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BRITISH HISTORY

A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF ALL THE BRITISH PEOPLES

BY

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PART II

EMPIRE AND LIBERTY

(1485–1714)

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THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERN AGE

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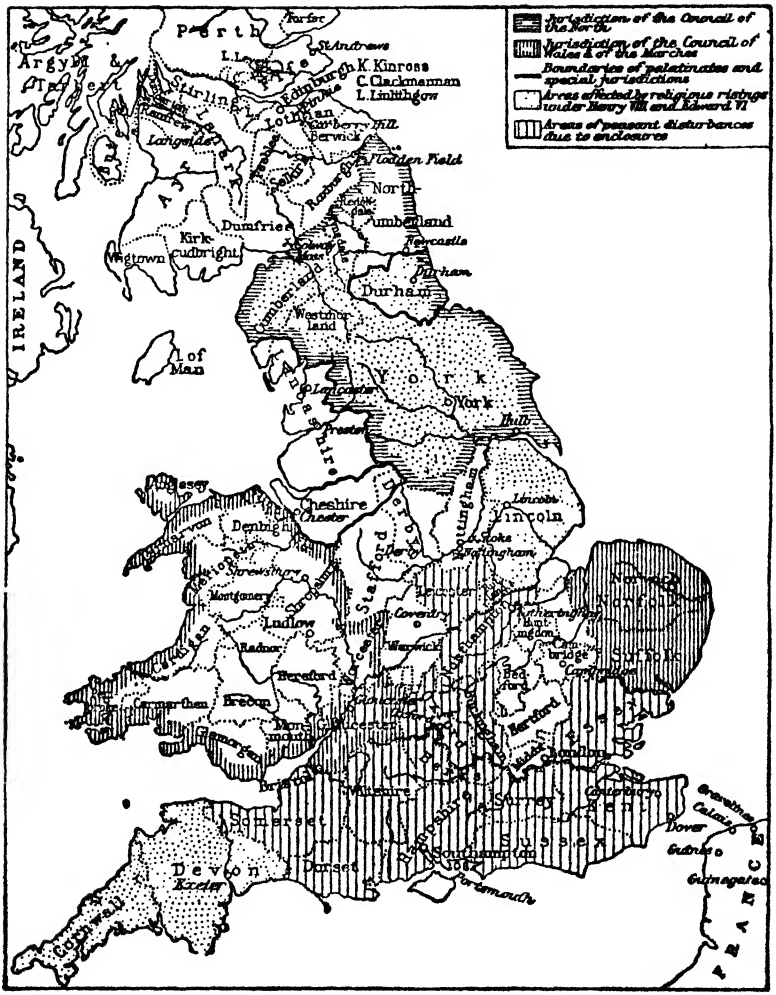


FIG. 16.—England and Wales under the Tudors.

BOOK III

THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERN AGE (1485–1603)

The Reformation and the Opening of the Seas

For the whole of Western civilisation, but more especially for the British peoples, the sixteenth century formed a bridge between the mediæval and the modern eras. It was a period of profound and rapid change. It saw the break-up of the religious unity of Latin Christendom; it saw the emergence of powerful nation-states, and the beginning of acute rivalries between them; it saw the enlargement of the stage of history by the great explorations, and an extension of European rivalries and of European civilisation into these new fields.

For the British peoples these changes were of momentous importance. They began the great age of British history, for which all the earlier centuries were an unconscious preparation. The long period of island-isolation was at an end. Henceforward the actions, character, and institutions of the British peoples played a vital part in moulding the destinies of the whole world. Three points of contrast will suffice to bring out the momentous importance of this century. In 1485 the islands were still a part of the great unity of Latin Christendom, presided over by the Pope: in 1603 England, Wales, and Scotland had become firmly Protestant, while Ireland was torn asunder by religious strife. In 1485 the four nations were still separate; in 1603 they were all united under a single crown, and in the meantime Wales had been incorporated in England, Ireland had been subjugated, and Scotland had, after three centuries of war, been brought into friendly partnership with her greater neighbour. In 1485 the islands still lay, as they had always lain, on the very out-

skirts of the known world; in 1603 they were already in the centre of the new streams of traffic that were crossing the oceans, and they were about to send forth the first of those oversea settlements which have been among their most remarkable achievements.

It was a very fortunate thing that, at this critical juncture, the throne of England should have fallen to a family of outstanding ability. The Tudor dynasty lasted for only three generations, covering five reigns; but two of the five Tudor sovereigns were among the greatest of English rulers.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RESTORATION OF GOOD GOVERNMENT (1485–1529)

1. Henry VII and the Tudor System of Government (1485–1509)

Henry VII.—The reign of Henry VII * was a period of endings and beginnings. It was his prosaic but necessary work to stamp out the last embers of civil war, and to restore order and firm government. He was the founder of the highly efficient system of administration which carried England successfully through the critical times of the sixteenth century. His reign saw also the beginning, for England, of two momentous events which were profoundly to affect her development—the Renascence, and the great geographical discoveries.

Plots and Impostures.—It was not until the end of the century that the groundswell which followed the storm of the Wars of the Roses died down. There was a general turbulence, a readiness to resort to violence, which had to be overcome. It was not limited to the nobles and their retainers. As late as 1497 there was a rising in Cornwall against the imposition of taxes, and the Cornishmen marched to Blackheath before they were dispersed. Moreover, the irreconcilable Yorkists long remained restive, and Edward IV's sister Margaret, dowager Duchess of Burgundy, was always ready

* There is a Life of Henry VII, by James Gairdner (Twelve English Statesmen). Bacon's *History of Henry VII* is the earliest piece of scientific historical writing in English. Bishop Stubbs has a good essay on Henry VII.

to help them. Six months after his coronation, Henry VII married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, and thus merged the Lancastrian and Yorkist lines. But this was not enough. He had to keep the young Earl of Warwick * (son of the Duke of Clarence and heir of the Kingmaker) in the Tower of London, where the poor lad remained until in 1499 he was executed on a trumped-up charge of treason. Even so, Henry had serious trouble for a number of years. In 1486 Lord Lovel (a crony of Richard III's) tried to kidnap the king; and, this failing, he and other Yorkists, backed by Margaret of Burgundy, produced an impostor—Lambert Simnel, the son of an Oxford craftsman—who pretended to be the Earl of Warwick. Troops were raised in Ireland, where the Yorkists had always been strong; mercenaries were hired in Germany; and a pitched battle had to be fought at *Stoke* (1487) before this menace was overcome. Some years later (1492) another impostor, a good-looking and clever young Fleming named Perkin Warbeck, claimed to be Richard of York, the younger of the two princes who had been murdered in the Tower. For five years the enterprising Perkin was in the offing: in Ireland, in the Netherlands, at the court of Scotland—everywhere welcomed by the enemies of the new dynasty, but never able to make a serious attack. In 1497 he landed in Cornwall, hoping to profit by the Cornish Rising. He was captured, thrown into the Tower, and (after two plucky attempts to escape) executed with Edward of Warwick in 1499. This was the end of dynastic troubles—just a hundred years after they were begun by the murder of Richard II in 1399.

Livery and Maintenance.—The slaughters and attainders of the last thirty years had greatly reduced the strength of the nobility: only twenty-seven barons, including only six earls, were summoned to Henry VII's first Parliament, as compared with fifty-three in 1454, and about one hundred in the time of Edward III. Nevertheless the "over-mighty subject" with his retainers was still a danger. In 1487 Henry added another to the numerous Acts forbidding the practices of "Livery and Maintenance," which had been the chief cause of disorder.† It was the last Act of the kind that was necessary; because Henry gave the execution of it to a powerful committee of the Privy Council, outside of and above the ordinary machinery of law.

* See Genealogical Table B, at the end of the volume.

† See above, pp. 129-30.

The Act was very stringently enforced; Henry even fined his most loyal supporter, the Earl of Oxford, when he turned out an array of liveried retainers to greet his king; and in a short time the nuisance which had prevented the orderly working of law and justice had disappeared. This work was done by the Court of Star Chamber, the first of a series of "prerogative courts" developed by the Tudors which wielded great authority independently of the common law. In time these "prerogative courts" became a danger, and they were all abolished by the Long Parliament in 1641. At this period they were necessary and welcome. Under their protection the ordinary machinery of the courts was able to work smoothly and without fear.

Privy Council and Justices.—This is an example of the way in which Henry and his successors used the Privy Council as a means of supervising and tightening up the whole system of government. The Privy Council was no longer the battle-ground of contending factions; it was a body of industrious officials, shrewdly selected by the king himself; and it was the essential pivot of the whole Tudor system. Its local agents were the Justices of the Peace in every county; for the Sheriff and his shire-court had now fallen into abeyance. Through the Justices all the edicts of government were carried into effect. Their functions and numbers were steadily increased as the century wore on. They became the "men-of-all-work" of the Tudor government. The litany of the Church of England still prays for "the Lords of the Council and the magistrates" as the real authorities of government, though both have long since fallen from their high estate.

"The Tudor Despotism."—As Henry VII and his successors worked through and depended upon the country gentlemen, and had no class of salaried officials such as continental kings employed, their power, however great, could never be merely despotic. They had to feel the pulse of the country, and they had the means of doing so. Moreover, this system was training the country gentlemen in the business of government. They took to sending their sons to get some training in law at the Inns of Court; and thus the two great classes of lawyers and country gentlemen, who were, in the next century, to bridle the power of the king and restore the supremacy of Parliament on a workable basis, were brought into alliance. It is a misnomer to speak of "the Tudor despotism." A system, such as that which Henry VII built up, wherein the king had no standing army to enforce his will, but depended upon the loyalty of an armed

nation, and wherein he had no local paid representatives, but depended for the execution of his commands upon the co-operation of the natural leaders of local society, was anything but a despotism. The Tudor kings were very nearly autocrats. But their autocracy depended upon their efficiency, and upon the willing assent of the nation, which was weary of factions.

Reduced Power of Parliament.—Parliament, with a depleted House of Lords, and a House of Commons that was manned by country gentlemen, lawyers, and merchants, all eager to co-operate with the king in restoring order and prosperity, sank into the background, and no longer dreamt of exercising the supremacy which it had formerly wielded—a supremacy which had been the cover for anarchy. This did not mean that it was swept aside. Its assent was still needed for new laws and for taxes, and neither Henry VII nor his successors attempted to disregard these powers. During the troubles of his first fourteen years, Henry VII had to summon Parliament frequently. During his last ten peaceful years it had only three short sessions. The long and almost annual sessions of the period 1330–1450 were no longer needed, and nobody regretted them.

The King's Revenues.—The main reason for this was that there was no longer any need for large grants of taxation. Thanks to the confiscations of the last half-century, the king could again "live of his own," except in emergencies, which was what his people wanted him to do. He had the revenues of his huge estates, now vastly increased by confiscations; he had the yield of the customs, which were voted to him for life, and which increased as trade grew; he had the profitable dues of the feudal system, and his agents (especially the lawyer-Councillors Empson and Dudley) used these and other excuses for extortion with the utmost skill. Finally, he could and did exact "benevolences," or forced gifts from rich men; his Chancellor, Archbishop Morton, was very skilful in exploiting this device. It had been freely used by Edward IV, and was strictly illegal, having been prohibited by a Statute of Richard III when he was trying to win popularity. Thanks to these devices, Henry VII was able, after his first troubled years, not only to "live of his own," but to leave a colossal hoard, estimated at £4½ millions, to his magnificent son. Henry VII was never a popular or attractive king: he was prudent, cautious, cold-blooded, avaricious, and he could be pitiless to those who were dangerous to him, like the hapless Warwick,

though he was lenient with the rank and file of rebels. But he laid very solidly the foundations of Tudor power, and restored to the country the priceless boons of peace, order, and firm government.

Relations with Scotland and Ireland.—All his thrift would have been of little avail if he had been tempted to adopt a "spirited foreign policy"; but this he left to his son. He had some threat of trouble from *Scotland*, which supported Perkin Warbeck, and he had to send an army northward to ward off a threat of invasion. But this came to nothing; and in 1502 he made friends with James IV of Scotland, and gave him his daughter Margaret in marriage.* This was a vitally important marriage: just a hundred years later it had its fruit in the union of the crowns. He might have been tempted to undertake the costly business of establishing the royal authority in distracted *Ireland*, but he preferred to leave the government in the hands of the leading Irish nobles. In 1494, indeed, he sent across one of his Privy Councillors, Sir Edward Poynings; but without money and a big army Poynings could do little. The only result of his visit was that the Irish Parliament passed *Poynings' Acts*, the most important of which provided that no Act of the Irish Parliament should be valid unless it had previously been approved by the English Privy Council. The immediate object of this was to prevent the Irish nobles from using the Irish Parliament as the English nobles had used the English Parliament; but it was to have other and very unhappy effects later.

Foreign Relations.—In foreign politics Henry might have been, and indeed was, tempted to revive the old vicious enmity with France. The French monarchy had now become very powerful, having been consolidated by the cunning of Louis XI.† In 1491 Charles VIII of France married Anne of Brittany, and thus absorbed the last great independent feudatory State. Henry VII was alarmed, and in accordance with the bad old tradition, led an army into Brittany. But he allowed himself to be bought off by the Treaty of Etaples (1492), thus making even a French war pay. His hereditary fear of France, however, still survived; and when, in 1494, Charles VIII invaded Italy to claim the throne of Naples, and found himself resisted by Spain, now unified under Ferdinand and Isabella,‡ Henry made friends with Spain, and sealed the friendship

* See Genealogical Tables B and D, at the end of the volume.
† See the larger Atlas, Plate 36.
‡ See the map of Spain, School Atlas, Plate 26*a*.

by getting the Spanish sovereign's daughter Katherine as a bride for his son Arthur (1501): when Arthur died (1502), a papal dispensation was obtained to transfer the bride to his brother Henry—another momentous marriage alliance. The war between France and Spain in Italy was the beginning of the modern rivalry between nation-states. But this aspect of it was not obvious to Henry VII. He still looked at these matters from the mediæval point of view.

Encouragement of Trade.—One last feature of Henry's foreign policy deserves note. In 1496 he concluded with the Emperor Maximilian (who had married Charles of Burgundy's heiress and was ruling the Netherlands on behalf of their son Philip) a commercial treaty, known as the *Magnus Intercursus*, which established the utmost freedom of trade between England and the Netherlands. Ten years later he extorted from Philip a still more favourable treaty, which the Flemings called the *Malus Intercursus* because it gave such advantages to the English traders. This is an illustration of Henry VII's keen and intelligent interest in the development of English trade and shipping. The growth of English shipping owed much to him. He passed a new *Navigation Act* requiring that English goods should be carried in English ships; and, stingy as he was, he gave substantial subsidies to encourage the building of big ships suitable for long voyages. Thus his reign was a time of preparation for that career upon the seas upon which the English were to enter under his successors. They were making ready to utilise the superb opportunities which were already opening.

2. The Great Geographical Discoveries

The First Discoveries.—While Henry VII was struggling with his difficulties, a series of explorations had suddenly multiplied the area of the world, and opened new horizons.* The Portuguese had long been creeping down the coast of Africa. In 1487, two years after Bosworth Field, Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and the sea-road to India was open. In 1492, when Perkin Warbeck was beginning his adventures, Columbus, pursuing his notion of a westward route to India, hit upon a new world without

* See School Atlas, Plate 42*a*.

knowing it, and in two later voyages planted the flag of Spain in the greater West Indian islands. In 1497, when the Cornishmen were marching to Blackheath, Vasco da Gama made his way to India, and the fabled wealth of the East began to pour into Lisbon. The imagination of Europe was fired by these discoveries. Even the cautious Henry VII was interested, and subscribed to the cost of equipping a modest expedition which set sail from Bristol under two Venetian sailors settled in that city, John and Sebastian Cabot. The Cabots were (though they knew it not) the first since the forgotten Norsemen to touch upon the North American continent. They roughly followed the coast from Greenland to Virginia—a vast region almost all of which was later to be English. But for the moment nothing came of this enterprise.

The Activity of Spain and Portugal.—It was to Spain and Portugal that the task of pursuing these beginnings fell—Spain to the West, Portugal to the East; and in 1493 the Pope, still recognised as the supreme arbiter, divided the outer world between them by drawing an imaginary line southwards through the Atlantic from the Azores, which was in the next year modified by a treaty between the two Powers. In the next thirty years exploration was pushed forward with an amazing energy. The Portuguese built up a great maritime empire in the East, and obtained a monopoly of that lucrative traffic under Albuquerque (1509–1515); while in the West they found and claimed Brazil (1500). Sailors in the service of Spain mapped out the new world: Amerigo Vespucci (1502) showed the greatness of South America; Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and found the Pacific (1513); Cortez found Mexico and its mineral wealth (1519); Magellan, most daring of them all, circumnavigated the world (1519–1522). Before the period covered by this chapter came to an end, Spain had begun to draw from these new lands a stream of wealth which threatened to ensure her predominance in European affairs.

These events are not, directly, a part of the history of the British peoples, who played so small a part in them. But for their future, these discoveries were immeasurably more momentous than all the petty rebellions and dynastic impostures. They changed men's outlook, they transformed the scale and character of human affairs, they revealed the gigantic new arena upon which the drama of the future was to be played.

3. The Renascence Reaches England

Meaning of the Renascence.—Even more important than the discoveries, as a sign of the coming of a new era, was the Renascence, which first began seriously to affect the life and thought of England in the time of Henry VII. The Renascence is often called the "Revival of Learning," and the name conveys a suggestion that its essence was a deeper knowledge of the classics, and especially of Greek. If that were all, this great movement would not deserve the place which it holds as one of the turning-points in the history of human life and thought. The Greek as well as the Latin classics had been known and studied in the Middle Ages, but they had been studied in the light of the preconceived ideas of that period. Now, when mediævalism was decaying, the classics were studied from a different angle. Men realised that in the ancient world there had been a great and very noble civilisation, far surpassing that of mediæval Europe, which had *not* accepted the fundamental ideas of mediævalism. Instead of submissively accepting authority, as the mediæval mind had done, the ancient world had been extraordinarily bold and free in criticism and discussion. Instead of regarding human nature as inherently vile, distrusting human reason, and thinking of the body as essentially evil, the ancient world had gloried in the power of man, exalted human reason, and admired and cultivated physical beauty. Instead of taking self-repression as its ideal, the ancient world had taken self-expression as its ideal. This revelation led to an undermining of traditional authority, a new freedom in criticism, and a new boldness of thought. In some cases it led, through the undermining of accepted restraints, to a strange moral laxity; and in the political sphere the age of the Renascence was a time of amazing unscrupulousness. But the essence of the Renascence, and what makes it so important in human history, is the free criticism, the testing of accepted traditional ideas, to which it led.

