial position than the king.

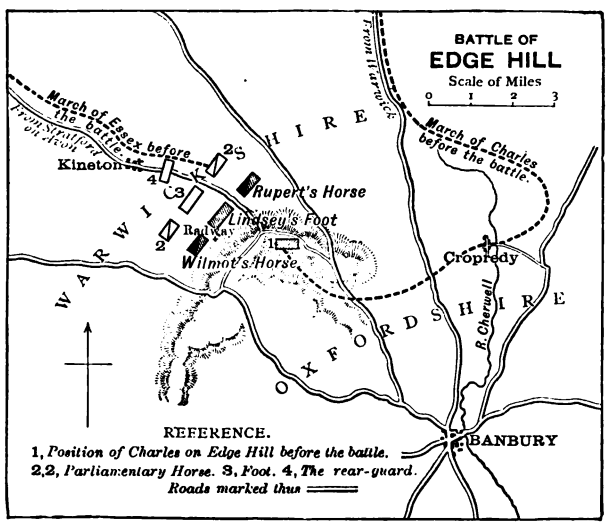
The Campaign of 1642.

14. Charles was soon at the head of a gallant army, of which he made the *Earl of Lindsay* general, though the horse, under Prince Rupert, took their orders directly from the king. Charles's plan was to push southwards to London before the Parliament's troops were ready. But the *Earl of Essex*, the Puritan general (the son of Elizabeth's favourite), soon followed in his track, and, on 23rd Oct., Charles saw from the ridge of *Edgehill* the Parliamentary army drawn up against him in the rolling plains

Edgehill.

of Warwickshire that stretch northward towards Stratford-on-Avon.

After the fashion of the time, Charles went down from the heights and ranged his troops on the level ground between Edgehill and the little town of Kineton. The foot were in the middle, and the horse, under Rupert and Wilmot, at the wings. The battle was a strange one. The king's cavalry easily routed the horsemen of the Parliament, and drove them in confusion into Kineton town. Their wild haste left the king's infantry to fight against Essex without any support from cavalry, and after a hot fight, Charles's foot were pushed back towards the hill, until nightfall and the return of Rupert caused Essex to withdraw his troops.



Next day Essex retreated to Warwick, leaving Charles the fruits if not the name of victory. The king now marched through Oxford and Reading towards London. On 11th Nov., Rupert again scattered the Puritan foot at *Brentford*, eight miles west of Westminster. The trained bands of London were massed two miles nearer town on Turnham Green, but Charles did

Brentford.

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not venture to attack them. He retreated to Oxford, which henceforth became his headquarters. He was never nearer victory than when he thus turned back at the very gates of London.

15. During the winter months there was but little fighting, and much hollow negotiation for peace. The early stages of the campaign of 1643 were decidedly in favour of Charles. The main armies of king and Parliament, drawn up between Oxford and London, did not show much energy. Essex took Reading in the spring, but had no heart to push on against Oxford, though Hampden, as prominent in war as he had been in debate, strongly urged on him to do so. But on 18th June, Rupert made a brilliant foray into the midst of the Parliamentary quarters, and on his retreat turned and routed the foe at *Chalgrove Field*, ten miles east of Oxford. Hampden was here shot through the shoulder, and rode off the field "before the action was over, which he never used to do." He died a few days later at Thame. "Every honest man," wrote a Puritan colonel, "hath a share in the loss. He was a gallant man, an honest man, an able man, and, take all, I know not to any living man second."

Campaign of 1643.

Chalgrove.

More stirring scenes were being enacted in the north and west, where separate campaigns were fought with independent armies. *William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle*, a very fine gentleman and a magnificent horseman, but a poor general and politician, gradually conquered all Yorkshire for the king, defeating Lord Fairfax and his son, *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, at *Adwalton Moor*, four miles south of Bradford, on 30th June. Hull, the only Parliamentary post remaining in Yorkshire, was now closely besieged by the victorious royalists. At the same time Sir Ralph Hopton with his army of loyal Cornishmen defeated the Earl of Stamford at *Stratton* (16th May), a victory which secured Cornwall. Hopton then advanced through Devon and Somerset. On 5th July he checked the victorious career of Sir William Waller on *Lansdown* near Bath, completing his triumph by a second battle at *Roundway Down*, near Devizes (13th July). Rupert now took Bristol by storm, and thus the second seaport of the kingdom was won for the King.

Adwalton Moor.

Stratton.

Waller's Defeats.

Charles now wished that Hopton and Newcastle should both march on London, but the rude Cornishmen and

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Yorkshiremen, who made up the victorious armies, had no mind to leave their own country for long, especially as Hull still held out and the Parliamentary garrison at Plymouth plundered far and wide. Charles was therefore forced to give up his well-conceived plan, until the capture of the enemy's fortresses completed the royalist conquest of North and West. The Northern and Western armies now strove to effect the capture of Hull and Plymouth. Moreover, Gloucester, which commanded the lowest bridge over the Severn, still cut off communications between Oxford, the south-west and Wales, from which country Charles drew a very large proportion of his infantry. The king, therefore, laid siege to it in August with his main army.

Gloucester besieged.

This was the turning point of the war. Had Hull, Plymouth, and Gloucester fallen, London could hardly have resisted the combined attack of three great armies. A desperate effort was necessary. The London trained bands joined Essex's army in marching to the relief of Gloucester. After a circuitous march to the south to avoid Oxford, Essex looked down from Prestbury Hill over the rich vale of the Severn. But Charles hastily raised the siege, hoping to force Essex to a battle. On 8th September Essex marched through the gates of the beleaguered town. Above was the proud inscription "A city assailed by man but saved by God." Charles failed to tempt Essex to a battle and now sought to block up his way back to London. On 20th September the Puritan army was stopped in its retreat along the great western road at *Newbury*, twenty-seven miles south of Oxford.

Relief of Gloucester.

Newbury.

Charles held a strong position to the south-west of the town on a ridge between the Kennet and the En Brook. Essex had to advance to the attack through narrow lanes and deep copses, while to the south his right had to march through the open country of Enborne Heath, fully exposed to the terrible cavalry of Rupert. Charles had simply to hold his own in a favourable position. For hours the fight raged from hedge to hedge between the foot of the two armies. Meanwhile Rupert, unapt to play a mere defensive game, easily scattered the enemy's horse and charged the London trained bands with his wonted fire. But the Londoners, said Hyde, "behaved themselves to wonder and were the preservation of the army that day, standing as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest." Rupert's cavalry were caught in a narrow lane and shot down by scores from the deep banks that bounded it. When night ended the fight the Puritan army still held its own. Next day it was found that Charles had retreated to Oxford leaving Essex

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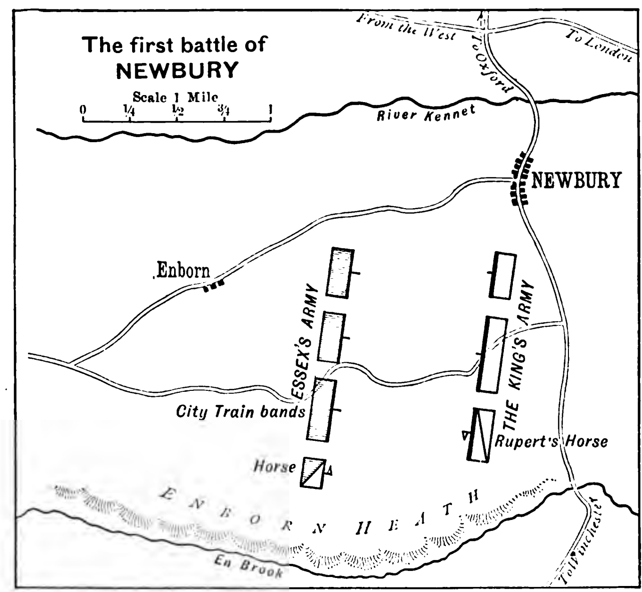
the way open to London. It was a great triumph for the Roundhead cause. Among those slain on the king's side was Falkland, who had long been "weary of the times," and boasted that he would be "out of it before night." He spurred his horse "more gallantly than advisedly" through a gap in a hedge, where he offered himself as a target to the bullets of the enemy and soon met his death.



The misfortune that had beset the main Royalist army was now extended to their army in the north. The advance of Newcastle was now checked. On 11th October a successful sortie forced him to raise the siege of Hull. The same day the army of the Eastern Association was led by their general, the Earl of Manchester (formerly Lord Kimbolton), to victory at *Winceby Fight*, where Colonel Cromwell led the van with his cavalry regiment and narrowly escaped death. This led to the Parliamentary conquest of Lincolnshire. In the Association Army Cromwell now became the leading spirit. He already set up an iron discipline in his own "goodly company" of horse, and had filled

The Triumph of the Association Army.

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every trooper with the loftiest religious enthusiasm. The result was a force that was as daring and dashing, but far more self-restrained and better drilled than the cavaliers of Rupert. Cromwell, in his own phrase, had now set up "men of religion" against the king's "gentlemen of honour."

16. The campaign of 1643 had proved so evenly balanced that both sides looked for outside help. Foreign assistance was luckily impossible for either party, as the Thirty Years' War still occupied the chief nations of Western Europe. But within the British Islands help was to be expected in two directions, and King and Parliament now sought new allies in Ireland and Scotland. In September 1643, Charles concluded a *Cessation* of arms with the Irish Catholics, and the Parliament joined with the Scots in a treaty called the *Solemn League and Covenant*, in which they swore to maintain the Scottish Kirk, to reform religion in England and Ireland "according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches," and to extirpate "popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness." On this condition the Scots agreed to send their well-tried and victorious army over the Border to help Parliament against the King. Thus Charles made friends with Papists, while Parliament at last adopted Presbyterianism, though few Englishmen believed in the divine right of Presbytery like the Scots. The Presbyterian *Assembly of Divines* that had sat in Westminster since the summer, now set to work to get rid of bishops and the Prayer Book, to set up the rigid Calvinistic doctrines, the synods and the long prayers that the Scots preferred. The league with the Scots was the last work of Pym, who died in December.

The Scots Alliance and the Adoption of Presbyterianism.

17. Charles was now forced on the defensive. His agreement with the Irish Catholic Lords brought him much ill-will and hardly any military advantage. In Jan. 1644, the English troops from Ireland, who had been set free by the Cessation, landed in England, but they had been but a few weeks in the country, when they were routed by Fairfax at *Nantwich* in Cheshire, and more than half the prisoners took service with the Parliamentary general. In February a *Committee of Both Kingdoms* was set up, composed of members of the two Houses of Parliament and some Scottish Commissioners, to control the joint war of English and Scots against the king. The Scots army, led by Leslie (since 1641 Earl of

Campaign of 1644.

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Leven), now joined Fairfax, drove Newcastle's army into York, and besieged that city. They were soon joined by the army of the Eastern Association under Manchester and Cromwell. Meanwhile Charles was equally hard pressed in the South. Essex and Waller united their forces and threatened Oxford, from which Charles escaped, fearing to risk a siege. Essex foolishly divided his forces, leaving Waller to fight against the king, while he himself invaded the royalist south-west.

Royalist Disasters.

Rupert now left his uncle and rode northwards with his gallant horsemen, intent on the relief of York. On his way, he broke down the Puritan rule in Lancashire, and relieved the heroic Countess of Derby, who had long been straitly besieged in *Lathom House*. He then crossed the moors into Yorkshire. On his reaching Knaresborough, eighteen miles to the west of York, the Puritan generals, out-manœuvred by his skilful movements, raised the siege, and marshalled their three armies on Marston Moor (eight miles west of York), to block his advance. But Rupert cleverly avoided them, and swept round on his left to York, joining forces with Newcastle, and taking command of the combined army. His eager desire for battle overcame the sluggishness of Newcastle, and the retreating Puritans went back to their position at *Marston Moor*, on the news that the Cavaliers had drawn up their forces against them. Here, on 2nd July 1644, was fought the first really decisive battle of the war.

Marston Moor.

The three armies of the Parliament stood amidst the fields of rye which covered the slopes of the long low ridge that, running east and west behind Tockwith and Long Marston, overlooks the rough plain of Marston Moor, lying to the north. On the left was Manchester, and the army of the Association, whose extreme flank was protected by Cromwell's horsemen. Lord Fairfax's Yorkshire foot held the centre; while the right was occupied by Leven and his Scottish infantry, supported on the wing by Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Yorkshire cavalry. A long hedge and ditch and a road divided them from the Royalist forces that were stationed in the plain. Here Rupert put his horsemen over against Cromwell, knowing that there the decisive struggle would be fought. Rupert's foot were in the centre, while Newcastle's northern army held the rear, and a strong force of cavalry under Goring formed the left wing. The armies faced each other until six in the evening, when Rupert resolved to postpone the attack till next day. But as Rupert was eating his supper, and Newcastle smoking a pipe in his carriage, the Parliamentary army dashed over the ditch in sudden and unexpected assault. Taken by surprise as they were, Rupert's cavalry fought gallantly against the horsemen of Cromwell; "they stood at the sword's point a pretty while, hacking

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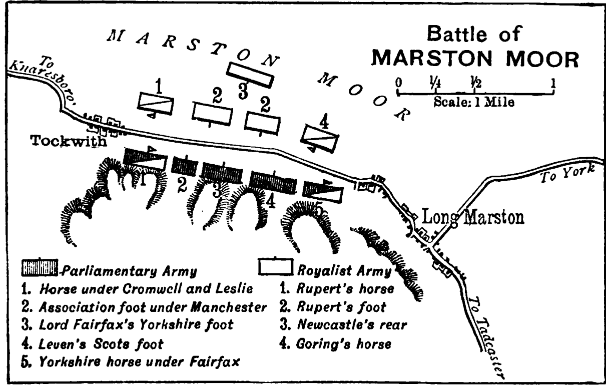
one another." But a timely charge of the Scots horse under David Leslie (Leven's nephew), turned the balance, and Rupert's Cavaliers were scattered "like a little dust." Elsewhere the battle began badly for the Puritans. Lord Fairfax's centre was cut through, while Thomas Fairfax's cavalry was defeated by Goring. But Leven's foot fought on stubbornly, though assailed on each side by their victorious enemies. However Cromwell had kept his horsemen well in check.



He now faced to the east, and along with Manchester's infantry, took the conquering Royalist foot on the right flank. This settled the fate of the day. "We never charged but we routed the enemy," boasted Cromwell. "God made them as stubble to our swords." Rupert's army was hopelessly scattered. Newcastle took ship to Flanders in despair. York opened its gates to the victors. The whole of the north fell into the hands of the "godly party."

Decisive for the north, Marston Moor had little immediate effect on the struggle in the south. It shows how evenly England was still divided that Charles's losses in Yorkshire were almost balanced by his gains elsewhere. The early successes of Montrose [see pages 241-2] in Scotland made Leven unwilling to leave the Lowlands unprotected by a further advance into England. In the south, Charles still proved victorious. On 29th June, he held Waller in check by the hard fought but indecisive battle of *Cropredy Bridge* (over the Cherwell, north of Banbury), after which Waller's trained bands went quietly home, having no stomach for further fighting. Charles then pursued Essex into Cornwall, and forced his whole infantry to surrender at *Lostwithiel*, the sluggish and despongdin

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general only escaping by boat on the open sea (1st Sep.). The victorious army of the Association was then ordered south to block the threatened advance of Charles on London. On 27th Oct., Charles and Manchester fought *the Second Battle of Newbury*, where the laziness and weakness of the Presbyterian general ["a sweet, meek man"] allowed Charles to hold his own and escape in the night.

The Last Royalist Successes.

18. At the end of 1644, Charles still held the field against his revolted subjects; while the stern and ardent spirits, who already looked up to Cromwell as their leader, saw with disgust that the Scottish alliance and the adoption of Presbyterianism had brought the war no nearer the end. They loudly denounced the self-seeking Scots, and held up to scorn the sluggishness and incompetence of the great Presbyterian lords who had waged war, as if afraid of the results of victory. The fortune of war naturally brought to the top men of the extreme party, who knew their own minds and were not afraid of revolution. A great growth of the more enthusiastic types of Puritanism had marked the outbreak of hostilities. The new party of *Independents*, who wished to crush the king and set up toleration for the *sectaries*, who had established religious organisations of their own, began to make itself formidable. So strong was their hold that, in deadly fear of the extremists, the *Presbyterians*, who were remodelling the English Church on the fashion of the Scottish with a view of crushing out all dissent from it, now wished to make peace and restore the king to at least a nominal power.

Rise of Independency.

In Jan. 1645, negotiations for peace were begun at *Uxbridge*; but failed, as Charles would not accept the demand of the Parliament that he should take the Covenant, surrender the militia, and repudiate the Irish *Cessation*. Henrietta Maria sought for French aid at Paris, while Charles gave a commission to the Catholic Earl of Glamorgan to levy an army of Irish and foreign Papists.

Treaty of Uxbridge, 1645.

The extreme party grew stronger and stronger at Westminster. On 10th Jan., the aged Laud, who had been shut up in the Tower since 1641, was executed for high treason by an *Ordinance of Attainder*. It was a mere act of vengeance and served no end save to embitter the struggle. Of more direct bearing on the fortunes of the war was the resolution to reorganise the military forces that fought against the King. In February,

Attainder of Laud.

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the *New Model Ordinance* was forced on the little knot of timid peers that still sat at Westminster. By it the various armies of the Parliament were reorganised as a single whole, as a thoroughly professional and permanent body, under uniform command, stern discipline and with regular pay, for which latter purpose new taxes were imposed. The officers were forced to take the Covenant, and side by side with the gentlemen who had hitherto alone held command, commissions were given to "plain russet-coated captains" of humbler station, but of earnest Puritan views and strong love of revolutionary change. In April, the *Self-Denying Ordinance* completed the new system. By it all members of either House of Parliament were compelled to resign their commands within forty days. This finally got rid of Essex, Manchester, and Waller; but Cromwell, who as member for Cambridge should have resigned as well, was speedily appointed Lieutenant-General, with supreme command of the horse. He disliked taking the Covenant, both because he sighed for universal toleration and thought Presbytery bondage, and because he considered that military efficiency and not religious orthodoxy ought to determine the position of an officer in the army. But he saw that the New Model would be no sure support of the dominant party, and swallowed his scruples. Sir Thomas Fairfax had been nominated General in the Ordinance. He was a tall dark man of few words, and "meek and humble carriage"; a "lover of learning," and a moderate and upright man. "In the field he was so highly transported, that he would seem like a man distracted and furious," and men spoke of his "irrational and brutish valour." But he was a vigorous and active soldier, upholding strong discipline, moving his forces with great rapidity, and showing no contemptible skill in planning his campaigns. Skippon, as Major-General, was the third in command.

The New Model and the Self-Denying Ordinance.

19. Charles began the campaign of 1645 with great energy, while Fairfax was organising the New Model and wasting his time in blockading Oxford, from which Charles had at last been forced to flee. Charles took advantage of Fairfax's mistake to capture Leicester, a central position, from which he could equally threaten the Scots in Yorkshire, the eastern counties or London itself. This forced Fairfax to abandon his attack on Oxford and march in pursuit, while Charles, swayed as ever by distracting counsels, loitered aimlessly in the midlands.

The Campaign of 1645.

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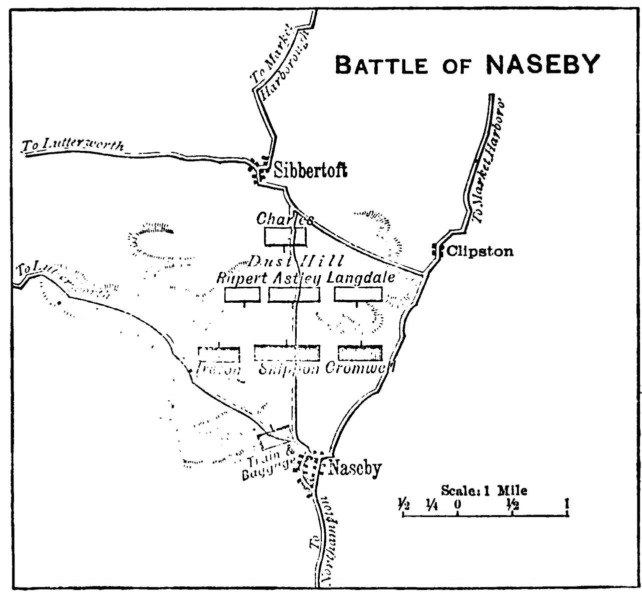
On 14th June the armies met between *Naseby* and Sibbertoft, in Northamptonshire, about six miles south-west of Market Harborough.

Naseby.

The king's troops (among whom a large proportion of the foot were Welshmen) were outnumbered by nearly three to two; and the impatience of Rupert had spoilt Charles's plan of waiting, strongly posted on a hill two miles south of Harborough, until Fairfax attacked him. Rupert forced on the battle by a premature movement to the south. Thereupon Fairfax, by Cromwell's advice, took up a strong position in a fallow field on a hill north of Naseby village, where a long hedge protected his left. Skippon marshalled



the foot in the centre; Ireton (who afterwards married Cromwell's daughter) commanded the left, while Cromwell posted himself with his horse on the right. The king's army was drawn up on Dust Hill opposite, with Rupert on the right facing Ireton, Astley in the centre opposite Skippon, and Langdale over against Cromwell. Despite the disparity of numbers the fight was furiously contested. Rupert defeated Ireton, and pursued him towards Naseby village; just before reaching which he came across the baggage train of the Parliamentary army. The guard of the baggage attempted resistance, and did good service to the enemy, for Rupert, checked in his wild career, rallied his troops,

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and, abandoning the baggage, returned to share in the main encounter. But he was once more too late. In the centre the New Model infantry barely held its own. Skippon was badly wounded, and his raw recruits were rapidly becoming a confused mob. But Cromwell, with numbers, ground, and generalship all in his favour, had made short work of Langdale, and was able both to scatter the reserve, commanded by Charles himself, and pour the mass of his forces on the half victorious royalist foot in the centre. The king's centre was now between the squadrons of Cromwell and the rallying battalions of Skippon. No infantry could resist such terrible odds; and the Welshmen were soon seized with a panic and surrendered in droves. Rupert retreated after the king. Of the royalist army none was left save a part of the horse. The victors found in the pursuit the king's secret despatches, and published to the world the damning record of his intrigues with Papists and foreigners that he might obtain the aid of a French or Irish army to put down his English enemies.

Montrose in Scotland, 1644-1645.

20. While Charles's cause was becoming desperate in England, the genius of Montrose had again created a royalist party in Scotland. Since 1639 Argyll, in his double character of Lowland Marquis and Highland clan chieftain, had made himself the master of Scotland, and was even thought to be aspiring to the crown. The support of the bigoted Covenanting clergy and middle-classes secured his preponderance among the Saxons of the south, while the sharp broadswords and cunning policy of the Campbell clan had given him an absolute preponderance over the Gael in the Western Highlands. But a strong reaction was now setting in. In the Lowlands the lesser nobles and gentry were sick of the Calvinistic tyranny, and disgusted at their own powerlessness. In the Highlands the Macdonalds and other once powerful clans were only prevented by mutual jealousies from making common cause against the greedy Campbells. Montrose now strove to bind together the southern gentry and the discontented clansmen against Argyll and his party. Montrose was no friend of bishops or of despotism. He had resisted Charles's earlier policy and had drawn his sword to defend the Covenant. Now, however, like Hyde in England, he believed that Charles had become a constitutional king; and his ardent soul was filled by lofty visions of loyalty to a just and lawful monarch, ruling constitutionally through his faithful gentry, and protecting his people from the tyranny of an overmighty subject and an inquisitorial and narrow-minded kirk. Early in 1644 Montrose visited England and went back a marquis and the king's lieutenant-general in Scot-

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land. He now resolved on a desperate venture, believing, as he says in his own poem—

> "He either fears his fate too much,
> Or his deserts are small,
> Who dares not put it to the touch,
> And win or lose it all."

Failing to raise the gentry of Angus, Montrose betook himself to the Highlands. He was perhaps the first Lowlander to discover the military value of the fierce rush of the brave clansmen, but he found the clans slow to move, distracted by feuds and jealousies, and hard to unite. He succeeded, however, in bringing under his command a force of perhaps 1500 Macdonalds from Antrim, commanded by Alister Macdonald, who, after the cessation of the Irish war, had come back to their native hills on an unsuccessful mission of vengeance against the Campbells. These tried soldiers remained henceforth the one really indestructible part of his army. But even with their help Montrose marched on Perth with only 3000 footmen and no cavalry at all. On 1st September 1644 that little force swept before them the host of raw Covenanting militia that went out to *Tippermuir* to defend the Lowland city. Perth at once surrendered, and Montrose marched forthwith on *Aberdeen*, where, on 13th September, he gained a second victory, that was followed by a pitiless massacre of the defenceless townsmen. But the country refused to rise, and at the approach of winter Montrose was forced again to take to the hills. This time he was received with wild enthusiasm by the Macdonalds, and was soon surrounded by a great army of the clans. Amidst the snows and storms of December, he led the Macdonalds across the trackless hills that separated their valleys from the Campbell country, where they wreaked their wild vengeance on their cruel enemies. Argyll left his subjects to be butchered, and managed, with a small force, to follow the Macdonalds on their northward retreat, along the great chain of lakes where the Caledonian Canal now runs. Montrose now learnt that an army under Lord Seaforth blocked his further progress. He turned back on the Campbells, and, on 2nd February 1645, signally defeated them at *Inverlochy*, underneath Ben Nevis, the cowardly Argyll watching from a boat the slaughter of his gallant followers. Montrose now hoped that all Scotland would be at his feet. In proud anticipation of victory he wrote to Charles, "I shall come, with a brave army, which will make the rebels in England as well as Scotland feel the just rewards of rebellion, only give me leave to say to you as David's general did to his master, 'Come thou thyself lest this country be called by my name.'"

The Highland Revolt.

Tippermuir.

Aberdeen.

Inverlochy.

In the early spring of 1645 Montrose, now joined by the great Gordon clan, again invaded the eastern Lowlands and captured *Dundee*. But the Highland host melted away as usual, and Montrose had the utmost difficulty in retreating to the hills before the trained soldiers of Generals Hurry and Baillie. However, in May he had again got an army together and utterly

The Invasion of the Lowlands.

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defeated Hurry at *Auldearn*, near Forres. In July he defeated Baillie at *Alford* on the Don. This led to a fresh invasion of the south. On 15th August, Montrose won his crowning victory over Baillie at *Kilsyth*. Glasgow opened its gates, and Scotland at last seemed conquered.

Kilsyth.

Montrose was a practical soldier but a visionary politician. He could win victories, but he had too few sympathisers with his policy among the Lowland Scots for his victories to serve any permanent end. Within a few days all his hopes were destroyed. The mass of the people paid no heed to Montrose's policy of moderate Presbyterian royalism, and were indignant at the violence and brutality of his savage followers. The Highlanders went home after their wont, preferring to take back their booty to their native glens or to still further glut their vengeance against the Campbells. Of the victors of Kilsyth soon only 500 Irish foot remained. To these was added a new force of about 1200 cavalry, the lesser noblemen and gentlemen of the Border country, who alone had responded to his appeals. Montrose hurried to join them amidst the rugged Border moorlands. David Leslie now came up with 4000 horse from the Scottish army in England. On 13th September he burst upon Montrose under the hill of *Philiphaugh*, on the long green meadow that lies beside Ettrick water. The southern gentry scattered in panic flight, but the 500 Irish veterans fought bravely to the last, and perished all but fifty, after a brave struggle against overwhelming numbers. The women and children, who had followed their wanderings, were barbarously put to death. Montrose again fled to the Highlands; but neither Macdonalds nor Gordons would follow a defeated and discredited leader. In August 1646 he crossed over to Norway. Scotland was again dominated by the Covenanters.

Philiphaugh.

21. After Naseby the royalists were brought to bay; but they still went on fighting with infinite spirit. In the summer of 1645 Charles marched northwards, hoping to join hands with Montrose, but his troops were defeated at *Rowton Heath* near Chester, and soon afterwards he heard the news of the fatal disaster of Philiphaugh. With the failure of Montrose, Charles's last hopes of successful resistance fell to the ground. He returned to Oxford only to receive intelligence of new misfortunes. Fairfax pressed forward to the west, where Goring now commanded the last royalist army. In July 1645 Fairfax defeated Goring at *Langport*, and in September forced Rupert to surrender at *Bristol*. For this submission Charles angrily dismissed his nephew from his service. In March 1646 the army of the west capitulated to Fairfax. Oxford was now threatened. Save for a few castles and fortresses, where chivalrous gentlemen held out for glory rather than for victory, the whole of southern Britain was in the hands of the combined forces of the Scots and the New Model.

End of the English War, 1646-7.

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Charles had now to choose between flight from the country and surrender to his enemies. He chose the latter course, and believing that the Scots were more likely to give him good terms than the English, he resolved to submit himself to the Scottish army, which was then besieging Newark, the last of his midland strongholds to hold out. In May 1646 he joined the Scots camp at Southwell, and was promptly sent under honourable restraint to Newcastle.

With the captivity of the king there seemed every reason to hope for the final settlement of the two kingdoms. The conditions of the settlement were, however, very difficult to determine. Charles had hoped that the Scots would support him against the Parliament. But the English Parliament and the Scots remained of one mind. They jointly resolved that they would restore Charles to the throne, only if he agreed to take the Covenant, abolish bishops, and surrender the militia for twenty years. Charles strongly believed in Episcopacy, and could only be brought to offer to accept Presbyterianism for three years, hoping that by that time he could play off the factions against each other, and so avoid the disagreeable necessity of sticking to his promise. Neither the Scots nor the Parliament would accept this. The Scots were so angry at Charles's refusal of their terms, that they gladly agreed to the proposal of Parliament that they should go home to their country, on condition of receiving the large sums due to them from the English. In January 1647 they crossed the Border, leaving Charles behind in England. The Parliament now removed him to *Holmby House* in Northamptonshire.

Parliament and the Army, 1647.

22. Fortune still favoured the fallen king. The strained relations between the Presbyterian Parliament and the Independent army still gave him good chances of obtaining favourable terms. The Presbyterians, led by Denzil Holles, played into his hands by their unwise eagerness to get the better of the Independents. They declared that the army should at once be disbanded, as there was no longer any need for soldiers now that peace had been restored. But they were so greedy to get a reputation for economy, that they ignored the righteous demand of the soldiers to receive in full their arrears of pay, before they were got rid of. This false step for the first time joined together the indifferent professional soldier with the ardent fanatics and sectaries. The troops prepared to resist the Parliament, and elected representatives to look

after their interests. These were called the *Agitators* or agents. After some hesitation Cromwell lent his all-powerful support to their cause. In great fear of the army, the Presbyterians patched up an agreement with the king, on the terms which they had rejected in the previous year, and called in the Scots to join hands with them in restoring the monarchy. Hearing that there was a plot to convey Charles away from Holmby, Cromwell sent Cornet Joyce with a force of cavalry to secure for the army the person of the king. On 4th June 1647 Joyce led away Charles to Newmarket.