The English Renascence.—There had been some men in fifteenth-century England who were influenced by the new current of ideas, such as Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Tiptoft Earl of Worcester. But it was in Henry VII's reign that the movement took root in England, and established itself in the Universities—notably in Oxford.* Grocyn and Linacre, coming back from Italy,

* Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers* is a good little book on this subject.

began to teach Greek literature in the modern way, and scientific medicine, at Oxford. A greater than these, John Colet, came from Italy to Oxford in 1497, and lectured on the Epistles of St. Paul—trying to get behind traditional ideas, and to explain what the Apostle's mind was like, and what his letters meant to those who received them. In Oxford, too, the gentle and learned Erasmus—the greatest scholar of his time, and the first to whom the printing-press gave a European fame—found for a time a congenial home. And Colet and Erasmus made a friend of the noble and lovable Sir Thomas More,* who applied the new spirit of free criticism to the sphere of politics, and in *Utopia* (Nowhere), published in 1516, drew a picture of an ideal society (which he placed in the unexplored New World) wherein property was fairly diffused, everybody was educated, there were no oppressed poor and no cruel masters, and every man might worship God as he thought best. † There was a marked contrast between the leaders of the Renascence in the north—in England, Germany, and the Netherlands—and its leaders in Italy. In Italy they mostly took no interest in theology, brushing it aside as part of the superstition of the dying age, while in politics thinkers such as Machiavelli (whose famous book *The Prince* was published in 1509) did not dream dreams of an ideal state, but studied very practically the methods of war and treachery whereby a prince could acquire and maintain power for himself. But in the north criticism was mainly directed against the corruptions and superstitions of the Church, and the cruelties and stupidities of the State. Hence in the north, though not in Italy, the Renascence helped to prepare the way for the Reformation.

Renascence Culture.—The Renascence had an extraordinarily stimulating effect upon schools and universities, and upon the whole tone of society. Colet, who became Dean of St. Paul's, founded St. Paul's School as a model of new educational methods; and its influence rapidly extended to the older foundations. New colleges were started in Oxford and Cambridge, no longer organised on the monastic model. In the upper classes it became fashionable to be cultivated. The court of the young king Henry VIII had as many scholars and thinkers as a university; and even girls, like Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth, shared in the new knowledge

* More's son-in-law, Roper, wrote a beautiful little Life of him.

† *Utopia* is still worth reading. It is quite short, and there are many cheap editions of it: one is in Everyman's Library.

and the new outlook. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance to a nation's life of such a movement as this, which prepared the way for the glorious efflorescence of poetry that came in the last quarter of the century. The age in which new regions of the earth, and new realms of the spirit, were simultaneously being revealed as if by the sudden rending of a curtain, was indeed an age of great beginnings: "bliss was it in that dawn to be alive."

4. Henry VIII and Wolsey (1509–1527)

Henry VIII.—The gallant and splendid young prince who succeeded to the throne in 1509, at the age of eighteen, was himself an expression of the Renascence spirit.* Handsome and well-built, he was an adept in all manly sports. He was also highly cultivated, a scholar, a poet, and a musician; and he liked to surround himself with men of intellect. He loved pleasure, but never neglected his work; he knew how to choose and use men of ability, and was himself able enough not to be afraid of them—the ablest among them always knew he was the master. From the first he was popular among his subjects, and even in the dark days at the end of his reign he never lost his popularity. For he had an easy and pleasant address, while he never permitted a liberty or forgot that he was king; and, being himself thoroughly English, he had an instinctive understanding of the English temper, which he never lost. He had a high spirit and a domineering temper, but this seemed natural in so splendid a person. In his later years he was to become a pitiless and blood-thirsty tyrant. Even in his gallant youth the vein of ruthless selfishness which was his greatest fault displayed itself, though it was obscured by his frank and gallant bearing. Almost his first act was to sacrifice his father's tools, Empson and Dudley, in order to win popularity. They were condemned to death for high treason by an Act of Attainder—an utterly unjust sentence; and both this cruel sacrifice of his father's faithful servants for his own momentary advantage, and the use of the high-handed method of attainder (which denied any semblance of trial) were ominous indications of what was to come.

War with France and Scotland.—When he succeeded to a unified and prosperous kingdom and to a vast accumulation of wealth, his first desire was to cut a figure in European politics, which were

* There is a good short life of Henry VIII by A. F. Pollard.

now becoming interesting and exciting. The rivalry of the great nations had begun, and Henry VIII wanted to play a masterful part in it. Since 1494 France and Spain had been fighting for dominance in Italy, which had come to be the symbol of leadership in Europe, completely disregarding the fact that in the process they were ruining the brilliant civilisation of Italy.* When Henry came to the throne they had for the moment joined forces, along with the Emperor Maximilian, to ruin the republic of Venice. But in 1510 this unnatural alliance broke down; and in 1511 the warlike Pope Julius II formed a *Holy League* to drive the French out of Italy. Henry VIII eagerly joined this League, hoping not only to play a part on the European stage, but to revive the tarnished glories of Edward III and Henry V. In 1512 and 1513 he sent an army to the south of France to co-operate with Ferdinand of Aragon and to reconquer Guienne: it achieved nothing at all. In 1513 he himself invaded northern France from Calais, defeated the French at *Guinegate* (Battle of the Spurs), and took the towns of Tournai and Therouanne.

Flodden Field.—This was like a renewal of the old mediæval wars. And quite in the mediæval fashion, it was accompanied by a Scottish invasion of the north, led by James IV. The Scottish army was defeated with terrible losses at *Flodden* (1513)—the most dreadful disaster that had ever fallen upon Scotland, in which the king himself and most of his nobles were cut down like "the flowers of the forest."† But there was no advantage to be derived from these adventures: they only revived ancient and ruinous enmities. Realising that his allies of the Holy League were merely using him as a catspaw, Henry withdrew in disgust, and made peace with both France and Scotland —giving his sister Mary in marriage to Louis XII (1514). Next year, Louis XII died, and Mary married her old lover, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk: their granddaughter was Lady Jane Grey.‡

Rise of Wolsey.—During these first campaigns, which had merely emptied his treasury, Henry found a very capable administrator in a priest, Thomas Wolsey,§ who had been introduced to

* For this period see the map of Italy, School Atlas, Plate 25*c*.

† This is the theme of Scott's spirited poetic romance, *Marmion*.

‡ See Genealogical Table B, at the end of the volume.

§ There is a good short Life of Wolsey by Bishop Creighton (Twelve English Statesmen).

him by his father's chancellor, Bishop Foxe. Wolsey, the son of a Suffolk grazier, was a man of immense capacity and of unbounded ambition. Henry enriched and promoted him with great rapidity. In 1515 he became Archbishop of York, Chancellor, and a Cardinal; he also held the revenues of three other bishoprics and several abbacies, which made him the richest man in the kingdom. Henceforth Wolsey was, for fourteen years, the mainspring of the government of England, and he proved himself an administrator of immense ability. He impartially neglected the duties of his many ecclesiastical offices, devoting all his energy to government, and living in almost royal state: he built for himself the palace of Hampton Court. The splendour and power of the great minister matched the splendour and power of his master. Like Henry, Wolsey was a characteristic product of the Renascence. Amid his multifarious activities, he found time to take a genuine interest in the progress of learning, and if business had been less exacting he might have done something to reform the Church. He was the founder of the most magnificent of the Oxford colleges, Christ Church, which he called Cardinal College; he also planned a great school at his native Ipswich; and he found the funds for these institutions by suppressing some of the smaller monasteries—an example which his master was to follow on a large scale.

Charles V and Francis I.—A man of grandiose mind and vaulting ambition, Wolsey dreamed of becoming Pope; and this affected his policy. Like his master, he was primarily interested in the big game of international politics, which had become doubly interesting at the moment when he took control of English policy.* A vast power, such as Europe had not seen since the days of Charlemagne, threatened to dominate Europe—the power of the House of Habsburg, built up by a series of lucky marriages.† Since 1506, the young prince Charles of Habsburg had been master of the Netherlands, which he inherited from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy. In 1516 he succeeded to the now united monarchy of Spain, as heir of his grandfather Ferdinand of Aragon and his grandmother Isabella of Castile; and with Spain went the kingdom of Naples and Sicily (the southern half of Italy), and the immense empire of the New World, whose wealth was only beginning to be revealed. Finally,

* See School Atlas, Plate 15.

† For these marriages, and the other important dynastic marriages of this period, see Genealogical Table E, at the end of the volume.

in 1519, on the death of his other grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian, Charles also inherited the Austrian lands of the Habsburgs. If, in addition to all this, he were to be elected to his grandfather's titles of King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor, his power might enable him to become more really master of Germany than any emperor had been since the thirteenth century. He would dominate Europe; and, in particular, he would threaten France, the only power capable of resistance, from the north, the

FIG. 17.—The Dominions of Charles V.

east and the south. Francis I of France tried to prevent this by becoming a candidate for the imperial throne; Henry VIII also sought election, and squandered much money in trying to buy votes. But Charles was elected, and the possibility of a single power dominating all Europe loomed ahead. Time was to show that this gigantic empire was less formidable than it seemed, because there was no unity in its various parts, all of which were jealous of their master. Indeed, in 1521, Charles had to hand over his Austrian lands to his brother Ferdinand, who later (1526) succeeded to Bohemia and

Hungary; and there were henceforward two branches of the Habsburg house. But this did not seriously diminish the menace to France; and for two centuries to come the enmity between France and the House of Habsburg was the governing fact in European politics. In the near future it was to make the survival of Protestantism possible.

Henry and the Rivals.—What attitude was England to adopt in regard to this formidable rivalry? Both sides wanted her friendship, and Wolsey thought that she might make her profit by playing the one off against the other. In 1520 Henry VIII met Francis I amid the lavish splendours of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, near Calais, and there was much talk of an alliance. But shortly afterwards Henry met Charles V quietly at Gravelines, and came to an understanding with him: the traditional enmity to France, and the traditional desire to be on good terms with the lord of Flanders, were too strong to make a French alliance possible. When the inevitable war between France and Spain began in 1521, Henry twice invaded France; but his expeditions had no definite results.

Balance of Power.—In 1525 Charles inflicted a crushing defeat upon Francis at *Pavia*, and took him captive. This promised to give Charles so complete a preponderance that Wolsey and Henry reversed their policy, and made peace with France. But they did nothing to help her actively. After four more years of fighting, peace was made between the rivals at Cambrai (1529)—mainly because Charles wanted to be free to deal with the Reformation in Germany and with the menace of the Turks, who had conquered most of Hungary. He had not crushed France; but it was not England who had saved her, and he had made himself master of Italy and reduced the Pope to dependence upon himself. The Habsburg power seemed to be more formidable than ever. The reversal of English policy in 1525 has often been acclaimed as a proof of the greatness of Wolsey, and as the beginning of the policy of "balance of power," with which England was in the future to be identified. This claim is put too high. In reality Henry and Wolsey counted for almost nothing in this bitter rivalry. The most that can be said for their policy is that it marks an abandonment of the mediæval ambition of conquering territory in France.

Henry VIII and Parliament.—The main result of this pretentious but ineffectual foreign policy, and of the lavishness of Henry's court, was that the brimming treasury which Henry VII

had left was emptied, and it became once more necessary to demand grants from Parliament. But Parliament was by no means submissive. In 1522 and 1523, when large grants were demanded for the French war, it was very restive; Wolsey had to go down to the House of Commons in state to browbeat it. After this experience, Parliament was not again summoned during Wolsey's tenure of power. He fell back upon the system of "benevolences," demanding in 1525 an "amicable loan" of one-sixth of every man's income. But this raised a storm; there was even a threat of rebellion. In the matter of taxation, at any rate, Parliament was by no means submissive, even under Henry VIII, though it did not presume to meddle with questions of national policy.

CHAPTER XIV

HENRY VIII AND THE REFORMATION (1529–1547)

WHILE Henry and Wolsey were busy with their futile efforts to play an active part in European politics, the tremendous religious revolution which is known as the Reformation had begun. Starting in Germany and Switzerland, it was already well under way, and was beginning to influence England, when Wolsey's tenure of power came to an end in 1529.

1. THE CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION

Sources of Discontent.—Dissatisfaction with the condition of the Church had long been growing, in England as in every other European country; the Church had become worldly and corrupt, and the most earnest and orthodox of churchmen were the most eager for reform, though not for disruption. The dissatisfaction was of three kinds. (1) There was keen resentment against the enormous powers claimed by the Papacy, and the way in which these powers were used to exact money and to draw cases to the papal courts at Rome. This resentment had been intensified by the shameful schism of the fifteenth century, when rival Popes were engaged in cursing one another, and by the character of such Popes as Alexander Borgia: the Popes of this period were, in fact, merely Italian princes

using their spiritual powers for their temporal advantage. It was in the strong national States that this resentment was most effective. It had been expressed by the English Parliament in many Statutes, such as Provisors and Præmunire, from Edward III's time onwards. (2) There was resentment against the wealth and luxury of the greater clergy, and against the idleness and greed of many of the monks and friars, who no longer rendered the great religious and educational services which they had once given. More than one-quarter of the land of England was in clerical hands. And the exemption which the clergy claimed from public obligations and from the supremacy of the ordinary laws added to the resentment. This had been expressed, time and again, both by kings and parliaments from Edward I onwards, and by a long succession of satirists. (3) Finally there was a good deal of dissatisfaction with the teachings of the Church, which were encrusted with many superstitions that had grown up during the Middle Ages, and were out of accord with the spirit of the New Learning. This affected scholars, at first, rather than ordinary men, and the scholars did not want violent action. But the ordinary man also was capable of being aroused to an intense interest in theological questions, as the popularity of Wycliffe's teaching had long ago shown. And Lollardy had not altogether died out; it still flourished obscurely here and there, and there were burnings for heresy at intervals during the reign of Henry VII and the early reign of Henry VIII. Moreover, as events were soon to show, it was difficult to attack the political abuses of the Church without attacking also its doctrines.

The Lutheran Movement.—Thus a great part of Europe, including England, was full of explosives only waiting for a spark. The spark came from Martin Luther, a friar-professor of Wittenberg in Saxony, who in 1517 nailed to the door of the church there a number of *Theses* challenging the right of the Pope to sell indulgences, or exemptions from penance. A fierce controversy arose, which was swiftly spread by the new invention of the printing-press. Luther was led on to challenge the general authority of the Papacy, and many of the doctrines of the Church; and his ideas spread like fire in the heather. In 1521 Charles V was unable to stamp out the rising conflagration at the Diet of Worms; because many of the German princes favoured the new ideas. They saw that the overthrow of papal authority would strengthen their power, and that they could enrich themselves by the plunder of the Church. And this prospect

proved, as time went on, to be attractive to many princes—not excluding Henry VIII. At first, indeed, Henry was fervently orthodox. Proud of his theological learning, he published in 1521 a reply to Luther, for which the Pope rewarded him with the title *Fidei Defensor:* the letters F.D. still appear on British coins. But the new ideas went on growing, and threw all western Europe into a ferment. They began to spread to England, though not yet on any large scale—chiefly in the prosperous eastern counties and in London. In 1525 William Tyndale published a translation of the New Testament in English. He was banished, and subsequently burnt in the Netherlands. There was also an increase in the number of burnings for heresy. But it was not by the spreading of Lutheran ideas that England was to be drawn into the Reformation; but by the angry action of her wilful king.

2. The Severance from Rome (1527–1534)

The Divorce Question.—Henry VIII had become tired of his wife Katherine of Aragon: she was a melancholy, ailing woman, older than himself; she had given him no son; and he had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, a sprightly maid of honour, niece of the Duke of Norfolk. Henry ordered Wolsey (1527) to obtain a divorce from the Pope, on the ground that his marriage with his brother's widow had been invalid from the first, in spite of the papal dispensation. But the Pope, Clement VII, was obstinate. Even if he had been willing, it would have been difficult for him to do what Henry wanted; for he was at that moment at the mercy of Charles V, Katherine's nephew. The most he would do was to issue a commission to try the case to two cardinals, Wolsey and an Italian, Campeggio. Campeggio deliberately loitered; and before the court could decide, the Pope cancelled its commission and gave his verdict against the king (1529). Two years had been lost.

Fall of Wolsey.—The masterful king's ire turned against Wolsey. The Chancellor had just been levying severe "benevolences," having been refused by Parliament the swingeing taxes for which he asked; and he was at the height of his unpopularity. Henry announced that Wolsey had acted without his consent, and deprived him of the Chancellorship. Then, on the ground that he had broken the Act of Præmunire by acting as papal legate, all his property was confiscated, and he was sent off to perform the neglected

duties of his archbishopric. Next year he was ordered to come to London to answer to a monstrous charge of treason; but the ruined and broken-hearted man died on the way, an exemplar of the ingratitude of princes and of the sudden fall of overweening pride (1530).*

The Long Parliament of the Reformation.—Henry now set himself to find ways of bringing pressure to bear upon the Pope. A Cambridge divine, Thomas Cranmer † (who was already veering towards the Protestant view) suggested to him that he should get opinions in his favour from the canon-lawyers of the Universities. The experiment was tried, but came to nothing. Nevertheless Henry took Cranmer into high favour, and in 1533 made him Archbishop of Canterbury. But the main device was to frighten the Pope by letting loose against him the English Parliament, which was full of anti-papal feeling. For this purpose a parliament was summoned in 1529. It was so satisfactory that it was carried on from year to year until 1536, whereas previously there had been a new election for every session. It is known as the Long Parliament of the Reformation, and it carried out a revolution quite as momentous as that which was achieved by its namesake a century later. It was by no means a blind instrument of the king's will. It knew what it was doing, and needed careful handling. For this delicate work the king chose Thomas Cromwell, the son of a Putney blacksmith, who, after many adventures at home and abroad, had won prosperity as a solicitor and money-lender, and had been used by Wolsey for many purposes—especially to carry out the suppression of some of the monasteries in order to provide the means for the foundation of his Oxford College. Cromwell, like most clever people of his time, was a believer in absolute monarchy. The king found him a very valuable tool, astute, cool-headed, ruthless; and ere long he was high in the royal favour. Sir Thomas More was chosen as Chancellor; but that noble and upright man was ill-adapted for the work that had to be done, and in 1532 he resigned the seals. Three years later he died on the scaffold.

The Subjugation of the Clergy.—The attack upon the Pope and the Church was steadily and skilfully developed. Each

* Shakespeare has fixed upon these events as the most dramatic material for his *King Henry VIII.*

† There is a short Life of Cranmer by A. C. Deane.

year saw a new step. In 1529 certain profitable abuses of the Church were swept away. In 1530 the English clergy were terrorised by a prosecution under the Act of Præmunire, for having recognised Wolsey as legate. The penalty was confiscation of all their goods, but they were excused on payment of a fine of £118,000, and on condition that the king was recognised as "the sole protector and supreme head of the Church and clergy of England": they ruefully submitted, subject to the phrase "as far as the law of Christ allows." Next year Convocation was forced to accept a revision of the whole body of canon law, carried out by a commission appointed by the king; and, among other things, the ancient abuse of "benefit of clergy," for which Becket had died four centuries before, was swept away.

The Breach with Rome.—Having shown that the English clergy were incapable of resistance, the king and Parliament next made a more direct attack upon the Papacy. In 1532 the Annates Act abolished the heavy payments made by newly-appointed bishops to the Pope. Still the Pope would not yield. So in 1533 all appeals to Rome were forbidden, and, under cover of this Act, Cranmer as archbishop tried the great divorce case, and declared that Henry's marriage to Katherine had been invalid from the beginning. Henry had already secretly married Anne Boleyn, and in 1533 she was crowned, and gave birth to a daughter—Elizabeth. The breach with Rome was now final. This was definitely recognised by the *Act of Supremacy*, 1534, which declared that the king "justly and rightfully is and ought to be supreme head of the Church of England." In the same year another Act provided that bishops should be chosen by cathedral chapters, but that the chapters should be bound to choose the men nominated by the king: this is the method by which bishops of the Church of England are still appointed. The Pope inevitably replied to the Act of Supremacy by excommunicating Henry and declaring him deposed. Henceforth there was war to the knife between England and Rome.

Political Effects of the Breach.—Thus was completed the first stage of the Reformation—the complete severance of the English Church from Rome, and the substitution of the king's authority for that of the Pope. As yet, however, the change was purely political: no change had been made either in the doctrine or in the ritual of the Church, and the ordinary man saw no difference in the services of his parish church. There is no doubt at all that

Parliament and the mass of the people readily concurred in the severance from Rome. Both the old dislike of the Papacy and the strong national feeling of England found satisfaction in this change. Nevertheless the change was a revolution. It made a breach with the history of the long centuries since the Synod of Whitby. And the revolution was almost as great in the political as in the ecclesiastical sphere. It increased immeasurably the power of the crown. Having added the authority of the Pope to that of the king, and having now absolutely under his control the whole organisation of the Church, which had hitherto been independent and had often been the mainstay of resistance to royal power, Henry was more nearly a despot than any of his predecessors. He was master of the consciences as well as of the bodies of his subjects. And this became very apparent in the next period.

3. Thomas Cromwell and the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1534–1540)

The Cromwellian Tyranny.—The half-dozen years from 1534 to 1540 were a period not merely of despotism but of tyranny. Death without any semblance of trial, by the convenient method of attainder, was the fate of all who opposed or even criticised the king. The instrument of this tyranny was Thomas Cromwell, who believed in despotism as the only efficient form of government, and had no scruples in clearing all obstacles out of the way, without any semblance of justice. The period opened with a series of judicial murders which horrified Europe. Fisher, the saintly and learned Bishop of Rochester; Thomas More, the noblest gentleman in England, who had been the king's own familiar friend; and a group of Carthusian monks eminent for their piety, suffered death (1535) by the axe or the rope for refusing to swear that the king's first marriage had always been invalid. They were willing to recognise Anne as queen; but this was not enough. Within a year (1536) Anne Boleyn, having incurred the king's distrust, was also beheaded; her daughter Elizabeth was declared illegitimate; and her marriage, for questioning which so much noble blood had been shed, was also declared to have been invalid from the beginning. Henry then married his third wife, Jane Seymour, who at last gave him a son (1537), afterwards Edward VI: her family was promptly raised

to an uneasy eminence, and her brother, created Earl of Hertford, became one of the leaders of the court.

Suppression of the Monasteries.—The main work of these years was the seizure of a large part of the property of the Church, by the suppression of the monasteries. As vicar-general for the royal Head of the Church, Cromwell carried out a visitation of the monasteries: he had learnt how to do the work when he was employed by Wolsey in a similar task. There is no doubt that the monasteries had largely outlived their usefulness, but it is impossible to accept the wholesale charges of corruption and vice which were made against them by Cromwell's commissioners. Nevertheless, on the basis of these charges, 375 lesser monasteries, with incomes of under £200 per annum, were dissolved at one fell swoop by an Act of Parliament —the final achievement of the Reformation Parliament (1536). All this immense property was transferred to the king. During the next three years the richer prey of the greater monasteries was also brought into the net. One by one they were bullied into surrendering their property; in some cases their abbots were hanged; and a new Parliament of 1539 legalised these transactions.*

The Distribution of the Plunder.—The suppression of the monasteries involved a far greater interference with the life of the nation than the breach with Rome. Whatever their defects, the monasteries had rendered many services, especially in the relief of the poor. The monks became homeless wanderers, adding to the number of vagabonds who formed one of the social problems of the period. Their great possessions passed into new hands. A small part of them was used to endow new bishoprics. † Another part was used to strengthen the navy and create coast-defences, against the possibility of foreign attack. Henry VIII had always taken a keen interest in the navy, and indeed may almost be described as its founder; for he had, as early as 1512, built great ships of a new pattern which were equipped in royal dockyards. He was the first English king who made it his policy to make England safe from invasion by means of a Royal Navy of fighting ships; and the plunder of the monasteries helped him to do this. But by far the greater part of the monastic lands passed, by royal grant or by sale at a low price, into the hands of lay owners. About a thousand men were thus enriched from the

* For the number of the monasteries and their distribution see School Atlas, Plate 35.

† These are shown in School Atlas, Plate 35.

plunder of the Church. From among them sprang a new nobility, far more dependent upon the crown than their predecessors, and deeply committed to the support of the Reformation, to which they owed their fortunes. Some of the greatest noble houses of modern England date their importance from this period. Moreover, the House of Lords underwent a great change as a result of the suppression. Hitherto the spiritual peers had formed a majority, and often a very independent majority. But now that the parliamentary abbots had all disappeared, and the bishops had become mere creatures of the crown, and the new lay nobles owed their fortunes to royal grants which might be reclaimed if the religious revolution were reversed, the House of Lords became a much more submissive body than it had been. In every way, the Reformation added to the power of the crown.

The Pilgrimage of Grace.—So great a transfer of land could not take place without a serious disturbance—especially as the new landlords were in many cases harsher than the old. For this reason the suppression of the monasteries led to open resistance (1536), as the severance from Rome had not done. There was a rising in Lincolnshire, while in Yorkshire a Pilgrimage of Grace, to beg the king to dismiss his evil counsellors, was organised under the lead of a young lawyer, Robert Aske: in these two counties the monasteries had been more numerous than elsewhere. The Yorkshire rising was so serious that a free pardon had to be promised to persuade the rebels to disperse. Then, on the pretext of a fresh disturbance, pitiless vengeance was taken.

Council of the North and Union of Wales.—This outbreak led to the establishment of a branch of the Privy Council at York, called the Council of the North, to maintain the royal authority in that disturbed region. It lasted for a century, and unquestionably did good work in establishing firm government in the turbulent north. A similar Council had previously (1534) been established at Ludlow for Wales and the Marches; and it is from this time that we must date the ending of the turbulence which had for centuries marked these districts. The time had now come when the feudal independence of Wales might be brought to an end; and it was the Welsh king, Henry VIII, who brought about, in 1536, the *Union of England and Wales*—the first of a long series of such unions in the history of the British peoples. Wales was divided into thirteen counties, each of which henceforward returned a member to the

united Parliament, while the boroughs in each county returned another member. Cruel as the despotism of Henry VIII could be, it was undoubtedly efficient, and it led to closer national unity.

Doctrinal Change.—Meanwhile the influence of the timid Cranmer, who was gradually becoming more Protestant, led to the first tentative steps towards doctrinal change. In 1537 a text-book of religion, known as the Bishops' Book, and drawn up by Cranmer, was issued: it leant towards Protestantism. And in 1538 a new translation of the Bible into English, based upon Tyndale's earlier work, was published, and a copy of this Great Bible, as it was called, was chained in every parish church for the use of the parishioners. Cromwell, though he cared not a jot about doctrine, was moving in the Protestant direction, because there was at this moment some fear of a combination of Charles V and Francis I against England; and, as a counterpoise, he was inclined to favour an alliance with the German princes. As a sign of this alliance he proposed to the king a marriage with Anne of Cleves, Jane Seymour having died soon after the birth of her son. Henry consented; but the "Flanders mare," as he politely called her, did not please his critical taste, and he promptly divorced her.

The Fall of Cromwell.—The movement towards Protestantism, slight as it was, was quickly stopped: the Defender of the Faith remained inflexibly orthodox. In 1539 a new Parliament, the most servile that has ever sat since Parliament was created, accepted from the royal theologian a definition of faith in *Six Articles*, and passed a ferocious Act imposing the penalties of forfeiture and death for writing or speaking against transubstantiation, celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, and other distinctively Catholic doctrines. There never was a fiercer persecutor than Henry VIII: while this Parliament was sitting a man was burnt for eating meat on a Friday. It was in 1539, indeed, that the despotism of Henry VIII reached its culmination; for Cromwell succeeded in persuading this despicable Parliament to pass an Act giving to the king's *Proclamations* the force of law, and thus to abdicate its own legislative powers. Cromwell's task had been to establish absolute monarchy in England. His work was now done, and his master was tired of him; his only further use was to serve as a scapegoat for the unpopularity which his measures had brought. Attainted on an absurd charge of treason, he was sent by his ruthless master to the block to which he had sent so many better men.

4. The Last Years of Henry VIII (1540–1547)

The last seven years of Henry VIII were comparatively quiet, after the excitements of the previous period. There was a sort of balance in the Council between the friends of the New Learning, led by Cranmer and the Earl of Hertford, and the friends of the Old Learning, led by the Duke of Norfolk, by the Secretary of State (Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester), and by Bonner, Bishop of London. Cranmer was indeed allowed to publish an English Litany (1544), substantially in its modern form, and to issue (1545) forms of Morning and Evening Prayer in English: the grave beauty of the English Prayer-Book, of which these issues formed the first draft, is indeed his greatest work. But on all essential points of doctrine, the decision of the irresistible king remained inflexibly orthodox, as he showed when he chose for his fifth wife (1540) Catherine Howard, a niece of the Duke of Norfolk, leader of the party of the Old Learning; but her reign lasted only two years—she went to the block for infidelity in 1542. During all these last years there was impartial persecution for all who would not accept the king's religious system. Catholics went to the block for questioning the royal supremacy, Protestants for differing from the royal theology.

War with Scotland.—The main interest of the last years of Henry VIII lay in his foreign policy, which once more became active—and futile—after the interval of absorption in ecclesiastical affairs. In *Ireland* these years saw the beginning of a new policy; but this will be discussed elsewhere * as part of the grim story of the conquest of Ireland. In *Scotland* Henry's nephew, James V, after a long minority which followed his father's death at Flodden (1513), had been engaged in a fierce struggle with his turbulent nobles. As he depended on the support of the Church, he was no friend to Protestantism. The new teaching had already made its appearance in Scotland: the first Scottish Protestant martyr, Patrick Hamilton, was burnt in 1528; and thereafter Protestant preachers were never lacking. They were protected by some of the nobles, who were at enmity with both the crown and the Church. For this reason an English party was beginning to grow up in Scotland. In the long run it was common enmity to Rome which was to bring the two countries together, and with tact and patience Henry VIII might

* See below, p. 219.

have anticipated this result. But tact and patience were never qualities of the domineering tyrant. He ruined his chance by going to war with Scotland in 1542. His army was victorious at *Solway Moss*; and when, soon afterwards, James V died, leaving his throne to an infant girl, Mary Queen of Scots, and a weak regent, the Earl of Arran, Scotland seemed to lie at Henry's mercy. He succeeded in getting Arran's assent to an agreement that the young queen should marry the Prince of Wales when she reached her tenth year. But when the Scottish nobles, fearing English predominance, refused their assent, Henry lost patience. Once again the Lowlands were mercilessly ravaged. In 1544 Edinburgh was burnt; in 1545 five towns and 243 villages were destroyed, and the whole harvest of several counties was ruined. But the only effect of this was to destroy the English party, and to throw Scotland more than ever into dependence upon France. Thus Henry's Scottish policy was a disastrous failure.

War with France.—The war with France, which began in 1543, was partly a consequence of the Scottish war. But it was also due to the request of Charles V for an alliance, which Henry eagerly accepted. In spite of his immense resources, Charles was in continuous difficulties. He was on bad terms with the Pope, because of his power in Italy; he could not reduce the German Protestants to obedience; even in the Netherlands the Protestant movement was causing unrest; and there was a formidable menace from the Turks, who had overrun Hungary and threatened Vienna.* Everywhere Francis I of France was a thorn in his side, stirring up the German princes and even making an open alliance with the Turks. So Charles was glad to make an alliance with the heretic Henry, for a combined attack on France—promising, as the price of help, Normandy and Guienne. The war lasted three years. At sea Henry's navy established a complete ascendancy over the French, who had begun the war by attacking the English coasts and landing in the Isle of Wight. *Boulogne* was captured, and was left in English possession when the war ended (1546). This was the only tangible result of all Henry's costly foreign adventures.

Conditions at Henry's Death.—These wars, however, depleted the Treasury: they used up the plunder of the Church as the wars at the beginning of the reign had used up Henry VII's

* See School Atlas, Plates 15 and 26c.

hoard. To meet his immediate needs, Henry had recourse to the ruinous method of debasing the currency. There is no surer way of bringing about a dislocation of trade, and this folly caused infinite distress. Moreover, both social and religious unrest were brewing at home. It was a *damnosa hæreditas* which the tyrant left to his successor, when he died in January 1547. One last victim of his tyranny preceded him to the shades. The poet-earl of Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk, had been attainted and executed for high treason just before the king died; and if Henry's death had come a few days later, the Duke himself—who had been one of Henry's principal councillors since 1529—would have followed his son to the scaffold. Henry VIII was a detestable tyrant. But at least he was no weakling, and he has left an indelible mark on the history of his country.

CHAPTER XV

THE CRISIS OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND (1547–1560)

1. Calvinism and the Counter-Reformation

Growth of Religious Fervour.—There is a marked contrast, both in England and in Europe, between the first and the second phases of the Reformation. In the first phase, which lasted for about thirty years after Luther posted his Theses in 1517, and therefore roughly corresponded with the reign of Henry VIII, the cleavage between Catholic and Protestant was only slowly developing. The forces making for change were quite as much political as religious. Like Henry VIII, the princes of Germany and the kings of Sweden and Denmark adopted the new faith mainly as a means of increasing their own wealth and power; and on the Catholic side there was little fervour of resistance, because all good Catholics recognised the need for reform, and Catholic princes equally with Protestant princes were mainly influenced by political motives. But in the second phase there was an increasing sharpness of definition on both sides; the conflict became bitter, even fanatical; and even among ruling princes secular motives were qualified by the desire to secure victory for their accepted doctrines.

The Counter-Reformation.—On the Catholic side, a reforming movement began within the Church. Zealous and earnest Popes took the place of the worldly Popes of the earlier period; Catholic doctrine was more clearly defined by the great *Council of Trent*, which began its sittings in 1546, though its work was not completed until 1563; the *Inquisition* was set on foot to crush out heresy; the militant *Jesuit Order* was founded (1540). The Catholic Revival, or Counter-Reformation, had begun; and soon great political forces, notably Philip II of Spain and the powerful house of Guise in France, were to enrol themselves as its soldiers.

Calvinism.—On the Protestant side, the leadership was passing from Luther and his friends, who temporised to win princely support, to the stern, unflinching French reformer Calvin. By 1541 Calvin had established a sort of theocratic State in the free city of Geneva, which had become the refuge and the seminary of the more enthusiastic Protestant teachers from all countries—the seed-plot from which a more unbending and fanatical form of Protestantism was very rapidly spread over Europe. In short, fanaticism was rising on both sides, and the way was being prepared for the fierce wars of religion of the second half of the century—wars which were to have the most momentous influence upon the future history of the British peoples.

Closer Relations of England and Scotland.—During the period covered by this chapter—the reigns of Edward VI and Mary in England, and the minority of Mary of Scotland—these new forces were taking shape. What is more, it was becoming clear that the destinies of England and Scotland were closely intertwined. In the event, it was by the establishment of an effective partnership between them that the issue was decided, as it practically was in 1560; and both England and Scotland were committed to the Protestant cause. The progressive interlocking of the interests of England and Scotland, which was one of the main features of this period, was due to three causes. The first was the growing influence, in both countries, of the preachers of Protestantism. The second was the uncertainty of the succession to the English crown, and the fact that the young Queen of Scots was in the line of succession. The third was the rivalry of France and Spain, both of whom hoped to bring England and Scotland under their influence.