The Parliament was aghast at the abduction of the king, and prepared to make war upon the army, with the help of the Scots and the trainbands of Presbyterian London. The Independent minority fled in alarm to the soldiers. Thereupon the troops marched from their quarters near Cambridge on the refractory capital. On 7th August London was occupied. Eleven of the Presbyterian leaders of the Commons fled beyond sea in alarm. The army had now both king and Commons at its mercy. But its leaders, Cromwell and Ireton, were still anxious to avoid the appearance of a military revolution, and hoped to win over the king to their policy of toleration. They, therefore, offered to Charles, who was now living at Hampton Court, a plan for the settlement of the nation called the *Heads of Proposals*, drawn up by Ireton, who was as ready with his pen as with his sword.

The Heads of the Proposals, August 1647.

The *Heads of the Proposals* provided that the king should be restored on the following conditions: 1. A Parliament should meet every two years and sit a hundred and twenty days certain. 2. Members should be returned to the Commons "according to some rule of proportion," and "poor decayed or inconsiderable towns" should lose their representatives. 3. The power of the militia should belong to Parliament for ten years. 4. The king's ministers should be appointed by Parliament for the same period. 5. Bishops should lose their jurisdiction and none be compelled to take the Covenant. 6. Liberty to worship God in their own way should be given to all men except Papists. 7. A general Act of Oblivion should be passed.

Charles had now his last chance. The fanatical and democratic army had offered him better terms than those which the Presbyterians were willing to allow him. He was offered freedom to worship God in his own way, provided that he would allow a similar freedom to others. Despite their professed hostility to monarchy, the army

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leaders were willing to continue him as their king with as much show of power as he was likely to have under the schemes of the Presbyterians, to which he had given an unwilling consent. Charles, however, was not clear-headed enough to understand the complicated situation. Deceived by the deference which Presbyterians and Independents had in turns paid him, he still imagined that he was strong enough to do without either. His whole policy was still to balance the two sections of his enemies against one another. Accordingly he now rejected the Heads of the Proposals, and again entered into secret negotiations with the Scots. This gave some show of reason to the contention of the more violent of the soldiers, that no trust could be put in him. They had objected to the Heads of the Proposals as too favourable to the King. Now that he was again intriguing, they clamoured for his trial as a traitor to the nation. Cromwell again changed his mind and resolved to have no more dealings with him. In great alarm Charles fled in November to the Isle of Wight; but he was soon captured and shut up, with more restraint than before, in *Carisbrook Castle*. He still persisted in his old policy of intrigue and secretly signed the *Engagement* with the Scots, promising to set up Presbyterianism for three years in England, and to put down the heresies that were rife among the troops. At the same time he rejected the *Four Bills* sent up to him by the cowed Parliament. Thereupon Parliament passed in January 1648 a vote of *No Addresses*, in which they solemnly renounced any further negotiations with him.

The Second Civil War, May-August, 1648.

23. In the summer of 1648, Presbyterians and Anglicans joined in a common revolt against the army of sectaries and the self-seeking Parliament that registered its will. But all was in disorder and confusion, and no common plan or unity of purpose bound together the ill-assorted coalition that now set on foot the *Second Civil War*. Popular risings burst out in North and South Wales. The royalists of the North seized Berwick and Carlisle. The Associated Counties felt the stress of war for the first time, as revolts broke out in Kent, Sussex, and Essex. A large part of the fleet deserted the Parliament, and put itself under the Prince of Wales. But the undrilled loyalty of the insurgents was no match for the veterans of the New Model. The Parliament and army again united to meet the common danger, and the country people were so sick of war, that they held aloof from the gentry and townsmen that now

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called on them to arms. Even London gave no sign of revolt. Fairfax drove the Kentish insurgents out of Maidstone. A miserable remnant of them, under the Earl of Norwich (father of the royalist leader, Goring), united with the Essex rebels under Capel, Lisle, and Lucas. They were soon driven to defend themselves with desperation behind the strong walls of *Colchester*, which Fairfax closely besieged. Cromwell put down the Welsh risings with stern energy. The royalist fleet hesitated to strike a decisive blow.

All now depended on the Scots. The party of the nobles, led by the Duke of Hamilton, now secured a majority in the Scots Parliament over the party of the ministers led by the Marquis of Argyll. Hamilton urged an invasion of England to save Charles from his enemies and carry out the *Engagement*. But the sterner Presbyterian *Protesters* still declared for peace, and though Hamilton and the *Engagers* crossed the Border at the head of a considerable army, the veterans of the Covenant refused to follow his standards, and the General Assembly denounced him as a friend of the uncovenanted king. The Scots troops united with the northern insurgents, and advanced to *Preston*. Here they were out-generalled by Cromwell, and signally defeated (17th Aug.). After a last vain stand at Winwick, the mass of the army laid down their arms at *Warrington*. A few days later, the defenders of Colchester were forced by famine to surrender to Fairfax. Lisle and Lucas were shot in cold blood on the spot. Other leaders of the revolt, including Capel and the Duke of Hamilton, were executed in March 1649. The Second Civil War was at an end, and king and Parliament alike lay at the mercy of the soldiers, who believed that their triumph was by the special Providence of God.

Pride's Purge and the Execution of the King, 1648-1649.

24. The failure of the rebellion had revived the spirits of the Parliament, which renewed the negotiations with the king in what was called the *Treaty of Newport*. But the army had now lost all love of constitutional ways, and Cromwell had fallen in with their cry that Charles Stewart, "the man of blood," must be brought to justice. On 6th Dec., Colonel Pride went down to the House and drove out the Presbyterian members. The Independent minority, known henceforth as the *Rump*, were but puppets in the hands of the soldiers. On 1st Jan. 1649, they voted that a *High Court of Justice* should be set up to bring Charles to trial.

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The little handful of Independent peers that now formed the House of Lords refused to agree to this; but the Commons declared that, as representatives of the people, they had power to act alone. Every legal and constitutional obstacle was brushed aside by Cromwell, who, when he had made up his mind how to act, had a supreme contempt for forms. "I tell you," he now declared, "we will cut off the king's head with the crown upon it." On 19th Jan., Charles was brought before the High Court of Justice, on which, however, barely half of the appointed members consented to act. Fairfax himself was among the absentees. With the quiet dignity that seldom failed him, Charles refused to plead before the unlawful tribunal, urging that no subject had a right to sit in judgment on his sovereign. After a mockery of a trial, he was condemned to death as a murderer and traitor to the Commonwealth. On 27th Jan., the President, *John Bradshaw*, pronounced the sentence in Westminster Hall. On 30th Jan., Charles was led out to die on a scaffold that was erected in front of Inigo Jones's noble Banqueting House at Whitehall. He had taken a touching farewell of his two youngest children, and of his nephew the Elector Palatine, who alone of his kinsfolk were with him at the last. The holy Bishop Juxon gave him the last consolations of religion. The great throng of sympathetic spectators were kept far from the scaffold by a strong force of soldiers. Charles in a brief speech declared that Parliament, and not he, was guilty of the Civil War, and set forth his views of government. "For the people," said he, "I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever; but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists of their having those laws by which their lives and their goods are most their own. It is not their having a share in the government; that is nothing appertaining unto them." He then lay down, resting his head on a low block. A masked executioner then did his work, and holding the head on high, cried, "Behold the head of a traitor." The troops dispersed the angry and horror-stricken crowd. The patience and meekness of the king made a lasting impression. His errors were forgotten in his tragic death. He was regarded as a martyr to the Church and Constitution, and his memory was reverenced with almost religious worship.

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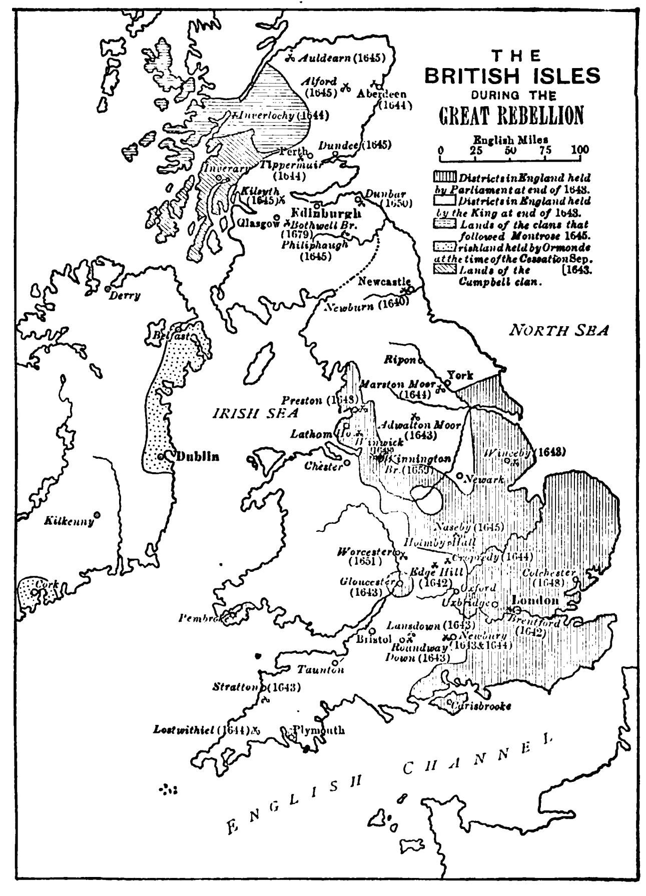

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CHAPTER IV.

The Commonwealth, 1649-1653 and 1659-1660, and the Protectorate, 1653-1659.

Establishment of the Commonwealth, 1649.

1. After the death of Charles I. the real power was in the hands of the army, whose leaders had already on 15th January drawn up and presented to Parliament a scheme for the future constitution of England, called the *Agreement of the People.*

The Agreement of the People, Jan. 1649.

The *Agreement of the People* provided: That the existing Parliament should be dissolved. 2. Future Parliaments should be biennial and consist of four hundred persons, chosen by the different shires and boroughs according to population, the smaller boroughs being disfranchised. 3. The executive power should be in the hands of a Council of State appointed by Parliament. 4. There should be a State church reformed in a way "according to the Word of God," but with religious liberty to all but "Papists and Prelatists." 5. Monarchy and the House of Lords should be abolished.

Few Englishmen as yet fully realised that the Revolution, which was to bring liberty and progress, had ended in the rule of the sword. The nominal guidance of the nation rested with the Rump of the Long Parliament, which speedily made provision for the immediate carrying on of the government by voting the establishment of a *Commonwealth*, and by abolishing both the monarchy and the House of Lords. It also set up a *Council of State* of forty-one persons to carry on the executive government, as had been done of old by the king's Privy Council. But the Rump, though seldom more than fifty strong, continued to discharge the whole work of Parliament. It quietly ignored the demand of the officers, that it should dissolve and give way to a new popularly elected Parliament, such as was provided for in the Agreement of the People. It clung to power, not only from love of rule, but because it knew that a free Parliament, elected by a wide constituency, would soon make short work of the new constitution, and bring back Church and king. The political ideal of the Rump was, that England should be ruled by a republican aristocracy, such as the States General of the United Provinces or the Great Council of Venice. In Church as in State, it aimed at making England a "mere Amsterdam" by setting up that religious toleration which

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Anglican and Presbyterian alike regarded as the encouragement of error. The result of this was that the rigid Presbyterian system, which had been formally set up in 1646, never became general throughout England: though in some parts, and particularly in London and Lancashire, it had become completely established.

The Royalist reaction and "Eikon Basilike."

Troubles beset the new Commonwealth on every side. The royalist cause had taken a new life with the death of the king. Almost on the same day as Charles's execution, a little book was published called *Eikon Basilike, the Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty, in his Solitude and Sufferings*. Professing to contain the prayers and meditations of Charles in his prison, the book at once became extraordinarily popular. Though really put together by a clergyman, *John Gauden*, it was an article of faith with royalists that it was all written by Charles himself. It rapidly passed through forty-seven editions, and was everywhere eagerly read. The Parliament, unable to stop its circulation, employed the famous *John Milton*, Latin Secretary to the Council of State, to write an answer to it called *Ikonoklastes*. So anxious was the government to justify its acts before European public opinion that it also employed Milton to write defences of its action against the attacks of the great scholar Salmasius. Another and opposite danger came from the army, where the fanatical *Levellers*, who wished for complete democracy and equality, arose in revolt against the politic compromises of the reigning oligarchy, and denounced, with bitter scorn, the half-hearted hesitation of the army leaders, who now strove with all their might to keep their wild followers back. Cromwell was the special object of their scorn. "You shall scarce speak to Cromwell," said Lilburne, the Levellers' leader, "but he will lay his hand on his breast, elevate his eyes, and call God to record. He will weep, howl, and repent, even while he doth smite you under the fifth rib." With true instinct, they foresaw that Cromwell might make himself king if he willed. "You have no other way to treat these people," said Cromwell to the Council, "but to break them in pieces. If you do not break them, they will break you." Thus, the leader of the revolutionary party was already posing as the saviour of society and the State from anarchical fanaticism. He put down the mutinies which the Levellers had stirred up among the soldiers. He saw clearly that strong government must be upheld if the infant

The Levellers put down, 1649.

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Commonwealth were to be preserved. Not only was the great mass of Englishmen sullen and discontented. Ireland and Scotland were bitterly hostile, and foreign powers were rudely contemptuous of the new Government. With his strong practical wisdom Cromwell saw that the Commonwealth must be set up on a firm basis before the question of its ultimate shape could be considered. Thus it was that for nearly five years the Rump was suffered to go on ruling, while the army carried out its proper work of completing the conquest of the three kingdoms and restoring the credit of England abroad.

Ireland. 1641-1649.

2. The Irish Rebellion, which had begun in 1641, soon settled down into a religious war between Catholics and Protestants, in which a common faith united both the old Norman aristocracy and the native Celts against Anglican Royalists and Puritan Roundheads alike. But there were great difficulties on both sides in keeping up such an alliance. The king's lieutenant, *James Butler*, successively Earl, Marquis, and *Duke of Ormonde*, the most able, powerful, and popular of Irish nobles, was a strong royalist of the same stamp as his friend Hyde, who tells us how Ormonde "sustained with wonderful courage and conduct and almost miraculous success the rage and fury of the rebels." But in 1642, the outbreak of the Civil War prevented either king or Parliament sending over a sufficient force to uphold the common cause. Thereupon the insurgents held at Kilkenny a *General Assembly of the Catholic Confederates*. This was in fact, if not in name, a national Parliament of the Irish nation. It set up a *Supreme Council* to govern the country, and appointed Owen Roe O'Neill its general-in-chief. It was with the Confederate organisation that Charles, in 1643, concluded the *Cessation*, which left nearly all Ireland in Catholic hands. Henceforth a thin strip of coast line between the Wicklow Hills and the Belfast Lough, with another district running inland from Cork, and a few scattered garrisons throughout Ireland, alone acknowledged Ormonde as King Charles's lieutenant. The position of the Confederates was still further strengthened when, in 1645, Charles sent the Catholic Earl of Glamorgan to Ireland to win help for his declining cause in England. The Confederates now made large demands, and Glamorgan agreed to whatever they asked for. By the famous *Glamorgan Treaty*, Charles's agent recognised their right to use the old churches for the Catholic worship, and restored the jurisdiction and revenues of the Church to the Catholic clergy. The treaty was discovered by the Parliament, and Charles disavowed any knowledge of it. But though Charles at Oxford might repudiate such conditions, they were, for the most part, faithfully carried out in Ireland. A Papal Nuncio, named Rinuccini, now came from Rome to restore the Catholic organisation as the best hope of setting up a united Ireland. Ormonde, as an Irish Protestant, was indignant at the prospect of the extirpation of his creed, and in 1647 surrendered Dublin to the able and enterprising Puritan Colonel *Michael Jones*, and sailed over to England, thus transferring from Royalist to Roundhead hands the almost

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hopeless task of upholding the Protestant supremacy. But the hollow alliance between the Catholic lords and the native Irish now broke up altogether. Rinuccini went back to Italy disgusted at the refusal of the Catholic gentry to make themselves the instruments of the papal policy. The breach between the two sections of the Irish Catholics gave a fresh opportunity to the friends of the king. In 1648 Ormonde came back again and concluded an alliance between the scanty band of Protestant royalists and the Catholic lords, by which the latter agreed to support King Charles in return for toleration of their faith. After the tragedy of the 30th of January, Ormonde proclaimed the young Prince of Wales as Charles II. The Puritan garrison of Dublin maintained almost alone the cause of the Commonwealth.

The Puritan Conquest of Ireland, 1649-1652.

Cromwell was now sent to Ireland by the Rump, with a gallant force of his Ironsides, to wage a holy war against the Popish and royalist alliance. In September he took *Drogheda* by storm, and massacred the whole garrison, some 2500 strong, save a few captives spared for the more lingering agony of slavery upon the sugar plantations of Barbadoes. "This is the righteous judgment of God," he wrote, "upon those barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood." In October the garrison of Wexford incurred the same fate. Such severe measures made the rest of the work of conquest an easy task. The first campaign conquered "a great longitude of land along the shore." The next, in 1650, opened up the way to the subjection of all Ireland. Cromwell now left the country. His successors, Ireton and Ludlow, now restored Protestant and English ascendency very much in the spirit of Strafford. The Catholic worship was suppressed, and the scared natives were even tempted to Puritan churches, such was their terror of the dominant soldiery. The Celtic landholders lost their estates, or were transferred into the inhospitable deserts beyond the Shannon. Their lands were handed over to Puritan veterans, who were willing to make their homes in Ireland, or sold to *Undertakers*, who promised to people and till them. In return, Ireland again enjoyed sound peace and strong government. Good justice was enforced between man and man, and rapine and murder sternly punished. Nevertheless, the hard and stern rule of Cromwell has since been looked upon with peculiarly bitter hatred in Ireland.

3. The Scots, who had continued to uphold Charles I. to the day of his death, proclaimed Charles II. without delay. But the young King of Scots was a needy and frivolous exile, living mostly in Holland, where the Stadt-

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holder, William II., the husband of his sister Mary, gave him a kindly welcome, or in the Channel Islands, which still rejected the Rump. He was now about twenty years old, with a good reputation for quickness of wit and an indifferent one for industry and morals. It made little difference to him whether Scotland was governed by Argyll's partisans in his own name or in that of his father. To make Charles's nominal rule a real one, Montrose, who was weary of exile, hazarded another attempt at a royalist rising. Early in 1650 he sailed to the Orkneys, and thence to Caithness and Sutherland, hoping to raise the northern clans; but the little band which he had brought with him from Holland and the Orkneys was too weak to act alone, and there was no sign of a rising of the clans. His followers were dispersed at *Carbisdale* on 27th April, and he himself was soon afterwards handed over to the government by a Highland chieftain and taken to Edinburgh. The Scots could never forgive the soldier who had taught the wild clansmen the secret of their strength. Parliament passed an act attainting him as a traitor, and on 21st May the high-souled warrior poet was hanged at the Market Cross, dressed in a scarlet cassock. With him perished the last hope of a Cavalier restoration in Scotland. The young king now saw that he must either take the Covenant or remain in exile from Britain. He chose the less heroic course. Charles now repudiated Montrose, and agreed to the terms of the Scottish commissioners. He accepted both the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, promised to do nothing without the goodwill of Parliament, and pledged himself to set up Presbyterianism in England and Ireland as well as Scotland. In June 1650 he landed at Speymouth, and in January 1651 he was crowned at Scone. But Argyll still ruled Scotland, and Charles was little better than a prisoner. He was forced to give up his friends Hamilton and Lauderdale through Argyll's jealousy, compelled to listen to endless prayers and sermons, and to bear with good grace the stern rebukes of the clergy for his frivolity and godlessness. The Scots army was got ready to restore monarchy and Presbytery south of the Tweed.

Scotland under Charles II., 1649-1651.

Montrose's Last Venture and Death, 1650.

The Rump saw that the rule of Charles in Scotland must sooner or later lead to a restoration in England, and resolved to expel him by force. Fairfax, though hating the course things had taken, had still held on to his command,

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and (though a peer since 1648 by his father's death) had accepted a seat in the House of Commons. He now threw up his commission, believing that "human probabilities were no sufficient grounds for making war upon a neighbour nation, especially our brethren of Scotland to whom we are engaged in a Solemn League and Covenant." He retired to his house at Nun Appleton in Yorkshire, amusing his leisure by literature and collecting coins and engravings. Cromwell was now in name as well as fact Captain General of all the Commonwealth's armies. "I have not sought these things," he declared. "Truly I have been called unto them by the Lord." In July 1650 he invaded Scotland with 16,000 men.

Cromwell Captain General, June 1650.

David Leslie, who now commanded the Scots army, held a strong position outside Edinburgh. Late in August Cromwell, who had failed to dislodge him, was forced to retreat to Dunbar to wait reinforcements. Leslie followed and encamped upon the hills above Dunbar. Cromwell's position was very difficult. "The enemy," he wrote, "hath blocked up our way at the pass of Cockburnspath, through which we cannot get without almost a miracle." But the Scots rashly went down from their post of vantage, and exposed their whole line to their watchful foe. On 3rd September, as the sun was rising on the sea, Cromwell boldly pushed forward his troops between the enemy and the shore. The careless Scots were asleep or breakfasting, when the main body of the English army fell fiercely upon them. Before they recovered from their surprise the Scots were reduced to hopeless confusion and fled in disorder to the north. Before the close of the year all Southern Scotland had submitted to the English conqueror.

Battle of Dunbar, 3rd Sept. 1650.

In 1651 Cromwell again took the field against Leslie, who was entrenched near Stirling. His lieutenant, Lambert, succeeded in turning the Scots' position by a flank attack through Fife. This left open the way to the south, and Leslie, seeing that Scotland was as good as lost, resolved to invade England, hoping to stir up a royalist and Presbyterian revolt. Charles II. accompanied Leslie in his daring adventure, and great things were hoped for when the son of the Martyr appeared on English soil. But the English were sick of war, and had no confidence in a king who came at the head of a Scots' army. Cromwell followed steadily in the rear, with ever increasing numbers. At last, on 3rd September 1651 (a year after Dunbar),

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the King of Scots stood at bay at Worcester, with scarcely 13,000 men. Cromwell, with more than 30,000, surrounded the royalist positions, and had little difficulty in thoroughly defeating the foe. "The dimensions of this mercy," he wrote, "are above my thought. It is for aught I know a crowning mercy." The remnant of the Scots army made off as best it might. The King of Scots, after romantic adventures and hair-breadth escapes, made his way to Brighton, whence, forty days after the battle, he succeeded in escaping to France. The subjection of Scotland was soon completed. Argyll himself was besieged for nearly a year in his castle at Inverary, but at last surrendered, agreeing that Scotland should be made a commonwealth with England, without king or House of Lords. He now lost all influence, and was "drowned in debt and public hatred." The Presbyterian clergy lost their power, and saw their Assemblies suppressed. An English garrison kept the Scots from revolt. The three kingdoms now lay at Cromwell's mercy. His thoughts could not but be directed on his future, "What if a man," he now asked, "should take upon himself to be king?"

Battle of Worcester, 3rd Sept. 1651.

4. The foreign difficulties of the Commonwealth were grappled with the same strong hand by which their domestic foes had been discomfited. At first no foreign court would acknowledge the new-fangled Commonwealth, and English agents were murdered at the Hague and at Madrid. In 1650 William II. of Orange died, whereupon the Stadtholdership was abolished in Holland, and the aristocratic faction of rich merchants became supreme in the States General of the Seven United Provinces. But the new rulers were as hostile as was the House of Orange to the English Commonwealth, hating the English as rivals in trade. The Rump did not shrink from their hostility, and in 1651 threw down the gauntlet by passing the *Navigation Act*, which prohibited Dutch vessels from bringing any goods to England, except the scanty products of their own small land. All goods were to be henceforth imported in English ships, or in vessels of the country to which the cargo belonged. This aimed a deadly blow at the carrying trade, which was the chief source of the mercantile prosperity of the Seven Provinces. The result was a bloody maritime war between the two republics.

The Navigation Act, 1651, and the War with the United Provinces, 1652-1653.

For the Dutch war a great leader was found in the new "general at sea," *Robert Blake* (1599-1657), a Bridgwater

merchant's son, of short and ungainly figure, but of lofty courage, strong will, and matchless resourcefulness and energy, who had distinguished himself during the Civil War by his heroic defence of Taunton, and since 1649 had chased Prince Rupert with his squadron of revolted ships of war from the sea, and had conquered the Scilly Islands and Jersey, the last refuges of the royalist cause. At first the Dutch fleet, the most famous in Europe, triumphed over the raw English navy by reason of its superior seamanship and numbers and the greater tactical skill of its admiral Tromp, who won an easy victory on 29th November 1652, off *Dungeness*. But in February 1653 Blake turned the tables on the Dutch in a battle off *Portland*, won by sheer hard hitting, despite gross blunders in tactics on the part of the English admiral. However, one glorious day was not enough to put an end to the naval supremacy of Holland, and both fleets continued to hold the sea on nearly equal terms. Such a struggle was infinitely creditable to the energy and careful administration of the Rump, and especially to Sir Harry Vane, the manager of the navy and a hot Commonwealth's man. Yet it did little to postpone the day of reckoning for the narrow oligarchy.

Blake.

5. High taxes at home made the Commonwealth generally hated. The royalist *malignants* were gradually stripped of their estates, the luckiest among them preserving part of their lands by paying a heavy *composition* that drained dry their resources. An *excise* after the fashion of Holland, that had been imposed for the first time in 1643, became a permanent tax. The Parliament was, however, so successful on every side that it was convinced that its continued rule was indispensable to the wellbeing of the Commonwealth, and it was so well satisfied with what it had done that it grew sluggish in the cause of reform. Now that the fighting was over, the politicians in the victorious army again busied themselves with affairs of state. They saw with disgust the rulers of the Commonwealth more intent on getting places for their kinsfolk than in bringing about the golden age of godliness and freedom. Against the aristocratic ideals of the ruling oligarchy, the soldiers set up their policy of democratic reform and complete religious liberty, and clamoured for a constitution based on the *Agreement of the People*. Parliament now had before it a project of reform, which Sir Harry Vane had introduced,

Fall of the Rump, 1653.

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by which the danger of a fresh general election was to be remedied by choosing new members for the seats left vacant by Pride's Purge and the other "purifications" of the Commons. The existing members of the Rump were, however, to continue to sit, and would naturally pass judgment on the qualifications of the new members, so that it was merely a scheme for filling up vacancies in the House, subject to the approval of the present members. Disgusted at this new device for perpetuating its power, Cromwell, who had long watched with impatience the procrastination of the majority, now again called upon his soldiers to strike a blow against his fellow members. On 20th April 1653 he rose in his place in Parliament and spoke sharply of their injustice and self-seeking. "We have had enough of this," he fiercely cried. "It is not fit that you should sit here any longer." A band of trusty musketeers drove the trembling Commons out of their own House. Thus fell the scanty remnant of the Long Parliament, unhonoured and unlamented. The remorseless persistence of Cromwell trampled out the last traces of constitutional government.

The Little Parliament, 1653.

6. The only power now left was that of the army and its general. Some men hoped that Cromwell would bring back the King of Scots: others that he would summon a Free Parliament: others that he would make himself king. His portrait crowned was set up in the London Exchange with the inscription—

> "Ascend three thrones, great Captain and divine,
> I' th' will of God, old Lion, they are thine!"

But Cromwell, with all his fanatic zeal for God's kingdom had a clear eye to the future, and a strong dislike to the naked rule of the sword. Though willing to grasp at power, he desired to clothe his power with legal forms. Hesitating to summon a free Parliament lest the royalists should be in a majority, he gathered together an assembly of "persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty" all selected by himself. In July he opened his Parliament of nominees, telling them that they had been chosen, because they were godly, as the future rulers of England. This let loose the worst spirits of fanaticism and revolution. The packed assembly declared that the new Commonwealth wanted neither priests nor lawyers, and demanded the abolition of tithes (which were still levied by the Puritan clergy that were in legal possession of every benefice in England),

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and the destruction of the Court of Chancery. Whether designedly or not, Cromwell had shown to all men what possibilities of further revolution still lurked in the minds of the extremer sectaries. The strange turn of events now made him the only champion of order and of what was left of the historical institutions of England. This was seen even by a party within the convention of fanatics. On 11th December the moderate minority met together in a hurry and declared the assembly at an end. In derision men called it the *Little Parliament* or the *Barebones Parliament*, from an Anabaptist leather-seller who sat in it as a representative of the City of London, and bore the name of Praise-God Barbone.

7. The Little Parliament made over its power to Cromwell. On 16th December the council of officers drew up the conditions of his rule in a document called the *Instrument of Government.*

The Instrument of Government, 1653, and the Limited Protectorate, 1653-1657.

This provided: 1. That England, Scotland, and Ireland should be strictly united under the same government and the same Parliament. 2. That the supreme authority should belong to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth with a Parliament of one chamber to meet every three years. 3. That the Parliament be composed of 400 members for England, Wales, and the Channel Islands, and 30 each from Scotland and Ireland, chosen according to a scheme of representation according to numbers, by which Middlesex returned 12, Yorkshire 22, and Lancashire 8 members, the small boroughs being disfranchised. 4. That all possessing estate of the value of £200 should be electors in the counties, unless they be Papists or have fought against the Parliament. 5. That the Lord Protector have the executive power, subject to the advice of a Council of State, nominated at first in the Instrument, but finally to be chosen from a list sent by Parliament. 6. That Parliament have the sole power of making laws, no veto being reserved to the Protector, though the Protector and Council were allowed to make ordinances that retained the force of law unless Parliament definitely rejected them, but that no Parliament have power to make laws contrary to the Instrument. 7. That an ordinary revenue for life be secured to the Protector, but that all extraordinary grants were to be made by Parliament. The general result was to set up a sort of strictly limited monarchy and a strictly limited Parliament, mutually dependent on each other, so as to prevent the danger of either party becoming supreme; while the authority of the fundamental law itself prevented further revolutions. The Instrument was among the first of the *written* or *paper constitutions* of modern times.