2. Edward VI and Premature Protestantism (1547–1553)

The Alienation of Scotland.—At the opening of the period the relations between England and Scotland passed into an acute stage. The new king of England, Edward VI, was a sickly boy of nine. The chief control of affairs fell to his uncle, the Earl of Hertford, who now became Duke of Somerset and Protector. Somerset, who had led campaigns against Scotland at the end of Henry VIII's reign, was eager to bring about a union of the crowns, and dreamt of a united Britain "having the sea for wall and mutual love for its garrison." At this moment Mary Queen of Scots was five years old, her country was torn asunder by faction-fighting among the nobles, and her mother, Mary of Guise, was striving to secure the predominance of French influence. The Scottish Protestants were beginning to be bold. A band of them had in 1546 murdered Archbishop Beton and seized his castle of St. Andrews, where they were still holding out in 1547. Among the besieged was John Knox, an ardent priest recently converted to Protestantism. Somerset conceived the idea of at once helping the Scottish Protestants, and bringing about a marriage between Edward and Mary. For this purpose he invaded Scotland, defeated the Scots at *Pinkie*, near Edinburgh, and again ravaged the south-eastern counties. These methods of violence of course defeated his aims. "I mislike not the match, but the method of wooing," said one of the Scottish nobles. The Scottish Protestants were discredited as an unpatriotic party, and for a time their cause had a set-back. The child-queen was sent to France to be educated (1548); and there, in 1558, she was married to Francis II, who became king of France in 1559. Meanwhile the French were all-powerful in Scotland. Such were the results of violence.

The Protector Somerset.—Somerset* was a well-meaning man, of some generosity of mind, but he was not strong enough to deal with the difficult problems left by Henry VIII. Quite apart from the dangers of religious controversy, which Henry had violently repressed, there were other dangers. The treasury was empty; trade had been thrown into confusion by the debased currency; and all over the country, but especially in the eastern and midland counties,

* There is a good study of Somerset by A. F. Pollard.

there was seething discontent on the question of enclosures. Attracted by the profits to be made from the sale of wool, landlords were turning ploughlands into pasture; and as sheep-tending needed less labour than tillage, there was an army of unemployed, who (in the absence of other means of livelihood) took to vagabondage and sometimes to brigandage. This agrarian problem had long been a difficulty, and it had been intensified by the suppression of the monasteries. The great preacher, Hugh Latimer—who may almost be described as the first of English popular orators *—was denouncing these evils, and the greed of the landlords; a new peasants' rising seemed possible. Somerset sympathised with the grievances of the rural classes, and even tried to get remedial legislation through Parliament. But here he was opposed by the landowning class, who controlled Parliament. He was neither strong enough nor firm enough to deal with the problem; and in the end it brought about his downfall.

An Experiment in Toleration.—A sincere Protestant, and (for his time and class) a liberal-minded man, Somerset allowed the powerful engine of tyranny, which Cromwell and Henry VIII had created, to be destroyed. The Proclamations Act was repealed, and Parliament—once more active—resumed its powers. The fierce treason law of Henry VIII was modified. The Act of the Six Articles, with its cruel persecuting clauses, was cancelled, and even Henry IV's old act *de heretico comburendo* was repealed. There was to be no religious persecution in England; and, in fact, nobody lost his life for his religious opinions during the reign of Edward VI. The immediate result was an inrush of Protestant preachers, foreigners and exiled Englishmen, some of them inspired by the stern doctrines of Calvin. A fever of discussion arose, which was dangerous to public order, now that the strong hand of the tyrant was removed; and Hugh Latimer was the inspiring orator of a Protestant movement, which took strong root in the south and east, though as yet the more backward north and west were little affected.

Introduction of Protestantism.—Somerset himself was a Protestant, and under his lead the purely political changes of Henry VIII were succeeded by rapid changes in doctrine and discipline, which had a very disturbing effect upon the minds of the people. The surviving endowments of the Church were attacked. Hundreds of "chantries" (endowments for prayers for the dead,

* Latimer's Sermons are included in Everyman's Library.

the priests of which often kept school in their spare time) were suppressed as superstitious. The religious and charitable endowments of the Gilds were also suppressed. Some of the wealth thus seized was used to relieve the treasury; most of it went into private pockets, including Somerset's own, who found from this source the means to build his superb palace of Somerset House; only a little was reserved for educational endowments, and thus a great opportunity was lost. The Edward VI grammar-schools scattered over the country represent the paltry share of this plunder which was reserved for public uses. Commissions were sent round the country to destroy images, and much needless vandalism was committed. The Catholic bishops, such as Bonner and Gardiner, resisted these proceedings in vain; they were imprisoned and deprived of their jurisdiction. Priests were allowed to marry. A Book of Homilies, setting forth the new doctrines, was issued for the use of the clergy, to be read to their congregations. Finally, in 1549, a new order of service in English, the *First Prayer-book of Edward VI*, was drawn up by Cranmer, and imposed upon all English churches by an *Act of Uniformity*. The new book was in the main a translation of the old Latin service, done into noble and lovely English, and it did not make very great changes in doctrine. But it brought home the suddenness of the change to every parish, and slow-moving minds everywhere were perturbed and distressed.

Popular Risings.—This combination of social and religious unrest led to the most serious upheaval that England had seen since 1381. There was a revolt against the religious changes in Devon and Cornwall (1549), so formidable that Exeter was besieged, and German mercenaries had to be employed to repress it. A little later there were many sporadic risings against enclosures. The most serious was in the Eastern counties, where a squire named Robert Ket took the lead of a mob which pulled down enclosures, seized and tried unpopular landlords, and sent up demands for reform to the Council. Somerset would have liked to do something for them, but Council and Parliament were against him. Because of these hesitations, the rebellion became dangerous; Ket actually defeated the king's troops, and stormed Norwich. This rebellion was only dispersed by the vigorous action of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, son of Henry VII's extortioner, who was Somerset's chief rival in the Council.

Fall of Somerset.—Somerset had already found much difficulty in maintaining his power. He had been compelled to use the

ugly method of an Act of Attainder to deal with a conspiracy formed by his own brother, Thomas Seymour, a turbulent man, who (though he held the office of Lord High Admiral) had made the Scilly Islands a centre of piracy: Seymour had planned to marry the Princess Elizabeth and oust his brother from power; he paid for his folly with the loss of his head. This episode had already discredited Somerset. His failure to deal firmly with the insurrections ruined him. He ceased to be Protector, and was sent for a time to the Tower; and his place was taken by Warwick, later Duke of Northumberland, with the office of Lord President of the Council.

Northumberland and More Rapid Change.—Northumberland was purely a self-seeker, who cared nothing for religion, but joined with his colleagues in still further plundering the Church, reducing the revenues of bishoprics, and even threatening the endowments of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges. His power depended upon his influence with the young king; and Edward—a precocious and serious-minded boy—was an earnest Protestant, eager that his reign should see the triumph of the Faith in England. So Northumberland threw himself into the support of extreme Protestantism. Foreign theologians were installed at Oxford and Cambridge, where they taught the future clergy. Advanced Protestants were appointed to the bishoprics from which Catholics had been extruded. Ridley in London, and Hooper in Gloucester, were extremists in theology—Hooper, indeed, was a Puritan before his time. John Knox, who had been released from the French galleys at Edward's intercession, and had taken refuge in England, was among these enthusiastic leaders; though he refused a bishopric, he wielded even greater influence as the king's chaplain. Cranmer, whose views were steadily becoming more advanced, undertook a revision of the Prayer-book, which embodied substantial changes in doctrine, and especially the abandonment of transubstantiation. In 1552 the *Second Prayer-book of Edward VI* (which is, in most essentials, the same as the modern prayer-book) was imposed upon all English churches. In the next year (1553) the reformed creed was defined in Forty-two Articles of Religion—the basis of Elizabeth's Thirty-nine Articles. Based on Luther's confession, these Articles showed that England had adopted a definitely Protestant position.

Northumberland's Plot.—But all these changes had taken place far too rapidly to be accepted by the mass of the people; Protestantism had not yet really taken root anywhere save in London

and parts of the south-east. The permanence of this Protestant settlement depended upon the continuance of the government which had imposed it. And the frail young king was obviously not likely to live long; while his destined successor, Mary, was a very sincere Catholic, certain to reverse all that had been done. Northumberland recognised that his own position was insecure. To make it safe, he must have a sovereign under his influence. For that purpose he decided to pass over both Mary and her sister Elizabeth, and also Mary Queen of Scots, who would have been the next heir (as the granddaughter of Henry VIII's elder sister); and he chose Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Henry VIII's younger sister.* Lady Jane, a gentle, pious, and learned girl, was married to Northumberland's son, Guildford Dudley, and the young king was persuaded to make a will in her favour. The will was scarcely made when Edward died (July 1553). Lady Jane was promptly declared queen. But nobody wanted a continuance of the Northumberland regime. Mary fled to Norfolk, and the gentry of that county, though largely Protestant, rallied to her support. When Northumberland tried to pursue her, his troops mutinied. He had to give in; and the daughter of the injured Katherine of Aragon became queen. Northumberland went to the scaffold, having first made himself contemptible by forswearing Protestantism.

3. Mary and the Catholic Reaction (1553–1558)

Queen Mary.—The new queen was an embittered woman of thirty-seven. She had been declared illegitimate, and denied her natural place. Since her early girlhood, she had brooded on her own and her mother's wrongs. Her consolation had been her religion, to which she had remained staunch through all the changes. Now she was brought, as by the very finger of God, to the throne whose power would enable her to right the wrong. She felt that this was her supreme mission. She had the strong will of her family; but her secluded life had put her out of touch with the moods of the time and the temper of her people.

Mary's Aims.—The first thing to be done was to repeal the Protestant legislation of Edward VI. But this needed the concurrence of Parliament. Parliament was not unwilling to return to

* See Genealogical Table B, at the end of the volume.

the system of Henry VIII. But it was watchful, suspicious, and difficult to handle: three elections had to be held during the first eighteen months of the reign. Though she regarded it as sacrilege, Mary had to use the royal supremacy to displace the reforming bishops and re-establish the mass. But this was not enough. She wanted to restore the supremacy of Rome. She knew that in this national feeling was against her. Even the displaced Catholic bishops, like Gardiner (who became her chief political adviser) had accepted and approved the royal supremacy. Among her entourage scarcely anybody shared her enthusiasm save Cardinal Pole, who came to England as papal legate, and was made Archbishop of Canterbury. But Pole was an exile: he had been attainted, and his mother had been executed, by Henry VIII; and he came back with the bitterness of an exile. To force England back under Rome, Mary realised that she needed aid from without. She looked for it from Spain, her mother's home. Therefore, when Charles V, her cousin, suggested to her (1553) that she should marry his son Philip, in whose favour he was soon to abdicate (1556), she eagerly welcomed the proposal, despite the misgivings of her counsellors.

The Spanish Marriage.—This was a fatal blunder. Was England to become a dependency of Spain, as Scotland had become a dependency of France? The prospect caused consternation. The gentry and yeomanry of Kent, led by Sir Thomas Wyatt and secretly backed by some of the greater nobles, revolted and for a moment threatened London. But Mary was a Tudor: she would not yield to a threat of force. Wyatt was defeated and beheaded; and at this time also the gentle Lady Jane Grey, who had hitherto been spared, was sent to the block. Philip of Spain came to England, and the marriage was celebrated (1554). Its result was to cause the English people to regard Spain—hitherto an ally against France—with fear. For the Spanish match had two results: it made Mary feel strong enough to return to Rome, and to begin burning heretics; and it involved England, ere long, in another profitless war with France. Even during Mary's reign English sailors in the Channel began to think it patriotic as well as profitable to practise piracy upon the ships that came and went between Spain and the Netherlands. The unauthorised sea war against the might of Spain began in the reign of Philip and Mary.

The Marian Persecution.—In 1554 and 1555 Henry VIII's breach with Rome was healed: Parliament was persuaded, though

not without difficulty, to repeal Henry's legislation, and to petition for readmission to the Roman communion. The old heresy laws were re-enacted, and a persecution was begun, which made an indelible mark upon the memory of the English people. First the Protestant bishops suffered. Hooper was burnt in his own city of Gloucester. Ridley and the beloved preacher Latimer were burnt at Oxford, "lighting that day," as Latimer bravely said, "a candle that would not be put out." Then came the turn of Cranmer, the chief author of the Prayer-book. His timidity and his profound belief in the necessity of submission to the royal will made him recant. But recantation brought no pardon; and in the article of death he recovered his courage, and sanctified the noble Book which was his greatest gift to his people by the fortitude with which he met his torture.

The Fires of Smithfield.—There were no more eminent victims: the nobles who had enriched themselves by the plunder of the monasteries felt no call to martyrdom. But there were nearly three hundred humbler victims—almost all drawn from the dioceses of Norwich, London, and Chichester, that is to say, from the south and east. Mary fondly believed that by these punishments she was crushing Protestantism. In reality the fires of Smithfield did more than all the preachers to make England Protestant. Protestantism had at last its martyrs. England was used to the spectacle of great men going to the scaffold because they had conspired against the king, or were a danger to the realm. But when simple folk, plain priests and tradesfolk, who had nothing to gain and everything to lose, braved the flames rather than recant their faith, the cause for which they died was ennobled. The story of these humble and obscure victims, enshrined in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (1563), became one of the common possessions of the English people, and made "Bloody Mary" an unforgettable name. Yet the unhappy queen was by no means severe, by the standards of her day: her three hundred victims in three years seem negligible in comparison with the thousands who suffered in the European countries during these grim years.

The Loss of Calais.—Many men were inclined to blame Spain—famous already for the cruelty of its Inquisition—for this novelty of religious persecution in England. And hatred and fear of Spain grew still deeper when, in 1557, England was drawn into the war which had been raging between France and Spain since 1552. Spain made great gains from this war, subjugating Italy and reducing

the Pope—for whom Mary had made such sacrifices—to dependence. With grim irony, the Pope revenged himself by condemning Cardinal Pole, Mary's chief adviser, for heresy. But while Spain gained, England lost. In January 1558, the French stormed Calais, the last remnant of the once splendid English possessions in France.

Death of Mary.—Before the end of the year which began with this loss the tragic queen died. She had killed Catholicism in England, which she hoped to save; and by the loss of Calais she had put an end for ever to those continental ambitions, a relic of the Middle Ages, to which Henry VIII had still clung, and cleared the ground for the new period of oversea adventure which was to begin so gloriously in the next reign. Mary died, knowing that she had failed; with the same bitter sense of failure her friend and mentor, Cardinal Pole, died within twelve hours of his unhappy mistress. Their death lifted a nightmare from England; and as the sad queen lay still, "all the churches in London did ring, and men did make bonfires and set tables in the street, and did eat and drink and make merry for the new queen."

4. The Elizabethan Settlement (1558–1560)

Queen Elizabeth.—The new queen, twenty-five years old, was called to a delicate and perilous task.* Before she was a year old her mother had died on the scaffold; in the eyes of all good Catholics she was a child of sin, with no right to the throne; her own father and his Parliament had put her under the stigma of illegitimacy; all her life she had been lonely; she had had to walk warily, surrounded with pitfalls, and more than once the shadow of the scaffold had fallen upon her. She had learnt to keep her own counsel, to be reticent and smiling, to wait upon events with courage, and to use deceit as a weapon of defence. These qualities stood her in good stead in the difficult times which lay before her. She had an acute and highly trained intellect; she had pride, and a firm will, and a shrewd judgment of men and facts. She was free from fanaticism, having no strong religious beliefs: for her, unlike her brother and sister, the religious problem was primarily a political problem, and her aim was so to handle it as to maintain the unity of the nation.

* There are good short Lives of Elizabeth by E. S. Beesly (Twelve English Statesmen), by Bishop Creighton, and by J. E. Neale.

The Situation in 1558.—For this was the main danger that she had to face: after the rival fanaticisms of the last ten years, national unity was endangered. And national unity was all-important in view of the perils of the international situation. The queen's cousin, Mary of Scotland, who was the next heir, and in the eyes of good Catholics the rightful successor to the English throne, married in this same year (1558) the heir to the French crown. Already, under the regency of Mary of Guise, Scotland had almost been turned into a province of France. The danger was that France might try for the control of all Britain through Mary; and if the English were divided by acute religious strife, the attempt might be successful. The main safeguard against this danger was the jealousy between France and Spain. But in 1559 these enemies made peace, and there was talk of an alliance between them for the destruction of heresy. In any case, to be dependent upon Spain was hateful to the English mind. England seemed to be "a bone between two mastiffs." Two things were necessary for an escape from this position. The first was a judicious settlement of the religious question in England, of such a kind that all but extremists would accept it. The second was the removal of the peril from Scotland. Both ends were attained by 1560.

The Religious Problem.—The difficulty of reaching a satisfactory solution of the religious problem was shown when all Mary's bishops, with one exception, refused to recognise the new queen, or even to be present at her coronation. She had to be crowned by the Bishop of Carlisle. This necessarily threw Elizabeth on to the support of the Protestants. But as the Catholics were still a majority in the country, it was obviously necessary to avoid offending them. The settlement was left mainly to a freely elected Parliament, tactfully guided by the queen and her ministers. The recalcitrant bishops were allowed to take a full part in the discussion, both in the House of Lords and in Convocation. They opposed every stage in the settlement, and were steadily overridden by the laymen of both houses. The Elizabethan Church settlement was a laymen's settlement, reached after discussion, and not imposed by authority. When it was completed, all but two of the Marian bishops refused to accept it. Not until then were they replaced by Protestant divines; but Elizabeth did her best to select moderate men. If national unity was to be preserved, religious controversy must be calmed as much as possible.