8. For the rest of his life Cromwell ruled England. He at once set to work to restore law and order by a vast series of ordinances. The union of the three kingdoms

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was now completed. Scotland received the advantages of free trade with England and the abolition of the courts of the feudal lords, while in Ireland the work of colonisation was pressed on, and both countries became prosperous under his hard just rule. In England Cromwell mainly busied himself with the settlement of the Church. He resolved to keep up tithes and the parochial clergy, and he set up a board of *Triers* to inquire into the good life and sound doctrine of all persons nominated by the patrons to benefices. All Puritans were equally eligible to hold office in Cromwell's comprehensive State Church. "Of the three sorts of godly men," he boasted, "Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents, though a man be of any of these three judgments, if he have the root of the matter in him, he may be admitted." Even the old clergy were not disturbed if they abstained from reading the Prayer Book and engaged to be faithful to the existing government. This policy of toleration was a great step in advance, being the only way of settling the religious difficulties which arose from the multiplication of sects and schools of opinion. Few, however, were satisfied with it. The Independents and Anabaptists were no longer the extreme representatives of the sectaries. In the religious confusion that followed the Civil Wars a swarm of new and strange sects had risen up, such as the *Fifth Monarchy Men*, who believed in the immediate Second Coming of Christ. Moreover, George Fox had begun his protests against Puritan dogmatism by preaching the importance of the inner light of the individual conscience, and his followers, the *Society of Friends* or *Quakers*, as they were called, were an earnest and increasing body. To enthusiasts such as these Cromwell's State Church seemed a mere politic compromise with worldliness. The exclusion of "Papists" and "Prelatists" from the enjoyment of the toleration, on the ground that their opinions were superstitious and dangerous to the State, cut off the bulk of the nation from the benefits of the religious peace. The ejected clergy and their followers, happy if the lax execution of the laws sometimes allowed them to meet together and worship according to the Prayer Book in some secret place, looked upon the Cromwellian settlement as the perpetuation of religious anarchy. Ordinances against cock-fighting, horse-racing, swearing, showed the strictness of the new ruler. Cromwell also endeavoured to

The Domestic Government of Cromwell, 1653-1658.

Cromwell's State Church.

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reform the law-courts, especially the Court of Chancery. Considering the narrow basis of his rule, he carried out a wonderful series of improvements.

On 3rd Sep. 1654, the Protector met his First Parliament. The members believed that they ought to possess all the sovereign powers of the old Parliaments under the monarchy, and at once set to work to criticise and amend the Instrument of Government. This Cromwell would not allow; for if the nation, as represented in Parliament, were allowed the power of choosing freely its form of government, the whole edifice of his power and the domination of the Puritan bigots would have quickly been brought to an end. All that he would allow was the right to act in the way he suggested. He required every member of Parliament to promise in writing not to alter the fundamental clauses of the Instrument, and refused to allow the recalcitrants to sit any longer. But even the purged Parliament went on with the work of constitutional reform, so Cromwell in great disgust dissolved it.

Cromwell's First Parliament, 1654.

Cromwell now threw over all pretence at constitutional rule, and showed the nation that a Protector governing by military force could be an infinitely more despotic ruler than Charles or Strafford. He levied taxes without Parliamentary grant, and turned out the judges who seemed likely to declare resistance to his impositions legal. Availing himself of a widespread royalist conspiracy, and of an actual Cavalier rising in Wiltshire, where a gentleman named Penruddock, with a following of two hundred horsemen, seized Salisbury and imprisoned the judges on circuit, Cromwell divided England into eleven large districts, setting over each a *Major-General* to rule by martial law and uphold the Protectorate with a strong and unscrupulous hand. The nation which refused to accept him as a constitutional monarch now learnt to obey him in his true character of a military despot.

The Major-Generals, 1655.

9. In Sept. 1656, the expenses of his foreign policy forced Cromwell to summon his Second Parliament, in which he prevented the renewal of the action of his First Parliament, by refusing to allow all those members, who were notoriously opposed to his policy, to take their seats. The remainder granted him large supplies, and declared plots against his life high treason, but they refused to legalise the rule of the major-generals, whom Cromwell consequently withdrew. It was thought that his position would be made easier, if

Cromwell's Second Parliament, 1656-1657.

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the government were reorganised more on the lines of the ancient constitution. There had long been a wish among Cromwell's personal friends that he should make himself king, as the best chance of securing the permanence of his power. As Waller sang—

> "Let the rich ore forthwith be melted down,
> And the state fixed by making him a crown,
> With ermine clad and purple, let him hold
> A royal sceptre made of Spanish gold."

Accordingly, in March 1657, Parliament presented to the Protector the *Humble Petition and Advice.*

The Petition and Advice, 1657.

This was a new project for a paper constitution, which aimed at restoring the old constitution so far as was possible. By it Cromwell was asked: 1. To take on himself the title of king with power of nominating his successor. 2. To summon in future Parliaments, consisting of two houses, every three years at least: the Lower House in future was to be called the *House of Commons*, while the lords who sat in the *Other House* (this was its title) were to be nominated by the Protector for life. 3. To accept a yearly revenue of £1,300,000 for life, of which £1,000,000 was to go to the support of the army and navy. 4. To allow the Council of State to be directly nominated by Parliament. 5. To secure liberty of conscience to all but Papists, Prelatists, and blasphemers.

A great clamour arose among the Republicans in the army, whose faith had already been sorely tried by Cromwell's limited Protectorate, and who were now horror-stricken at the prospect of his becoming a king like Charles Stewart. Cromwell gave way, declaring that though he liked well the Petition, he could not offend his old followers by accepting a title which they abhorred. In May, the Parliament removed the name of king from the Petition, and substituted that of *Lord Protector*. In this form, Cromwell accepted the whole Petition. In June he was installed for a second time, clad in purple and ermine, and with something of royal state. But he found that his troubles with Parliament were in no wise abated by this new accession to his dignity. In Jan. 1658, his Second Parliament met for a second session. Cromwell did not this time venture to renew the exclusion of his opponents, while his most faithful followers were removed to the "Other House." This gave the Commonwealth's men (so the Republican party was styled) a majority in the Commons. They refused to recognise the new House of Lords or to transact any business with them. In February, Oliver dissolved Parliament in disgust, telling

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the members of the Commons that they were playing the game of the King of Scots, and calling on the Lord to judge between them and him. He was now fully conscious of the failure of his policy at home. "I would have been glad," he lamented, "to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than undertake such a government as this." For the last years of his life he was in daily danger of assassination from fanatical royalists or enthusiastic sectaries.

10. Force formed an uneasy basis for his civil dominion, but abroad the strong arm of Oliver showed the princes of Europe that England was a power to be dealt with. Even royalists were proud of the vigorous and successful foreign policy of the Usurper. His victories in Ireland and Scotland first taught foreign statesmen to realise the might of the new Republic. Yet his view of the principles of English policy was little more than a remembrance of the traditions of the age of Elizabeth. He wished to bind the Protestant powers together in an Evangelical League. Thus he would secure the dominion of the godly abroad as well as at home.

Cromwell's Foreign Policy, 1653-1658.

In 1654, Cromwell made peace with the United Provinces, the Dutch accepting the Navigation Act, and privately promising to exclude the House of Orange from authority. Other treaties with Denmark and Sweden followed. These were the first steps towards the union of the Protestant powers. But Cromwell soon found that the age of the Counter-Reformation was past, and that politics no longer depended on the struggle of Protestant against Catholic. Protestant states, like Sweden and Denmark, or England and Holland, that were rivals for dominion or trade, hated each other worse than they hated the Papists, and the two great Catholic powers, France and Spain, were deadly foes to each other. In fact, European policy then centred round the continued rivalry of France and Spain, whose hostility to each other was so deep-rooted, that the two kingdoms found it impossible to join in the Peace of Westphalia, but continued at war until 1659. At first France was kept back by the internal struggles of the *Fronde* (1648-1652), in which the lawyers and nobles made a last effort to break down the absolutism of the Crown; but in 1652, the young king Louis XIV. (1643-1715), and his astute Italian minister Mazarin, finally put down all opposition. France now set herself

Peace with the Dutch, 1654.

War between France and Spain, 1648-1659.

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seriously to work to crush her decaying rival. France and Spain alike competed eagerly for the English alliance; and after long hesitation, Cromwell decided to join the French. The vision of an Evangelical League was soon to be dimmed by the stern facts of experience: but the French alliance was largely chosen on the ground that Spain was more bigoted in its Catholicism than France. This was clear when Mazarin interfered to force the Duke of Savoy (1655) to cease from persecuting his Protestant subjects, the *Vaudois* of the Alpine valleys, on whose behalf the Protector had used his utmost exertions, and for whom the poet John Milton, still Latin Secretary of the Council of State, had written the most sublime of his sonnets:

The Vaudois protected, 1655.

> "Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold,
> Even them who kept Thy truth so pure of old,
> When all our fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones."

Moreover Cromwell had a keen eye to trade, and saw in the Spaniards the most dangerous rivals of English Puritanism in its new home in America. Accordingly he sent out two fleets in 1654, one of which under Blake restored the terror of the British name and the security of British commerce in the Mediterranean, while the other, under Penn and Venables, was sent to the West Indies. Even before the alliance with France in 1655, English seamen had revived the most daring traditions of the Elizabethan age in the remote waters of the Caribbean Sea. "Remember," wrote Cromwell to Penn, "that the Lord Himself hath a controversy with your enemies, even with that Romish Babylon of which Spain is the great under-propper." Penn failed to take San Domingo, but captured the important island of *Jamaica*; while Blake's officers spoiled the Spanish treasure ships, and in 1657 Blake himself won the last and most brilliant of his victories by the total destruction of the Spanish West India fleet at *Santa Cruz* in Teneriffe, though the Spaniards were moored close ashore and protected by the strong castle and a numerous land force. "We had not above fifty slain outright," wrote the admiral, "and the damage to our ships was such that in two days' time we indifferently well repaired for present security." But on the voyage home Blake died, worn out by the fatigues and hardships of his command. He was our greatest admiral before Rodney, Hawke, and

Naval Exploits of Blake and Penn 1654-1657.

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Nelson, and the founder of our continuous naval greatness. Though reared in the storms of civil war, he recked nothing of politics, but fought with singleminded honesty for the glory of his country. "It is not for us," he is reported to have said, "to mind state affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us."

In 1657 Cromwell made a defensive and offensive alliance with France, and sent over 6000 foot to join the French in an attack on Spanish Flanders. The allies captured *Mardyke*, and in 1658, won the battle of the *Dunes*, after which *Dunkirk* surrendered. Both Mardyke and Dunkirk were handed over to the English as their share in the spoil of Spain. Cromwell's timely intervention decided the fate of the war. In 1659 Spain was forced to make the *Treaty of the Pyrenees*, by which she yielded Roussillon and Artois to France. This step marks the beginning of the French preponderance in Europe. When, in 1661, Louis XIV., on the death of Mazarin, took upon himself the direct government of his dominions, he had no foe to fear either at home or abroad. In contributing to build up the overweening power of France, the Protector did a bad service to the interests of England and the liberties of Europe. Yet his policy, though mistaken in conception, was so vigorous and successful in execution, that after ages have agreed that he nowhere showed his greatness more fully than in his revival of the power and glory of England amidst the nations of Europe.

War with Spain, 1657-1659.

11. Worn out with constant cares and weakened by perpetual sickness, Cromwell's health had long been precarious. In August 1658 he lost his favourite daughter, Mrs. Claypole, and soon after was smitten with a tertian ague. On 2nd September a great storm raged over England. Oliver died the next day, 3rd September, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester. He was buried at Westminster among the kings and with a more than regal solemnity.

Death and Character of Cromwell, 1658.

Cromwell was a man of "great and majestic deportment and comely presence," "his head so shaped as you might see it a storehouse and shop of a vast treasury of natural parts." He had no affectation, and told Lely the painter to paint his picture truly like him, "remarking all these roughnesses, pimples, warts, and everything, otherwise I will never pay you a farthing for it." He enjoyed hunting, hawking, and horsemanship; was fond of a good voice and of instrumental music, and not without a taste for the other

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arts, delighting to surround himself with learned men. Though majestic and dignified on public occasions, he was ever wont to unbend greatly with his intimates, amusing himself by rough jokes, making doggrel verses, and smoking tobacco. "He was not," as he himself boasted "scrupulous about words or names or such things" and he was stern and ruthless in carrying out the aims he had set before him. "His temper," says one of his servants, "was exceeding fiery; but the flame was soon allayed with those moral endowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distress, even to an effeminate measure." His private life was simple, loving, and pure. He was sincerely and ardently religious, and, believing that he was a "mean instrument to do God's people some good," he brought himself to see in every prompting of his ambition a means to further the kingdom of God. Hated by royalists as a king-killer, and by republicans as an apostate, his strong, stern, practical nature, ever enthusiastic yet ever self-restrained, forced him step by step into a position from which there was no escape but death. The plain Huntingdonshire squire identified himself in his new eminence with the interests of his country, in a way that put to shame the whole line of the Stewarts. He taught himself war and politics, when well advanced in middle life. Yet in the field he shone as a great practical warrior, a consummate leader of horse, and an unrivalled organiser of victory; while in the cabinet he proved the most vigorous, resourceful and inspiring of statesmen. There is something pathetic in his constant endeavour to undo the work of his own hands, and bring back England to her old ways under his new house. He rose to supremacy through violence and bloodshed, but he saved England from anarchy. He owed his power to the sword, and the vast majority of Englishmen hated his ideals both in Church and State, and would gladly have been rid of him. That under such circumstances he could work out so much good, and stoop to so little that was base or mean stamps him as one of the greatest of Englishmen. Though his exploits were confined to our little island, he is not unworthy to be put beside the Cæsars and Napoleons of history. It is his special glory that among the great military despots of the world called to power by a military revolution, he has the best claim to be considered an honest man. But it was well for England that in the long centuries of her history she numbers but one Oliver Cromwell among her rulers.

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Richard Cromwell and the Fall of the Protectorate, 1658-1659.

12. Oliver's eldest surviving son, Richard, was proclaimed Lord Protector with as little difficulty as one king succeeds another. He was thirty-two years old, and had been brought up more as a private gentleman than as the heir to a throne. His friends describe him as a "very worthy person, of an engaging nature and religious disposition, giving great respect to the best of persons, both ministers and others." But he had neither religious nor political enthusiasm, and was idle, easy-going, and indifferent. His favourite pursuits were "hawking, hunting, horse-racing with other sports and pastimes." But he was guided by the wisdom and experience of Thurloe, Oliver's former secretary, who hoped that his inoffensive character would rally peaceful citizens in support of the new Protectorate. Richard's younger brother Henry, a stronger and more resolute character, continued to act as deputy of Ireland, a post he had held since 1655.

At first all went well. "There is not a dog that wags his tongue," boasted Thurloe, "so great a calm are we in." In Jan. 1659, a new Parliament assembled. To make the approach to the old constitution more complete, the members were returned by the old constituencies, rotten boroughs and all, though Scotland and Ireland still sent their representatives. The Commons were, on the whole, friendly to Richard, hoping to form an alliance with him against the army. But the army was impatient at the rule of a civilian who was not one of the godly. The soldiers sought to make themselves a state within the state by procuring the nomination of Fleetwood, the Protector's brother-in-law, as their general, with such exalted powers that he was entirely free from the control of Richard and Parliament. Richard, backed up by Parliament, refused to do more than nominate Fleetwood Lieutenant-General under himself as General. The soldiers knew that power was in their hands, and were in no mood to give way to peaceful magistrates. In April they frightened Richard into deserting his friends in the Commons and dismissing Parliament. "The chief officers would have left the Protector a Duke of Venice [a nominal sovereign] for his father's sake." But the Republican spirit in the army, kept down with difficulty by Oliver, now rose indignantly against the rule of his sluggish son. Richard, who hated the greatness that had been thurst upon him, refused to struggle against it. On 25th May, he laid down his office.

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He lived on in retirement till his death at a good old age in 1712.

13. The soldiers had again shown their power, but they knew not how to govern; and, in their zeal for republicanism, they fell back upon the scanty remnant of the Long Parliament, whose deposition in 1653 had always been looked upon by the Commonwealth's men as the overthrow of liberty. Even before Richard's retirement, about forty members of the Rump again met together at the invitation of the army. The pedantic little oligarchy at once assumed all the dignity and importance of a regular Parliament, declaring all the acts of the Protectorate null and void, and loftily commanding the army to obey the orders of lawful authority. Disgusted alike at martial law and sham republicanism, the people rose in revolt, hoping to bring back the old king and constitution. But the risings were nipped in the bud save in Cheshire, where *Sir George Booth* of Dunham Massey, a Presbyterian of high rank and an excluded member of the Long Parliament, gathered the royalist gentry around him, and seized upon Chester itself. Lambert soon marched against him, and on 19th Aug. scattered his untried followers at *Winnington Bridge*, over the Weaver near Northwich. The victorious army marched back to London and turned out the Rump in October.

The Rump Restored, 1659.

The Royalist Revolt, 1659.

14. Again the army sought to govern themselves, but neither the ambitious Lambert, who had expelled the Rump, nor the weak and irresolute Fleetwood, the nominal General, had the strength to play the part of another Oliver. The council of officers was given up to fierce wrangles, while the people, growing less afraid as they saw that the army without Cromwell was but a rope of sand, began to refuse to pay taxes. To prevent mere anarchy setting in, the officers were forced, on 26th Dec., to allow the Rump again to resume power.

The Failure of the Army Rule, 1659.

15. While the army leaders at London were paralysed by indecision, the general of the force that kept Scotland in submission made up his mind to take decided action. This was *George Monck*, a silent, hard-headed, far-seeing soldier, who was neither politician nor fanatic, and had of old served with the king's forces in Ireland, but, being taken prisoner at Nantwich in 1644, had entered into the service of the Parliament, and had won Cromwell's esteem by his high

Monck declares for a Free Parliament, 1660.

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military qualities. He now resolved to march upon London with his troops, and set up a regular government. On 2nd Jan. 1660, he crossed the Tweed into England. Lambert, the strongest of the army leaders, sought to oppose his progress, but his soldiers abandoned him or made terms with the invaders. Monck received a cordial welcome on his southward march, and at York was joined by Lord Fairfax. He reached London early in February. On his arrival the Presbyterian City refused to pay taxes to the Rump of sectaries, on the ground that as their members had been excluded from the House, there should be no taxation without representation. Amidst the wildest scenes of popular delight, Monck made common cause with the City. "I saw," wrote Pepys, the government clerk, "many people give his soldiers drink and money, and all along the streets cried, 'God bless them.' At night the common joy was everywhere to be seen. At Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one bonfires. The butchers at the May Pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. At Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump on it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination both the greatness and the suddenness of it." On 16th Feb., Monck formally declared for a free and full Parliament to settle the future destiny of the nation. He now forced the Rump to receive back the members excluded in 1648. This gave a majority to the moderate party, who at once voted a dissolution and ordered new elections to be held. One of the last acts of the Long Parliament was to appoint Monck general-in-chief of the army.

The Declaration of Breda, 1660.

16. The King of Scots and his little court of exiles watched with joy the restoration of popular sovereignty in England, knowing well that it would bring about the restoration of the king. To make this easier, Charles issued, on 4th April, the *Declaration of Breda*.

By this he promised: 1. A general pardon to all, except such persons as shall be hereafter excepted by Parliament. 2. That all questions as to the lawfulness of the possession of the confiscated estates of royalists by new owners be determined by Parliament. 3. That he would consent to any Act of Parliament for the full satisfaction of the arrears of pay to Monck's soldiers, and receive them into his service on as good terms as they then enjoyed. 4. That "we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted for

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differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the realm," and that he was willing to accept any Act of Parliament passed for that object.

The Convention Parliament and the Restoration, 1660.

17. On 25th April the new Parliament met, the Commons from England only, and chosen after the old fashion, and the Lords temporal, according to the old constitution, but without the bishops, who had been lawfully excluded by Act of Parliament. As the Parliament was not summoned by royal writs, after the lawful fashion, it was called the *Convention*. Both Houses eagerly welcomed the Declaration of Breda, which, by its full acknowledgment of the dependence of the Crown on Parliament, had shown that the son was wiser than his father had been. It voted that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by Kings, Lords, and Commons," and invited Charles to come over and assume his birthright. Thus was the Restoration effected amidst universal goodwill. It had been made necessary and inevitable as the only alternative to military license. It was, however, no mere reaction towards the bad old days of personal government. Its earliest stage had been the restoration of Parliament and popular rule. The first use that Parliament made of its freedom was to bring back the Monarchy and the other parts of the ancient Constitution. The Restoration was not therefore the bringing back of the Monarchy alone. The wholesome laws of the Long Parliament, passed lawfully before the Civil War had begun the baleful troubles that culminated in the rule of military adventurers and fanatics, still remained the law of the land. The king returned to restore the traditional freedom of his country; and the one great break in the continuity of modern English history had been ended by the bringing back of the old Constitution.

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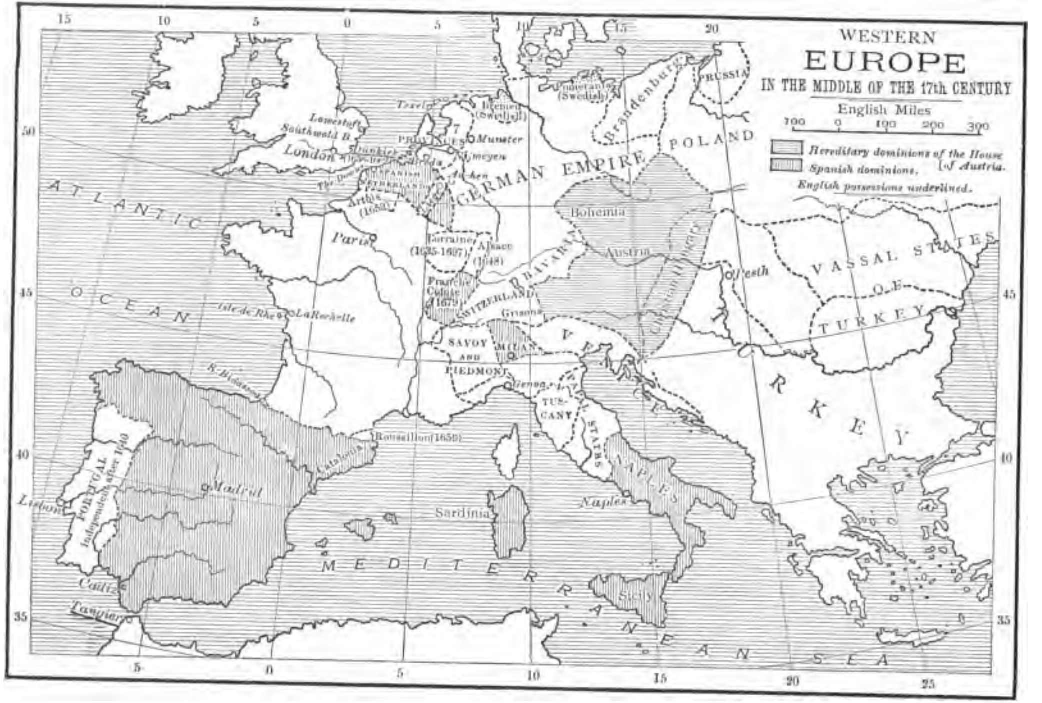

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CHAPTER V.

Charles II., and the Restoration, 1660-1685.

1. On his thirtieth birthday, 29th May 1660, Charles. II. entered London. "He came," wrote John Evelyn in his *Diary*, "with a triumph of 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords and shouting with inexpressible joy; the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine; the mayor, aldermen, and companies in their liveries, gold chains, and banners; lords clad in cloth of silver, gold and velvet; the windows and balconies well set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester." "I stood in the Strand," continued Evelyn, "and blessed God. And all this done without a drop of blood, and by that very army which rebelled against him. It was the Lord's doing. Such a restoration hath never been since the return of the Jews from Babylon, nor so joyful a day and so bright ever seen by this nation." But for the sullen discontent of the Puritan officers, and the despair of the sectaries, the new king was welcomed by all.

The Restoration, 1660.

It was no easy matter to restore the old constitution or satisfy both the old Parliament's men, who had brought back the king, and the old Cavaliers, who now came home with him from banishment. Charles had been put on the throne by a combination between the Presbyterians and the old royalists, but the Presbyterians had taken the lead in bringing about his return. As the men in power they expected to be rewarded. But the ruined royalists called for vengeance on all rebels, and loudly demanded their lost estates. The Anglican bishops and clergy wanted the Presbyterians and sectaries alike to be turned out of their livings, and the property of the Church given back to its old owners. The army cried out for its arrears of pay. The king himself needed money badly.

2. The Convention was now turned into a Parliament. There were many Presbyterians in it who leant towards moderation, and the king was unwilling to make enemies, and anxious to show his good faith by carrying out strictly the Declaration of Breda. The result was that the political conditions of the Declaration were very soon made into law.

The work of the Convention, 1660.

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An *Amnesty* was granted, though the actual *regicides* and a few others were excepted. Thirteen of those who had to do with King Charles's trial were executed, including the fanatical preacher, Hugh Peters, and Thomas Harrison, the fiery Anabaptist general. As Harrison went cheerfully to his doom, some enemy cried from amidst the crowd: "Where is the good old cause now?" "Here it is," he replied, clapping his hand on his breast, "I am going to seal it with my blood." Other regicides, like the intemperate and bitter Henry Marten, were shut up in prison. Many, like Ludlow, sought safety in exile. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were "dug out of their graves in Westminster Abbey, drawn to the gallows, and there hanged and buried"; "which, methinks," says Pepys, "do trouble me that a man of so great courage as Oliver should have that dishonour." Even the remains of the hero Blake were removed from the Abbey to the neighbouring churchyard. The old Cavaliers were strong enough to prevent an act being passed to confirm the sales of royalist property made by the Long Parliament or Oliver. Church, crown, and Cavaliers thus won back their confiscated estates; but most of the royalists who had *compounded* with the former governments, or had sold their estates themselves, got no relief. An *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* barred all their claims, and stopped those who regained their lands from claiming arrears of rent. Parliament voted Charles £1,200,000 a-year for life, and passed an Act (in this following the Long Parliament) abolishing *Military Tenures*, *Purveyance* and the oppressive *Court of wards*, giving Charles an *Excise* tax on beer and liquors to be paid by the whole nation, as a set-off to the *feudal revenue*, hitherto levied from the landlords. The army was paid off and disbanded, except about 5000 men, the beginning of our modern *standing army*. These were retained because of the alarm inspired by a rising of *Fifty-monarchy men* in London, headed by a cooper named Venner. A few regiments of regular soldiers might well prevent the fanatics again snatching at power. But the Cavaliers, hating a standing army such as had upheld the despotism of Oliver, would rather have had no troops at all. The steadfast and God-fearing Puritan veterans soon settled down in peaceful trades, and as a rule throve well in them.

3. The Convention was dissolved in December, and in May 1661 a strong Church-and-King Parliament was chosen in its stead. It attacked the *Amnesty*. Though the king

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and his ministers strongly upheld the indemnity, it insisted on further examples of vengeance. Vane and Lambert were accordingly condemned as traitors. Lambert got off with imprisonment in return for a sorry submission. Vane was beheaded. "On the scaffold," says Pepys, "he changed not his colour nor speech to the last, but died justifying himself and the cause he stood for."

The Long Parliament of Charles II., 1661-1679.

With all its loyalty, the *Cavalier Parliament* (so it was often called) was of one mind with the Presbyterian Convention in upholding the great constitutional measures of 1640 and 1641. All the ordinances passed by the Long Parliament since 1642, and all the proceedings of Cromwell's Parliaments were regarded as null and void, since they had never received the royal assent. Only two acts that had received Charles I.'s assent were now formally repealed. One of these was the *Triennial Act*, though its principle was again affirmed that Parliaments should not be intermitted for more than three years. The other was the Act excluding bishops from the House of Lords. Parliament also passed resolutions denying some of the great principles upheld by the Long Parliament after 1642. It declared that power over the militia rested exclusively with the crown. It also laid down that it was unlawful for subjects to wage even defensive war against the king. The great work of the new Parliament was to settle the affairs of the Church. The surviving bishops went back to their sees. The empty bishoprics had already been filled up. The pious and venerable Juxon, the pupil of the martyred Laud, who had stood by King Charles on the scaffold, became Archbishop of Canterbury; but he was too old to take the first place, and the real leader of the bishops was the able, cultivated, and astute *Gilbert Sheldon*, a former friend of Falkland, now Bishop of London, and soon Juxon's successor as archbishop. "The clergy are so high," wrote Pepys, "that all people I do meet with do protest against their practice." But the Commons were hot on their side, and Charles and his ministers, old Cavaliers as they mostly were, sought in vain to teach moderation to angry men, smarting from a deep sense of wrong, and eager for revenge. It was hopeless to carry out Charles's *Worcester House Declaration* that the Church should be so reformed as to make it better liked by the Presbyterians. Even the promise at Breda of liberty for tender consciences could not be maintained,

The Restoration Settlement of the Church, 1661-1665.

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largely because Parliament knew that Charles desired that any toleration granted should be extended to Roman Catholics. The only attempt at reconciliation proved a hopeless failure. In April 1661 the *Savoy Conference* was held at the Savoy Palace in the Strand between the bishops and the Presbyterian leaders; but it only led to greater ill-will on both sides. The bishops were not conciliatory, and the high-minded but crochety *Richard Baxter*, the Presbyterian leader, destroyed his case for moderate changes by proposing to set up a new Prayer Book altogether. Before the year was out the *Corporation Act* was passed, enacting that all mayors, aldermen, councillors, and other borough officers should receive the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church, take the oaths of Supremacy, Allegiance, and Non-resistance, and abjure the Covenant. In May 1662 the *Act of Uniformity* was passed, requiring all beneficed clergy to use the Prayer Book, which had now been revised in ways that made it more distasteful to the Puritans. By the *Episcopal Ordination Act* all holders of livings were also required to be ordained by a bishop, or to give up their cures. On St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August, 1662, nearly two thousand honest ministers resigned their benefices rather than accept the new settlement. They included Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, and their expulsion marks the last act of the Reformation, and the real beginning of Protestant Dissent on a large scale. Hitherto the mass of the Puritans had striven to bring about reforms of the Church from within. Comprehension not toleration had been their aim. That was no longer possible, so that even the Presbyterians went out, hoping no longer for domination, and expecting at the best some toleration for their separate forms of worship. But the mass of the nation rejoiced in the downfall of Puritanism, and few of the expelled ministers took with them the sympathy of their flocks. Their attempt to form congregations for themselves was prevented by the *First Conventicle Act* (May 1664), which enacted that any meeting of more than five people for religious worship not in accordance with the practices of the Church was an *illegal conventicle*, and all attending such an assembly for the third time should be punished by transportation. Next year a still crueller law—the *Five Mile Act* (October 1665)—forbade Nonconformist ministers to teach in schools, or come within five miles of any town or any other place where they had once held a cure, unless they took an oath

Persecution of Dissenters.

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which few could conscientiously accept. Thus cut off from their best chance of earning a living, the persecuted ministers remained in a pitiable plight. The prisons were soon filled with Dissenters who, despite harsh laws, still gathered together to worship God in the way they thought best. John Bunyan, the village Baptist minister, wrote his *Pilgrim's Progress* in Bedford jail. Still harder was the lot of the Quakers and the other more enthusiastic sectaries. The Catholics were in practice much better off, for Charles and many of his courtiers had learnt in their exile to prefer the old faith to the new, and were quite uninfluenced by the doctrines of the English Church.

Thus the Church system, which Laud had in vain tried to force on an unwilling people, was now restored, like the monarchy, by the people themselves. Yet the Long Parliament had not laboured in vain. Laud had failed because he had sought to make the Church independent of Parliament. The Church was now set up in a place as high as even Laud could have wished by the Parliament itself. The Commons had even followed Laud's persecuting methods. Henceforth Dissenters were persecuted according to law and not against the law. Of course the legality of persecution did not make it any better. But even the worst aspects of the Restoration showed how the Restoration was no mere reaction. If the king had come back, he had come back at the head of a great national party. The political struggle was no longer between king and people, but between two great parties, one of which had, or thought that it had, the king for its head. The greatest difficulty in the future was that the men who now controlled England and the Church were driven by the violence of the reaction to erect loyalty into a sort of religion. Charles the Martyr was almost worshipped. The rule of kings was glorified as the form of government specially pleasing to God. Divine right, passive obedience, non-resistance to the Lord's Anointed were generally taught. Yet some people still kept their heads even in the fierce loyalty of the Restoration period. The outwitted Presbyterians of the Convention, though conforming for the most part to the new Church settlement, still kept up the ideas of Pym and Hampden in political matters. They made the nucleus of the *country party*, tha. already formed a sort of opposition to the cavalier government. Before long the misdeeds of king, court, and ministers, made their opposition stronger and stronger.

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4. Charles II. was not fond enough of constant work to take a large share himself in governing the country. The *Privy Council*, now restored, was too big, and contained too many old friends of Oliver or the Rump. So, as in Charles I.'s time, the real management of affairs fell into the hands of a small *Junto* or *cabal* of *Cabinet councillors*, half recognised now as *the Committee of Foreign Affairs*. Monck, now made Duke of Albemarle, might have played a great part, but he cared nothing for politics, and soon fell into the background. The four leading ministers were the loyal Irish Cavalier, Ormonde, who had ruined a princely fortune in the Martyr's service, and whose honour and integrity were unquestioned; Colepepper, "a man of great parts, a sharp and present wit, and an universal understanding," Secretary Nicholas, "a man of general good reputation with all men, of unquestionable integrity, and long experience," and, above all, *Edward Hyde* (1609-1674), now Earl of Clarendon, and Chancellor. Clarendon was a "fair, ruddy, fat, middle-statured handsome man," who suffered terribly from gout. He delighted in state and ostentation. He was a sound lawyer, and a great lover of books and learned men. He was a good Englishman, a faithful and able minister, honest in the main, but not over scrupulous, a strong party man, and so great a friend of the Church, that the harsh laws against Dissenters were sometimes called the *Clarendon Code*. He still adhered to the views held by him and Falkland in 1641, and sought to uphold both king and Parliament. He tried to govern the country as Elizabeth would have done. He was hated by the country-party, and laughed at by the wicked and corrupt courtiers that gathered round the restored king. James, Duke of York, the king's brother, now married his daughter, Anne Hyde, "a plain woman like her mother." But James was not liked, as he was known to be wavering in the Protestant faith.

The King's Ministers, 1660-1667.

Clarendon.

5. Scotland had ever been loyal after her fashion to the Stewarts, so that when Oliver's Ironsides were gone, the restoration of the monarchy there was easy work. The union of the two countries, carried out, though in too arbitrary a way by the wise foresight of the Protector, was now ignored in deference to the strong feeling of the Scots themselves, and despite the advice of Clarendon. Thus Scotland again became, in name at least, a separate and independent nation, though really James I.'s

The Restoration in Scotland.

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policy of bringing it under English influence was kept up. She got back her own Parliament and her own Ministry, but this was at the price of losing that complete freedom of trade with England which Cromwell's union had allowed. A *Rescissory Act* abolished all laws passed since 1633, so that bishops were restored in the Church, though none dared to bring back the hated Liturgy, which had been the beginning of all the troubles in 1637, and the synods and sessions that the Presbyterians loved were kept up as before, save that the bishops or their nominees acted as moderators or chairmen in them. As in England, the Restoration went further than those who started it had meant. As in England, the Presbyterians (though here the mass of the nation) were outwitted. The Marquis of Argyll was arrested in London, hurried back to Scotland, and beheaded with the "maiden," on frivolous charges of complicity in Charles I.'s death. Johnston of Warriston, and the fiery minister Guthrie were also executed. The fall of the clergy brought back power to the Scots nobility, who now largely accepted Episcopacy. The brutal and drunken Lord Commissioner Middleton hunted out conventicles, and the selfish James Sharp, who came to London to urge the claims of Presbytery, turned traitor, and went back Archbishop of St. Andrews. *John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale*, who had also abandoned his old Presbyterian connections, ruled as Secretary for Scotland. He was a strong, learned, and able, but coarse and harsh, man, who boasted "that he would rather hear a cat mew than the best music in the world," and ill-looking, with long red hair hanging in disorder over his face. His constant wish to keep the Scottish Government in Scottish hands, and his violent opposition to any union with England, gave him some following among his countrymen, despite his roughness and persecution of the Presbyterians. In 1663 he overthrew Middleton, and ruled henceforward as he pleased, for Charles trusted him completely. "Never was king so absolute," he boasted to Charles, "as in poor old Scotland."

The Restoration in Ireland.

6. In Ireland it was easy to bring back Charles; but very hard to settle the terms on which Cromwellian settlers, loyal Cavaliers, and native Irish Catholics should live side by side. Common hatred of the down-trodden natives, as well as common Protestantism, bound together both parties among the Englishry. The *Act of Settlement* (1661) allowed the Puritan *adventurers*

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and Cromwell's old soldiers to keep their estates, while all royalists, Protestant and Catholic alike, were also promised restoration to the lands they had lost. But it was soon found that there was not land enough to satisfy all claimants, though the rebel forfeitures were very large. Ormonde, now a Duke and Lord Lieutenant, strove to make things as easy as possible, and in 1665 he carried an *Act of Explanation of the Act of Settlement*, under which a third of the Cromwellian grants confirmed in 1661 were given back to the royalists and the more influential Catholic claimants. The result was that not one-third of the soil of Ireland remained in Catholic, that is, in native Irish hands. From this flowed the great *Agrarian Question* of later Irish history. The keen sense of wrong under which the Irish were smarting was hardly increased by the restoration of Episcopacy in the Protestant Church, for they hated Anglicans and Puritans alike as heretics; but this was not liked by the Cromwellians and the Scotch Presbyterians of the north. Among the new Irish bishops was the pious and eloquent Jeremy Taylor. The Catholic worship was not absolutely put down, though the priests and bishops were badly treated. The fiercer Celts forsook their fields in despair, and formed bands of brigands called *Rapparees* and *Tories*, who preyed on the Englishry. Yet the country prospered during the next five-and-twenty years of comparative peace, though the fruits of that prosperity were mainly reaped by the Protestant minority. England's policy in Ireland was always much the same, whether it came from Strafford or Cromwell or Charles II.'s ministers.

Act of Settlement, 1661.

7. The Restoration brought little change in foreign policy, for Charles liked Frenchmen and French ways, and Clarendon, like Oliver, clung fast to the old Elizabethan dislike of Spain as the home of the Inquisition, and the rival of England on the seas. In 1659 France and Spain had ended their long war by the *Peace of the Pyrenees*, but they were still jealous of each other. Louis XIV., a hard-working, clear-headed king of great personal dignity and strong character, though only of average ability, became in 1661, by the death of Cardinal Mazarin, ruler as well as king of France. He persuaded the English to keep up Cromwell's old friendship with him, though far-seeing men understood that France had begun to threaten the balance of power in Europe, and even Clarendon had no love of the French. The first sign of the two kings' friendship was the marriage

Foreign policy, 1660-1667.

The French Alliance.

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(1662) of Charles to Catharine of Braganza, sister of the king of Portugal, a land which, since 1640, had maintained, with French help, an heroic struggle for freedom against Spain. A large marriage-portion, including the towns of Bombay, in the East Indies, and Tangier, on the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar, was the price paid by the Portuguese for the English Alliance. But a Catholic marriage was not popular, and folks were still more discontented when, in 1662, Charles sold Dunkirk (the Flemish port Oliver had taken from the Spaniards) to the French. Clarendon, though not taking a leading share in foreign policy, and anxious for general peace rather than particular alliances, was looked upon as responsible for this act, and was accused, very unjustly, of having been bribed by Louis. The mob nicknamed the stately palace, which the Chancellor was building near St. James, "Dunkirk House." Even when continuing the old policy of Cromwell, Charles carried it on in so different a spirit that he incurred blame while Cromwell had been greatly praised.

More popular was the fresh attack on the carrying trade of Holland by the enactment, in 1660, of the *Navigation Act*, which gave legal shape to the measures directed against the Dutch carrying trade that had been already passed as an ordinance of the Rump. Yet Clarendon, who had no wish for war, concluded, in 1662, a treaty with the Dutch in settlement of all disputes. But trade-jealousy between England and the Seven Provinces was now complicated by the king's dislike of the Dutch republicans, who, under the brothers De Witt now ruled the state, and were keeping his sister's son, *William III., Prince of Orange*, out of the Stadtholdership. Hostilities soon broke out between English and Dutch merchants on the Gold Coast in Africa, and between the colonists of New England and New Holland in North America. At last the wishes of the merchants carried the day against the weak will of Clarendon. From 1665 to 1667 a fierce struggle was fought out at sea, in which the Dutch quite held their own: for corruption and mismanagement paralysed the English navy, and the vast sums granted by Parliament for a popular war were shamefully wasted. "The Dutch do fight in very good order," said the admiralty official Pepys, "and we in none at all." In 1665 the Duke of York, who, as Lord High Admiral, proved a careful and skilful administrator though a mediocre commander, won a decided victory off *Lowestoft*, but lost the fruits of it through

The Dutch War, 1665-1666.

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the skill of his opponents. In April 1666 Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle took the sea with a great fleet under their joint command. On 1st June the Dutch admiral Ruyter attacked Albemarle off the *North Foreland*, while Rupert with his squadron was away. The Dutch were superior in numbers, but Monck offered a gallant and long-continued resistance. After two days' fighting he was, however, forced to retreat. On the third day Rupert rejoined him, and the battle was renewed. On the fourth day of the continued fighting, the English were finally forced to withdraw, but the victorious Dutch were so severely handled that they were obliged to go home to refit. In July the two English admirals were again at sea, and this time with better success. Their victory led to the burning of a fleet of Dutch merchantmen in harbour, an act which cost the enemy more than a million pounds. But in 1667 the English government, not knowing how to raise any more money, foolishly resolved to lay up the great warships in harbour. This fatal act gave the Dutch command of the seas, and in June they made a sudden and successful attack on the mouth of the Thames. They destroyed Sheerness, sailed up the Medway to Chatham, where they burnt eight great men-of-war that were uselessly laid up there, and cut off London from the sea for several weeks. Soon after (July 1667) a peace was made at *Breda*, by which each country was to keep the possessions of the other that it held at the moment. Thus New Amsterdam (between New England and the Virginian group of colonies) became English, and being granted to the king's brother, took the name of New York. Despite the concessions made to secure his friendship, Louis, afraid of the English becoming too strong at sea, supported the Dutch during the war, and so terrified the hired ally of England, the Bishop of Münster, in Germany, that he desisted from the attack which he had threatened to make on the Dutch by land, with the object of diverting them from devoting all their strength to the naval struggle. Patriotic Englishmen already began to sigh for the old days of Blake and Oliver.

The Great Plague, 1665, and the Fire of London, 1666.

8. Disasters at home followed disasters abroad. Reaction from Puritan strictness brought about a wild time of riot and dissipation in which the king and his courtiers took the lead. In 1665 a terrible *Plague* burst out amidst the close and unhealthy streets of London. "The people die so," wrote Pepys in August, "that they are fain to carry the dead to be

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buried by daylight, the nights not sufficing to do it in." "What a sad time," he lamented, "it is to see no boats on the river; and grass grow all up and down Whitehall court, and nobody but poor wretches in the streets." For many rich ran away from the danger, leaving the poor to suffer. After the plague died away a *Great Fire* broke out near London Bridge, and burnt down nearly half of the City (September 1666). "I saw the whole south of the City burning," wrote Evelyn, "from Cheapside to the Thames. The people hardly stirred to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seen but crying out and lamentation. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen above 40 miles round. I now saw 10,000 houses all in one flame; the noise and cracking and thunder of the flames, the shrieking of women, the hurry of people, the fall of towers and churches were like a hideous storm: the stones of St. Paul's flew like grenados, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream. The eastern wind drove the flames forward till it pleased God to abate it." At last the people took courage, and by blowing up houses stopped the flames. In some ways the Fire was a blessing in disguise, for it swept away the foul haunts of the plague, and enabled the City to be rebuilt in a healthier way.

Impeachment of Clarendon, 1667.

9. Bitter complaints arose of bad management, and of the moneys meant for the Dutch war being spent on the king's unworthy favourites, while men were shocked at "the horrible crowd and lamentable moan of the poor seamen that lie starving in the streets for lack of money." Clarendon was made the scapegoat, Charles and his courtiers giving him up very willingly. In August 1667 the Chancellor was dismissed from office, and in October he was impeached of high treason. But of the seventeen articles which the Commons drew up against him only one, which asserted that he had betrayed the king's secrets to his enemies, amounted to treason: and that article could not be proved. The Lords therefore declined to commit him to prison, whereupon Charles, who wanted Clarendon out of the way, recommended him to leave the kingdom. The fallen minister took the king's advice, and, instead of waiting his trial, fled to France, where he passed the rest of his life, beguiling his leisure by writing in stately prose his famous *History of the Rebellion*. The Lords, taking his flight as a proof of guilt, passed an act for his banishment. Few

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lamented his fall. Soon after his friend Ormonde lost the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland.

10. *George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, son of Charles I.'s favourite, and the son-in-law of Lord Fairfax, had most to do with getting rid of Clarendon. The poet Dryden described this young statesman, not untruly, as

> "A man so various that he seemed to be
> Not one but all mankind's epitome:
> Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
> Was everything by starts and nothing long;
> But in the course of one revolving moon
> Was chymist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon."

Buckingham was a debauchee and a spendthrift, with neither earnestness nor principle. Careless about religion, he now sought to bring the king and the Dissenters together against the old Cavalier party. His best helper was *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, now *Lord Ashley*, Chancellor of the Exchequer since 1661. Ashley was a strong upholder of Parliamentary government and toleration, a friend of the philosopher, John Locke, and the best party manager and cleverest debater of the age; but he was factious, ambitious, greedy, and unscrupulous. Dryden's famous lines bring out what his enemies thought about him:—

> "Restless, unfixed in principles and place,
> In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace;
> A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
> Fretted the pigmy body to decay,
> And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.
> A daring pilot in extremity,
> Pleased with the danger when the waves went high,
> He sought the storms, but for a calm unfit
> Would steer too nigh the sands to boast his wit."

Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington, a selfish, pompous, able though slow-minded man, "who could never shake off a little air of formality that an embassy to Spain had infected him with," but who had, however, a great knowledge of foreign affairs, had been Secretary of State since 1662. He brought into power *Sir Thomas Clifford*, after 1672 *Lord Clifford of Chudleigh*, a hot Catholic, disliked for "folly, ambition, desire of popularity, rudeness of tongue, and passions," but loved by his friends for his generosity and sincerity. These four men gradually joined with Lauderdale, the dictator of Scotland, in a new Cabinet, which became infamous as the *Cabal*, a word spelt, curiously enough, by the initials of their

The Cabal, 1667-1673.

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names. They were all unscrupulous and self-seeking men, with many differences of policy, but they were now bound together on a common plan of toleration, in opposition to Clarendon's strong Church policy. Though Charles often took their advice, they formed no regular ministry, and did not even constitute a secret council, meeting together to agree on common action. But Parliament would have nothing to say to their fine schemes, and even the Dissenters were afraid of a toleration offered in the interest of the Catholics. In 1670 Parliament passed the *Second Conventicle Act*, imposing fresh penalties on Nonconformists. The Cabal therefore dropped constitutional courses, and sought to exalt the royal power. Their rule was marked by wiser policy but stained by shameless misgovernment and gross corruption.

The Triple Alliance, 1668.

11. The Cabal strove to reverse Clarendon's policy abroad as well as at home. Louis XIV. was now waging a new war with Spain in the Netherlands, parts of which he claimed to belong to his wife, Maria Theresa of Spain, after the death of her father, Philip IV. of Spain, in 1665. Louis maintained that, by a local custom, the daughters of an earlier marriage had a right to succeed to certain lands in Brabant before the sons of a second marriage, such as Charles II., Maria Theresa's half-brother, the sickly child who now ruled over Spain (1665-1700). This right was called the *Right of Devolution*, and the war that now broke out was called the *War of Devolution*. Louis's successes soon filled Europe with alarm. At last, in June 1668, Sir William Temple, a famous diplomatist and man of letters, arranged at the Hague a *Triple Alliance* between England, the United Provinces and Sweden to restore peace to Europe. For a time this alliance seemed brilliantly successful. Louis was forced to make the *Peace of Aachen* (Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668) and give up the Free County of Burgundy, which he had conquered, though he was permitted to keep a large number of Netherlandish towns, including Douai, Tournai and Lille. He never forgave the Dutch for their resistance to his plans, and he soon found means to win England from their side. Bennet and Clifford, and the king, as friends of the Catholics, had been no advocates of an alliance with the Protestant powers. Temple's scheme for extending the alliance into a lasting league was put aside. At last, in 1670, Louis sent his sister-in-law, the beautiful Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, to conclude with her brother

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King Charles the secret *Treaty of Dover*, by which Charles agreed to help Louis against Holland and Spain, and Louis promised Charles men and money to put down opposition, and to bring back Catholicism in England. Charles was afraid to tell even Ashley, Buckingham, and Lauderdale of this wicked plot, although he got them to join his plan of war with Holland by showing them a sham treaty with France in which the worst clauses of the real treaty were left out.

The Treaty of Dover, 1670.

12. In 1672 England and France began the attack on the Seven Provinces. To get money, Clifford advised Charles to stop all payments for a year from the Exchequer (1672). The result of this was that the goldsmiths and bankers, who had advanced more than a million to the Government, could not get their principal back. It was thought a great favour to promise them half the usual interest. The bankers in their turn could only offer diminished interest to their customers, and the whole of English trade was disorganised. This was called the *Stop of the Exchequer*. Through it Charles, says Evelyn, "ruined many widows and orphans, whose stocks were lent him, and the reputation of his Exchequer for ever. Never did his affairs prosper after it, for it did not supply the expense of the war, but melted away, I know not how."

War against Holland, 1672-74.

Louis XIV. invaded Holland by land, and the Duke of York fought, in June 1672, a long and doubtful sea-fight with Ruyter off *Southwold Bay*, in Suffolk. Four of the Seven Provinces were soon overrun, and Amsterdam itself was only saved by cutting the dykes and putting the country under water. The Dutch believed that the merchant princes, who, since 1650, had ruled the republic, and had long upheld an alliance with France, were to blame for the great peril that was upon them. Riots broke out; the reigning oligarchy was violently overthrown; the two De Witts, the leaders of the republican party, were cruelly murdered, and the stadtholdership restored and given to William III., Prince of Orange. The new stadtholder was the son of Wiliam II. by Mary, daughter of Charles I., and therefore Charles II.'s nephew, and, after York's two daughters, the next in succession to the English crown. William was a sickly, thoughtful, young man, unattractive in his private life, and cold and self-seeking, but of daring and heroic temper, who encouraged his countrymen to resist the invaders to the last, and set to work at once to build up

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a fresh European alliance against France. Brandenburg, Spain and the Empire, alarmed at Louis's rapid progress, joined him, and the worst danger was soon over. Instead of having Holland at her mercy, France had now to face a comparatively equal war against a great coalition. Thus was revived the policy of combined opposition to France, which had been momentarily set on foot by Temple's Triple Alliance. For the rest of his life William devoted himself to strenuously opposing French ascendency, and was the soul of every movement directed against Louis XIV. He had, however, to contend against enormous difficulties, and it was long before he attained much success.

Declaration of Indulgence, 1672.

13. Ashley was now Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Chancellor, being the last layman who ever held that office, and exciting the laughter of the lawyers as he sat on the bench "in an ash-coloured gown, silver-laced, and full-ribboned pantaloons displayed, without any black at all, and looking more like a university nobleman than a high chancellor." In March 1672, he was able to persuade Charles to issue a *Declaration of Indulgence* for all Dissenters, though the proclamation was only legal if the king had, as he claimed, the power both to *suspend* altogether and to *dispense* in particular cases with Acts of Parliament. But suspicions of the Dover plot were abroad, and it was thought that this was the first step to bring back Popery and arbitrary power. When Parliament met in January 1673, Cavaliers themselves objected to the prerogative being used to take away the ascendency of their Church. In vain Shaftesbury thundered against the Dutch, crying "Delenda est Carthago," and declaring that they would ruin our trade. In vain Charles gave up his *Declaration*. The imminent danger to religion led even merchants and traders to think little of the need of crushing our commercial rivals, and much of the need of upholding Protestantism. Parliament insisted on passing the *Test Act*, which required all who held office in the state to receive the Holy Communion in the Church of England's way, and to renounce the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Seeing that his connection with the Catholics had damaged himself and his favourite cause, Shaftesbury hotly supported the bill. It broke up the Cabal, for Clifford (Lord Treasurer since 1672) would not take the test, and Arlington turned round to the Dutch interest, though he did not escape being impeached in 1674 as the great "conduit-pipe" of the king's misdeeds.

The Test Act and fall of the Cabal, 1673.

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This forced him to give up his secretaryship and politics altogether. The Duke of York, now an avowed Catholic, and the husband of a Catholic Italian princess, Mary Beatrice of Modena, resigned the office of Lord High Admiral. The Dutch still held their own at sea, Ruyter defeating Rupert in 1673 off the sandhills of Zeeland. In 1674 the Commons, who hated the war, forced Charles to make with the Seven Provinces the *Peace of Westminster*. Louis kept at war with the Dutch despite the loss of the English alliance and the European coalition that had been formed to support them.

The Rule of Danby, 1673-78.

14. The failure of the Cabal to secure religious toleration, and keep up the French alliance, brought into power *Sir Thomas Osborne*, a Yorkshire gentleman of comely person and great political craft, who, since Clarendon's fall, had step by step become the leader of the Church party in Parliament. In June 1673 he became Lord High Treasurer, and in 1674 Earl of Danby, and he remained for nearly six years at the head of affairs. His revival of Clarendon's church-and-king policy made it easier for him to deal with the Commons, and he did not scruple to bribe and corrupt them. But his foreign policy was just the reverse of that pursued during Clarendon's Chancellorship. He went back to the principles of the Triple Alliance, which he sought to revive. France was still winning victories, despite the heroic efforts of William III. and the conspicuous triumph of Frederick William (the Great Elector of Brandenburg, and the founder of Prussian greatness) over the Swedes, now as of old in French pay. But Charles took Louis's bribes, and in his shiftless unsteady way still leant on his support. In 1676 Charles made a new secret treaty with Louis, which he copied out and signed with his own hand. In return for £100,000 a year, he agreed to enter into no engagements with any foreign power without the French king's consent. Yet the restoration of the house of Orange made it easier for him to keep friendly with the Dutch, and in 1677, urged by Danby, he assembled a large army intended to be used against France; but though the Commons cried for war, they were afraid to entrust the king with money to carry it on. In November 1677, Danby procured the marriage of the Protestant princess, *Mary of York*, the elder daughter of James by his first wife, Anne Hyde, to the Prince of Orange. These acts of hostility showed Louis that, despite his secret treaties with Charles himself, he could not depend

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upon controlling the foreign policy of England. Fearing that England might join the coalition against him, Louis made up his mind to end the war. In 1678 he succeeded in signing the *Treaty of Nijmegen* (Nimeguen) with Holland and her allies, securing this time the Free County, and twelve more Netherlandish cities, among which were Valenciennes, Cambrai and Ypres. He was tired of wasting his money on Charles, and now set himself to bribe the chiefs of the opposition, who were as ready as the king to take his gold. He perceived that his best plan was to play off king and Parliament against each other, so that England would remain too weak and divided to take a strong line abroad. The results of this subtle policy were soon seen in a rank growth of faction.

The Popish Plot, 1678-80.

15. In 1678 terrible consternation was excited by the rumour of a great *Popish Plot.* "The Parliament and the whole nation were now alarmed about a conspiracy of some eminent Papists for the destruction of the king and the introduction of Popery, discovered by one *Titus Oates*, lately an apostate to the Church of Rome, and now back in the English Church with this discovery. Everybody believed what he said, and it quite changed the genius and motions of the Parliament, now corrupt and interested with long sitting and Court practices; but with all this Popery would not go down. This discovery turned them all as one man against it, and nothing was done but to find out the depth of this. The murder of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, found strangled about this time, as was manifest, by the Papists, he being a justice of the peace, who knew much of their practices, put the whole nation into a new ferment against them." Oates's first victims were tried and executed. On this Oates grew so presumptuous as to accuse the queen of attempting to poison the king. But Charles refused to listen to this absurd charge, and even Oates did not venture to press it for long. Several Roman Catholic peers were, however, sent to the Tower, accused by Oates. Bedloe, Dangerfield, and other knavish informers followed Oates in his profitable trade of denouncing Papists. The judges, led by Chief-Justice Scroggs, did their best to frighten juries into giving verdicts. A blind panic seized on the whole nation. Though Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, was acquitted, the aged and virtuous Lord Stafford (one of the Howards), and many lesser but equally innocent sufferers, fell, in 1680, a victim to

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the popular fears. Constant Catholic intrigues half explain the nation's uneasiness, but nothing can excuse the blind way in which every one listened to the tales of the informers. There may have been a "Popish plot," but Oates's stories were all false. As Dryden said:

> "Some truth there was, but dashed and brewed with lies,
> To please the fools and puzzle all the wise."

The opposition, led by Shaftesbury, made a clever but wicked use of the passion of the people and the increasing disgust felt for the Court, and Parliament now passed an Act disabling all Roman Catholics, except the Duke of York, from sitting in it. In December 1678 Danby was impeached and driven from office, Louis XIV. (who hated him for his friendship for William of Orange) supplying the chief evidence against him by revealing a treaty to which he was an unwilling partner, and by which Charles was to have got a huge bribe from the French king. To save Danby, Charles, in January 1679, dissolved the Parliament, which had been sitting since 1661. Many years of misgovernment, and the accession of many new opposition members at by-elections, had cured this Long Parliament of the Restoration of its blind love for royalty, though to the last it was bigoted against all non-churchmen.

The Exclusion Bill and the Habeas Corpus Act, 1679.

16. In March 1679 the new Parliament, in which the "country party" was overwhelmingly strong, met and at once took up Danby's impeachment. Shaftesbury now had everything his own way with the indignant Commons. The panic about the "Plot" terrified folks at the chance of a Papist, like the Duke of York, becoming king. In the fierce temper that had lately grown up, the Commons cared little for the notions of Divine Right and hereditary succession, which had been so popular in the early days of the Restoration. They now believed that at all costs England must be ruled by a Protestant king. An *Exclusion Bill* was therefore brought in to keep the Duke of York out of the succession, and read a second time. At the same time the *Habeas Corpus Act* was passed "for the better securing the liberty of the subject, and for preventing imprisonment beyond the seas."

By it the various obstacles in the way of getting a *Writ of Habeas Corpus* [see page 578] were removed. All judges were empowered and obliged to issue the writ, and severe penalties were imposed on gaolers who refused to obey it. The custom, very common since the

Restoration, of sending political prisoners to places like the Channel Islands or Ireland, outside the jurisdiction of the English courts, to avoid the writs, was now abolished.

So strong were Shaftesbury and his friends that Charles tried to make terms with them. He called on Sir William Temple to invent a *New Council* of ministers, less unwieldy and less dependent than the Privy Council, and wider and more popular than the hated cabals of cabin counsellors. Temple's *Council* consisted of thirty very rich men, including many opposition leaders, with Shaftesbury himself as President. But it proved a failure, having neither the old traditions of the Privy Council nor the usefulness of the Cabinet. In July Charles dissolved Parliament to save his brother's prospects of becoming king.

Whigs and Tories, 1679

17. Fresh elections were held in the autumn, but Charles was afraid, if he allowed the new Parliament to meet, that it would prove as unruly as the last one. He hoped "to wait till this violence should wear off, and meanwhile hold his realms, and do all he could to satisfy his people." The party which desired to pass the Exclusion Bill was much disgusted at this inactivity, and sent many petitions to the king, begging him to let Parliament meet to transact business. But Shaftesbury and his followers had now gone too far, and a large number of friends of order, disgusted at their reckless violence, joined the courtiers in sending to Charles counter-petitions, declaring that they abhorred those that sought to interfere with the king's prerogative of summoning Parliament at his own pleasure. The two parties thus got the names of *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*, before long changed into *Whig* and *Tory*. These words, at first insulting nicknames, were soon used by every one to describe the two great parties into which the country had been divided ever since the Restoration. The word *Whig* or *Whigamore* was taken from the name of the bitter Covenanters of south-western Scotland. The word *Tory* came from the Catholic Irish outlaws who lurked in the bogs and mountains, and plundered and killed their Protestant tyrants.