The Elizabethan Settlement.—The main lines of the settlement were embodied in two Acts, passed by Parliament in 1559. The *Act of Supremacy* once more abolished papal authority in England. But Elizabeth was careful to avoid the irritating title "Supreme Head of the Church"; she was content to be described as "supreme of all persons and causes ecclesiastical as well as civil." The *Act of Uniformity* fixed the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England by adopting the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI, with a few modifications. The modifications were designed to remove causes of offence. There is not a word against Rome in the Prayer-book, and it contained nothing which was definitely inconsistent with Catholic belief. It could be accepted by all Catholics who were not strongly Romanist; and during the first ten years of the reign it was gradually accepted by the great majority. Only two hundred priests had to be deprived, during the first six years of the reign, for refusing to accept it. Elizabeth was right in trusting to time and use to make her compromise acceptable. Until she was made the object of plots and conspiracies, she carefully avoided every semblance of persecution. It was not for her, as she said, "to open windows into her subjects' hearts"; and so long as they did not openly repudiate the ordinances fixed by authority, they were left undisturbed. The Elizabethan settlement plainly was not the outcome of religious zeal. It was a compromise dictated by political necessity, and for that reason was unsatisfactory to enthusiasts on both sides. But it worked; it had the great merit that it was reached by the consent of reasonable men, after a period of turmoil which had imperilled national unity.

5. The Reformation in Scotland

French Power in Scotland.—Somerset's invasion and the battle of Pinkie had given a set-back to the growth of Protestantism in Scotland. It had made Scotland dependent upon France. The French domination became most marked when, in 1554, Mary of Guise became Regent: there was a French army of occupation, and every important Scottish castle except Edinburgh was garrisoned by French troops. The rule of Mary of Guise in Scotland and of Mary Tudor in England filled John Knox* with despair; these women

* There is a good short Life of John Knox by F. MacCunn.

seemed to have destroyed his hope of a union of the sister kingdoms in a common loyalty to Protestantism; and he wrote a fierce denunciation of them—*The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment* (rule) *of Women.* But Mary of Guise was no more able to control the turbulent Scottish nobles than the Scottish kings had been. They bitterly resented the French domination, and gave their support to the Protestant preachers, whom, for that reason, Mary of Guise was quite unable to suppress: she only dared to burn one heretic, in 1558. Protestantism was becoming in Scotland the creed of patriotism. Just as the Protestant cause was forwarded in England by fear of Spain, so it was forwarded in Scotland by fear of France.

The Lords of the Congregation.—In 1555 John Knox—exiled from England after the death of his patron Edward VI—spent ten months in preaching and in organising the Protestant party throughout Scotland. He won some notable adherents, especially Queen Mary's illegitimate half-brother, Lord James Stewart, who became the rallying-point of the opposition. What was more significant, the new faith was now being adopted with enthusiasm not merely by nobles as a standard of opposition, but by the smaller landowners, the townsmen and the peasantry. In 1557 a group of nobles organised a confederacy for the protection of the new faith, and swore to the first of Scotland's "covenants." Nobles, preachers, lairds, and burghers had their place in this "Congregation of the Lord"; and "the Lords of the Congregation," who were its spokesmen, were no longer merely a group of feudal rebels, but represented a real national movement.

Knox and the Religious Revolution.—In 1559 the grim and fearless Knox returned from Geneva, where he had been mastering the stern doctrine and discipline of Calvin, to take the lead in this national movement. A religious revolution, accompanied by a great deal of vandalism, swept over Scotland. Mary of Guise strove in vain to resist it: even the disciplined troops of France could not hold down the country. By the end of 1559 the Regent's main force was hemmed in by the insurgents at Leith, where it waited for the coming of French reinforcements by sea. But the position of the Protestants was precarious: if French aid came in time, they might easily be ruined.

Anglo-Scottish Alliance.—During this critical year of civil war, earnest appeals were made to Elizabeth for aid. Knox himself

went to implore her, though the denouncer of "the monstrous regiment of women" was not a very suitable ambassador to the Virgin Queen. Elizabeth hesitated: she did not want to disturb her Catholic subjects, or to run the risk of war with France. As was her way, she put off her decision to the eleventh hour. But it was made before the twelfth. An English fleet was sent to the Forth, to cut off any possibility of aid from France; an English army marched northwards to help in the siege of Leith. This was the first occasion upon which England and Scotland had ever co-operated, and the result of their co-operation was to secure the freedom of both countries and the triumph of Protestantism throughout Britain.

The Treaty of Edinburgh.—The fall of Leith was indeed an important event in British history. It was followed by the Treaty of Edinburgh (1560), to which France was a party. Mary Queen of Scots was to cease to use the arms of England. Both English and French forces were to be withdrawn from Scotland. While Mary remained in France, the government of Scotland was to be in the hands of a commission of Scottish nobles. Scotland was left free and Protestant; and the English army marched back, followed, as no English army had ever been before, by the gratitude of Scotland.

Scottish Presbyterianism.—The sequel of this victory was a religious settlement in Scotland, the main lines of which were defined by Knox. It was a settlement of a very different character from that of Elizabeth. At a meeting of the Estates, papal jurisdiction was abolished, the celebration of the mass was forbidden, and a Confession of Faith, drawn up on strict Calvinistic lines, was adopted. No persecution accompanied this settlement: not a single Catholic was burnt. Knox would fain have completed the settlement by the institution of a full parochial system, with a well-equipped school in every parish. He was unable to do so in full, because the nobles (as in England) seized most of the wealth of the Church for themselves, leaving only a bare pittance for the maintenance of the clergy; and if they agreed to the abolition of episcopacy, it was mainly because they wanted the lands of the bishops. But Knox was able to secure that in every parish the minister should be assisted by a body of lay "elders," and that both clergy and laity should be represented in the supreme ruling body of the Church, the General Assembly. In this way he gave a democratic character to the Church, so that it became, what the Scottish Parliament had never been, a true exponent of the nation's mind.

Beginning of Modern Scotland.—Knox was baffled by the greed of the nobles in much of his constructive policy; and the full organisation of the Presbyterian system was not worked out until a good deal later (1580–1592). Nevertheless he, more than any other single man, had remodelled the Scottish nation. The years 1559 and 1560 mark the transition, for Scotland, from the mediæval to the modern era—a transition far more sudden than that of England. Until 1559, Scotland was still a land of feudal and tribal anarchy—a worse anarchy than her neighbour had ever known. After 1559, though nobles and clansmen were still to give much trouble, Scotland possessed in her Church a system of national organisation that could never be disregarded; she had set before herself the ideal of a national system of education, and she succeeded in attaining it far in advance of any other European country. She had also submitted, more completely than any other western land, to the stern discipline of an iron creed, which has moulded the character of her sons. All this she owed to John Knox.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BREWING OF WAR (1560–1584)

1. A Period of Peace and Reconstructive Work

The Wars of Religion.—The great reign which was now commencing in England covered a period of intense religious strife in Europe. Protestantism had to fight for its life against the Counter-Reformation. The Catholics took the aggressive. They were inspired by the reforms which the Council of Trent had carried out (1562); they were stimulated by the unresting zeal of the great Jesuit order; and they were backed by the power of mighty princes, of whom the strongest was Philip II of Spain.* Philip had succeeded to the dominions of his father, Charles V, in 1556, though the imperial title went to his uncle, Ferdinand of Austria. He commanded all the resources of Spain and the Netherlands, and was also practically master of Italy. But in addition to all this, the Spanish dominions

* There is a short Life of Philip II by M. A. S. Hume (Foreign Statesmen).

in the New World *—since the conquest of Mexico by Cortez (1519–1521) and of Peru by Pizarro and his successors (1531–1537)—were sending every year vast quantities of the precious metals, which supplied him with the sinews of war. The Spanish armies were accounted invincible; the Spanish fleets were the greatest on the seas. Moreover, in 1559 the long war between France and Spain had been brought to an end, and the despots of the two mightiest realms in Christendom had agreed to devote their strength to crushing out heresy. Henry II of France and his weaker successors had set themselves to destroy the French Protestants (Huguenots): the attempt led to a long series of civil wars in France which for a generation reduced that country to impotence, but in 1560 it might well appear that French Protestantism could not survive. Philip II himself had taken up the task of rooting out heresy from his dominions in the Netherlands.† The result was to be a formidable revolt, which strained his resources. But at first no resistance seemed possible, and it was not until the end of the century that the Northern Netherlands made their independence secure. If Protestantism in France and the Netherlands were crushed, England's turn would assuredly come next; and the justification for an attack on England was ready, in the claim of Mary Queen of Scots to the English throne.

England at Peace.—In these perilous circumstances, there were many ardent Protestants in England who held that Elizabeth, queen of the only considerable Protestant country, ought to take the lead of the Protestant cause, and make open alliance with the French Huguenots and the oppressed Netherlanders. Even her most trusted minister, William Cecil (later Lord Burghley)‡, who became Secretary of State on the day of her accession, and either in that office or as Treasurer was her principal adviser until his death in 1598, would have liked to adopt a more definitely Protestant line. But the queen steadfastly refused to be committed. She would not go to war on any pretext, if she could avoid it. She even allowed France to keep Calais, for a ransom of 500,000 crowns. For more than a quarter of a century—apart from one brief and unsuccessful expedition in 1562–1563 in aid of the French Protestants—she kept the peace, though the difficulty of doing so became greater every year. By

* For the Spanish Empire see School Atlas, Plates 43*a*, 48*a* and 52*b*.
† See the Map of the Netherlands, School Atlas, Plate 22*a*.
‡ Macaulay has an essay on Burghley.

every kind of shift, she strove to avert a breach—leading on Philip II, at first, to hope that she would marry him, and later that she was a Catholic at heart and would sooner or later turn; carrying on long and tedious flirtations with French princes whom she never had the slightest intention of marrying; using every honest and dishonest device to stave off the disaster of war.

Elizabethan Policy.—What were her reasons? It is said that she had too high a view of royal power to give willing support to rebels, and that she disliked the extreme Calvinism of the continental Protestants, as of the Scots. No doubt this is true; but it would not have prevented her from going to war if she had thought it advantageous to do so. She kept peace for twenty-five years—a longer spell of peace than England had ever known—because she rightly believed that a long spell of peace was necessary for the safety and well-being of England; and because there was a vast deal of reconstructive work to be done after the turmoils of the previous generation. This work of reconstruction was perhaps the most important achievement of her reign: more important even than the glories which were won at sea in her later years, because these would have been impossible without it.

The Religious Balance.—In the first place, the religious settlement was as yet only a paper settlement: it had to be given time, and defended against attack from both sides. This work was entrusted to a *High Commission Court*, established in 1559 as the instrument of the royal supremacy, and presided over by Matthew Parker, the wise and moderate archbishop whom Elizabeth had chosen. It wielded very great powers, independent of the ordinary law-courts. In particular, it assumed powers of censorship over the press, striving to keep controversy within bounds. In order to drive the mass of Catholics into acceptance of the new order, it worked out a system of fines for non-attendance at church, which were gradually made more severe. Strict Catholics thus paid no worse penalty than a fine, so long as they were not active in opposition. But the great mass went to church rather than pay, and soon got used to the new service-book. More difficult to deal with were the extremists on the other side, inspired by the ideas of Geneva, who wanted to get rid of every relic of what they called "Papistry" and objected even to the ecclesiastical vestments ordained by the rubrics. In 1566 Parker issued a series of *Advertisements* notifying the clergy that the order of service must be strictly observed, and that the surplice and

other vestments must be duly worn. This caused an outcry, and thirty "Puritan" incumbents (the word had come into use as early as 1564) were extruded in London alone in 1566. The "Puritan" party was already becoming formidable: Cartwright, Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, was advocating the Presbyterian system as early as 1569. It was to become much more formidable later, after the crisis of the reign had passed. In the meanwhile it was kept within bounds; and by the time the crisis came, the mass of the nation had accepted the new system as part of its normal life. This would not have happened if there had been a religious war.

2. Social and Economic Changes

Agrarian Changes.—It was not only in the religious sphere that a period of settlement was needed. There had been growing social unrest during the first half of the century; it had been illustrated by Ket's rising and many other minor disturbances. The enclosures for sheep-rearing were only a part of the trouble. England was passing through the last stages of the break-up of the old manorial system, in which men's rights and duties had been unalterably fixed by custom, and into the new system in which landlords rented their lands to the highest bidder, and tried to work their estates on a commercial basis. The last English villeins disappeared in this period. Enclosures for sheep-rearing were only one aspect of this change: enclosures of the old open fields with their innumerable strips, in order to make more productive farming possible, were another.

Industrial Changes.—The industrial system of the Middle Ages was also rapidly breaking down. The rigid rules of the "misteries" (see p. 108) were being found obstructive. Capitalist employers (especially in the cloth-trades), refusing to be hampered by these restrictions, were tending to transfer their activities from the old towns where the "misteries" ruled into villages and the open country; and the new industries which were springing up were taking the same course. This is why there were constant complaints that all the towns were "decaying." But this was not all. Escaping from the "misteries," the employers were left free from all regulation and control, and they often treated their workpeople with great unfairness. For the protection of the workers a new system of regulation was needed.

Unemployment.—Out of these changes another evil had come

—the evil of unemployment, among men who were uprooted from their old occupations; and from this had followed a great deal of vagabondage and disorder. Meanwhile the old sources from which some sort of relief for indigence had been available had disappeared: Henry VIII had dissolved the monasteries; Somerset had seized the religious and charitable funds of the gilds or "misteries." Under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary, there had been a great deal of discussion of these problems, and many attempts had been made to remedy them, and especially to deal with vagabondage. In 1536 the Reformation Parliament had ordained that collections should be taken for the relief of poverty in every church, and this was the beginning of parochial poor-relief. But it had not sufficed; and Somerset, in desperation, had tried the methods of ferocity—ordaining that vagabonds might be branded and employed as slaves. None of these proposed remedies went to the root of the matter.

Need for a New Social Policy.—Evidently some intelligent national policy had to be adopted for dealing with all these problems. They could no longer be left to chance, or to the working of the old mediæval institutions which were manifestly breaking down. It is the greatest tribute to the efficiency of Elizabeth's government that it found means of dealing with these difficulties which helped to bring a new prosperity and contentment to England, and which worked satisfactorily, in their main lines, for two hundred years. This was the foundation upon which the glorious deeds of the later part of the reign rested.

Lord Burghley.—The credit for this work must be given to Elizabeth's very competent and hard-working Privy Council, and especially to her great minister William Cecil, later Lord Burghley, who deserves to rank among the greatest of English statesmen. He was a man of immense industry, an economist as well as a statesman, and he had a genius for detail. He was the principal author of the Elizabethan social code; and it was his assiduous work which made it successful. But he was helped by Parliament, which—while generally content to leave ecclesiastical and foreign policy to the queen's wisdom—took the deepest interest in these questions of national reorganisation.

Labour Policy.—The first element in the new system was the *Statute of Artificers* (1563). This was a great national Act, regulating the conditions of employment in all industries, and thus overriding the infinitely variable regulations of the "misteries." Whether in

town or in country, the same rules were to hold. All able-bodied men were to be liable to serve as agricultural labourers, unless entitled to work at another craft. All contracts of employment were to be for at least a year, in order to give security of employment. All employers were to give testimonials to their workers when they left their service. All craftsmen were to undergo a period of seven years' apprenticeship, and service as an apprentice was to be the only requirement for licence to practise a trade, whether in town or country. This took the place of the infinitely variable system previously existing, and it prevented the "misteries" from forbidding men to practise their crafts. The enforcement of this Act—which was an ambitious attempt to organise the whole labour-force of the country—was not easy. It was entrusted to the Justices of the Peace, who were very closely looked after by the Privy Council. For a long time it seems to have worked well. It put an end to the decay of the towns, for there was now no reason why employers should avoid the towns in order to escape from the "misteries." It also put an end to the complaint that employers were employing untrained men.

Fixation of Wages.—With this went a great extension of the practice of fixing wage-rates by the authority of the Justices. To some extent the Justices had been doing this for a long time, under the Statutes of Labourers. But they were now required to fix wage-rates for all occupations pursued in their districts; and their duty was not merely to fix a maximum (*i.e.* to keep wages down) but to fix a fair wage in view of all the circumstances. All these wage-rates, before becoming legally binding, had to be approved by the Privy Council, which took its duties, for a long time, very seriously. The Justices took much expert advice, and their tables of wage-rates were often extremely elaborate. The main purpose of the whole system was to give fair-play to the worker—to do for him what he could not do for himself until the Trade Union system came into being. And until the Privy Council ceased to take its work seriously (which happened in the next century) the system seems to have worked well. At any rate, there was a cessation of the bitter complaints which had earlier been heard.

Relief of Destitution.—A third element in the social code was provision for the relief of poverty and for the treatment of unemployment. In 1563 the Justices were empowered to obtain weekly contributions from those who neglected the duty of

alms-giving; in 1572 this was changed into the regular assessment of contributions from every householder—the beginning of poor-rates; and in 1576 the Justices were required to arrange for the provision of work, which unemployed men must do in return for pay, on penalty of going to a House of Correction. The raising and spending of the rates were entrusted, in each parish, to overseers appointed by the Justices. These provisions, in the first period of the reign, anticipated all the main features of the great Poor Law of 1601, at the very end of the reign, which continued to be the basis of all arrangements for the relief of poverty and unemployment until 1834. At last a sensible way of dealing with the problem of destitution had been found: the community had accepted responsibility for the maintenance of its poorer members.

Encouragement of Industry.—Not content with these provisions for dealing with the social difficulties of the age, Cecil was unwearied in his endeavours for the improvement of British industry, shipping and trade; and under his guidance all three made immense advances. Unquestionably this progress was made possible by the twenty-five years of peace, during which England gained great advantages at the expense of France and the Netherlands, which were being devastated by war. Persecuted artificers poured into England Cecil welcomed and encouraged them, so long as they accepted the English economic system; the exclusive privileges of the "misteries" no longer stood in their way. He was also assiduous in stimulating new industries, often by the grant of patents for a series of years. These patents or "monopolies" were later a subject of vehement protest, and undoubtedly there were abuses; but the system certainly led to a very rapid development of new activities—notably new forms of cloth, glass, cutlery, paper-making and sugar-refining. German miners were brought in to develop the mineral resources of England, and Cecil watched very carefully the use of English timber resources. He was particularly concerned about the provision of munitions, especially gunpowder and cannon. It had been calculated by Spain, at the beginning of the reign, that England could not be dangerous because she had no secure supply of these necessities of war, as they now were. It was mainly Cecil who made good this deficiency—and thereby perhaps defeated the Armada.