18. A popular revolt now broke out in Scotland, where the restoration of bishops was still bitterly resented, despite the concessions that had been made to meet Presbyterian feeling. The curates, as the Episcopalian clergy were called, were almost universally despised. "Men think it," wrote a friend of bishops, "a stain to their blood to place

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their sons in that function; and women are ashamed to marry with any of them. They are accounted by many as the dross and refuse of the nation." But they were upheld by the corrupt and careless nobles who now ruled Scotland, relying on English support. Dissent, as in England, had been made penal, and the hillside meetings were ruthlessly broken up. The stern *Covenanters* or *Cameronians* (so the extreme Presbyterians were called from their preacher, Richard Cameron) had been brutally persecuted during the long rule of Lauderdale. In 1667 a little band of about a thousand took up arms, believing "that God was able to save by few as well as by many"; but they were overwhelmed in a fight among the *Pentland Hills* (south of Edinburgh). In 1677 a gang of wild Highlandmen, called the *Highland Host*, was quartered on the most disaffected regions to overawe them into loyalty. However, Archbishop Sharp, "the Judas who had sold the kirk of Christ for 50,000 marks," was caught and murdered on *Magus Muir*, near Cupar Fife, May 1679, by a gang of Covenanters headed by Hackston of Rathillet and Balfour of Kinloch, who took refuge in the south-west, where the cause was strongest. Here the fierce enthusiasts stirred up the whole countryside, and many drilled and armed Covenanters flocked together to hold a great conventicle to protest against the proscription of the Covenant. The royalist commander, *John Graham of Claverhouse*, attempted to disperse the conventicle at *Drumclog*, but his dragoons fled in disorder before the scythes and pitchforks of the peasantry. After this unexpected success, the revolt spread like wild-fire. By Shaftesbury's advice, *James Duke of Monmouth*, the eldest of Charles II.'s numerous natural children, was sent down to suppress the rising. On 22nd June 1679, Monmouth ended the revolt by his victory at *Bothwell Bridge*, on the Clyde, a few miles above Glasgow. But he was hand and glove with the English Whigs and was unwilling to be too harsh on their Scottish namesakes. However, ere long he came home, and the Duke of York went to Scotland, and set to work to stamp out the Covenanters by imprisonment, torture, executions, and harsh martial law. In 1680 Cameron himself came back from Holland, and slunk about the country preaching, attended by a band of armed followers, till he was surprised and slain at *Airdsmoss* in Ayrshire. Next year, *Archibald, Earl of Argyll*, son of the beheaded Marquis, and as zealous as

The Cameronian revolt in Scotland, 1679.

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his father on the Presbyterian side, was condemned, on technical grounds, of "leasing making," or treason; he, however, escaped from prison through the devotion of his step-daughter, and, after lurking long in London, took refuge in Holland, which had become the rallying-place of all Whig exiles.

Monmouth.

19. Monmouth was "the darling of his father and the ladies; extremely handsome and adroit; an excellent soldier and dancer, a favourite of the people," and from his weak shallow nature easily led astray by stronger heads than his own. Shaftesbury now brought him forward in opposition to the Duke of York. The simple Absalom soon followed the crafty Achitophel in intriguing against his father. "The bells and bonfires of the city welcomed him back to London; the people made their idol of the Protestant Duke." It was even said that Charles had married his mother, a Welshwoman of low character, named Lucy Walters. The cry was raised that he ought to be the next king. This was a fatal mistake for Shaftesbury and his friends. Not only was the Court disgusted, but Shaftesbury lost all his influence with Charles. He was turned out of the presidency of the new Council, and all his friends soon after resigned. Temple's Council had already broken down. A little cabinet had formed within it, of which the chief was the brilliant and fair-minded *George Savile*, Earl and afterwards *Marquis of Halifax*, "a man of a great and ready wit, full of life and very pleasant, and much given to satire." Halifax boasted that he was neither Whig nor Tory, but a *Trimmer* between the two factions. In him Charles now put his chief trust. The other leading ministers were *Laurence Hyde*, the second son of Clarendon, *Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland*, and *Sidney Godolphin*, all young men, who were spoken of as the "young statesmen" or the "chits." As Dryden wrote :—

"But Sunderland, Godolphin, Lory,
These will appear such chits in story,
'Twill turn all politics to jests,
To be repeated like John Dory,
When fiddlers sing at feasts."

In October 1680 Charles's Fourth Parliament, that had been elected a year earlier, was at last suffered to meet. Its session was short and stormy. The *Exclusion Bill* was again brought forward and easily passed through the Commons, but in the Lords the convincing eloquence

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of Halifax "was much too hard for Shaftesbury, who had never been so outdone before." Chiefly through Halifax's efforts the Lords rejected the Bill by 63 to 30. The furious Commons stopped supplies, refused to pass laws, and declared the Great Fire of London to be the work of Papist incendiaries. In January 1681 Charles ventured to dissolve Parliament. In March a new Parliament, the fifth and last of the reign, met at Oxford. The king thought that in Tory Oxford, far from the support of the City mob, Parliament might be more tractable. But the Whig members came there with bands of armed followers, and all believed that a new civil war must soon break out. In vain Charles offered his consent to his brother's banishment and to the Prince of Orange being regent with full powers, so long as James kept the name of king. The Commons would hear of nothing but absolute exclusion. Fortunately for James, a fierce quarrel broke out between Lords and Commons, which gave the king a pretext for dissolving the Parliament after it had only sat a week. But the violence, factiousness, and unscrupulousness of the Whigs had overshot their mark. "The Popish Plot," wrote Evelyn, "which had hitherto made such a noise, now began sensibly to dwindle, through the folly, knavery, impudence, and giddiness of Oates, so that the Papists began to hold up their heads higher than ever, and those who had fled, flocked to London from abroad. Such sudden changes and eager doings there had been without anything steady or prudent for these last seven years!"

The Parliaments of 1680-1681.

20. The Tories had at last the upper hand. Laurence Hyde, now made Earl of Rochester, was the chief agent of the reaction, and, until the end of the reign, remained foremost in the king's favour. Halifax now began slightly to lose influence with his counsels of moderation, though he remained in office until the end of the reign. The Court party now sought for vengeance, and the same corrupt judges and frightened juries that in previous years had brought about the scandalous condemnations of the Catholics, were now set to work to bring about equally scandalous condemnations of the fallen Whigs. Their first victim was Stephen College, the "Protestant joiner" who had invented the "Protestant flail," a sort of life-preserver to ward off Papist assassins, and who had ridden armed to Oxford.

The Tory, Reaction, 1681-1685, and the Rye House Plot, 1683.

"Brave College is hang'd, the chief of our hopes,
For pulling down bishops and making new popes."

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In July 1681 Shaftesbury himself was sent to the Tower on a charge of treason. But in November the grand jury threw out the bill against him. The Londoners, among whom Whig feeling lingered longest, rang their bells and kindled bonfires. Shaftesbury lived for the next year entirely within the City, trusting to its privileges and its Whig magistrates. But the Court procured the election of a Tory lord mayor, whereupon Shaftesbury, after failing to arrange with Monmouth for a rising in the west, fled to Holland, where he died early in 1683. His friend John Locke followed him into exile. Monmouth, unforgiven by his father, was banished also. In despair the fiercer Whigs turned to treason. They were guided by the Scot, *Robert Ferguson*, "the Plotter," a "tall lean man, with thin jaws, heat in his face, sharp piercing eye and a shuffling gait," who was at the bottom of most conspiracies for nearly a generation. "After the Popish Plot," says Evelyn, "there was now a new Protestant plot discovered that certain lords and others should design the assassination of the king and the duke as they were to come from Newmarket, with a general rising of the nation and especially of the City of London disaffected to the present government." This plot was called the *Rye House Plot* (1683), from a house of that name near Hoddesdon, in Hertfordshire, where a sturdy Whig, *Richard Rumbold*, once an officer in Oliver's own regiment, now traded as a maltster. There the conspirators planned to murder Charles and James, as they passed by on their road to London, after attending horse races at Newmarket. But the plot was discovered, and the Whig leaders were arrested. The Rye House Plot was mixed up with the more general conspiracy before Shaftesbury's escape. Among the victims were *William*, *Lord Russell*, eldest son of the Earl of Bedford, and a man of upright and blameless character, and *Algernon Sidney*, son of the Earl of Leicester, who maintained the old doctrines of the "Commonwealth's men" of the Rump, and wished to make England an aristocratic republic. *Lord Essex*, son of the royalist Lord Capel, executed in 1649, and a "sober, wise, judicious and pondering person," cut his throat in the Tower to avoid an attainder, and the forfeiture of the family estates. "Every one," says Tory Evelyn, "deplored Essex and Russell, as being drawn in on pretence of endeavouring to rescue the king from his present counsellors; while the rest who were fled, especially Ferguson and his gang, had doubtless some bloody design to set

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up a commonwealth.' The evidence against both Russell and Sidney was weak, though decided to be legally sufficient, since their execution was held necessary by the government.

The Duke of York now again took his seat in Council and at the Admiralty, despite the Test Act.[4] Writs of *quo warranto* were issued inquiring by what authority the corporations of boroughs, most of which were nests of Whiggism, exercised their privileges. The object was to frighten them to give up their old charters and issue new ones which secured for the Tories the chief place in the Borough Councils. As the borough members were mostly returned by the Town Councils, it was hoped that this would secure a majority for the Tories in future Parliaments. But the king would not call a new Parliament yet, though the three years of the Triennial Act were overpast, and the Trimmer Halifax urged strongly that a popular king like Charles need not be afraid to meet his faithful Commons.

Death and Character of Charles II., 1685.

21. Never was the Court braver than in the early months of 1685, and never were grave men more shocked by the "inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God, which was then to be seen in the glorious gallery of Whitehall." But on 2nd February Charles, a hale and hearty man for his years, was suddenly smitten with an apopletic fit. He rallied for a while, but it was only a short reprieve. Fresh fits followed, with fever and great weakness. He refused to receive the Holy Communion from Archbishop Sancroft, and was privately reconciled to the Church of Rome as he lay a-dying by Father Huddleston, "the priest that had a great hand in saving him after Worcester fight, for which he was excepted out of all the severe acts against priests." He died on 6th February.

Charles was "a tall man, about two yards high, his hair a deep brown, near to black," and of a harsh, dark complexion, "his countenance fierce, his voice great, proper of person, every motion became him." He lived an active life, delighting in walking and exercise, and always taking great care of his health. "He was debonair, easy of access, not bloody or cruel; a lover of the sea, and skilful in shipping, not affecting other studies. Yet he had a laboratory, and knew many empirical medicines, and the easier mathematics; he loved planting and building, and brought in a politer way of living, which passed to luxury and intolerable expense. He had a particular talent for

telling a story, and facetious passages of which he had innumerable: this made some buffoons and vicious wretches too presumptuous and familiar. He took a delight in having a number of little spaniels follow him, and lie in his bed-chamber." He had a strong memory, great power of observation, an even temper, and an extraordinary quickness of apprehension. His kindly manners made him much beloved, but he was idle, improvident, selfish, and extravagant. His wife, *Catharine of Portugal*, had little or no influence over him, and played but a small part in the gay life of his Court. He was governed by a long succession of worthless female favourites, such as the handsome and greedy Barbara Villiers, whom he made Duchess of Cleveland, Eleanor Gwyn, a witty comic actress, and Louise de Keroualle, a Breton lady, "a famous beauty, but of a childish, simple, and baby face," who came over to England in the days of the treaty of Dover, became Duchess of Portsmouth, and long kept him to his unworthy dependence on Louis XIV. As a man he set an evil example, which too many of his subjects faithfully followed. As a politician he played an almost equally degrading part. He sold himself and his country to the French king, and would willingly have brought in Popery and arbitrary power, though he was too lazy and careless to make the continued effort necessary to carry out a consistent policy. But he never wavered in supporting what he thought his brother's lawful claims, and, alone of the Stewart kings, he had shrewdness and common sense enough to see things as they really were. He made up his mind never to "go on his travels again," and discreetly stood aside whenever public opinion raged too high against his policy. Thus he in some ways played the part of a constitutional king. It was this shrewd recognition of public opinion that enabled Charles to maintain his throne despite all the troubles—many of his own making—that beset him, and thus to save England from the danger of more revolutions when she most wanted quiet and rest. Laughing at religion when well, and turning to Catholicism when sick and serious, he was no Tory nor Church of England man. But he used the devotion of those at whose prejudices he scoffed, and whose good qualities he was not earnest enough to understand. It speaks well for his good humour, his politeness and his wits that he died popular.

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CHAPTER VI.

James II., and the Fall of the Stewarts. 1685–1689.

Accession and Character of James II., 1685

1. Despite the Test Act and the Exclusion Bill, James, Duke of York, now became the Catholic king of Protestant England. He was fifty-two years old, "some thing above the middle stature, well-shaped, very nervous and strong. His face was rather long, his complexion fair, his countenance engaging; but his outward carriage was a little stiff and constrained. Having something of a hesitation in his speech, his discourse was not so gracious as it was judicious and solid. He was a great lover of exercise, especially walking and hunting, but no diversion made him neglect his business." He had neither the ability nor the insight of his brother. His character rather resembled that of his father, though he lacked his father's external graces. He was slow, patient, and plodding, sticking to his opinions with great obstinacy, and with little noble or generous about him. Yet Whig enemies allowed him to be "naturally a man of truth, fidelity, and justice." But he was ruled by priests and women, and had set his heart on bringing back the Roman Church, and with that object he sought to make the king's power more absolute. He was hard-working, unforgiving, remorseless, treacherous even, in carrying out these great ends.

The Tory rule continued.

2. James's very accession was a Tory triumph. Hot Churchmen as they mostly were, the Tories had kept out of sight James's want of Churchmanship because he was the lineal heir to the throne. The Tory ministers still held office, and Tory writers and preachers still taught that kings ruled by divine right, and that subjects were bound to passive obedience to all their commands. James's first acts did not much alarm the Tory zeal for the Church. He submitted to be crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, and promised to uphold the Church, for Churchmen, he said, were always loyal subjects. But he at once went to Mass in state, and though professing to regard his religion as a private matter, he did not long remain in that mind. However, for the first few months of his reign, his brother's policy was carried on unchanged.

James felt strong enough not to be afraid of Parliaments.

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Almost at once he summoned the Parliament of Scotland, which passed an atrocious law that all who preached in an indoor "conventicle," and all who were present at an open-air "conventicle" should be punished with death. Claverhouse and his brutal dragoons carried out to the letter this fierce policy, and many martyrs, such as John Brown, the "Christian carrier," and Margaret Wilson, a young girl drowned at a stake in the Solway, laid down their lives for the Covenant.

Persecution in Scotland, 1685.

The same stern policy found strangely different victims in England. The victims of the Popish Plot were now avenged by the condemnation of the scoundrels who had sworn away their lives. The informers, Oates and Dangerfield, were tried, condemned, and whipped so severely that Oates barely got over it, and Dangerfield, who was ill-treated by the mob, died of his punishment. Nor were more respectable men spared. Richard Baxter, the venerable leader of the moderate Presbyterians, was put into prison for complaining of the persecution of the Dissenters. He was condemned by *Chief Justice Jefferies*, a shrewd Welshman, and an able but brutal and foul-tongued Old-Bailey lawyer, who had got the Chief Justiceship and a peerage as a reward for his clever advocacy and his eager condemnation of the enemies of the Court.

On 19th May the English Parliament met. "Great industry had been used to obtain elections which might promote the Court interest, most of the corporations being now by their new charters empowered to make what returns of members they pleased." The high Tories were in an enormous majority, and voted the king a revenue of £1,900,000 a year for life; a sum that almost made him independent of Parliaments. But James wished to play a leading part abroad. He was not content, like his brother, to stand aside while Louis of France went on in the career of aggression that was now reaching its climax. "I have a true English heart," he boasted to the assembled Estates, "as jealous of the honour of the nation as ever you can be." The French were in some alarm, for if James and his Parliament continued of one mind, England might, even under a Catholic king, join Spain, the Emperor, and the Pope himself, to bring down the power of France. But James was too absorbed in his home plans to do without Louis for the present. He became, like Charles, the French king's pensioner, though he chafed bitterly under his slavery.

The Parliament of 1685.

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3. The peaceful accession of James filled the little knot of Whig exiles in Holland with despair. The more reckless of them, duped by Robert Ferguson the Plotter, and misled by their friends at home, planned an invasion, and despite the efforts of the Prince of Orange, two little expeditions were fitted out. The first was destined for Scotland, and was led by the Earl of Argyll, but he was foolishly put under a committee, among whom were two obstinate and ignorant Lowland gentlemen, Hume of Polwarth, and Cochrane, and the brave old Cromwellian Rumbold. They loitered so long upon their journey that when they reached the coasts of Cantyre, the chiefs of the Campbell clan had been removed to distant prisons. At Campbelltown Argyll issued a proclamation declaring that King James had murdered King Charles, and that Monmouth was the rightful James VII. The faithful clansmen soon began to flock to the Maccallum More's great standard, on which was written, "For God and Religion, against Popery, Tyranny, Arbitrary Power and Erastianism." But Hume and Cochrane thought meanly of Highlanders, and insisted on dividing the little force, and raising Cameronian Ayrshire. On their shameful failure they again joined Argyll in Bute. English frigates now cut off their retreat, and kept Argyll from attacking Inverary, his old home. In despair the earl agreed to march through Dumbartonshire on Glasgow, but his followers melted away without any real fighting, and he was taken prisoner, and on 20th June led through Edinburgh "bareheaded, and his hands behind his back, the guards with cocked matches, and the hangman walking before him." Ten days later he was executed on the old sentence of 1681, loudly declaring on the scaffold his hatred of "Popery, Prelacy, and all superstition." Rumbold had already suffered the same fate. The brutal devastation of the Campbells' country put out the last embers of the revolt.

Argyll's Rebellion, 1685.

4. Monmouth, impatient of exile, and puffed up with vain hopes, put himself at the head of the English expedition. On 11th June he landed at *Lyme* in Dorsetshire, along with Lord Grey, Ferguson, and the fiery Scottish republican Andrew Fletcher of Salton. The townsfolk at once gathered round his standard, shouting. "A Monmouth and the Protestant religion." A silly and wicked *Declaration*, written by Ferguson, was issued, claiming that Monmouth was Charles's lawful son, and rightful king of England, promising a free Parliament,

Monmouth's Rebellion, 1685.

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and denouncing James as a usurper that had poisoned the late king. The first fight with the royalist militia, near Bridport, was not successful, and Fletcher, having killed a man in a passion, had to return to the Continent. Monmouth then advanced northwards, through Chard, to Taunton, where the sons of the stout townsmen who had defended the town under Blake gave him a hearty welcome. But though the common people received him gladly, the Whig gentry held aloof. In the vain hope of attracting them, Monmouth had himself proclaimed king on that very 20th June on which Argyll was led captive through the long High Street of Edinburgh. Next day he advanced to Bridgwater, where the peasants flocked to him in such numbers that he had to send many away for the lack of arms. He went quickly on through Glastonbury and Shepton Mallet to Keynsham, a little town about five miles east of Bristol, but, fearing to attack that great city, turned off up the Avon. Bath, like Bristol, closed its gates on him. At *Philip's Norton*, a little to the south, he had the best of a sharp skirmish against his half-brother, the Duke of Grafton, a rough, shrewd sailor, and the best of Charles II.'s sons. He then reached Frome, but the king's army now gathered against him, and he fell back on his old quarters at Bridgwater, while the regular forces encamped on *Sedgmoor*, a little to the east of the town. The latter were commanded by *Louis Duras*, *Earl of Feversham*, nephew of Turenne, the great French general, and under him by *John*, *Lord Churchill*, the most rising soldier of his time, and powerful at Court from the favour enjoyed by his sister Arabella with the king. Waiting was as useless as more purposeless wandering, so Monmouth resolved to attack at once.

The Battle of Sedgmoor, 6 July.

About midnight, on the night of the 5th-6th July, Monmouth's army of cloth-workers, ploughmen, and miners marched out of Bridgwater. A dense fog overspread the marshes, but the rebel army marched in long file along the causeways which spanned the two broad rhines (ditches) that separated them from Feversham's headquarters at the village of Weston Zoyland. But they fell into some disorder, were observed, and as they charged forwards to meet the king's troops, found, to their surprise, a new stream, the broad Bussex Rhine between them and the enemy. A fierce musketry fire was exchanged between the two banks. Grey, with his cavalry, fled in alarm, but the raw infantry fought long and gallantly, though soon out-flanked and out-generalled, and with no better weapons than the butt-ends of their muskets and scythes fastened upon long poles. But at last they were overpowered, and broke to rally no more.

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Monmouth had already left the field, and was captured a few days later in the New Forest, skulking in a dry ditch covered with bracken. He was brought to London, where he had already been attainted by Parliament. With cold-blooded cruelty James had an interview with his nephew, but Monmouth's abject entreaties for pardon were all in vain. On 15th July he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

The Bloody Assize.

The most bloodthirsty vengeance was wreaked on the wretched rebels. The coarse and brutal Colonel Kirke of the Tangier Regiment slew many by martial law immediately after the victory. Chief-Justice Jefferies went specially on the Western Circuit, or, as men afterwards called it, the *Bloody Assize*. "He made all the west an Aceldama; some places quite depopulated, and nothing in them but forsaken walls, unlucky gibbets, and ghostly carcasses. The trees were loaden almost as thick with quarters as leaves, the houses and steeples covered as close with heads as at other times with crows or ravens." More than 300 were hanged; more than 800 transported as white slaves to the planters of Jamaica and Barbados. Among the victims were two aged women, Alice Lisle, widow of one of Cromwell's lords, beheaded at Winchester for affording shelter to two fugitives, and Elizabeth Gaunt, a pious and charitable Baptist, burnt alive at Tyburn on a like charge. On his return, Jefferies was rewarded with the Lord Chancellorship.

5. James was now at the height of his power. The Tories and Churchmen had made him king and had enabled him to put down formidable rebellions. He was so delighted with his successes that he soon formed vast plans for the future. He had hitherto allowed his religion to remain under the disabilities which it had so long suffered from. But he felt that he was now so strong that he might look forward to a time when it would be no longer a penal offence to be of the same religion as the king. Visions of the ultimate triumph of Catholicism now floated before his mind, and, with true Stewart ignorance of human nature, he believed that he could still count upon the support of the Churchmen and Tories, when attacking all that they held most sacred. Side by side with schemes for the restoration of Catholicism, James formed designs for winning back the old power of the crown. He asked Parliament for an increased standing army, and for the repeal of the Test Act. If these measures were obtained, he hoped also to get the *Habeas Corpus Act* done away with. But his

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very ministers protested. Halifax, who had saved him his throne, was turned out of office. Parliament petitioned the king against breaking the Test Act, and even among the Lords the opposition rose high. In disgust, James got rid of his Parliament in November 1685, and, not deterred by his father's fate, sought to get from servile judges decisions that would avoid the necessity of going again before the indignant Commons. The price of this was a breach with the Tory party. The Lord Treasurer, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, the king's brother-in-law, who "swore like a sutler and indulged in drinking," but was the head of the Church party, found bit by bit that his influence was gone. Henceforth James was ruled by the subtle Jesuit Petre, the rough and boisterous Irishman, Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel; and above all by *Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland.* Sunderland, already Secretary of State, was now also made President of the Council. He was a statesman of remarkable foresight and ability, insinuating and attractive in his policy, but cold-hearted, corrupt and unprincipled, and though really a thorough unbeliever, he did not scruple to turn Catholic to please the king. In his zeal for Catholicism and absolutism, James gave up his plans of playing a great part in Europe, and finally accepted his dependence on Louis XIV. This was the more significant as Louis was now execrated throughout the Protestant world as the remorseless persecutor of the French Calvinists. In 1685 he had revoked the *Edict of Nantes,* that had given Protestantism a right to exist in France, and was now perpetrating terrible cruelties on the unhappy Huguenots, so that hundreds of thousands sought refuge in Protestant lands, bringing with them their skill, their trade, and their deep hatred of Popery. They were warmly welcomed in England, where the strongest Churchmen, in their sympathy for brother Protestants, forgot that they were Calvinists and Presbyterians.

Breach between James and the Parliament.

6. James was now treading in his father's footsteps. He no longer had a great party at his back, but strove with the help of courtiers and dependents to carry out a policy as purely personal as that of Charles I., and more hated by the mass of Englishmen than the worst of the "innovations" of Laud. He now sought to attain his ends by a lavish use of his *Dispensing* and *Suspending Powers.* Chief-Justice Herbert and all the other judges but one decided in the case of *Sir Edward Hales,* a Catholic colonel, that James

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had the right to dispense with the Test Act or any other statute (June 1686). The army and Council were now filled with Catholics. James pushed his dispensing power so far as to force Catholics, despite a whole crowd of statutes, into offices in the English Church. He suffered Obadiah Walker, a pervert, to turn University College, Oxford, into a Romanist seminary, and gave the Deanery of Christ-Church to Massey, an avowed Catholic. In July 1686, he established a new *Court of High Commission*, in the teeth of a statute of the Long Parliament, because he wanted to use the royal supremacy to ruin the Church of which he was the supreme governor. This illegal body suspended Bishop Compton of London, a brother of the Earl of Northampton, because he would not prevent his clergy preaching against Popery. James now put men who were secretly Papists into the vacant bishoprics. He gathered together 13,000 troops in a camp on *Hounslow Heath* to overawe the Londoners. In Ireland he replaced his elder brother-in-law Clarendon, a strong Churchman, by the Catholic Tyrconnel, who was pleased to act vigorously against the Protestant English settlers. Rochester, who had long been powerless, was now forced to yield up the White Staff of Treasurer. The Tory Churchmen of England had never supposed the monarchy, which they had tried to make strong, would use its power against them; but they found it hard to eat their own words, and cast off their own doctrine of non-resistance. There were also many time-servers and place-hunters among them, who acquiesced in all James's acts provided their own private interests were let alone. Yet all the Tories were moved to a resistance which was all the steadier because it was slow and faltering at first. James turned for allies to the Dissenters whom he had hitherto so harshly persecuted. He sought now to unite Dissenters and Catholics against the dominant church. In April 1687 he issued a *Declaration of Indulgence*, in which by his own authority he declared that he had suspended all the laws against both Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, who were henceforth to be allowed to worship publicly. He granted a measure of toleration even in Scotland, thus making the Scots Episcopalians as angry as English Churchmen. A few Nonconformists, like the courtly Quaker *William Penn*, took the bait, but the mass of them proved as staunch as the Churchmen to the Protestant cause, and were not won over by the

James's attempt to bring in Popery, 1686-1688.

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prospect of illegal toleration, offered in the interests of Popery. Nor were James's other acts calculated to reassure Protestant opinion. His new High Commission Court acted with ill-advised vigour. It deprived the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge of his headship of his college for objecting to a monk named Francis proceeding to the degree of M.A. without taking the usual oaths. At Oxford it turned out nearly all the Fellows of Magdalen College because they refused to elect a Popish President at James's dictation.

The Declaration of Indulgence and the Seven Bishops, 1688.

7. Public feeling now rose so high that James was afraid to call a new Parliament. The crisis came when he issued a second *Declaration of Indulgence* and gave orders that it should be read in all churches on the first two Sundays in June 1688. Archbishop Sancroft, a pious but narrow-minded man, and an extreme churchman, with high Tory views about non-resistance, was much concerned at the proclamation. He took council with six of his brethren—Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells (the holiest and most upright of all the bishops and the writer of the Morning and Evening Hymns), White of Peterborough, Trelawney of Bristol (a straightforward and vigorous Cornish baronet of large estate), Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, and Lake of Chichester. The *Seven Bishops* agreed to petition the king not to force the clergy to break the law. While Sancroft remained at Lambeth, the other six visited James at Whitehall and presented their petition. James rebuked them for raising a standard of rebellion. "Did ever," he asked, "a good Churchman question the Dispensing Power before?" Angry on finding that their petition had been printed and widely circulated, and that, in consequence, hardly any of the clergy read the Declaration, James sent the Bishops to the Tower on a charge of publishing a seditious libel. On June 30th they were acquitted, amidst the wild joy of Whigs and Tories, Churchmen and Dissenters. But on the 10th of June a son had been born to James, whose second marriage with Mary of Modena had for many years been childless. The mob believed that this new Prince of Wales was a mere changeling brought in to prevent the succession going to the Princess of Orange. Grave men took counsel together, fearing that "the Popish tyranny" would not now be limited to the life of an elderly man. On the very day of the acquittal of the Seven Bishops, seven leading Whigs and Tories united in a letter inviting William

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of Orange to bring a Dutch army into England to save the nation from Popery and arbitrary power. The seven signers of the invitation were the Earl of Devonshire, a great Whig nobleman, the Earl of Shrewsbury, a rising young statesman on the same side, Danby, staunchest of Churchmen and Tories, the injured and indignant Bishop Compton, Admiral Edward Russell, cousin of the Whig martyr Lord Russell, Henry Sidney, brother of Algernon, and Lord Lumley

8. A great European war was just breaking out, for Louis XIV.'s aggressions had become more barefaced than ever after his triumph at Nijmegen. Since 1686 William III., still leader of the Anti-French party in Europe, had formed the *League of Augsburg* against Louis, and lately fresh causes of dispute had arisen which forced on the war. The Dutch frontiers had to be defended, but the Great Elector sent enough Brandenburg troops for this purpose, and Louis made the great mistake of beginning the war by attacking the Palatinate far away from Holland. After this William III., who thought he could never beat the French if England ceased to be Protestant, hesitated no longer. On 10th October he issued a declaration that he would come to England to secure a free Parliament. The first time he set sail bad weather drove him back, but his second attempt succeeded. A "Protestant wind" blew his ships down the Channel, while it kept James's fleet in the Thames. On 5th November he landed at Brixham in Torbay, and marched to Exeter, where Mary's Whig chaplain Dr. Burnet read the prince's declaration in the cathedral, and many whose friends had suffered at the Bloody Assizes began to flock to his flag. The gentry and nobility of the west soon followed them. All over England men rose for William, Danby joining Devonshire in organising revolt in the north.

William III.'s Invasion and Triumph, 1688.

When tidings arrived of his son-in-law's threatened invasion, James strove to win back some of his angry subjects by giving up the Ecclesiastical Commission, and by some other concessions. But it was too late, and nothing was left but fighting, if he wished to hold his own. Feversham now marched westwards as far as Salisbury with James's army, where, on 19th November, he was joined by the king. Thereupon William left Exeter and pushed eastwards. At Wincanton a skirmish was fought between William's advanced guard of English troops under Mackay, and James's hated Irish soldiers under Sarsfield, in which the

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latter were beaten. The faithless and selfish Churchill, though he owed everything to his master, deserted to the Dutch, taking with him the Duke of Grafton. Churchill's patroness, the Princess Anne, James's second daughter, joined the northern insurgents, being escorted by her old tutor Bishop Compton, in a buff coat and jack boots. The royal army had no heart for the cause, and melted away without fighting before William's steady advance through Salisbury to Hungerford. James fled to London, thinking to make terms with his nephew, but the negotiations at Hungerford broke down, and the king, losing heart, tried to fly in disguise. Riots broke out in London. The Catholic chapels were plundered or burnt by the furious Protestants, and mob rule was to be feared. The Lords now took the government into their own hands, to prevent anarchy. Meanwhile James had been stopped by some Kentish fishermen near Sheerness, and slunk back to London. But William with his army was now at hand, and on 18th December James fled a second time to Rochester, whence he reached France safely.

9. William now entered London amid much rejoicing, but with his triumph his real difficulties began. As there was no king to issue the writs for a Parliament, a *Convention*, like that which brought back Charles II., was called. This was in all but name a real Parliament. It met on 22nd January 1689, and proved strongly Whig. The debates were long and keen. Now that the flight of James had removed the fear of Popery, many of the Tories went back to their old notions of Divine Right, and scrupled to deprive James of his throne. Sancroft and the High Tories shrank from laying violent hands on the "Lord's Anointed," and wished to make William regent, and still call James king. Danby and the moderate Tories insisted that James had ended his own reign by his own act, and that Mary became as next heir Queen of England, but this course required some proof that the infant Prince of Wales was a changeling. William's friends advised him to take upon himself the throne by right of conquest, but wiser counsels prevailed. At last the Convention voted that James had violated the *original contract* between king and people by breaking the fundamental laws, had *abdicated* by withdrawing himself from the realm, and that the throne was therefore vacant. They also drew up a *Declaration of Right*, which gave a list of the chief illegal acts of James. On William and Mary ratifying this, they were offered and accepted the

The Convention, 1689.

The Declaration of Right.

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throne as joint sovereigns, the real power of course resting in William.

10. Thus was the "Glorious Revolution" completed almost without bloodshed. It was so easily accomplished, because the foolish attack of James on Protestantism had left him without a party. In the Civil War the attack of the Parliament on the Church had complicated the political struggle with a religious one, and had thus given the throne a strength which, on its own merits, it would not have had. But now the whole nation was united, save for a handful of Catholics, as it had never been united before. The Church was now on the side of the Constitution as much as the Puritans had ever been. The short reign of James II. had proved the impossibility of the Tory policy of furthering their party ends by magnifying the royal power. Successful to some extent under a shrewd king like Charles II., the plan failed completely under an obstinate bigot like James II. The Tories saw that the king, whose favours they had felt sure of, might do as much harm to Church and State as an Oliver or a Shaftesbury. They dropped their unworkable views, and the acts of the Convention established the Whig teaching that the king is an official who may be removed, if he does ill the work he is appointed to perform. The resolution of the Convention had sought to please both Whigs and Tories, by dwelling first upon James's abdication as resulting from his bad government, and then by pretending that he had withdrawn from the throne, from which the Tories were unwilling to drive him. But it was essentially a triumph of the Whig ideal of goverment. In effect it destroyed the Tory doctrine that kings had an "indefeasible hereditary divine right," and cut at the root the ideas which had set the king apart from his people, as "God's special deputy, to resist whom were wicked and unchristian." When Church and State were really in danger, all Englishmen, Whig and Tory, Churchmen and Dissenter, banded themselves together in a great national party to save Church and Constitution from Popery and despotism. James had failed even more completely than his father. His successors mounted the throne with a Parliamentary title. With the triumph of the Constitution came the final triumph of Protestantism. Now that Protestants of all sorts had joined together against the Papists, the policy of the Restoration had to be reversed by granting religious liberty to all Protestants. The troublous seventeenth century had ended with the victory of the Parliament and the Protestant Religion.

The Revolution Settlement.

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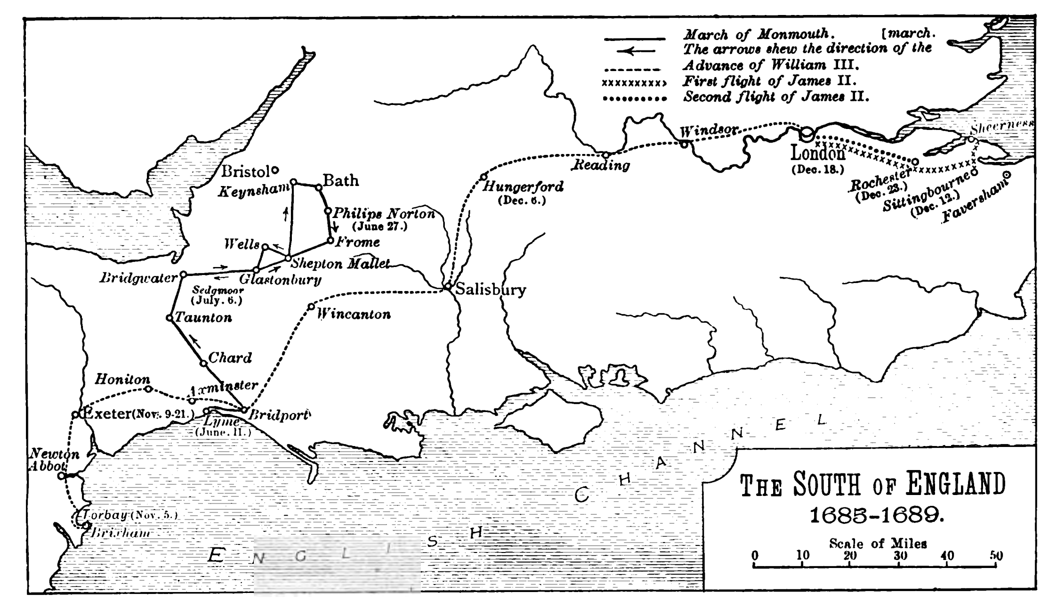

THE SOUTH OF ENGLAND
1685-1689.
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
March of Monmouth.
The arrows shew the direction of the march.
Advance of William III.
First flight of James II.
Second flight of James II.
Bristol
Bath
Keynsham
Philips Norton (June 27.)
Frome
Wells
Shepton Mallet
Bridgwater
Glastonbury
Sedgmoor (July. 6.)
Taunton
Chard
Axminster
Honiton
Exeter (Nov. 9-21.)
Lyme (June. 11.)
Bridport
Newton Abbot
Torbay (Nov. 5.)
Brixham
Wincanton
Salisbury
Hungerford (Dec. 6.)
Reading
Windsor
London (Dec. 18.)
Rochester (Dec. 23.)
Sittingbourne (Dec. 12.)
Faversham
Sheerness
ENGLISH CHANNEL

CHAPTER VII.

Foreign Trade and Colonies in the Seventeenth Century

1. The religious and political struggle which occupied the Stewart period still left England at leisure to continue in all directions the triumphal progress that had begun under Elizabeth. Between the accession of James I. and the deposition of his grandson, England became a great trading and colonising nation. In both of these movements the first impetus came from the age of Elizabeth, and in both subsequent progress was entirely on Elizabethan lines. Party strife affected it very little. Puritan and Anglican, Cavalier and Roundhead, Whig and Tory, each had their share in the work, and were all content to carry it on in the same way. Cromwell followed the policy of the king he supplanted, and Charles II. was content to tread in the footsteps of the Usurper. A marvellous continuity and harmony bound all classes and creeds of Englishmen together in the work of making their country great and feared.

England becomes a great commercial and colonising nation.

2. Despite the vast growth of English commerce under Elizabeth, England was still far behind the United Provinces as regards trade and navigation. The Dutch were the common-carriers of Europe, supplying England with foreign wares of all sorts. They had the chief command of those admirable schools for seamanship, the deep-sea fisheries off the British coasts. They snapped up the remnants of the decaying commerce of Portugal, when that land was conquered by Spain. Their scanty population forbade extensive colonisation, but they planted numerous trading stations in the East, in Africa and in America, which became in some cases new homes for Dutchmen beyond the seas. They commanded the Indian and African markets, even supplying English colonies with negro slaves and England with Oriental produce. Small as was their territory, they excelled in manufactures, almost as much as in commerce; and England depended on them, or the French, for most of the finer sorts of manufactured wares. Yet there was no field in which the Dutch excelled which England had not already entered into for herself. Before long religious

The foreign trade of the Seven United Provinces.

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and political friendship died away in the face of bitter commercial rivalry. The one thought of English traders was to imitate the Dutch, and, if possible, to excel them.

The rivalry of England and Holland in the East.

3. The fight was fiercest in the East. In 1600 Elizabeth gave a charter to the *English East India Company*, whereupon, in 1602, the various Dutch societies trading in the Indies were consolidated into the *Dutch East India Company*. A few years later *Batavia* in Java was founded as a sort of Oriental Amsterdam. It soon became the commercial centre of the Hollanders' possessions in the archipelago of Further India, and the great centre of the lucrative spice trade, which the Dutch strove to keep in their own hands. This led to fierce struggles with the daring English adventurers who actively carried on a rival trade in the same district, and by 1619 the Dutch were forced to patch up an agreement which divided the Molucca islands between the Dutch and English companies, and gave the English interlopers a third of the produce. In accordance with this treaty some English planters settled down in the little island of *Amboyna*; but the Dutch settlers looked upon them with extraordinary hatred, and in 1623, on the pretence that the English had conspired to take possession of the fortified posts, laid violent hands upon them, murdered some, and drove the rest from the island. This *Amboyna Massacre* excited the strongest indignation in England, and from that moment the rivalry of the merchants began to be taken up by the nation at large. No sooner did the Treaty of Westphalia and the fall of Charles I. give both nations leisure to fight, than they eagerly went to war with each other. We have already traced the history of the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660, and the three fierce maritime wars of 1652-3, 1664-6, and 1672-3. [see pages 256, 280 and 285]. Though the Dutch held their own well in the actual fighting, they were, nevertheless, gradually overborne by the greater resources and enterprise of English traders. The Navigation Acts, despite some temporary inconveniences, did their work admirably by rearing up a great school of English seamen, and before the end of the century England had not only got the whole of its trade with its colonies and foreign customers in its own hands, but had won a good share in the deep-sea fisheries, and was becoming a successful rival for the general carrying-trade of the world. The triumph of

The Amboyna Massacre, 1623.

The Navigation Act and the struggle at sea.

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England was hastened by the Dutch needing English help against Louis XIV. When the Dutch stadtholder became King of England, the close union between the two countries meant the dependence of the Seven Provinces upon her successful rival. It was characteristic of the tendency of the age, that the century which began with wars of religion ended with wars between peoples of the same religion who differed in matters of trade.

The English factories in India.

4. As a result of this triumph over the Dutch, English factories were now set up all over Africa and Asia, and English merchants grew rich with eastern trade, especially in the prosperous times that succeeded the Restoration. In 1612 the East India Company set up its first factory at *Surat*, near the mouth of the Tapti, one hundred and fifty miles north of Bombay, and a little later established another at *Hoogly*, as the depôt for the rich trade of Bengal. Both these factories, being in Northern India, were closely under the eye of the Great Mogul, the Mohammedan potentate who ruled over the greater part of India all through the seventeenth century. Accordingly, in 1639 the Company set up a third station at *Madras*, on the Coromandel coast, where the Mogul's power was weak, and where they could set up for their protection a fortress, mounted with cannon, which they called *Fort St. George*. After 1640, the revolt of Portugal from Spain threatened to renew a power which had of old claimed the monopoly of Indian trade for itself, but even earlier than the Dutch the Portuguese were forced to barter trade and lands in distant continents for English support against overpowerful enemies at home. In 1661 they ceded their island of *Bombay* to Charles II. as part of the marriage portion of Catharine of Braganza, and in 1668 Charles handed it over to the East India Company. Its magnificent harbour, as well as the freedom from the Mogul secured by its insular position, made its acquisition a new starting-point in the history of the English power in India, though the deadly malaria that arose from its undrained swamps long made merchants prefer to live at Surat. Bombay and Madras were thus fortified territorial possessions as well as trading-factories. In 1690, a friendly governor of Bengal permitted the English, who had been unable to thrive at Hoogly under the eye of the Mohammedan lords of India, to buy three villages lower down the

Madras, 1639.

Bombay, 1668.

Calcutta, 1690.

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river, where they built another armed factory, styled *Fort William*, outside the walls of which grew up the native town of Calcutta. These three towns became the centres of the Company's work, each being ruled by a President and a Council, so that they got to be called the *Three Presidency Towns*. Other posts in the interior enabled the British merchants to extend their commerce all over India. They were able to leave the Dutch masters of Ceylon and the great islands of the Archipelago, and pursue their operations where Dutch rivalry was less dangerous. However, a new and more formidable foe now arose in the *French East India Company*, set up by Louis XIV. as part of his general scheme for making France a foremost commercial power. Before the Revolution, fear of the French had begun to take the place of fear of the Dutch, and the Dutch, who shared fully in that fear, had in it another motive to keep on friendly terms with the English. But the struggle between France and England in India, as in America, was not fought out until the next century.

The new rivalry of France.

5. Besides the East India Company other great chartered associations carried on English trade in distant lands. Among these were the *Eastland Company*, which competed with the Dutch for the trade of the Baltic; the *Muscovy* or *Russia Company*, which, following on the footsteps of Chancellor, pursued an active commerce with the great Russian monarchy which towards the end of the century was beginning to emerge from barbarism through the genius of its Czar, Peter the Great; and the *Levant Company*, which sought to continue such of the old Venetian trade with the East by the way of Egypt and Syria as the Turks still allowed. The *Royal African Company*, set up in its final form in 1672 by Charles II., followed up the warfare which its three predecessors had waged against the Dutch. This struggle had been very fierce after the passing of the *Navigation Act*, when the English, after a desperate struggle, took the slave trade with our West Indian colonies out of the Dutch hands, after long disputes that were among the principal causes of the war of 1665 [see p. 652]. By the Peace of Breda the English acquired *Cape Coast Castle*, which long remained the chief of our settlements on the pestilential coast of West Africa. The African companies were not commercial successes, partly because the need of cheap negroes in the West Indies prevented

Chartered Trading Companies.

West African Settlements.

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them from getting a monopoly of the trade, and partly because the constant state of war between the negro tribes, which was the condition of the slave trade, was an unsurmountable obstacle in the way of legitimate commerce. In Northern West Africa also, or *Senegambia*, the English had to sustain the constant rivalry of the French, and were not very fortunate. In the extreme south they were anticipated by the Dutch, who settled round the Cape of Good Hope, as a good halfway house to India. Feeling a similar need, the English India Company set up an intermediate station of its own in the remote island of *St. Helena* in 1651. It was by chartered companies such as these that the first successful English colonies were planted. Trading and colonisation now went hand in hand. At nearly every point England had to fight her way to win trade and colonies.

The need for English Colonies.

6. In the African tropics and amidst the teeming populations and ancient civilisations of Asia, colonisation in the strict sense was almost impossible. A *Colony*, or, as the English of the seventeenth century called it, a *Plantation*, does not mean simply a dependency in a remote country. It suggests the actual settlement of a branch of the colonising people within it. Such colonies can only be established on a large scale when the population in the mother country no longer finds easy subsistence or easy outlet for its energies. This need of settling the surplus population in plantations began to be felt with us under Elizabeth, though, as we have seen, the projected Elizabethan colonies were in all cases failures, whether settled in distant lands, like Gilbert's Plantation of Newfoundland or Raleigh's Plantation of Virginia, or in regions so near home as Antrim or Munster. In the next generation, however, colonisation was taken up with more success. The desire for wealth and adventure inspired one class of settlers. The wish to worship God after a fashion not permitted at home led others to seek out new abodes beyond sea. Before Raleigh left the Tower for the scaffold, the first English colonies had become permanently established, not only in Ulster but in America.

7. While Spaniards and Portuguese had divided Southern and Central America, the inhospitable north still lay vacant for settlement. In 1606 two companies of merchants were incorporated by James I. for the purpose of colonising America. One of these was an association of west of England traders called the *Plymouth Company*, to which

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was entrusted the settlement of the north. The other was the *London Company*, whose sphere was to be in the lands to the south of the projected Plymouth plantation. However, the western traders' attempt to settle in the lands afterwards called New England proved completely unsuccessful, and the London Company won the glory of establishing the first permanent English colony. The brave and strenuous Puritan clergyman, *Richard Hakluyt*, who had commemorated in his books the famous voyages of the last reign, and *Sir George Somers*, an old hero of the Spanish main, "a lamb on shore and a lion at sea," were the organisers of the enterprise, but neither went with the expedition.

The Plymouth and London Virginia Companies, 1606.

On 1st January 1607 two ships and a pinnace, with a hundred and forty-three emigrants, bade adieu to England. The patriotic poet Drayton wished them good luck in his lines:

The Plantation of Virginia, 1607.

> "Cheerfully at sea,
> Success you still entice.
> To get the pearl and gold,
> And ours to hold
> Virginia, earth's only Paradise."

The voyage was long and tedious, and it was not until May that the little band planted their first settlement, which they called Jamestown, in honour of the English king, on a peninsula between Chesapeake Bay and the James river. Hakluyt had drawn up wise directions for the colonists, but their nominal leaders were incompetent. They wasted their energies in searching for gold instead of tilling the soil, and they suffered terribly from disease, famine, and the constant attacks of the Indian tribes. Nothing but the skill and resource of *Captain John Smith*, a boastful and reckless adventurer of great practical wisdom, saved the colony from annihilation. At last the incompetent leaders were deposed. Smith was made governor, and further shiploads of new colonists slowly increased the numbers and prosperity of the infant settlement. The most famous of these voyages was that of Sir George Somers, with a fleet of nine vessels, in 1609, which was memorable by the wreck of Somers on the Bermudas, often called the *Somers Islands* after him. The company at home watched over the fortunes of the colony with anxious care, but with too great an anxiety for

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immediate dividends. The severest discipline was found necessary to force the thriftless and idle settlers to work for their living, but gradually the first difficulties were overcome. As the colonists grew more self-reliant, the company allowed them more liberty. In 1619 the period of military rule was ended and a popular parliament was set up called the *House of Burgesses*, which much more closely represented the settlers than the House of Commons represented England. The executive power went to the *Governor*, who had a veto on legislation; and a *Council*, nominated by the Crown, in some wise represented the House of Lords, though its members sat with the Burgesses in a single house. Thus Virginia became governed by a constitution modelled on the English fashion. In 1624 James I. quashed the company's charter, and took the government of Virginia into his own hands. This step, which made the analogy with England more complete, allowed the colony to work out its own destinies unfettered by home direction. In religion as in politics, Virginia followed England. Its earlier settlers were churchmen of the Calvinistic, half-Puritan sort, that prevailed under Elizabeth, but they were intolerant of Independents and Sectaries, and insisted on the Prayer Book being used in all the churches of the colony. Gradually the settlement assumed a distinct economic type. The land became divided into large estates, owned by gentlemen proprietors, many of them younger sons of good English houses, who formed a governing aristocracy, living in rude plenty on their isolated plantations. Their chief crop was tobacco, of which they had a monopoly for supplying the English market, and which became so abundant that it was often used, instead of gold and silver, as currency. Repeated attempts were made to enforce by law the growth of corn and other food crops, as well as the breeding of cattle and pigs, lest the colony should become dependent on imported provisions, or suffer from periodical famines. The tobacco plantations were tilled partly by imported servants, bound by indenture to serve their masters for a term of years, and partly by white slaves, either transported criminals, vagrants, and political prisoners, or poor people, kidnapped in England by vile speculators who sold them to the planters. These were also bound to service for varying terms of years. The native Indians were found of little use as labourers, and from early times negro slaves were brought over from Africa, but before the

The constitution and early history of Virginia.

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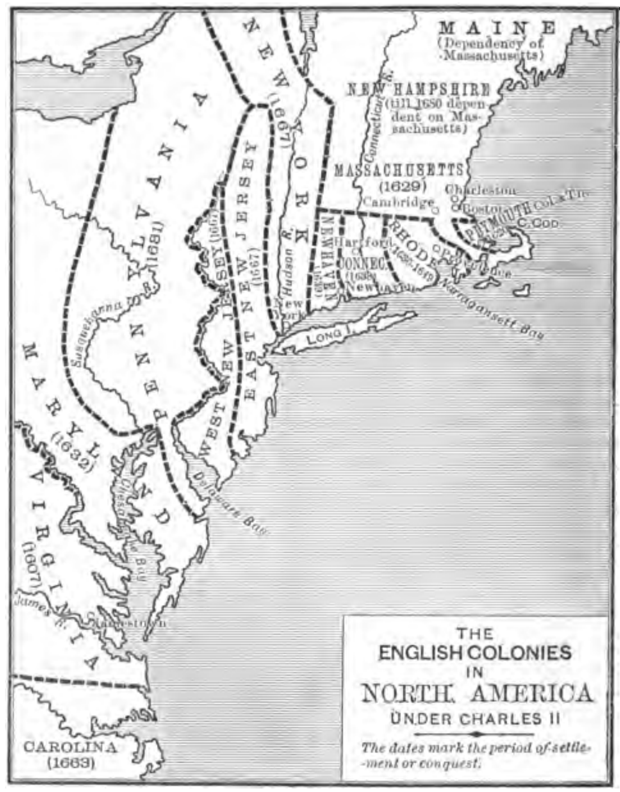
Restoration their number was very small. The white servants, when the term of service had expired, were not of the right sort to make good yeomen farmers, and the generous climate and the abundance of fertile land made it



THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA UNDER CHARLES II

The dates mark the period of settle-ment or conquest.

easy for them to settle down in happy idleness and poverty, the ancestors of the "mean whites" of later history. There were few towns and little trade or manufactures, but every plantation had a navigable river at its door, whence its

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tobacco was taken direct to Bristol or London. Despite some grave drawbacks, the colony grew prosperous, and the planter aristocracy, though infected with the laxity and pride of its class, produced high-spirited and gallant gentlemen, able to wage war in the House of Burgesses against an unpopular governor, or secure the direction of affairs on the lines of which they themselves approved. The Virginians had little interest in the struggle between Charles I. and his Parliaments, but in 1649 they indignantly refused to be ruled by an Independent Commonwealth, and proclaimed Charles II., declaring that the "late most pious king" was "deserving of altars and monuments in the hearts of all good men." But they yielded at once to the two warships sent out by the Rump to enforce their surrender, though they gladly welcomed the Restoration.

The Separatist Church at Scrooby and its migrations, 1608-1620.

8. The success of the Virginia Plantation made it the first of a long series. The most important of these was the result of very different motives from those which had inspired the adventurers that had peopled Virginia. The small and unpopular minority of Independent Separatists in England had hard work to make headway against the persecutions of Whitgift and James I. Despairing of England, the members of the Independent congregation at *Scrooby* in north Nottinghamshire, near the Yorkshire boundary, migrated in 1608 to Holland. After a few years their poor prospects in an overpopulated foreign land turned their attention to America, and they bargained with the Virginia Company for permission to settle in its territories. The Plymouth Company had now been revived. The i defatigable John Smith had explored its old sphere north of Virginia, had given the region the name of *New England*, and had strongly urged its importance as a fishing station, and as a possible centre for a new settlement. In 1620 the *Pilgrim Fathers*, as they were afterwards called, crossed over to Southampton, and, adding to their number a few English brethren, sailea from that port, a little more than a hundred in number, in the *Mayflower* and another smaller craft. Chance drove them ashore far north of Virginia, but they determined to take up their settlement there. Landing near Cape Cod, they planted their first abodes on the mainland on the western side of Cape Cod Bay, which Smith had already called *Plymouth*. At first they had to contend with terrible difficulties, and more than half the little band

The Pilgrim Fathers and the voyage of the Mayflower, 1620.

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perished of cold and famine during the first severe New England winter. But the Sectaries had perseverance and enthusiasm, and being already accustomed to act together, were easier to discipline and control than the scattered units who made up the first colonists of Virginia. At first they constituted but a single family, having the land and all their goods in common. In a few years, however, they gave up their socialism, and settled down each man in his own solid log-built homestead, with his little farm, and his own cattle pasturing in the common meadow. At first, too, the whole community met together to pass laws, but gradually the principle of representation prevailed and a local parliament grew up. The Plymouth settlement never became important, but the halo of poetry and legend, with which New England sentiment has surrounded its doings, will ever keep its memory green.

The Plymouth Settlement, 1620.

9. After the success of the Plymouth plantation, many isolated and independent settlements gradually grew up in New England. The small settlements of fishermen north of Piscataqua Bay became the nucleus of the later *New Hampshire* and *Maine*, and some traders from Dorchester set up in 1623 a small settlement at Cape Ann in Massachusetts Bay, between these plantations and Plymouth. The *Dorchester Settlement* proved a failure, but in 1629 a royal charter established a new colonising corporation called the *Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*. Under the auspices of this company a colony on a large scale was organised, under strict discipline and with a definitely Puritan tinge. It was backed by many men of wealth, influence, and position, and successfully carried out on a large scale the ideas which the Plymouth pilgrims had realised in their humbler way. From its efforts dates the real settlement of New England. In 1630 the government of the colony was transferred from England to America, and *John Winthrop*, a Suffolk landowner of great wisdom and moderation, went out as its first resident governor. The first capital was *Charlestown*, on the north bank of the Charles River, named in honour of the new English king, but it was soon deserted for *Boston*, a healthier site on the south side of the same stream. Though the first emigrants were not all Separatists, they quickly drifted into Independency in their new home. In 1631 they passed a law that no man should have political rights, unless

The Massachusetts Company and the plantation of Massachusetts, 1629.

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he were a member of an Independent church. They ruthlessly expelled those who used the Prayer Book, along with "Antinomians and libertines." They escaped from the fetters of bishops and High Commission in England, only to forge still heavier chains for all who settled with them beyond the Atlantic.

10. In 1631 a young Welshman, *Roger Williams*, landed in Massachusetts Bay, and was soon made minister of the important town of Salem. He was a quick-witted, good-natured, pugnacious, self-centred, and restless enthusiast, without much perseverance, balance, or practical wisdom, and dominated by abstract theories, according to which he wished to reform his own life and that of his fellows. He was almost the first Englishman who joined to Separatist principles the doctrine that the State had nothing to do with the Church, and he soon revolted from the state-church of Massachusetts as vehemently as he had revolted from the state-church in England. After scandalising all parties he was expelled from the colony. In 1636 he made his way southward to the shores of Narragansett Bay to the west of the Plymouth plantation, where he bought land of the Indians and established a new colony called *Providence*, on the basis of absolute religious liberty and the complete withdrawal of the State from all ecclesiastical concerns. He now adopted Anabaptist views, and was baptized by immersion with many of his followers. In 1647 Providence united with three neighbouring townships to form the colony of *Rhode Island*, which remained, however, a federation in which each of the four townships retained its local liberty. So strongly did Williams's principles prevail, that Rhode Island, alone of the colonies, refused to condemn men of any race to permanent slavery, and even the appearance of the Quakers did not cause it to depart from its horror of religious persecution. In 1638 the scattered settlements of emigrants from Massachusetts at *Hartford*, in the valley of the *Connecticut* river, were united in a new colony with a thoroughly democratic constitution that only imposed the test of church membership on its governor. In 1639 a separate colony was established at *Newhaven*, more to the west, on the coast opposite Long Island Sound. Here as in Massachusetts the identity of Church and State was upheld by church membership being made the condition of citizen-

Roger Williams and the settlement at Providence, 1636

Rhode Island established, 1647.

Plantation of Connecticut, 1638, and Newhaven, 1639.

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ship. Further progress westward was barred by the Dutch interlopers, who, reckless of English claims, had raised their settlement of the New Netherlands at the mouth of the Hudson, while to the north the French settlements of Canada and Acadie forbade progress in a region uninviting through its rigorous climate. The colonisation of New England was now complete, and in 1643 Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven united in a rude confederation, called the *United Colonies of New England*, from which, however, tolerant and rebel Rhode Island was excluded.

The federation of the four colonies, 1643.

11. The New England colonies became a group by themselves, both by reason of their climate and soil, and through the circumstances of their settlement. Nature made impossible the cultivation of tobacco, and the land was tilled not in great plantations, but in small farms, whose yeomen proprietors lived together in villages, cultivating their fields with little help outside their family. There was thus neither a wealthy aristocracy nor a depressed proletariat. The rude climate and soil required a fiercer struggle for existence than in the south, and stimulated the energy which the Puritan emigrants brought with them. The settlers traded with the Indians and with the southern and tropical colonies, whose wants they soon learned how to supply. They built ships and supplemented agriculture by fisheries. They lived a free and vigorous but quarrelsome and narrow life, prizing their practical independence of the mother country, and their democratic institutions, which in some cases allowed them even to appoint their own governor. The Church was the basis of the State, and the township or organised community grew naturally out of the ecclesiastical organisation. The settlers kept at arm's-length the unsatisfactory elements that will always flow into a new country, by the rule that confined citizenship to church-members, and by refusing to admit the criminal or the outcast within the sacred fold. If they made little use of penal servants from the old country, and less of negro slaves, it was not because they had (save the Rhode Islanders) any scruples in the matter, but because the economical circumstances of the country made such assistance of little use. They ruthlessly swept away the native Indians, regarding them as the children of Israel regarded the Canaanites. They were not, however, mere religious enthusiasts, but hard-headed men of business. Both the

Characteristics of the New England settlements.

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Plymouth and the Massachusetts settlers had enough of the wisdom of the serpent to keep in the background their separatist tendencies when seeking charters and favours of the English king, though, when once established in the New World, they exercised an iron discipline that might well have excited Laud's envy; and, at a time when the English Separatists were demanding freedom of worship and toleration as a right, most of the New England colonies zealously strove to root out all dissent from Puritanism and Independency. Their stern, strenuous, thrifty, unlovely character made them admirable colonists. In a quiet way they soon began to thrive exceedingly and multiply rapidly. Nor were brighter aspects of their character wanting. They showed from the first great care for education, and ordered that schools should be set up in every populous township. In 1636 Massachusetts established a college at a place near Boston, which they called *Cambridge*, while they soon gave the college the name of its liberal benefactor *John Harvard*. The printing press was early at work, and despite constant theological wrangles, and hideous persecutions of witches, Antinomians, Anabaptists, and Quakers, Massachusetts became the intellectual centre of New England. It was also politically the dominant partner in the federation, and its aggressions were anxiously watched by its weaker neighbours. It absorbed New Hampshire and Maine as its dependencies, and constantly threatened Rhode Island. Newhaven also united itself with Connecticut, thus reducing the number of separate colonies. The Great Rebellion called some of the fiercer spirits back to the old country; and it is characteristic of the temper of New England that Puritan extremists like Sir Harry Vane and Hugh Peters received part of their political training in that colony. By the middle of the century it was computed that there were eighty thousand Englishmen dwelling in New England.