Growth of Shipping and Oversea Trade.—Finally, Cecil saw more clearly than any of his predecessors that England's future lay on the seas. He did everything in his power to stimulate

shipbuilding by bounties and in other ways, to encourage exploration, and to build up English foreign trade by means of charters to trading companies and the like. During the twenty-five years of peace the English mercantile marine—helped by the adversity of other lands—increased with a rapidity unknown before; while at the same time the Royal Navy was enlarged by the construction of ships of new design, taught by the experience won during the great adventures of these years. When the peace ended, and the time for fighting came, it was on the sea that the English mainly fought. England's ships were now her weapon of offence and defence, no longer (what they had been from William the Conqueror to Henry VIII) merely the means of ferrying armies across to fight battles in France.

In every way, it was the work of these long years of precarious peace that made possible the glories of a later period. The strength and the unity of England had been secured. In comparison with this, the political and diplomatic events which filled the minds of contemporaries were relatively unimportant. Yet they also had their significance.

3. The Romantic Adventures of Mary Queen of Scots (1561–1568)

In regard to foreign relations the twenty-five years' peace falls into two clearly marked periods. The first, extending from 1560 to 1568, was dominated by the charm, the passion, and the romance of Mary Queen of Scots. The second, extending from 1568 to 1585, was filled with conspiracies, and was marked by a growing intensity of religious conflict, both in England and in Europe.

Mary Queen of Scots.—Having sat for one brief year upon the brilliant throne of France, Mary of Scotland,* a beautiful and vivacious widow of nineteen, returned to her native land, from which she had been absent since infancy, to make what headway she could against brutal nobles and grim reformers. In a strange land, and all alone, she set herself to build up a party and prepare for a challenge to the throne of her powerful cousin. She had no weapons but cleverness and charm, but these were so strong that they frightened old John Knox. For four years she was careful, making friends of

* There is a short Life of Mary Queen of Scots by Florence MacCunn.

her half-brother Lord James (whom she made Earl of Moray) and other Protestant lords, and asking mildly, though in vain, that she should be recognised as Elizabeth's successor. Meanwhile (1562) civil war had broken out in France, and this made it clear that she must not trust to French aid, but must depend upon her own resources.

The Marriage and Murder of Darnley.—In 1565 she made a clever marriage, choosing her second-cousin, Lord Darnley —like herself a grandson of Henry VIII's sister, though by a second marriage *—and thus strengthened her title to the English crown. But Darnley was an empty-headed young man, whom she could not make a partner in her plans. She refused him the title of king, and gave all her confidence to her clever Italian secretary, Riccio. Some of the rude Scottish nobles made a "band" or confederacy to overthrow Riccio, and jealousy brought Darnley into the plot. They burst into Holyrood on March 9th, 1566, and murdered Riccio almost at his mistress's feet. This brutal deed turned the young queen into a tiger. She spurned her contemptible husband, and even excluded him from the christening of their son (afterwards James VI and I), who was born three months after the murder. Later, covering her hatred with smiles, she was reconciled with Darnley; but meanwhile she seems to have been privy to a new "band" against him, in which the leading spirit was a daring border lord, the Earl of Bothwell. Less than a year after the murder of Riccio (February 1567), Darnley's dead body was found in the garden of a lonely house where he had been lodged by the queen's desire. The house was blown up by gunpowder placed in the queen's room; and Mary had been sitting with her husband on the day before the murder, while the gunpowder was being put in place. The murderer was Bothwell. He was charged with his crime, but nobody dared to give evidence against him; and ere long, to the horror of everybody, Mary married the murderer. This was her ruin. Defeated at *Carberry Hill* (1567), she was deposed, and her year-old son was proclaimed king as James VI, the Earl of Moray and the Protestant nobles ruling in his name.

Mary's Flight to England.—For a year Mary lay a prisoner in the island-castle of Loch Leven. But she still had her power to charm; she won over even her gaoler, escaped from her prison, and put herself at the head of a new force. Once more she was defeated,

* See Genealogical Table D, at the end of the volume.

at *Langside* near Glasgow (May 1568). A new imprisonment was not to be endured. She fled, and after a long ride of ninety miles, crossed the Solway and threw herself upon the mercy of her cousin. Elizabeth had been anxiously watching these wild deeds of her passionate cousin and rival. She had given clandestine encouragement to Mary's enemies, the Protestant lords. But what was she to do with her troublesome guest? Should she hand her over to her foes, or restore her to the Scottish throne and to freedom? She talked of both, but meanwhile held an inquiry into the charges against her. They rested mainly upon a casket of letters, said to have been captured from Bothwell. But the inquiry was inconclusive, and to this day the authenticity of the Casket Letters is a moot point among scholars. There is little reason to doubt Mary's guilt, but even across three centuries her charm still tells, and distorts the judgment of grave scholars. Elizabeth was well content that the point should be left open, and that Mary should be neither exonerated nor condemned. She had her, now, under observation, and ere long in captivity. But even in captivity Mary was dangerous: for twenty years she was the centre of conspiracies, until the end came at Fotheringay in 1587.

Sea Adventures.—The flight of Mary ends the first phase of Elizabeth's foreign relations. During this period she had given help to the French Protestants (1562–1563), in order to keep France occupied and unable to help Mary; for a moment she had held Havre, placed in her hands as a pledge by the Huguenots. Towards Philip of Spain she had been carefully friendly, in spite of the cruelties his agents were practising in the Netherlands. But she had made no attempt to check the piracy that was steadily growing in the English Channel, where English and Huguenot ships, using in the main English harbours, were preying upon the traffic that passed to and fro between Spain and the Netherlands.* As early as 1562 there are said to have been four hundred of these raiders in the Channel, and they had taken seven hundred prizes. Philip made frequent protests. Elizabeth disavowed all responsibility for the pirates, but she did not even try to check them. They were building up the fighting power of England, and their indefensible deeds were teaching them the sailor-craft and the daring in attack which later won victory over the Great Armada.

* On all this read Froude's fascinating *English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century*.

Hawkins and Drake.—Farther afield, too, English sailors were beginning in these quiet days to show a new daring. In 1562 John Hawkins went to West Africa for a cargo of negro slaves, and sold them, at a great profit, in Spanish America, in defiance of the Spanish monopoly. Others followed his example. In 1564 Hawkins repeated the venture, and the queen privately subscribed for a share. And in 1567–1568, while Mary of Scotland was in the throes of her tragedy, Hawkins went out once more, and this time his fleet included two ships lent by the queen. With him was his young cousin, Francis Drake. He forced the Spanish towns to trade with him, and was about to return home after a prosperous voyage, when he was caught in the harbour of San Juan and so badly battered that he and Drake escaped with only two of their ships. Thus relations with Spain were beginning to be strained; and the English seamen, with mounting insolence, were learning to challenge the inviolate Spanish empire.

The Situation in 1568.—Evidently the peace which the queen cherished was precarious; and evidently she knew it. It was not only the flight of Mary Stuart which marked this year 1568 as the beginning of a new stage. In this same year civil war broke out afresh in France, after an interval of peace. And in this same year the Revolt of the Netherlands began, against the bloody tyranny which had been established by the Duke of Alva. Eager Protestants felt that the crisis of their faith was at hand. They would have liked to see Elizabeth come into the open as its defender. But she still held her hand. The precarious peace—becoming more precarious year by year—was still to last for seventeen years.

4. Conspiracies and Piracy (1568–1584)

Elizabeth and Philip II.—During the seventeen years from 1568 to 1585 events were working up to the inevitable culmination of a war against Spain for national existence. France had ceased to be a danger, because of her civil wars, and Elizabeth was at pains, throughout almost the whole of this period, to keep her on friendly terms by a pretence of marriage negotiations: even the terrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572), when 10,000 French Protestants were murdered by the orders of the queen-mother, Catherine de Medici, did not interrupt these flirtations for more than a few months. Every year it became more obvious, both to Philip and to

Elizabeth, that war between them must come. They went, indeed, very near to it, Philip fomenting conspiracies against Elizabeth and making plans for invasions in support of them, while Elizabeth gave secret encouragement to piratical attacks upon Philip's empire. Yet they maintained the forms of peace: Philip because he wished to have done with the Netherlands before he tackled England; Elizabeth because of her incurable preference for delay, and because the longer war was postponed, the stronger England would be to meet it. Two main features marked this difficult period. The first was a long series of plots to overthrow Elizabeth and put Mary in her place. The second was the rising boldness of the English seamen. Both Scotland and Ireland were worked into the tangled skein of conspiracy, and it was very plain that their fate now hung upon the fate of England.

Plots of 1569–1571.—In 1569 the earls of Westmorland and Northumberland led a rising specifically in favour of Mary and the old religion. It was easily crushed, without a battle—the last baronial rising in English history. In the same year a formidable revolt broke out in Ireland, which was only suppressed after desperate fighting that lasted for four years. In 1570 the Pope launched an excommunication against Elizabeth, and released all her Catholic subjects from their allegiance. This might have been very dangerous ten years earlier. But the mass of English Catholics had had time to become accustomed to the new order, and it was only a small minority of extremists who were influenced. Nevertheless, the excommunication changed the government's attitude towards the Catholics. It was made treason to bring a papal bull into England, or to become a convert to Rome. In the same year the Earl of Moray, the regent of Scotland, was assassinated, and during the next few years Queen Mary's party held up their heads again in the northern realm; but the Kirk and its supporters among the nobles were too strong to be overthrown. In 1571 a formidable conspiracy was organised by Ridolfi, an Italian banker and agent of Philip II, who was behind the plot. There was to be a rising to release Mary, who was to marry the Duke of Norfolk and take the English throne; and the rising was to be supported by an army sent by the Duke of Alva from the Netherlands. But Cecil and his agents knew all about the plot, and it came to nothing: Norfolk lost his head. Thus the years 1569–1571 were full of dangers; they were perhaps the most serious crisis of the reign; and the situation was the more serious because Spain was in these years apparently triumphant in the Netherlands.

The Seminary Priests and the Jesuits.—After this there was for some years a rest from conspiracies. It was clear that the English Catholics were too weak and half-hearted to rise. A systematic attempt was therefore made to revive their faith. Heroic Catholic missionaries stole into England, taking their lives in their hands, and went from house to house secretly. First came a number of seminary priests (1574 and later)—English exiles who had been trained at Douai in Philip's Flemish lands; then (1580) came members of the Jesuit order, notably the pure-minded and saintly poet Campion, and the shrewd intriguer Parsons. The influence wielded by the seminary priests and the Jesuits was so great as to alarm the government, and for the first time in Elizabeth's reign there was definite religious persecution. Between 1575 and the end of the reign 187 of these brave men lost their lives: they were put to death for treason, but they were none the less martyrs for their faith. This figure of 187 in twenty-eight years compares with the three hundred martyrs of Mary in three years. But both figures are insignificant in comparison with the wholesale slaughter that was going on in France and the Netherlands.

Murder Plots.—The plots of this later period were no longer schemes of rebellion and invasion. They were conspiracies to murder; for Philip II had sunk as low as this. His noble opponent, William of Orange, the leader of the revolt in the Netherlands, was got rid of in this way in 1584. And it was only the watchfulness and the excellent secret service of Elizabeth's ministers (especially Francis Walsingham, who became Secretary of State in 1573) that saved Elizabeth from a similar fate in 1583. In that year the Spanish ambassador in London, Mendoza, and the Jesuit missionary Parsons were both involved in a plot with Francis Throckmorton, a Cheshire gentleman, to murder the great queen. The plot was unmasked in time. Throckmorton was executed. And the Spanish ambassador was ordered out of the country. This was, in effect, a declaration of war (1584). The gloves were off.

The Association.—These threats to the life of the queen led to the organisation in 1584 of a nation-wide Association, the members of which pledged themselves to take vengeance on any one who plotted the queen's death, and on any person in whose favour such an attempt was made. There was no doubt who was intended by this phrase. Mary, now a close prisoner at Fotheringay, was the focus of all these plots; and many Englishmen had resolved that she must die.

Execution of Mary.—In 1586, after open war had begun, there was yet one last conspiracy; and in this Mary was definitely involved. She had made a will disinheriting her son, and making Philip II her heir; for he was now her only hope. Another murder plot against Elizabeth was hatched in Flanders; and Anthony Babington, who had once been Mary's page, was chosen as the English agent to get together a group of assassins. Mary herself was privy to this plot, and letters from her to Babington were intercepted. Walsingham had been waiting and watching for this opportunity. Promptly Mary was tried before a commission at Fotheringay and found guilty. Parliament and the Privy Council demanded that she should be executed. Elizabeth hesitated, could not make up her mind. Perhaps she had pity for the ruined life of her cousin; perhaps she put too high a value upon an anointed head; most probably she hesitated to take a decisive step which would mean war to the knife. The Privy Council took the decision out of her hands, and in February, 1587, Mary was executed at Fotheringay.

5. Drake and Patriotic Piracy

While plot after plot was made and unmasked in England, English seamen were increasingly taking the law into their own hands; they would have forced Philip of Spain into war in mere self-defence even if he had been driven by no other motives.

Piracy in the Channel.—Even in the earlier period of the reign, piracy had become rampant in the English Channel; in these later years it had passed all bounds. Thus in 1568 a fleet of Spanish vessels, laden with gold borrowed from the Genoese for the use of the army in the Netherlands, was driven by the pirates to take refuge in Southampton. Elizabeth had the gold removed to the Tower of London "for safety"; and kept it—transferring the loan to her own name, and using it to fight the Northern Earls, for whose aid it may have been intended. During the next four years Dutch rebels from the Netherlands, known as the Beggars of the Sea, were preying on Spanish trade: they were given hospitality in English harbours, and worked in the closest harmony with the English pirates. In 1572, indeed, Elizabeth did at last agree to order them away. But she knew what she was doing: they descended upon Brill, and the *seizure of Brill* was the beginning of the final Dutch revolt, which Philip II was never able to crush. Philip had need to be a patient man to pretend peace after this.

Drake's Voyages.—But this was not the worst. During these same years, English sailors were daring to venture into the innermost penetralia of the Spanish empire, seizing treasure-ships and sacking towns. The greatest hero of these exploits was Francis Drake,* whose name became a terror throughout the New World, and in Spain itself. In 1572 he raided the West Indies, landed on the Isthmus of Panama, intercepted the treasure from Peru, and stopped and searched over two hundred vessels in the Caribbean Sea. In December, 1577, he set forth upon a yet more daring adventure, with the secret backing of the queen. Though accident reduced his squadron to a single vessel of one hundred tons—the *Golden Hind*—he made his way through the Straits of Magellan into the reserved waters of the Pacific, sailed up the coast of Chile, seizing towns and ballasting his ship with treasure, explored the coast northwards as far as California, and then set forth homewards by the Cape of Good Hope, circumnavigating the World.† He had explored the secrets of the Spanish empire, and all the might of Spain had been impotent to check him. When he reached England in the Autumn of 1580, laden with treasure valued at £800,000, Elizabeth herself went down to the *Golden Hind*, and with her own hand knighted "the master thief of the unknown world."

This was the year in which Philip doubled his wealth by conquering Portugal and adding her rich empire to his own. It was impossible that he should tolerate such defiance. And if he delayed, or preferred for a time the instrument of the assassin's knife, it was only because it was more convenient to wait. But in 1585 the moment seemed to have come. William of Orange had been got rid of, and the resistance of the Netherlands was manifestly weakening. The time for delays was past; the time for open war had come.

* There is an excellent short Life of Drake by Julian Corbett (English Men of Action). Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* renders the spirit of all these adventures.

† See School Atlas, Plate 43*a*.

CHAPTER XVII

THE WAR WITH SPAIN AND THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND (1585–1603)

1. The Beginning of the War and the Spanish Armada

Character of the War.—The war with Spain, which began without a declaration in 1585 and lasted until 1604, was the first of four great wars which have formed landmarks in the history of the British peoples. Each was fought against a powerful enemy who threatened to dominate Europe and the World — Philip II, Louis XIV, Napoleon, and the German Empire. Each ended in a victory which was as important for the world as for the British peoples. Each was accompanied by tragic events in Ireland. In each British sea-power was the determining factor. Elizabeth's war against Spain was the most purely naval war of the series. It was, indeed, the first war in modern history which demonstrated the extraordinary potency of sea-power. It fixed the direction of British policy throughout the modern era. It triumphantly proved the soundness of the doctrine which Lord Herbert of Cherbury had vainly tried to impress upon Henry VIII—that the path of England lay across the seas.

The Power of Philip II.—In the eyes of contemporaries it seemed hopeless for England to resist the might of Spain. Philip's armies were the finest in Europe; England had no army at all, save the untrained and ill-equipped levies of the shires; and if once a Spanish army could be landed in England, it seemed that no resistance would be possible. And Philip's navies, also, were the greatest in the world. He had beaten the terrible naval strength of the Turks at Lepanto in 1571. He had at his command all the trained sailors of Italy, of Spain, and (since 1580) of Portugal, who had carried out the exploration of the world; he had great galleys, propelled by slaves at the oar, and independent of the winds; he had all the proud ships which plied across the Atlantic, and brought the wealth of America and India to Europe. And he commanded what seemed the inexhaustible wealth provided by the mines of the new world and the trade of the golden East.