Preponderance of Massachusetts.

12. At the time of James I.'s breach with Spain, *George Calvert*, a disciple of Robert Cecil's, gave up his Secretaryship of State, became a Roman Catholic and Lord Baltimore, and devoted the remainder of his life to "that ancient, primitive, and heroic work of planting the world." His first project was to settle Gilbert's abandoned plantation of Newfoundland, and in 1623 he sent colonists thither, going there himself in 1627. But the inclemency of the climate, and the hostility of the Puritan fishermen to a Papist lord,

Lord Baltimore and the Plantation of Maryland, 1632.

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induced Baltimore to remove with all his colonists to a more genial and less suspicious region. Repulsed from Jamestown by the Virginian settlers, because he would not take the Oath of Supremacy, Baltimore went back to England, where he died in 1632. A few weeks after his death, Charles I. granted a charter to his son Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, which gave him absolute proprietary rights over a large territory north of the Potomac, on both shores of the upper part of Chesapeake Bay. The district was called *Maryland*, in honour of Charles I.'s queen, and two chief features marked out the enterprise. Maryland was the first *Proprietary Colony*, the lordship over which was exercised by a great landlord, who had complete royal rights within his estate after the feudal fashion, like the ancient Earls Palatine or the Lords Marcher in Wales. It was, moreover, destined for the settlement of Roman Catholics, whose lot in England was not less hard than that of the Separatists. However, it was impossible for any English king to agree to set up a Catholic state, and Charles in the Maryland charter tied Baltimore's hands by providing that all churches in the colony should be devoted to the service of the Church of England, which was thus made the official Church. Baltimore was able, however, to secure toleration for the Catholics, who largely composed the early population, though it was not till 1649 that legal provision was made for religious liberty. The northern neighbour of Virginia, Maryland resembled the older colony in its economic conditions, though there was deadly hostility between them, and the free planter aristocracy formed a very different sort of government from that of the lord of Maryland. To the north the new colony approached the *New Netherlands*, which centred round the Hudson valley and blocked the prospects of a continued series of English colonies along the east coast.

The Bermudas, 1612.

13. Besides the two great groups of colonies on the mainland, the first half of the seventeenth century saw the establishment of numerous English settlements in the islands adjacent to America. Early among them was the Plantation of the *Bermudas*, first settled in 1612, and ruled from 1615 to 1684 by the *Governors and Company of the City of London for the Plantation of the Somers Islands*. The colony flourished exceeedingly, and was famous for its beautiful climate, where, as Waller sang:

> "So sweet the air, so moderate the clime,
> None sickly lives, or dies before his time;
> Heaven sure has kept this spot of earth uncurst
> To show how all things were created first."

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The colony received a representative assembly only one year later than Virginia, and, including negroes and white bondservants, had about three thousand inhabitants before 1660.

14. The *Lesser Antilles*, as the more eastern West Indian Islands are called, had been among the first of Columbus' discoveries, but their small size and the absence of gold caused the Spaniards to pass them by. In the early part of the seventeenth century they gradually attracted settlers from all the chief maritime nations. The Dutch, who aimed only at trade, occupied some, though they preferred for their purpose the mainland of South America and the islands adjacent to it. The English and French, more intent on cultivating the soil, found the small size, fertility, and easiness of access of the West India islands exceedingly attractive to them. In 1605 some English sailors landed at *Barbados*, and claimed the island as English, though the first settlers came there in 1625. Even before that the English had colonised *St. Kitts*, alongside with a French settlement, the two peoples agreeing to be at peace, even when France and England were at war. From this partial settlement of one little island a constant stream of English colonists overflowed into the other northern or *Leeward Islands*; *Nevis* and *Barbuda* being settled in 1628, and *Antigua* and *Montserrat* in 1632, the latter two by Irish Catholics. In the larger *Windward Islands*, more to the south, the Carib natives were formidable foes, and there the French, who got on better with them, made more progress than the English. Charles I. granted all the "*Caribbean Islands*" to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle: and fierce disputes between the proprietor and other claimants checked their progress. After Carlisle's death his rights were sold to Lord Willoughby of Parham, who after fighting for the Parliament against Charles I., went out to Barbados after 1649, and upheld the cause of Charles II. so vigorously, that, alone of the royalist colonies, Barbados gave the ships of the Rump considerable trouble to reduce it. The tropical climate of the West Indies unfitted them for the products or the labour of temperate climes. At first the West India islands grew tobacco, but the climate was unsuited to it, and they gradually made the sugar cane, introduced from Brazil, their main crop. These islands were the first English colonies to make extensive use of negro slave-labour,

The West Indies

Barbadoes and St. Kitts, 1625.

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though white servants, bound to serve for a term of years, were also employed in Barbados in the seventeenth century. Thousands of prisoners, especially Scots and Irish, were shipped off to this miserable fate by Cromwell and the Long Parliament after the later victories of the Civil War; while the Bristol merchants made a regular trade of kidnapping labourers, and thus were able to compete with the Dutch, in whose hands the trade in negroes then mainly resided. Before the Restoration Barbados had attained a dense population, great wealth, and prosperity, though even there the English settlers were the minority, and the mass of the population were black slaves. Other English settlements were made in the Bahamas and on the coast of Guiana, but they were not of much account. The capture of the great Spanish island of *Jamaica* in 1655 started a new period of development for the British West Indies. It was the first island won by conquest as opposed to settlement.

The Buccaneers of the West Indies.

15. Despite the European settlements, the West Indies were still a lawless region, and the decline of the Spanish power made the first three-quarters of the seventeenth century the time of the prosperity of the *Buccaneers*. The name Buccaneer comes from the *boucan* or wooden grid on which the sailors and adventurers in wild lands grilled or dried their meat, and is less specially appropriate to these desperadoes than that of *Filibusters*, which is derived from the Dutch *fly-boats*, or swift-sailing vessels, in which they pursued their trade. The Buccaneers were men of all nations, English, Dutch, and French, and were bound together by a love of plunder and a common hatred of Spain. The governments of the three trading states largely sympathised with them in their hatred of the monopolist and exclusive policy of Spain, and some of the best of them retained a touch of the old crusading spirit of Drake or the "Water-beggars" of Holland. The extraordinary weakness and imbecility of the Spaniards gave them their best chance, and for many years the little island of Tortuga was a cosmopolitan corsair-state that played havoc with the Spanish settlements. The tale of the buccaneers is a story of hideous violence, cruelty, and greed, but their desperate bravery and fierce heroism surrounded these degenerate descendants of the Elizabethan marauders with a faint halo of romance. *Henry Morgan* (1635-1688), the most famous British representative of them, was a poor Welsh boy from Glamorganshire, kidnapped by the Bristol merchants and sold as a white slave at Barbados. At the end of his term of service Morgan joined the buccaneers, and soon became so famous that they made him their admiral. After many and daring adventures, he crowned his career in 1671 by the capture of Panama, under circumstances every whit as bold and heroic as those of any exploit of Drake or Hawkins. Though England and Spain were at peace, the English in Jamaica hailed the slayer of the Spaniards as a

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hero; and a few years later he became a knight and governor of Jamaica. But Morgan was almost the last of his race. Frightened by his exploits, Spain recognised the foreign settlers in her midst as she had never done before. Far from receiving support at home, later buccaneers fought for their own hands, and Spain was free to hang as many as she could catch. The growing rivalry of England and France broke up the honour among thieves that had made the union of pirates from different lands easy and possible. Spain in her weakness struck up a friendship with England. The later buccaneers became mere pirates, the offscourings of humanity, with nothing heroic or noble to set against their greedy and businesslike pursuit of plunder and murder. Yet they had done their work in breaking down the last remnants of Spanish trade, and our greatest West Indian possession, Jamaica, owes more to the buccaneers than to Penn and Venables, or to Cromwell himself. The French buccaneers procured for France a large share of Hispaniola. All alike were heralds of free trade, though they proclaimed its principles in characters of blood and fire.

Advance of the older Colonies, between 1660 and 1689.

16. The period between the Restoration and the Revolution marked a great advance of the older colonies and the establishment of several new ones. The *Navigation Acts* secured for English ships the monopoly of colonial trade, but the first effect of this was only to deprive the Dutch of a large share of business, and most of the English settlers cared so little about navigation that it was indifferent to them that they were deprived by the Acts of their best chance of developing a local navy. In 1662 a special *Council for Foreign Plantations* was set up, after the model of a similar colonial department established by Cromwell. The result of such measures was an increased interference on the part of the mother country that gave rise to a great deal of friction, despite the fact that Charles II. and his ministers intervened with intelligence and wisdom, besides protecting the colonies from the increasing danger of attacks from foreign enemies. This home supervision specially touched the West Indies and Virginia. In the former, the abolition of proprietary government in Barbados (1663) and the other islands, the separation in 1671 of the Leeward Islands from Barbados and the Windward Caribbean islands in a separate government, and an attempt a little later at a systematic plan of federation, were so many marks of progress. New islands were now settled, as, for example, the *Virgin Islands* and more of the Bahamas. By the Treaty of Breda the English settlements in Guiana went to the Dutch; but the gradual settlement of log-cutters in *Yucatan*, the origin of

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the later British Honduras, showed that England had not forgotten the mainland. In Virginia the even progress of the colony was only slightly disturbed by the revolt of *Nathaniel Bacon*, who burnt Jamestown to the ground, and dreamt of a union with Maryland and Carolina, and the assertion of the independence of the three colonies (1676). The increasing suspicion of Papists now caused the withdrawal of most of the rights of the house of Calvert over Maryland.

New England was more resentful than the southern colonies of home control. Yet home influence contributed to the wise reduction of the number of colonies. Newhaven was almost forcibly absorbed in Connecticut in 1664; and Plymouth, which had politically become a mere cypher, was incorporated with Massachusetts in 1691. On the other hand jealousy of Massachusetts induced the establishment of a separate Government in the proprietary colony of *New Hampshire* in 1680, though *Maine*, which the great Puritan colony had purchased, remained on her hands as a dependency. After a strong struggle with the colonists, the Tory reaction at the end of Charles II.'s reign issued a writ of *quo warranto* inquiring by what authority Massachusetts exercised its franchises; and in 1684 her charter was annulled, and the colony, thus reduced to comparative dependence, gladly welcomed the Revolution, which restored it to its former rights. Before the end of the century the exclusive Puritanism of New England began to break up, and the churches of Massachusetts gradually relaxed the conditions of the church membership that still remained the gate of citizenship. So little scrupulous were the New Englanders of their ways of getting rich, that they made a regular business of fitting out pirate craft to prey on the traders of the distant Indian Ocean.

Conquest of New York and the New Jerseys, 1667.

17. More important than the development of the old colonies was the establishment of new ones. The English hold of the eastern coast of North America could never be regarded as secure, so long as the Dutch possessions in the Hudson Valley cut off New England from the Virginian group by a deep wedge of hostile territory. It was therefore of great future moment that, during the Dutch War of Charles II.'s reign, the *New Netherlands* were conquered and that their possession was confirmed to England by the Peace of Breda (1667). Charles II. granted the conquered district to his brother James; and in

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honour of the proprietor the land and its capital received the name of *New York*; while New Orange, the up-country trading station on the Hudson, was called New Albany, after James's second title. James governed New York as a strict proprietary colony, and it was not until 1682 that he allowed the inhabitants the rights of choosing an Assembly, after the fashion of the other colonies. James disposed of the western parts of the New Netherlands to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, from whom they got the name of *New Jersey*, since Carteret was a Jersey man. Before long Berkeley sold his moiety to some Quaker proprietors, who in 1676 agreed with Carteret to divide the province, Carteret's share being called New East Jersey, while the Quakers' property took the name of New West Jersey. West Jersey was soon largely peopled by the persecuted "Friends," who laid down absolute religious liberty as the first principle of its constitution, and resolved that "all elections be not determined by the common and confused ways of cries and voices, but by putting balls into balloting-boxes."

The Plantation of the Carolinas, 1663.

18. In 1663 a charter was given to an influential body of proprietors, among whom were Albemarle, Clarendon and Ashley, to set up a new colony, called after Charles II. *Carolina*, in the southern lands between Virginia and the Spanish colony of Florida. The district was already partially settled by emigrants from New England, Virginia and Barbados. In the swampy forests of the north a scattered and spiritless population of squatters grew up, whose only wealth lay in their herds of swine. The northern settlers gradually drifted apart from the flourishing planters in the more fertile lands to the south, where *Charlestown* the capital was situated. South Carolina was the first colony to rely from the beginning on the labour of negro slaves, who could be the more readily imported now that the Navigation Act transferred the trade from Dutch to English ships. Its population was riotous and disorderly, and the absentee proprietors found great difficulty in enforcing obedience. This became more important when, in 1667, the famous Whig philosopher John Locke drew up at his patron Ashley's request an elaborate scheme of government for Carolina called *The Fundamental Constitutions*.

This was the strange and fantastic scheme of an abstract theorist, which, though never fully adopted in the colony, is of much interest

in the history of political ideas. The government was to be put in the hands of a feudal aristocracy, the head of which, chosen from among the proprietors, was called the *Palatine*, under whom was a body of hereditary nobles, fantastically styled *Landgraves* and *Caciques*. The proprietors were to form the *Palatine's Court*, and the *Parliament* was to consist of proprietors, nobles and representatives of the freeholders, all sitting in one assembly. The proprietors held the executive and judicial power, and each received a sounding title, such as Chancellor, Admiral, Justice and Treasurer. No citizen of Carolina had full rights unless he was a member of a church, but any seven persons could found a church, which enjoyed full religious liberty, if it accepted the doctrines of the existence of God, the duty of public worship, and the necessity of oaths. The whole early history of Carolina is the record of the quarrels between the inhabitants and the proprietors, in the course of which Locke's *Constitutions* were gradually dropped. Later on, the colony was formally divided into *North and South Carolina*.

John Locke's Fundamental Constitutions for Carolina, 1667.

19. Towards the end of Charles II.'s reign the colony of Pennsylvania was founded. Its originator, *William Penn*, the famous Quaker, was the son of Admiral Penn, the conqueror of Jamaica and a man of good education and high social position, who, to the amusement of the fashionable world, became a Quaker in costume, faith and conduct. His desire to help his persecuted co-religionists led him to become one of the trustees of West New Jersey, which through his influence was largely settled by "Friends." The success of this enterprise led Penn to embark in a wider scheme of colonisation, in which he followed and developed the principles already applied in the Jerseys. In 1681 he obtained from the Crown a grant of the country west of the Delaware, which in honour of his father he called *Pennsylvania*. He obtained as proprietor both the executive and legislative power, subject to the assent of the free settlers, and in 1682, he drew up a democratic constitution for his colony.

William Penn and the Settlement of Pennsylvania, 1681.

By this constitution a Provincial Council and a General Assembly, both elected by ballot, were set up. In the courts of law all cases were to be tried by jury, and no oaths were imposed. All who believed in God and accepted the Christian moral code were allowed to hold religious worship after their own fashion. Harsh laws were passed by the Assembly against swearing, intemperance, play-going, card-playing, "and other evil sports and games."

Penn's Constitution for Pennsylvania, 1682.

In 1682 Penn went to America and founded the city of *Philadelphia*. Besides the Quakers, many Germans and

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Dutch settled in the new colony, which at once began to flourish. Penn was a well-meaning enthusiast, with much zeal and many noble ideals. Yet his constitution broke down almost from the beginning by reason of the conflicts of the Council and the General Assembly, to which latter body Penn was forced to make over the legislative power. With all his humanity and piety, he did not scruple to possess negro slaves, but it is remembered to his honour that he was the first American legislator who sought to give legal rights both to them and to the Indians, and it was a great sorrow to him that the opposition of the slave-holding General Assembly prevented him from giving effect to all his desire to improve the condition of the blacks.

Rupertsland.

20. In 1670, at the instance of Prince Rupert, the *Hudson's Bay Company* was set up with a monopoly of trade and settlement in the regions surrounding Hudson's Bay, which were called *Rupertsland* in honour of the prince. The operations of this company first brought England into competition with the trappers and hunters of the French settlements of *Canada*.

The first stage in the Expansion of England and its results.

21. Thus in the course of the seventeenth century England made itself a great commercial and colonising power. Its trading stations in India and Africa, its colonies in North America and the West Indies spread the fame of the English race all over the world. Though the English came late in this field, they had won their way by their superior strength, energy and ability, and not seldom by their utter recklessness and unscrupulous greed. They had outdistanced Portugal and beaten Holland after a severe contest. Their colonies were more important than those of any European state save Spain, and they were infinitely superior to the Spaniards in all that makes successful settlers. They had still to fight out their struggle with France, but French colonisation and foreign trade were so little spontaneous that all the energies of Louis XIV. could do little to give them reality, and when the fight came, England had acquired so strong a position that her ultimate success was certain. The Englishmen of the Stewart period were never more like their modern descendants than when busily and successfully engaged in spreading our commerce and our race over distant continents. Despite the vices of a system that regarded colonies as existing for the good of the mother country, and the neglect and

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carelessness of a later age that thought little of the New England beyond the sea, the impulse that began with the foundation of Virginia and Massachusetts and with the setting up of the East India Company has done more than anything else to give the British race the great position which it now holds.

CHAPTER VIII.

England in the Seventeenth Century.

Progress in the Seventeenth Century.

1. In contrast to the busy turmoil of the religious and political strife and the strenuous endeavour that won England a foremost place among the commercial nations of Europe and set up a widely spreading system of colonies and dependencies, the steady development of English society during the seventeenth century seems tame and uneventful. There were no longer economic and social revolutions as in the days of the Tudors. The note of the time is gradual progress on the lines laid down in the age of Elizabeth. Neither the religious nor the political revolutions of the century had the least effect in checking the onward march. Even the Great Rebellion did little to hinder it, for the Puritan revolt was a purely religious and political movement, having no social aspect, since the Levellers, the only social reformers, never attained to power and did not even succeed in touching any strong chords of sympathy among the people. The same characteristics marked the social history of Scotland, which henceforward followed much the same lines as its southern neighbour. Even in Ireland, despite racial and religious hatred and the deep social changes resulting from the great confiscations, there was at least more peace and order and a higher measure of material prosperity in the days of the Restoration, than when the memories of the Elizabethan and Cromwellian conquests were still fresh.

Effects of the growth of commerce and colonies at home.

2. A prominent characteristic of the time is that expansion of foreign trade, which we have already traced. The effects of this on England were numerous and important. It gave increased weight to commercial questions, enhanced the wealth and influence of the trading classes, raised the general standard of comfort, and profoundly influenced the

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foreign policy of the English state. It swelled the receipts of the imperial exchequer, and enabled a larger income to be levied without inconvenience to the taxpayer. Thus the English navy, which Charles I. had with difficulty set in a good position with the help of Ship Money, was strengthened by the Long Parliament, and even the waste and extravagance of the Restoration did not prevent it from remaining efficient. An interest in shipping and colonies became the fashion, when the highest personages in the land, with the King and the Duke of York at their head, were conspicuous among the promoters of the new enterprises. Banking and finance attained to a new importance. The London *goldsmiths*, who kept persons' cash for them, and lent it out on interest to the state or to private individuals, became wealthy and influential. Men began to give serious thought to the theory of trade, and to those questions concerning the production and distribution of wealth which are called *economic*. There was a curious tendency to confuse wealth and money, which led to the export of specie being strictly forbidden. India merchants, who were forced to buy their wares in the East with silver, found that they had to contend with this general prejudice against sending money out of the country, by arguing that though they might export silver to begin with, yet they more than got it back again by their sales of eastern produce to foreigners. From this starting-point grew up the doctrine of the *Mercantile System*, that the advantage of foreign trade depends upon the amount of gold and silver which it brings into a country. If a trade thus brought in bullion, the *Balance of Trade* was said to be in our favour, but if it necessitated sending gold and silver away, then the balance was said to be against us. It was, therefore, a matter of supreme concern to make the exports exceed the imports, and the growth of exports involved the increase of manufactures and agriculture.

Banking and finance.

The Mercantile System and the Balance of Trade.

3. Manufactures steadily became more numerous and important, though there were no great revolutions in methods, and, despite all the efforts of the state to stimulate new crafts, England remained, till far beyond the end of the century, a commercial and agricultural rather than a manufacturing country, and depended on France, Holland, and the East for the finer wares that were beyond the limited appliances and skill of English makers. Nevertheless after the Restoration the example

Manufactures.

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of Holland was largely followed, in this as in many other sides of our life, and manufacturing industry received a considerable stimulus. It was especially helped forward by the great Huguenot emigration resulting from the persecutions of Louis XIV., which brought to England a large population of skilled mechanics and small craftsmen, who introduced many new processes and gave the industries of our country an impetus that has never since slackened. Meanwhile the ancient staple manufacture of woollen cloth prospered increasingly, being so carefully fostered by the state, that an act of Charles II. even ordered that no bodies should be buried, save in a woollen shroud.

Mining.

From the early days of the Stewarts, British mines were opened up. The salt industry began to enrich Cheshire. The Tyneside colliers grew prosperous by providing London with "sea-coal" for fuel, and the Cornish tin mines and Welsh lead mines were developed on a larger scale. Agriculture greatly flourished, though all through the century there were spells of good and bad seasons that made the farmers' trade somewhat exceptionally speculative and uncertain. There was still much untilled soil, and a large proportion of the ploughed land was *common field*, cultivated in an extravagant and careless way after old-fashioned methods. Many enclosures of this open space were made, though enclosing was no longer effected for the sake of sheep-farming, but rather for the encouragement of better methods of tillage, and preserving the young crops by tall hedgerows from nipping winds or trespassing cattle. Rents rose and made the landed gentry more prosperous. Though some of the country squires were rustic and clownish, the class that produced all the great political leaders of the century was wanting neither in intelligence, education, nor ability. The increased rent-rolls of the landlords did not prevent farmers from thriving as well. One result of the demand for more land was the success of great schemes for draining the Fen country. For the first time since the Reformation, the draining work of the great abbeys was taken up by the landlords who had supplanted them, and especially by the Earl of Bedford. At this nobleman's instance a Dutch engineer named *Cornelius Vermuyden*, who had come to England in 1621, undertook the great work which turned *Bedford Level*, in the north of Cambridgeshire, from its old condition of an unhealthy and scantily peopled desert into the best corn

Agriculture.

Vermuyden and the drainage of the Fens.

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land of the country. Charles I. encouraged the enterprise and made Vermuyden a knight, but the work was much interrupted by the Great Rebellion and the hostility of the fenmen to Vermuyden and his foreigners. It was at last completed in 1652, still under his direction. Vermuyden also drained *Hatfield Chase*, on the borders of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire by diverting the waters of the Don. The new straight "cuts" dug by the engineers served also for navigation, and all over the country efforts were made, though as yet they were but feeble ones, to make rivers more easily navigable and thus to improve internal communications.

The poor and pauperism.

4. The peasantry shared in the increasing prosperity. Wages rose as well as rents and prices, and the attempts, started in Tudor times, to leave the Justices of the Peace to settle the rate of wages were practically a dead letter, for employers who wanted a man's work were willing to pay him what he asked and what they knew they could afford, even if the magistrates persisted in fixing on a lower rate of remuneration. The increase in the habit of tippling, and the efforts to check it by regulating alehouses, show at least that labourers had money to spend on what was not a matter of necessity. Pauperism, so terrible a trouble under the Tudors, distinctly became less burdensome under the Stewarts. Yet it still remained a real evil, and the unequal distribution of the poor made their relief very burdensome in certain unlucky districts, especially as vagrants gladly settled in places where there were large commons, abundance of wood, and other attractions to them, so that some spots became pauperised because of their wealth. In the hope of remedying this state of things, the Restoration Parliament passed the *Act of Settlement of* 1662, the chief law of the period affecting the condition of the poor. By it each parish was allowed to remove to the place, where he had previously had a legal settlement, a newcomer within forty days of his arrival, if there were any likelihood of his becoming chargeable to the parish. By thus throwing the obligation of supporting the poor on the parishes in which they were born or had long resided, a great blow was given to vagrancy, but in future times the check in the free movement of labour from place to place tied the artisan, like a slave, to the spot of his birth and prevented him from going to the district where his services were most wanted.

The Act of Settlement, 1662.

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5. Population grew, though not very rapidly. Towards the end of the century it was estimated that England and Wales contained about five million inhabitants. The north was still poor and scantily peopled, and the increase of population and wealth was mainly in the south and east. The growth of commerce enriched and enlarged the seaport towns, and especially London, which was then the only really great town in the whole of England. While Bristol and Norwich, the next towns in size, had not more than 30,000 inhabitants each, half a million were collected in and about the capital. This inequality made London an even greater influence on politics, fashion, and opinion than it is nowadays. The hostility of London to Charles I. had supplied his opponents with revenue and resources, and had been a very large factor in bringing about his fall. Though the purse and brains of the City were powerless to resist the military rule of Cromwell and his army, London gladly threw off their yoke, and did even more to bring about the Restoration than it had done to promote the Great Rebellion, while twenty years later its support of Shaftesbury almost cost Charles II. his throne. London was even more important as an intellectual than as a political centre. Nearly all the ablest men lived in or near it; all the printing of the nation that was not done at the universities was done there. This strong influence of the capital may have had something to do with the hostility with which Tudors and Stewarts alike looked upon the continued growth of its population, though the ineffectual measures taken to prevent the extension of its suburbs had the full support of the City authorities, and were mainly due to the difficulty which the age saw in governing, feeding, and keeping healthy so vast a mass of human beings. The City wished to extend its boundaries so that all the inhabited ground should be divided between it and the city of Westminster, but this wise proposal came to nothing, and great ungoverned disorderly towns arose side by side with, yet having no part in, the capital. Their only advantages were that they were less overcrowded than the narrow area of the City, and less subject to the antiquated and oppressive rules of the City Companies, which restrained rather than encouraged the trades that they were meant to protect. The sanitary condition of City and suburbs alike was deplorable. The water supply drawn from the Thames was unhealthy and insufficient, though an improvement set

Population.

Growth of towns.

London.

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in when under James I. the *New River Company* brought a wholesome supply of running water from the streams of Hertfordshire. The wooden, closely-packed houses were in constant danger of fire, and plague was seldom long absent. It was hard to supply so great a mass of people with food; and the scarcity and dearness of wood for fuel was another real evil, until the Londoners unwillingly took to burning coal, which numerous small trading ships brought from Newcastle to their doors. The streets were dirty, ill-paved and badly lighted. The character of the roads made the river the easiest way of getting from one end of the town to the other, though nervous people were afraid to shoot the rapids, caused by the many arches of London Bridge. The police was extremely ineffective. Robbery was very common, and after dark bands of gentlemen amused themselves by assaulting and insulting passers-by. This nuisance became greater in the riotous days after the Restoration, and gave occasion to the famous lines in which Milton tells how,

> "In luxurious cities, when the noise
> Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
> And injury and outrage: and when night
> Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
> Of Belial, flushed with insolence and wine."

London extended itself on all sides. The court suburbs steadily grew in the west. In James I.'s time Inigo Jones laid out Lincoln's Inn Fields, then a very fashionable centre, and built his famous new church of St. Paul's Covent Garden. After the Restoration population flowed farther westwards, where the new parish of St. James' was filled with solid, sumptuous, and handsome houses. Poorer districts arose to the north and east of the city. Moorfields was built over after the Great Fire, and Spitalfields and Whitechapel became manufacturing centres, while Shadwell and Wapping throve by reason of the growth of the shipping trade. After the Great Fire in the City, brick replaced wood as a building material, and the streets were made broader and straighter; but the proposal of Wren for rebuilding the town, on a more magnificent scale and an entirely new plan, was not carried out.

Amusements.

6. With all its drawbacks, life in London had plenty of attractions. Until 1642 the playhouses were in full swing, but they were closed by order of Parliament before the beginning of the Civil War, and were not opened until the Restoration. The Puritans

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had long waged war against the drama, and its extravagances and corruptions gave them plenty of good arguments. They also condemned other favourite sports, such as cock-fighting and bull- and bear-baiting, while sword and buckler play and many other recreations dropped out of use, since the Puritan rule prevented their being practised on Sunday, the only day that working people now had free. It was made a merit that the Puritan ordinance prohibiting work or sports on Sunday "shall not extend to prohibit dressing meat in private families." Yet all the austerity of Puritan rule did not prevent "many hundreds of rich coaches and gallants in attire, but most shameful powdered-hair men and painted and spotted women" frequenting Hyde Park, where the Lord Protector himself witnessed a hurling match, and was once overthrown from his coach, when he was driving six young horses. The exclusion of the majority of the younger gentry from public life during the Commonwealth had the bad effect of giving them nothing to do except to amuse themselves. Even before the Restoration the habit of making pleasure and frivolity the end of life had begun among the wealthier classes. In the mad reaction against Puritanism that followed the bringing back of the king, the pursuit of pleasure reigned for a time supreme.

The Playhouses.

The playhouses were re-opened, though the fashion for attending the theatre had so far dwindled that two small theatres, the *Duke's* and the *King's*, supplied the wants of those who frequented the drama in the days of the Restoration. Spectacular effects, that had never been employed in earlier times, save in the elaborate *Masques* that amused the court of James I. and Charles I., were now introduced into the public theatres. Pepys tells us how the stage was now "a thousand times better and more glorious than heretofore," with fine scenery, brilliant dresses, and a stage blazing with wax candles, "where formerly there were not above three pounds of tallow." Women now for the first time acted in the female parts, and ballet dancing, brought in from France, became popular.

Games and sports.

Gentlemen exercised themselves at the *manège*, or riding school, and with fencing, tennis, and a game at ball called *pall-mall*, while they amused themselves with the fashionable sports of cock-fighting and horse-racing. When Charles II. went for racing to Newmarket, he saw a cock-fight after dinner and a play in the evening, acted in a barn by low-class travelling comedians.

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It was a sign of the progress of refinement that the old national amusements of bull- and bear-baiting were no longer approved of in polite circles, though still extremely popular with the people. The bear-gardens were now also used for boxing and prize-fights with swords, in which some humane people complained of the horrible wounds the combatants inflicted on each other, though more perhaps grumbled that the fighters did not hit hard enough to show that they were in real earnest. The old London pleasure-grounds had been closed by the Puritans, but *Vauxhall* or the *New Spring Garden* was opened in 1660, and Charles II. admitted the public to *St. James's Park* whither multitudes flocked to watch the king or the duke taking their exercise, feeding the ducks in the pond, or playing pall-mall, as Waller's poem commemorates :

The Parks and Gardens.