The Strength of England.—Contemporary opinion had not

yet realised that, in the irregular piratical warfare of the last generation, English seamen had worked out new methods of naval warfare which made Philip's great armaments obsolete. They had developed types of ships which manœuvred far more quickly than the top-heavy great-ships of Spain. While Spanish practice still clung to the old theory that the fighting should be done by soldiers (who were often sea-sick), and that the sailors were an inferior class whose business was merely to bring the ships within fighting distance, the English pirates had learnt to use their crews indifferently for navigation and for fighting. The Spaniards still mounted their guns high on the great structures of poop and forecastle, and, as their tactics were to board and fight at close quarters, they did not carry heavy guns and paid little attention to marksmanship. The English had learnt to trust to their guns, and they mounted them in broadsides, nearer the level of the sea, so that their aim was concentrated, and less disturbed by the motion of the waves. It was these practices, learnt in the period of piracy, which had made Drake irresistible in the West Indies; and these practices ensured an English victory in any sea-war. The English sailors knew their own superiority in the tactics of the sea, though neither the politicians at home nor foreign observers had fully realised it.

Drake in the West Indies.—It was fitting that the first open act of war should have been a naval expedition which set forth under Drake in September 1585—two ships of the line and thirteen cruisers, carrying 2,300 men, sent out to demonstrate the real weakness of Spain. They sacked Vigo, in Spain itself, and Santiago, the capital of the Cape Verde islands; they captured San Domingo, the capital of the Spanish West Indies, and Cartagena on the mainland of South America, holding them to ransom; they missed the treasure-fleet by a few hours, and destroyed a Spanish settlement in Florida on the way home.* The Spanish power was impotent to resist them. This expedition ought to have opened the eyes of the world. But it happened too far away.

The European Situation.—Meanwhile the situation had become critical in Europe. In France the death of the heir-apparent had left Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Protestants, as heir to the crown.† The irreconcilable French Catholics, led by the Duke

* See School Atlas, Plate 48*a*.

† There is a short Life of Henry of Navarre by P. F. Willert (Heroes of the Nations).

of Guise, made an alliance with Philip to prevent the succession of a Protestant; and the last and fiercest period of the French wars of religion began (1585). This meant that France would do nothing to impede a Spanish attack on England. In the Netherlands William of Orange had been assassinated (1584); Philip's general, the Duke of Parma, had reconquered the southern provinces; and the coast facing England (from which an invasion seemed easy) was securely in Philip's hands.

Leicester in the Netherlands.—The Dutch, thinking their plight desperate, offered the sovereignty of the Netherlands to Elizabeth. As was her wont, she hesitated and delayed, and tried to keep negotiations going with Parma. But she finally agreed to send over her favourite, the Earl of Leicester, with an army of 5,000 men. From December, 1585, to December, 1587, Leicester was responsible for the Dutch campaign. He was not a good leader; he quarrelled with his own captains and with the Dutch, and could not check the advance of Parma. His expedition is only memorable because, in a fight at *Zutphen*, his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, the chivalrous poet, met his death, and in dying did an unforgotten thing, when he insisted that the cup of water for which he thirsted should be given to a soldier whose need was greater. It may be that Leicester's campaign helped to save the Netherlands. But the real salvation of the Netherlands, of England, and of Protestantism was to be won elsewhere—on the seas.

The Great Armada.—For Philip had now abandoned the idea that the Netherlands must first be subdued, and had decided that the ruin of England was the first essential. Already the Great Armada * was designed, and an elaborate campaign had been planned with Parma, who was getting ready a swarm of boats (like Napoleon more than two centuries later) to ferry an irresistible army from the Flemish shore to England, under the protection of an irresistible fleet. This huge Armada was already in preparation when the news of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, who had bequeathed her claims to Philip, gave an additional motive for energy.

Drake at Cadiz.—The Armada was to have sailed in the summer of 1587. But in April of that year Drake, with a large fleet, forced his way into Cadiz harbour and destroyed the shipping

* Hale's *Story of the Great Armada* is a good account; there is a cheap edition.

that was being fitted out there ; he also captured twenty-four supply ships outside, and a great East Indiaman with a priceless cargo. This daring raid (which Drake described as "singeing the king of Spain's beard") postponed the attack for a year ; and the inability of the Spaniards to repel it was an ominous indication of what was coming. During this year of delay the Armada lost its able commander, Santa Cruz, and his successor, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had no recommendation save his high rank. Undue deference for rank, indeed, halved the efficiency of the Spaniards : all their great ships had grandees in command.

The Rival Fleets.—Meanwhile England was in a fever of preparation. The militia was embodied, and volunteer levies were raised ; but they could have done nothing against the 30,000 veterans whom Parma had ready to ferry over, if once a landing had been made. Everything depended upon the ships. The nucleus of the English fleet consisted of 34 ships of the Royal Navy. These were supported by about 160 private ships, some of them under famous captains versed in sea-war, but the great majority were tiny vessels of little fighting value. They carried 15,000 men. This compared with 130 ships of the Spanish fleet, manned by 27,000 men. The Spanish ships were on the average much the larger ; but the English ships were much better gunned, and far better supplied with ammunition. The supreme command on the English side was given to Lord Howard of Effingham, a patriotic Catholic. This was due to deference to the claims of rank, but Howard, unlike Medina Sidonia, had naval experience ; his second-in-command was Drake ; he was aided by other experienced sailors such as Hawkins and Frobisher, and the captains of the individual ships were nearly all professional sailors.

The Ruin of the Armada.—The Great Armada set sail in May, but was scattered by a storm and had to put back to refit. Drake was eager to attack it in Spanish waters. He was overruled, and when, on July 19th, a southerly wind brought the Spaniards in sight of the coast of Devon, the main English fleet lay in Plymouth harbour, while a smaller squadron watched the Straits of Dover. The fleet had to be warped out of harbour ; and then began a long running fight up the Channel, which lasted for a week (July 20th–26th). Avoiding close quarters, the English strove to shepherd the enemy away from the coast, to harry them, to "pluck their feathers." A good deal of damage had been done, but nothing vital,

when on July 26th the Armada reached its destination, and anchored in Calais roads. What next? Parma—hard pressed by the Dutch, who saw the necessity of co-operation—told Medina Sidonia that he was not prepared to move until the sea had been cleared of hostile ships. But on the 28th, before the unhappy Medina Sidonia could consider how this task was to be accomplished, the English sent fireships drifting among the anchored Spanish vessels, which in panic cut their cables and beat out to sea. Next day, off *Gravelines*, the

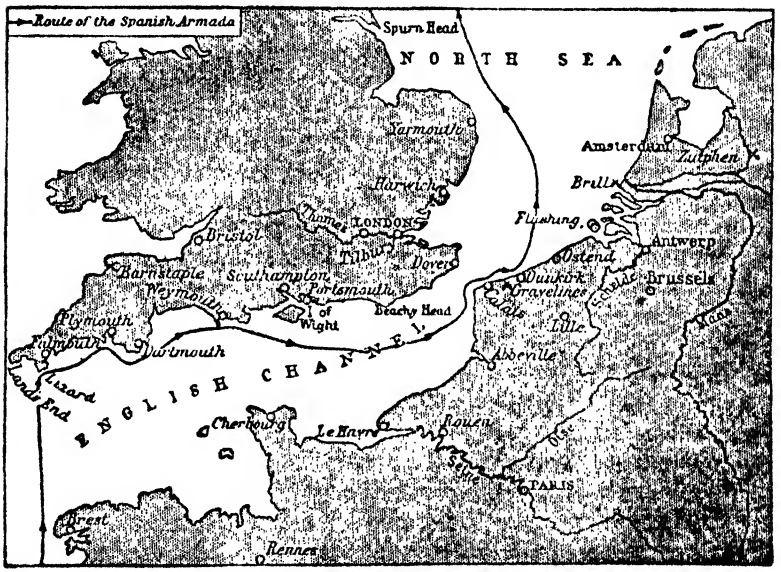


FIG. 18.—The English Channel.

one pitched battle of the campaign was fought, and fought so furiously that the English ammunition was almost exhausted. The Spanish fleet was badly handled; it did not know how to deal with this sort of fighting, being trained to fight at close quarters by boarding; it was being driven by the English upon the sandbanks. Four ships were sunk; others were driven ashore. The only escape from disaster was to break away northwards, pursued by the English, who were able to do little damage for want of ammunition. Fierce gales sprang up, making return impossible, and there was nothing for it but to sail north about, round Scotland and Ireland. Nineteen ships

were wrecked off the Scottish and Irish coasts; thirty-five more disappeared, unaccounted for; a final storm in the Bay of Biscay left only a battered fragment to return to Spain. On the English side not a single ship had been lost. Moralists and fervent Protestants attributed this disaster to the intervention of Heaven: *Flavit Deus et dissipati sunt.* But if the winds destroyed the Great Armada, it had previously been defeated by the superior gunnery and seamanship of the English sailors.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada was one of the decisive events of history. It did not merely destroy the prestige of Spain on sea, and lay the foundations of British naval supremacy. It opened the roads of the sea to all the world, and put an end to the era of Spanish monopoly. It made possible the great colonising activities of the next era, in which all the peoples of western Europe shared. It secured the independence of the Netherlands, because it was now impossible for Spain to use the sea-route freely for the reinforcement of her armies. It put an end to the fear of Spanish domination in Europe, and of the extirpation of Protestantism.

2. The Later Phases of the War

Alliance with France and the Dutch.—Although the defeat of the Armada was decisive, it did not appear so in the eyes of contemporaries, and it was rather the beginning than the end of the struggle, which went on throughout the remainder of Elizabeth's reign. But the war now changed its character. It became almost a combined enterprise of the Dutch, the French Protestants and the English. English troops still served for some years in Holland, where Maurice, son of William of Orange, was winning a series of successes that in a few years secured the independence of the United Provinces. English troops were also sent to the help of Henry of Navarre, who became King of France as Henry IV in 1589; and from that moment, though the French civil war went on for another six years, the cause of the Catholic League, to which Philip II had given his protection, was doomed. In 1595, being now fully master of France, Henry IV declared war against Spain, and concluded a formal alliance with Elizabeth and with the Dutch (1596), which lasted until the Franco-Spanish war was concluded by the Treaty of Vervins (1598). Neither Elizabeth nor the Dutch took part in this treaty: they were pursuing the war at sea, to some extent in partnership, and the Dutch were showing even greater energy than the

English in opening out new avenues of trade to East and West, at the expense of Spain.

Episodes of the War.—It is needless to trace in detail the disconnected episodes of this long struggle. There were few great achievements; partly because there was no clear plan of campaign, one party in the Council being anxious to concentrate their attention upon the war in Europe, while another was eager to overthrow the Spanish oversea empire; but partly also because the Spaniards had learnt the lesson of the Armada, and altered their tactics. In 1589 a joint English and Dutch enterprise tried to bring the war nearer home to Spain by raising a revolt in subjugated Portugal, but they had no success. In the same year the Earl of Cumberland led a brilliant attack against the Azores; but when in 1591 a new expedition to the Azores set forth, it had to retreat before a superior Spanish force. This was the occasion on which Sir Richard Grenville refused to obey the order to retreat, and fought fifteen Spanish men-of-war for fifteen hours:* his ship, the *Revenge*, immortalised by this fight, was the only English warship captured during Elizabeth's reign. In 1595 Drake and Hawkins once more sailed to the West Indies with a big fleet, designed for conquest and plunder, but the expedition was ill-managed and achieved nothing; both Hawkins and Drake died during its course, and were buried in the waters which had so long rung with their names. In the same year Sir Walter Raleigh made an expedition to the Orinoco, in search of gold. There were, indeed, many sporadic and disconnected raids, often marked by great gallantry, and piratical attacks upon Spanish shipping went on continuously. But all this achieved very little. The age of piracy and reckless adventure was passing; and those who had won their names in it were not the men to lead the more systematic enterprises that were now needed. The most pretentious undertaking of these years was a joint English and Dutch attack on the great Spanish port of Cadiz, in 1596. The city was taken by assault and held to ransom, and a bishop's library was carried off to find a home in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. This was a demonstration of the impotence of Spain; but it had no practical value. It was the last serious operation of the war on sea, though peace was not made until after Elizabeth's death; because during the last seven years of the reign a fierce war was raging in Ireland. English forces, however,

* The subject of Tennyson's *Ballad of the Revenge*.

helped the Dutch to win a decisive victory over the Spaniards at Nieuport (1600), and took a hand in the defence of the port of Ostend.

The East India Company.—Far more important than these sporadic acts of war were the more peaceful enterprises of English sailors in waters hitherto preserved by Spain and Portugal. In 1591–1594 Sir James Lancaster led an expedition to India, broke through the Portuguese monopoly, and brought back such profits that it became obvious that this beginning should be followed up. The result was the issue of a charter to the East India Company, on December 31st, 1600; and next year Lancaster led the first "Voyage" of the Company to the Malacca Straits. Even more daring, though less fruitful, was the enterprise of William Adams, who in 1599 sailed to Japan by the Straits of Magellan; he made his home in Japan, and built that country's first navy, and he is still annually celebrated in Yeddo.

The beginning of the East India Company was the sign of the coming of a new era. It had been the work of the Elizabethan sailors to break down the barriers to oversea trade and expansion. It was to be the work of the next generation to exploit and develop these opportunities.

3. The Conquest of Ireland

One of the principal consequences of the long struggle of the Reformation was the subjugation of Ireland* by England, after so many centuries of anarchy and neglect; and the final stages of this process were directly connected with the Spanish war. The story of the conquest is one of the ugliest episodes in British history; it left a legacy of hatred from which all the British peoples have suffered. This was due to the facts that the conquest was envenomed by religious bitterness and that Ireland was used as a base of attack upon England when England's national existence was imperilled.

Henry VIII and Ireland.—Henry VIII, who had neglected Ireland almost as completely as his predecessors in the earlier part of his reign, began to take an interest in it after, and because of, his breach with the Papacy. The Pope claimed feudal suzerainty over Ireland; therefore Henry took the title of King instead of the old title of Lord of Ireland. The Pope sent emissaries to stir up the Irish chiefs against Henry (1541); they had little success, because Ireland was at this period indifferent to Rome, but Henry thought it

* School Atlas, Plate 38*b*.

wise to guard against possible dangers by making his authority more real. He found no difficulty in persuading the chiefs to share the plunder of the Irish monasteries. But his principal method was that of inducing them to adopt English instead of Irish modes of land-tenure, and distributing among those who adopted this method hereditary titles of nobility. The Irish regarded the lands of a clan as belonging to the whole clan; the English system, roughly, strove to turn the chief from a trustee into a landlord. In a great part of Leinster Henry was successful by these methods,* and these districts began to send members to the Irish Parliament. Outside Leinster he achieved little. But his conferment of the hereditary title of Earl of Tyrone upon the head of the great Ulster clan of the O'Neills led to a bitter feud, in which a younger son of the Earl —Shane O'Neill—seized the chiefdom for himself, made himself the leader of an anti-English movement, and plunged all Ulster into confusion. This ugly and savage strife began just after Henry VIII's death, and was still intermittently raging when Elizabeth came to the throne.

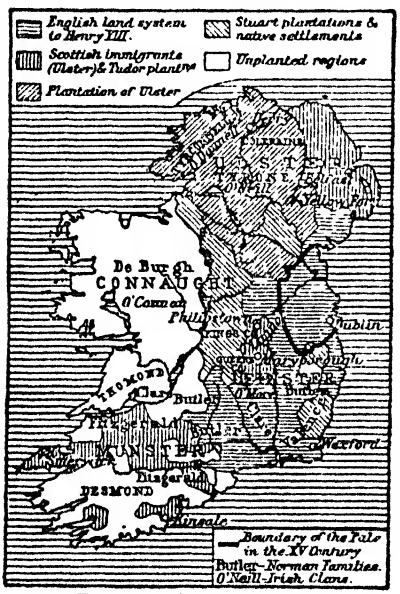


FIG. 19.—Tudor Ireland.

Mary's Plantation.—Under Edward VI there was a sudden outburst among the O'Connors and O'Mores of western Leinster. It was cruelly suppressed, and under Mary the whole area was resettled on English modes of land-tenure: the area affected is indicated by the names of King's County and Queen's County, with their capitals of Philipstown and Maryborough.* The unrest and alarm caused by this violent dispossession was a source of trouble for the rest of the century; whenever there was any disturbance, the O'Connors and the O'Mores were always in it.

* School Atlas, Plate 38*c*.

Rise of Catholic Fervour.—Thus far the religious question had had very little influence in Ireland; it was the land question which was the bone of contention. The breach with Rome had caused little difficulty. But when Elizabeth's government tried to force upon the Irish not merely Protestantism but the service-book in English, which was a foreign tongue to nine-tenths of the people, the results were very different. Loyalty to the Catholic faith began to be associated with patriotism. In 1561, almost at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, Catholic emissaries—chief among them David Wolfe—began to work in southern Ireland, where the Papacy saw a chance of striking a blow against the heretic queen. These emissaries received a very different welcome from their predecessors twenty years before. They aroused a real religious revival, especially in Munster; from the first it was associated with enmity to England; and the more these feelings grew, the more dangerous Ireland became to England. Throughout the whole of Elizabeth's reign trouble never ceased in Ireland. What made the situation worse was that Elizabeth was never able to afford the cost of an army sufficiently strong to enforce order, with the result that the over-strained troops fought with the cruelty that is born of fear.

O'Neill and Desmond.—In the first period of Elizabeth's reign (1558–1568) two distinct sources of trouble vexed the government. In the north the turbulent Shane O'Neill was never at rest, and was reported to be intriguing with Philip II; and the English armies sent to deal with him were never strong enough. All Ulster was in a state of chaos until Shane's death in 1567. In the south there was a fierce feud between the two great Anglo-Norman houses of Munster, the Butlers of Ormond and the Fitzgeralds of Desmond. In 1567 Desmond was sent to London, with a charge of treason hanging over his head, and forced to surrender his lands, grants from which were made to various English adventurers. This was the cause of much trouble in the future.