> "Here a well-polished mall gives us the joy
> To see our prince his matchless force employ.
> No sooner has he touched the flying ball,
> But 'tis already more than half the mall."

For indoor resorts men of fashion now went, after the early dinner of the period, to the *Coffeehouses*, which served the purposes of modern clubs, and were centres of gossip and society. Politics, theology, literature, and fashion were so freely discussed that lovers of old ways, like Clarendon, thought them seminaries of sedition, and wished to see them carefully watched. In 1675 Charles II. shut them up, and only allowed them to be re-opened on the landlords promising to prevent abuse of the Government.

The Coffee-houses.

Coffee was first drunk in Charles II.'s time, but before that chocolate had come in, and was vaunted by its sellers as a specific against all sorts of diseases. Tea was introduced rather later by the Portuguese, and made popular by Catharine of Braganza. As Waller sang :

Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate.

> "Venus her myrtle, Phœbus has his bays ;
> Tea both excels, which she vouchsafes to praise.
> The best of queens and best of herbs we owe
> To that bold nation which the way did show
> To the fair region where the sun does rise,
> Whose rich productions we so justly prize."

All these beverages had a great effect in changing social habits and making life more refined ; but drunkenness was still too common in all classes of society. Gambling became a wide-spread vice after 1660. Charles II. was

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celebrated for bringing in "a politer way of living," but foreigners complained of the grossness of English repasts, and the rareness of forks. Men continued to wear their hats at feasts. There were still only two meals a day. Dinner was at one o'clock, and few took anything earlier but a "morning draught" of beer, with some bread and butter.

Communications.

7. Despite the badness of communications, men flocked to London, and the Londoners began the habit of spending the summer at inland watering-places such as *Bath* or *Tunbridge Wells*, which latter became so much frequented by invalids that, after the Restoration, a church was built for their use, dedicated to Charles the Martyr. The poorer Londoners "took the waters" at Epsom, while Harrogate and Buxton stood in the same place to the northern gentry. Coaches, which under Elizabeth were a rare luxury, became common. Lumbering family carriages, drawn by six horses, slowly dragged the nobles and gentry from place to place over the miry roads, though active people, who wanted to travel fast, still rode on horseback. Carriers' waggons began to replace strings of packhorses for transporting goods, where water carriage was not available and the roads were good enough for wheeled traffic. They also afforded a slow but cheap way of travelling for poorer wayfarers unable to walk or ride. The first toll-bars were set up in 1663 on the Great North Road, and the money taken was used to mend the highway. Stage coaches began with the Commonwealth, though they were denounced as fatal to simplicity and the breed of horses. Under Charles II. *flying coaches*, as they were called, managed to travel more than fifty miles a day, getting, for example, from London to Oxford in twelve hours. *Hackney coaches*, plying for hire, began in London under the Commonwealth, and did something to divert traffic from the Thames. *Glass coaches*, *i.e.* coaches with glass windows, were luxuries used by fashionable people for taking the air. The labourers, who mended the roads, expected a gratuity from travellers, and it was quite customary to take a guide even for journeys along the highways. Under the Commonwealth a government *postal system* was set up, which the Restoration adopted and improved, twopence being charged for sending a letter eighty miles from London, and threepence for any part of England beyond that distance. The Postmaster-General had a monopoly of post horses, and the mails travelled one hundred and twenty miles a day. A penny post, started in London by private enterprise, was taken over by the

The Postal System.

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Government. Mail packets plied with tolerable regularity to the chief ports of the Continent.

8. Dress underwent a complete revolution during the century. The dignified and appropriate costume for gentlemen, which is remembered from Vandyck's portraits, became more fantastic and extravagant towards the middle of the century, and afforded reasonable grounds for Puritan attack. A great simplification of costume resulted for a time from Puritan influence, though it is an exaggeration to suppose that the politics of a gentleman during the Civil War could at once be discerned by the cut and colour of his clothes. The ribands, frills, tags and points of the "debauched Cavalier" were avoided by all grave persons, whatever their views, and the Puritan wide-brimmed steeple-crowned hat, long doublet, and heavy boots, were an exaggeration of the dress of a citizen rather than a special device of the precisians. Even the Anabaptist Harrison, who thought that "worldly bravery did not become saints," did not scruple to wear at a public audience "a scarlet coat and cloak, both laden with gold and silver lace, and the coat so covered with foil that one scarcely could discern the ground." The household of Cromwell, which gradually assumed the appearance of a court, was that of a plain but perfectly well-bred gentleman. His entertainments and equipages were sumptuous, and, though he ordinarily wore a simple black coat and cloak, he put on a "musk-colour suit, richly embroidered with gold," when he went to dine with the Lord Mayor. His sons' dress gave great offence to the stricter sort. Swords almost ceased to be carried for a time, but they came back again before the Restoration.

Dress.

Under Charles II. the doublet and long cloak ceased to be worn, and in their place men dressed in the garments which ultimately became the modern coat and waistcoat, and in loose knee-breeches. Low shoes superseded boots, and the lace band was replaced by a lace cravat. Early in the reign wigs came in, and before long the example of Louis XIV. made large dark-coloured wigs the fashion. After the introduction of the periwig, faces began to be clean shaven, though in an earlier generation even bishops like Laud had worn moustaches and pointed beard. Men often carried muffs, fastened round their necks by a ribbon.

Ladies' dress underwent corresponding changes. Despite Catharine of Braganza's love of short gowns, trains came into general wear, while hoods or cocked hats and feathers were not unusual. The beauties of Charles II.'s court wore

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their hair clustering in curls, and low dresses. Wigs became fashionable even for ladies, who also wore "puffs" or false curls, extended on wires that made their heads look very wide. Patches also came into common use.

Education.

9. In fashionable circles education became more and more the learning of good and graceful manners. The accomplished gallants and the learned ladies of the Elizabethan age both became almost extinct. Gentlemen of fashion were content with a superficial smattering of elegant French culture, and the average lady of quality could neither spell nor express herself correctly. "Let not your girl learne Latin nor shorthand," wrote a Buckinghamshire squire and member of the Long Parliament, "the difficulty of the first may keep her from that vice, for so I must esteem it in a woman, but the easiness of the other may be a prejudice to her, for the pride of taking sermon notes hath made multitudes of women most unfortunate.' During the Commonwealth it became usual to bring up young gentlemen at home, to avoid the Puritanised schools and universities; but the results were not encouraging. After the Restoration boys were sent to Eton, because the provost "was not only a fine gentleman himself, but very skilled in the art of making others so." A more solid training was given at Westminster School during the long headmastership of Dr. Busby. Travel was encouraged to give young men knowledge of the world, while girls learned French, "now almost as fashionable among women of quality as men," at suburban boarding-schools. The universities saw strange vicissitudes during the century. Whitgift had broken down the extreme Puritanism of Cambridge, and Laud, as chancellor, did the same for Oxford, where he issued a new code of university statutes that perhaps improved discipline, but did harm in the long run, by handing over the government of the university to a close oligarchy of heads of houses. Under the Commonwealth the universities were reformed on Puritan lines, but the ejection of many men of learning brought about evil results, despite the high character of the Puritan scholars who replaced them. Under Charles II. Oxford was famous for holding extreme ideas about the Divine right of kings, and both universities strongly supported the king and the Church. Oxford and Cambridge were now very flourishing. Besides excelling in the traditional studies, they became centres of the strict investigation of nature, which was a marked feature of the time.

The Universities.

10. The revolt of the sixteenth century against the

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Middle Ages had led to an utter contempt for its theories of natural science, though alchemy was still a favourite art and astrology had many votaries. The *Novum Organum* (1620) of Francis Bacon, though of little influence on scientific workers, expressed with emphasis and brilliancy the high expectations which gifted minds had formed of the fruitful results to be obtained from the direct interrogation of nature by experimental methods. Two famous scientific discoveries in the earlier part of the century were due to subjects of the Stewart Kings. The Scots laird Napier of Merchiston discovered and elaborated his system of *logarithms*, and William Harvey, Charles I.'s physician, demonstrated the *circulation of the blood.* About the middle of the century the diffused interest in experimental science led to the periodic meeting together of a few eminent Oxford men engaged in its pursuit. The society, nicknamed at first the *Invisible College*, sometimes assembled at Oxford and sometimes at London, until after the Restoration, when it settled down finally in London and included Charles II., who was much interested in natural science, among its members. In 1662 Charles incorporated the body under the name of the *Royal Society.* Among its founders was *Robert Boyle*, and an early member was *Isaac Newton* (1642-1727), Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, whose famous mathematical and physical discoveries raised him to an unique position among English men of science. It was, however, not only by laying the foundations of modern natural science that the age of the Restoration is memorable. Experimental investigation became popular and fashionable, and produced a questioning habit of mind, equally alien to the sublime self-confidence of the age of Elizabeth and to the extreme Puritan tendency of regarding nature with indifference as an obstacle to spiritual perfection.

Natural Science.

Foundation of the Royal Society, 1662.

11. The steady progress of science stands in strong contrast to the necessary fluctuations in art. *Architecture*, as in the Tudor period, continued to be in a flourishing condition. The great country houses of James I.'s reign are not readily distinguishable from those of Elizabeth's; but two new impulses came in early in the century, one of them due to religious reaction, and the other to the influence of the classical Italian school. Gothic architecture, which had still lingered in remote corners, was revived, notably at Oxford, as a result of the Laudian movement, though the results of this revival were

Architecture.

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not very important, and were perhaps curtailed by the Civil War and Puritan ascendency cutting short for a time all schemes of church building. More immediately memorable was the other new tendency that sprang from the influence of the classical Italian *Palladio* (d. 1580). Inspired by this, the clever Welsh architect *Inigo Jones* (1573-1652), surveyor-general to James I., strove to reproduce in England the sumptuous but cold correctness of the Palladian palaces and churches in Vicenza and Venice, erected in accordance with the strict rules of the ancient architect Vitruvius About 1621 Jones drew up a scheme for a magnificent new palace at Whitehall, but the financial embarrassments of James I. and Charles I. prevented more than a fragment of it from being carried out, though a specimen still remains in the stately *Banqueting House*, before which Charles I. was executed. Jones's chief church was *St Paul's Covent Garden*, a building erected for the wants of the new fashionable quarter, and the first church of any importance built in England after the Reformation. He also constructed a classical portico to the Gothic cathedral of St. Paul's, which perished with the church itself in the Great Fire of London.

Inigo Jones.

When Inigo Jones died, *Christopher Wren* (1632-1723), "that miracle of a youth," had won a great reputation at Oxford for his varied gifts. After the Restoration he was made Charles II.'s surveyor-general, and devoted his fine talents to architecture. His first important building was the *Sheldonian Theatre* at Oxford. The Great Fire gave him a unique opportunity. Though his brilliant scheme for recasting the whole City was rejected, *New St. Paul's* and a crowd of noble parish churches have immortalised his name. His eye for graceful proportion made the interior of many of his small City churches beautiful works of art, conspicuous among them being *St. Stephen's*, *Walbrook*. The pressure of surrounding buildings made it necessary to leave many exterior walls bare, but the spires of *St. Mary le Bow* and *St. Bride's Fleet Street* show what Wren could do in another direction. His best work is all in the style of the Renascence. His failure on the few occasions when he attempted the despised Gothic style shows how dead was the art of the Middle Ages. Domestic architecture found its best models in the brick-built houses of Holland. At the end of the century the fashion in all domestic arts was largely Dutch.

Sir Christopher Wren.

12. There was more taste for painting and sculpture

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in England under the Stewarts than under the Tudors. After 1615, *Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, formed the first large collection of works of art that ever existed in this country, a collection which included the famous *Arundel marbles*. Charles I. was also a patron of art, and, despite his scanty means, made a fine collection of pictures. Unluckily, no Englishman made any great name for himself as a painter or sculptor. A long series of distinguished foreign artists took up their residence in England, and painted there many of their best works. The vigorous and magnificent Flemish colourist, *Peter Paul Rubens*, was invited to England by Charles I., who dubbed him knight. Rubens's stay here was short, but Charles's patronage attracted to England Rubens's ablest pupil, *Antonio Van Dyck*, who also was knighted by the king, and appointed "king's painter." He lived in England till his death in 1641, immortalising with his brush his royal patron, and painting with consummate delicacy and strength the fair ladies and stately gentlemen of the time. Puritan intolerance wrought havoc with all forms of art. Charles I.'s pictures were sold and dispersed, though the sound taste of Cromwell saved some of the most precious of the king's collection for the country. Through his care Mantegna's *Triumphs of Cæsar* still decorated the long gallery at Hampton Court, and Raphael's *Cartoons* were preserved to the nation, while to the scandal of the precisians, the Protector's bed-chamber was hung with tapestry representing the history of Mars and Venus. *Peter Lely*, a shrewd, workman-like Dutchman, came to England during the Civil War, and for forty years did an excellent business in painting all manner of men and women, from the Lord Protector to the Duchess of Portsmouth and Nell Gwyn. A large number of foreign artists, mainly Dutch and Flemish, flourished at Charles II.'s court. Very important was the work of the incomparable Dutch wood-carver, *Grinling Gibbons*, whose tasteful and delicate work appropriately adorned the interior of many of Wren's churches.

Painting and Sculpture.

No art received so heavy a blow from Puritan ascendency as that of music, by reason of the hostility of the Puritans to the dignified worship of the cathedrals, whose choirs had always been the best schools of English vocal art. Here, again, Cromwell, who loved music, exercised an influence for good. Under the Restoration, the cathedral schools revived, and produced the greatest English composer in *Henry Purcell*. Besides his

Music.

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church music, Purcell was the first Englishman to write a noteworthy opera, a form of art which was introduced into England under the Commonwealth and Charles II., and did something by its combination of music and poetry to compensate for the decay of the masque.

The later Elizabethan Dramatists.

13. The revolution in taste and feeling which the Stewart period witnessed is strikingly illustrated in its literature. Under James I., who was a much more active friend of the drama than ever Elizabeth had been, we are still in the Elizabethan age. The first eight years of the king's reign witnessed the production of the most sublime of Shakespeare's dramas, including the great tragedies *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Cymbeline*, the most pregnant of his comedies, the *Tempest*, *A Winter's Tale*, and the most profound of his Roman plays, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*. About 1611 Shakespeare sold his shares in his theatres and retired for good to Stratford, where he died in 1616. Seven years after his death the *First Folio*, the earliest collected edition of his works, was published by his friends and brother-actors, who were anxious to "keep the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow alive as was our Shakespeare." The great poet's place was now in some measure taken by his friend *Ben Jonson* (1573-1637), a rough, strong, and learned playwright, and an admirable critic, whose first comedy, *Every Man in his Humour*, had been acted in 1598. As he grew old, Jonson became the oracle of the chief literary society of the time, maintaining cordial friendships with his fellow-dramatists, especially with the scholarly Chapman and the witty Fletcher, and gathering round him men of learning like the lawyer, antiquary and politician, John Selden, and young men like Edward Hyde, who handed on the tradition of his conversational gifts to the age of the Restoration. After him the chief dramatists of James's reign were Shakespeare's admirer *Francis Beaumont* (d. 1616), and *John Fletcher* (d. 1625), who wrote many plays in partnership, and *John Webster*, a man of mighty tragic genius. Under Charles I. flourished *Philip Massinger* (d. 1640), whose consummate stagecraft and nervous diction do something to redeem his conventionality and coarseness, and *John Ford* (d. after 1639), a great master of deep tragedy, who shrank from no horrors nor repulsiveness. The character of the drama changed slowly but surely, becoming more fantastic and extravagant, and, as the Puritan cry against the stage rose louder, more reckless and profligate. Yet good plays were still written up to the closing of the theatres in 1642, and

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the last of the "Elizabethan" dramatists, *James Shirley* (d. 1666), lived on until the Restoration saw the play-houses again opened, while *Sir William Davenant*, who produced operas during the Protectorate, formed a bridge between the Elizabethans and the dramatists of the Restoration. The Restoration stage by no means filled the same part in the life of the time as that of the Elizabethan age, though the plays of the great period were still acted and admired, and the foremost man who now wrote for the stage, *John Dryden* (1631-1700), based the style of his later plays on the Elizabethans. However, in his earlier pieces Dryden had imitated the classical French school and had adopted the heroic riming couplet as his dramatic metre. The drama now became limited to bombastic and empty "heroic" tragedy, and to bright and sprightly but gross comedies of manners, though it is only fair to the much abused "age of the Restoration" to say that, save *William Wycherley*, who began to write in 1672, most of the so-called "Restoration dramatists" did not pen a line until nearly a generation had passed over since Charles II. went back to his throne. The famous attack of Jeremy Collier on the profligacy of the stage was written under William III. in 1698. But the artificial comedians, with all their wit and dexterity, were but poor substitutes for the Elizabethans.

The transition to the later drama.

Dryden and the Restoration Dramatists.

14. The poets of the early Stewarts worthily continued Elizabethan tradition. A whole school of followers of Spenser flourished, while the far-fetched and over-wrought "metaphysical" school, whose best work was written by *Donne*, represented the opposite pole of art. A remarkable aftergrowth of the Elizabethan spirit was to be seen in the delicate school of lyric poets that flourished in the middle of the century, of whom the most charming representative was *Robert Herrick*. The quaint piety of *The Temple* of "holy *George Herbert*" and the more exalted poetry of *Henry Vaughan* "the Silurist" represent a school of religious poets who owed their being to the Laudian revival.

Poetry.

A deeper and more individual note in poetry was struck in the early verse of *John Milton* (1608-1674), a London scrivener's son, who studied deeply at Cambridge, and becoming "church ousted by the prelates," settled down at his father's house at Horton in Buckinghamshire, and produced between 1629 and 1637, his sweet, musical, and strong early poetry, which in itself

John Milton.

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would entitle him to a foremost place in our literature. He was called away from poetry by his travels, and, on his return, plunged with acrimony and enthusiasm into the theological and political disputes of the Civil War period, and was rewarded for his services to the Independent cause by his appointment as Latin Secretary to the Council of State, set up after Charles I.'s death, an office which he continued to hold until the Restoration sent him into a retirement that was made more irksome by blindness and domestic troubles. For more than twenty years he had written no poetry save a few masterly sonnets. He now attained his loftiest heights in the epics of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, and the classic tragedy of *Samson Agonistes*, which wedded the severest and sternest spirit of Puritanism to the most exquisite and scholarly music. Milton's austere and somewhat impracticable character kept him aloof from the temper of the age, even in the days of his pamphlet-writing and political work. He was doubly lonely, when amidst the riot of the Restoration, he indited the highest literary expressions of the Puritan ideal, in an age that was seeking to crush out Puritanism altogether. Yet sound critics like Dryden at once recognised, in almost exaggerated terms, the unique greatness of the Puritan epic, and even to careless foreigners, who loathed his politics and religion, Milton's solitary figure represented all that was most characteristic of English literature.

The poetry of the Restoration.

Milton's profound devotion to classical form, his refined verse, scholarly, severe methods, and Italian culture were peculiar to himself. The new generation of poets, whose work was largely influenced by the dominant classic school of France, began with *Edmund Waller*, who made popular the *heroic couplet* as the best English equivalent to the French *Alexandrine*. This school attained its noblest and most sonorous utterances in the didactic, critical, political, and lyric poems of Dryden, who stands as literary dictator and oracle to the end of the century in much the same position as Ben Jonson had attained in the previous age. The fierce bursts of irregular and uncontrolled passion of the Elizabethan were trammelled by few of the conventions which regulated without marring the stately measures of Dryden, though they exercised a less excellent effect on smaller men. The spontaneous poetry of emotion is now succeeded by the studied poetry of the intelligence, and it is characteristic that Dryden's most famous verses

Dryden and his School.

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Absalom and Achitophel and *The Hind and the Panther*, should deal with such subjects as the Popish Plot, and the religious controversies excited by James II.'s attempt to win back England to Rome. It is equally characteristic that one of the most vigorous, popular, and individual of the verse writers of the Restoration, *Samuel Butler* (1612-1680), turned his rare gifts for biting satire to laughing away the memory of the Puritan warriors by a mock-heroic account of a ridiculous country knight called *Hudibras*. While all the wits and courtiers read *Hudibras* and neglected its author, *John Bunyan*, the self-educated village preacher of the Baptists, set forth in his vivid and life-like allegory of the *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) the Puritan ideal with a dramatic force and vividness of characterisation that make it a real prose poem with no small touch of Elizabethan spontaneity and freshness. Nor is his *Holy War* much inferior to his more popular allegory. Bunyan's were the first great books in modern English literature written by a man of the people for the people.

Butler's Hudibras.

Bunyan.

15. Prose advanced while poetry declined. Early in the century a noble standard of good prose style was set almost unconsciously by the committee of scholars which drew up the *Authorised Version* of the Bible. Yet for the first half of the period the majestic but involved periods of the great Elizabethans furnished the model of good composition, while the mass of published books and pamphlets was dull, formless and unattractive. The older prose, already admirably set forth by Hooker, Bacon, and Raleigh, now found varied examples in Milton's grand plea for a free, unlicensed press in his *Areopagitica*, in Clarendon's stately delineation of his great contemporaries in his *History of the Rebellion*, in the poetic and luscious eloquence of *Jeremy Taylor*, in the rich meditative soliloquies of *Sir Thomas Browne*, in the quaint humour of *Thomas Fuller* and the simple idyllic pictures of *Isaac Walton*. As men read more widely and more hurriedly, the style of books began gradually to assimilate itself to the spoken speech. Most of the pamphleteers whom the civil wars produced not unnaturally fell into a homely and colloquial style, which was more persuasive and convincing to the vulgar than the sublimities that illumine Milton's prose works. A crowd of *Newspapers* grew up as the result of the eager demand for intelligence in the exciting period of civil strife, and helped forward the creation of a natural prose. Dryden's famous *Prefaces*

The Old and the New Prose.

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and critical works first gave the new prose the stamp of a high style and the sanction of a great name. French influence is as decisive on the development of our prose as on the new departure of our poetry. Before the end of the century, a nervous, natural, simple, and idiomatic standard prose had become universally established, and greatly raised the level of all the journey work of literature and of the books whose importance rests in facts or arguments rather than in their style. For the first time in our history it became possible for a few popular writers to earn considerable sums by their pens, so that a professional literary class was beginning to grow up.

Prose literature now became increasingly plentiful and touched a greater variety of subjects. The theological discussions of the age are reflected in the controversial writings of the Caroline and later Puritan divines. The political interests of the period found expression even in the antiquarian researches of a Prynne or a Dugdale, and still more strongly in the contemporary memoirs, among which (besides Clarendon's *Rebellion*) we may mention Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, Ludlow's *Memoirs*, and May's *History of the Long Parliament*; while the *Diaries* of the stately and scholarly John Evelyn, and of the lively and worldly admiralty clerk, Samuel Pepys, and Roger North's *Lives of the Norths*, throw a flood of light on contemporary manners. There were many translations from the lighter literature of France; and most foreign books of importance, on such subjects as theology, politics and history, were promptly put into English. Every school of politicians now had its literary exponents. *Thomas Hobbes* upheld the absolute power of the State in his famous *Leviathan* (1651), which traced the origin of society to a social contract, in which individuals agree with each other to resign their liberty to the sovereign, who is thus able to secure order and prosperity. Hobbes's rationalistic theory of the State was displeasing both to his Puritan opponents, such as *Richard Baxter*, the prominent Nonconformist divine, and to the friends of Divine Right, whose views were a generation later upheld in Filmer's *Patriarcha*, which traced all lawful rule back to the patriarchal monarchy set forth in the book of Genesis. *James Harington*, in his *Oceana*, upheld an aristocratic republic as the ideal form of government, while *John Locke*, the friend and dependant of Shaftesbury, tried to establish on a philosophic basis the Whig theory of government that triumphed in the Revolution of 1689.

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GLOSSARY

Of certain less usual Words not explained in the Text.

Aceldama, the field of blood. *See* Acts i. 19.

Addled, spoilt; especially used of eggs that will not hatch.

Alexandrine, a riming verse of twelve syllables and six feet; the usual metre for French epic and dramatic verse; so called because it is said to have been first used in an old French poem on the deeds of Alexander the Great.

Alien, an outlander or foreigner.

Amnesty, a general pardon for offences against the state.

Attainder, Act of, an Act of Parliament sentencing to death and loss of property a person accused of treason or other high offence against the state; the condemnation of a culprit by special legislation without formal judicial trial.

Benefit of clergy, the privilege once allowed to clergymen of being exempted from the jurisdiction of the royal courts, and being tried only in the ecclesiastical courts.

Blackmail, tribute taken by force from a man's goods or chattels.

Blank verse, non-riming metre of ten syllables and five feet, the verse of the Elizabethan dramatists and of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and first introduced into England by Surrey.

Bull, a sealed decree of the Pope.

Bullion, uncoined gold and silver.

Chapter, assembly of monks or canons.

Clerk, clergyman. In the Middle Ages all were called clerks who had received the *tonsure*, and the proof of being a clerk, and therefore of enjoying 'benefit of clergy,' was power to read.

Coalition, a joining together of different parties in the state to form an administration, or to follow a common policy.

Commissioners, a board of statesmen appointed for a special duty.

Convocation, the representative synod or council of the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury or York.

Coronet, a nobleman's crown.

Corvette, a small war-vessel, ranking next below a frigate.

Customs, duties or payments imposed by law on goods going in or out of a kingdom, so called because the original sums paid were determined by ancient custom.

Debonair, courteous, gracious, kindly.

Declaratory Act is a law which makes no change in what is established, but simply declares authoritatively what the law already is.

Delenda est Carthago, 'Carthage must be destroyed,' the famous saying of Cato with regard to Carthage, the commercial and political rival of Rome.

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Dilettante, a dabbler in art or literature, an amateur.

Dragoon, originally like our modern mounted infantry, a soldier who fought on foot, but used a horse in order to travel more quickly. Modern dragoons are, however, simply cavalry.

Eikon Basilike, Greek for 'kingly image.' *See also* Ikonoklastes.

Elector, one of the seven German princes of the Empire who elected the Emperor of the Romans.

Enclosures, the cutting up into privately owned fields of the open common land into which so much of England was divided until the eighteenth century.

Executive Power, the authority which administers or carries out the laws; the Government.

Feud, a fief.

——, a deadly quarrel.

Fief, land held by a freeman of his lord.

Freeholder, a holder of land in full ownership.

Fuller, one who 'fulls' or cleans cloth.

Galley, a fast ship driven by long oars.

Gallow-glass, Irish guardsman clad in mail, armed with sword and axe.

Governance, rule.

Grazier, one who 'grazes' or rears cattle for the market.

Guild, a friendly or trade club or union.

Habeas Corpus, 'Thou mayest have the body'; the first words of the famous writ securing the liberty of the subject in England.

Hereditary Jurisdictions, political or judicial authority handed down from father to son.

Heresy, false doctrine; religious views different from those generally accepted as orthodox; literally a choice.

Heroic Couplet, verses of ten syllables and five feet each, rimed in pairs.

Ikonoklastes, the Image Breaker, from Greek Eikon, an image; properly Eikonoklastes.

Impeachment, a solemn accusation of a public offender by the House of Commons, which presents him for trial before the House of Lords.

Inquisition, literally an inquiry, generally used for the Inquisition into heresy set up by the Mediæval Church and revived at the Reformation.

Intendants, the local representatives of the Crown and administrators in the various provinces of the old French monarchy.

Interlude, a play, generally short and comic in character, so called from having been first written to amuse the guests during the intervals between the courses at banquets or other entertainments.

Junta, or *Junto*, Spanish for a council or cabal.

Kerne, Irish foot soldier lightly armed with knife and darts.

Legate, a deputy sent by the Pope.

Legatine Court, a court held by a papal legate.

Lordship Marcher, literally Border Lordship; the name given to the Norman feudal lordships in Mediæval Wales.

Maiden, the, a machine once used in Scotland for beheading offenders; a primitive guillotine.

Manuscript, a writing done by hand.

Maroons, escaped negroes living wild in the West India Islands.

Mewed, fattened in coops.

Minster, abbey, cathedral, or other great church.

Moderator, the chairman or president of a Presbyterian synod or assembly.

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Ordinance, a proclamation having often the effect of law.
Ottava rima, an Italian ten or eleven-syllabled metre in which the verse is grouped into eight-line stanzas, with three rimes in each, riming as follows,—*ab ab ab cc*; the metre of Byron's *Don Juan*.

Pack, to arrange unfairly; 'to pack a parliament' is to fill it with one's own partisans.
Pallium, or *Pall*, a kind of stole worn by archbishops.
Pass, a narrow road over hills.
Peter Pence, an offering of a penny on each hearth paid to the Pope.
Plurality, the holding of more than one benefice by the same clergyman.
Praemunire, the offence created by the Statute of Praemunire of acknowledging foreign, *i.e.* papal, jurisdiction in England, so called from the first word of the Latin writ issued against offenders against the law.
Presbyter, literally elder, the name given to the ministers of the Calvinist churches. Priest is an older form of the same word.
Proclamation, an edict of the king and council, sometimes having the force of law.
Prorogue, to end a session of Parliament.
Provisions, *Papal*, were the documents by which Popes provided for their friends by appointing them to benefices without regard to the rights of the lawful patrons or electors. The Statute of Provisors was passed against this practice.

Quo warranto, by what warrant or authority.

Regicide, king killer, a term specially applied to those who sat in judgment on Charles I.
Regular, bound by a rule (Latin *regula*). Monks and friars were called 'regulars' as distinguished from the 'secular' clergy.
Rubric, a direction for the conduct of divine worship, so called because printed in red ink in Prayer Books.

Sanctuary, a legal place of refuge.
Schism, division or separation from the Church.
Secular, belonging to the world (Latin *seculum*). Parish priests were so called to distinguish them from monks and friars.
Seminary Priests, clergy brought up in a seminary or theological college.
Shrine, the great case over the relics of a saint.
Silurist, or *Silurian*, a South Welshman from the old British tribe of Silures, who lived in South Wales.
Sonnet, a short poem, fourteen lines in length.
Squire, shield-bearer to a knight.
——, gentleman not yet knighted.
Stockade, a wall made of stakes of wood set close together.
Subdeacon, the lowest grade of holy orders in the Mediæval Church, not recognised in the English Church after the Reformation.

Terza rima, 'third rime,' an Italian eleven-syllabled metre, used in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, in which the lines rime in the order *ab ab cb cd*.
Tonnage and Poundage, certain customs duties on exports and imports granted during the 15th and 16th centuries to the king for life

Vassal, one holding hand or office of another.
Viceroy, a king's deputy.

Western Isles, Hebrides.

Yeomanry, the class of yeomen or small freeholders.

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