The Munster Risings.—In the second period of the reign (1568–1585), when an uneasy peace covered a growing hostility between England and Spain, there were formidable troubles in Ireland, which were unquestionably fomented by Spain. In 1569 a very dangerous revolt broke out all over Munster, stimulated by religious zeal and by anger at the grants of land to Englishmen; it was led by James Fitzmaurice, cousin of the Earl of Desmond. For four miserable years a hideous war raged, in which no quarter was

given on either side. Even when the revolt was crushed, after the country had been devastated, English officers reported that a general insurrection would take place if a foreign force were to land. There was bitter slaughter also in Connaught, in 1577; and there was intermittent trouble in Ulster. In 1579 revolt broke out afresh; and this time it was aided by a foreign force which Fitzmaurice had raised abroad. Even the Pale rose in revolt; and a small Spanish army landed in Kerry and entrenched itself at *Smerwick* (1580). The inadequate English forces had to fight desperately to hold their own, and they showed no mercy, "consuming with fire all habitations, and executing the people wherever we found them." The Spaniards at Smerwick were forced to surrender, and were all put to the sword. By 1584 Munster had been turned into a desert; but a sort of peace was restored. Then an English colony was planted in the desolated province. Among those who received grants of land were Sir Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser. But these settlers were never happy in their new homes, and in course of time the Irish drifted back, and Munster became as Irish as before.

Tyrone's National Rebellion.—There was an interval of uneasy peace for ten years after 1584, during the first years of open war with Spain; the defeat of the Armada removed all hope of Spanish aid for a time. But in 1595 a rising more serious than any of its predecessors began; and by 1598 it had developed into a nation-wide revolt against English supremacy. The leaders of this national revolt were Hugh Earl of Tyrone, the head of the O'Neills of Ulster, and Hugh Roe O'Donnell, the chief of the rival clan of O'Donnells in Donegal. Not only Ulster but Leinster, Connaught and ruined Munster were all aflame. At the *Yellow Ford* (1598) Tyrone inflicted upon the English the heaviest defeat they had yet received. For the remaining years of Elizabeth's reign Ireland demanded the whole resources of England, and the cost of the Irish war was 30 per cent. more than the total revenue of England. In 1599 a big army of 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse was sent over under Elizabeth's favourite Essex.* He did nothing, but offered to Tyrone terms so favourable that the English government repudiated them. Essex was recalled in disgrace. The war was renewed in 1600. By desperate fighting, Essex's successor, Lord Mountjoy, broke the

* Lytton Strachey's *Elizabeth and Essex* tries to make a hero of this spoilt Adonis. On his recall, after sulking like a child, he attempted a foolish rebellion, and was executed.

back of the resistance by 1601. Then, when it was too late, news came that 5,000 Spaniards, with siege-guns, had evaded the English fleet and landed at *Kinsale*. The Spaniards were blockaded from the sea by an English squadron, which had to fight a relieving squadron sent from Spain; on land they were beset by Mountjoy, and Tyrone vainly tried to relieve the siege. In 1602 the Spaniards capitulated, and though the war still lingered on, and Tyrone did not submit until after Elizabeth's death, the Irish revolt was in fact hopeless from 1602. After practically forty years of almost continuous fighting, generally of the most ferocious kind, Ireland was at last completely subjugated.

The Tragedy of Ireland.—The conquest was the outcome of the Reformation and of the menace from Spain. The barbarity with which it was achieved was largely due to the fact that the English forces in Ireland—mere handfuls of men, ill-supported and often ill-led—felt that they were fighting for the very existence of their own country. But the circumstances of the conquest left to the future an evil heritage, which worked like a poison throughout the next three centuries. It has been the tragic fate of Ireland that her desire for national freedom has always been stirred to activity just at those moments when it was most perilous to England—in the time of Philip II, in the time of Louis XIV, in the time of Napoleon, and in the time of William II of Germany. It has been Ireland's yet more tragic fortune that the events and the periods which have brought prosperity and advancement to her sister-nations have usually brought to her nothing but woe. Thus the sixteenth century, which was for England a period of glorious achievement, and for Scotland a period of national rebirth, was for Ireland a period of unalloyed misery and suffering.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ELIZABETHAN AGE

1. The Sudden Glory of English Poetry

The Great Literary Era.—The supreme glory of Elizabeth's reign, and its noblest contribution to the achievement of the British peoples, was the dazzling outburst of great literature, and especially

of great poetry, by which it was distinguished. There had been no English poet of distinction since Chaucer's time, two centuries before. Even under the stimulus of the Renascence, the first half of the sixteenth century had produced little or no great literature, and in the first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign the Muses were still almost silent. Then, suddenly, in 1579 and the following years, the great chorus began. It swelled in volume after 1588, and was at its height when the great queen died. The poets were as prolific as they were innumerable: England had become "a nest of singing-birds." The awakening was as sudden and as thrilling as the rejoicing of the woods when the sun rises on a May morning.

Its Beginning.—A few dates will serve to bring out this remarkable phenomenon. In 1579 Spenser, that rich and lovely singer, published his first poem, the *Shepherd's Calendar;* North published his noble translation of Plutarch's lives; Lyly's *Euphues*, which set a new fashion in prose, was issued; the chivalrous Sir Philip Sidney, who was so soon to die, was writing his sonnets, his *Arcadia*, and his *Defence of Poesy;* the first English theatre, whose boards were soon to ring to so much noble verse, had just been opened by the actor Burbidge; and the "University wits," who played so great a part in this efflorescence—Lyly and Greene and Peele and Lodge and the rest—were starting their hectic and Bohemian life in London. They were the first group of professional men of letters that England had known.

Its Apogee.—This was a noble beginning. But if we turn to the days of the Armada, and the proud and stirring times that followed, the tale is more wonderful. In 1587 that great genius, Christopher Marlowe, produced his first play; he had written his great tragedy of *Faustus*, and ended his brief career, by 1593. In 1587 also William Shakespeare came as a country lad to make his name in London. The years between 1590 and 1595 were the first flowering-time of Shakespeare's genius: beginning with the pretty wit of *Love's Labour's Lost*, he rose in these years to *Richard II* and the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet* and the *Merchant of Venice*. Before the end of the century he had written *Julius Cæsar* and all the great English historical plays, and created Falstaff and Rosalind and Beatrice; and before the great queen died *Hamlet* had been played (1602). Between 1590 and 1600 came nearly all the great sonnet-sequences of Drayton and Daniel and the rest; collections of songs, often with musical settings, were appearing, never

without fresh gems ; and, to name no others, Spenser's *Faery Queene* was published in 1593, Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* and Chapman's noble *Homer* appeared in 1598, while in the field of prose the rich eloquence of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* came in 1594–1597, and the terse wisdom of Bacon's *Essays* in 1597. These are but selections from an extraordinarily prolific output. In 1579 the English language was poorer in great literature than French or Spanish, and immeasurably poorer than Italian. By 1600 it could stand comparison with the literature of any people, even the Greeks.

Patriotism and Individualism.—The reason for this amazing and sudden outburst is plain. The English people were tingling with national pride and confidence ; they saw great vistas of opportunity opening before them ; they had escaped from most of the difficulties that had harassed and occupied their fathers' minds and from many of the restraints of old custom. On every side one of the great marks of the time was the confident energy of individuals, seeking out new fields of effort. It was the bold daring of individual seamen, encouraged but not controlled by government, which had mainly broken down the Spanish power. The energy of individual merchants was expanding English trade at a remarkable pace, and English ships were seen in every harbour of northern Europe and the Mediterranean. Individual *entrepreneurs*, no longer tied down by the regulations of " misteries," were introducing many new industries. Government, by the wisdom of the system of national regulation which it had substituted for the old hide-bound system of the craft-gilds, had made this possible ; but the remarkable achievements of this age were due, not to government, but to the ebullient energy of a free people. And, in the same way, in the field of letters men were reaching out after new things, trying every kind of experiment, working out new modes of representing and criticising life.

National Pride.—Patriotism and individualism—these are the two main notes of the Elizabethan age. The nation had found itself ; and its individual citizens were glorying in new opportunities. The literature of the age was inspired by this exultant patriotism. It is everywhere perceptible—in the lovely romance of the *Faery Queene*, which is all an allegory of England and her triumphant war against the difficulties that surrounded her ; in the lofty eloquence with which Hooker sets forth the praises of the English Church ; in the intense love for English scenes and names and ways which is to be found in all the poets, but perhaps most fully

in Drayton; and, most of all, in the noble rhetoric with which Shakespeare sings the praise of England, "this happy breed of men, this little world, this precious stone set in the silver sea."

New difficulties were soon to arise—were, indeed, already emerging; and as this became more clear, it was reflected in the graver and nobler note of the poets after the turn of the century, when *Hamlet* and *The Tempest* succeeded to the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. But as yet these new problems were not in the foreground. The poets of the sixteenth century had little to say about the religious questionings of the Puritans, beyond a gay gibe flung at the "precisian" Malvolio; nor were they interested in constitutional problems—Shakespeare could write a play about King John without mentioning Magna Carta. The spirit of the Elizabethan poets was, in the main, the spirit of exultant and confident youth. In fact, they were all young: they had all been born since Elizabeth came to the throne, and this is the reason for the exaggerated veneration which they paid to the great queen. But how much richer and nobler a land they had made of their beloved England, in one short generation!

2. Puritanism and Parliament

Growth of Religious Fervour.—This free movement of thought, this adventurous questioning, was becoming, in the later period of the reign, ominously active in the sphere of religion. The gradual development of Puritanism, which challenged the Elizabethan Church settlement, and foreshadowed the troubles of the next period, was indeed one of the main features of these years. As we have seen, there had been a good deal of dissatisfaction with the incompleteness of the Reformation in the early years of the reign. Later, as the gravity of the menace from Spain became clearer, two things happened. On the one hand, the "Anglican compromise" ceased to be merely a compromise, and won the affection of the greater part of the nation. The noble forms of prayer which were used during the dread days of peril were thenceforth sanctified; Hooker found arguments to prove the essential rightness of the whole system; and a strong and sincere Church party, whose convictions were religious and not merely political, came into being. On the other hand, in those searching days the earnestness of the Puritans was deepened. They were not satisfied with formal, read services. They held meetings for mutual exhortation and preaching, called "Prophesy-

ings," and for a time Archbishop Grindal, who succeeded Parker in 1575, gave his protection to these meetings; Burghley also was in favour of letting them be. But the queen, who had no sympathy with "enthusiasm," insisted upon their suppression, and actually suspended Grindal, by a very autocratic exercise of her supremacy.

Presbyterians and Brownists.—In the middle period of the reign, indeed, there was comparatively little trouble, partly owing to the moderating influence of Grindal, partly because the "sectaries" were quiescent in the face of national peril. But in the later period of the reign the strife became acute. Cartwright of Cambridge, and other divines who wanted to see the English Church reorganised on the model of Geneva and Scotland, became more active. They had expounded their views as early as 1572 in an "Admonition to Parliament," which practically demanded the abolition of the episcopal system, and the authors of this document had been sent to gaol. In 1590 Cartwright and his friends started Associations for the organisation of Church Councils on the Presbyterian model. For this defiance of the royal supremacy they were summoned before the High Commission Court; but they had too many supporters to make it safe to deal more severely with them, and they were released on making an apology. A yet more Radical school of thought, started by Robert Browne, and called after him "the Brownists," repudiated not only royal supremacy and episcopal power, but the exercise of any sort of control over any congregation of Christians who chose to worship in their own way. These were the ancestors of the "Congregationalists," and the first advocates of religious toleration—though they would not have tolerated Roman Catholics.

Whitgift and the High Commission.—During the course of the war with Spain, "sectaries" were being put to death, equally with Roman Catholics, for denying the royal supremacy: the Anglican Church was now strong enough to persecute, and the business of enforcing uniformity was vigorously carried on from 1583 onwards by Archbishop Whitgift. Nobody has ever, in England, wielded the censorship of the Press more strictly than Whitgift did, with the High Commission Court as his instrument. Yet he could not stamp out Puritan literature altogether. In 1588 and 1589, during the crisis of the Armada, a series of vehement and acrid Puritan tracts was issued under the name of "Martin Marprelate"; they were printed at a secret press, which moved from place to place.

Elizabeth and Parliament.—It is significant that there was always a large body of opinion in Parliament favourable to Puritan ideas, which had many advocates among the country gentlemen and in the towns. This was one of the reasons why Elizabeth had as little to do with Parliament as she could, and preferred to show the most extreme parsimony rather than endure dependence on parliamentary grants. There were only thirteen sessions of Parliament in the forty-five years of her reign—an average of one every three-and-a-half years. In order to influence the membership, Elizabeth (like her Tudor predecessors) freely used her prerogative of summoning new boroughs to elect members. She added no less than sixty-two to the membership of the House of Commons; and the boroughs she enfranchised were mostly small places, easily brought under royal influence. Her ministers took great pains with the management of Parliament. Robert Cecil, Burghley's son, made a point of being elected to the House of Commons in every Parliament, and was, indeed, the first English minister who regularly represented the Government in that House. Yet despite all these pains, Parliament was constantly troublesome, and was sometimes sharply rated by the queen for presuming to meddle with questions which she regarded as exclusively her concern. On several occasions members who thus offended were sent to prison. Peter Wentworth, who insisted upon claiming the right of free speech on matters of national importance, such as the succession to the crown, was sent to the Tower in 1587 and again in 1593; and on the second occasion he remained a prisoner until his death three years later. Elizabeth used her power of veto on legislation very freely: in 1598 she vetoed no less than forty-eight out of ninety-one Bills sent up to her.

Growing Independence of Parliament.—All this suggests that Parliament had little power, and that the reins of government were effectively in the queen's hands. But although this was true, it was also true that, after long being content to leave the business of government to the Crown and the Council, Parliament—and especially the House of Commons—was beginning to claim a larger share of power. If many Bills were vetoed, this meant that many Bills were sent up which were not initiated by the Government. In truth, the knights of the shire, who had obtained such a variety of administrative experience during the last century, and the prosperous merchants of the towns, who were now managing great enterprises, were plainly more competent to take a share in government than

their predecessors of the fourteenth century, and were not, like them, dominated by ambitious groups of nobles. Respect for the old queen, who had steered the country through difficult times, kept these claims within bounds; but it was plain that a difficult time was coming.

The Monopoly Dispute.—In 1597 and again in 1601 the Queen almost came to an open rupture with her parliaments. They complained bitterly of the numerous monopolies that had been granted in various articles of trade. These monopolies or patents had been used as a means of encouraging new industries, and had served a useful purpose. But in the thriving England of 1600 this method was no longer needed; moreover, it seems to have been improperly used in many cases. Anyway, in 1601 the proud queen had to accept defeat and promise to abandon most of the monopolies, though she was wise enough to give to her defeat the appearance of a willing concession.

Elizabeth's Court.—These parliamentary discussions, however, counted for little in the eyes of contemporaries. The real centre of political interest and the real field of ambition was not Parliament, but the gay and brilliant court of the great Queen, which, in old age as in youth, she very fully dominated. Careers were made or marred by her smile or frown, and the aim of all ambition was to win her favour. Throughout her reign, she loved to surround herself with chosen confidants of two distinct types—on the one hand, grave men of affairs; on the other, splendid and gallant figures who amused her leisure but were also allowed to share in the deliberations of her Council.* A wise woman of affairs, she valued her men of business, her Burghleys and her Walsinghams, and was steadfastly faithful to them; but she never allowed them to dictate, and she liked to see them bearded and rated by her gallants. A lover of dress and dancing, of pageantry and flattery and flirtation, she delighted in the worship of handsome and romantic persons like Leicester and Essex. Sometimes she let them persuade her to abandon her habitual caution, and to give them (to their own undoing) the command of great adventures, like Leicester's in the Netherlands, and Essex's at Cadiz and in Ireland. When they failed, they lost her favour. But for the most part she was staunch in her

* Lytton Strachey's *Elizabeth and Essex* gives a good idea of rivalries of Elizabeth's court, and contains a subtle study of the queen's character.

friendships, though she made her friends feel that her favour could not be taken for granted. Great men, such as Raleigh and Bacon, were not ashamed to strain every nerve in order to attract her notice. She enjoyed the feeling that there was such eager competition for her smiles. She delighted to know that her court was the heart of England and that her will determined the course of events, as it made or marred the fortunes of gallants, statesmen and poets. On the whole, she used her power well. No sovereign ever gave more constant or discriminating support to a statesman than Elizabeth gave to Burghley, who kept her confidence from the first day of her reign till his death, though he was often exasperated by the favour she showed to the flashy Leicester. And Burghley's son, the silent and supple Robert Cecil (later Earl of Salisbury) succeeded to his power, as Leicester's nephew Essex took his uncle's place as reigning favourite. Between Cecil and Essex a fiercer rivalry raged than had ever divided Burghley and Leicester. In the end, having failed in Ireland, the spoilt darling, Essex, lost control of himself, was betrayed into the folly of a futile rebellion, and suffered on the block. It was Cecil who brought about the peaceful succession of James I, and became the indispensable minister at the beginning of the new reign.

Death of Elizabeth.—Thus, to the end, the personality of Elizabeth was the dominant factor in English politics, and her will was decisive. There were signs, as we have seen, that a new era was dawning in which the personal sovereignty that the Tudors had so royally wielded would no longer be needed, and in which the nation would again attempt, in more favourable circumstances, the great experiment of parliamentary government which had failed so disastrously in the fifteenth century. But Elizabeth died before that great issue was definitely raised. She left it as a heritage to her successor, who lacked the prestige that her long and glorious reign had given her. She died at a happy moment, when her fame was at its highest. She had found the nation divided and imperilled; she left it united and triumphant. It was a just claim that she had made to her Parliament in 1601, when they were reconciled after the monopoly quarrel: "This I count the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves. . . . I was never so much enticed with the royal authority of a queen as delighted that God had made me His instrument . . . to defend this kingdom from peril, dishonour, tyranny, and oppression."

With her ended the long ages of island-history, in a blaze of glory. A yet greater career, on a wider stage, was about to open for the British peoples.

Retrospect and Prospect.—A little reflection upon the greatness of the changes which had come about during the sixteenth century is enough to show how the islands, and especially England, had been prepared for the great part they were to play in the new era. In England feudal turbulence had been finally mastered, and the warlike and backward areas of the North and West had been assimilated with the rest of the country. In Ireland the tribal system had been destroyed, though in a very cruel way which brought many evils in the future. In Scotland, though feudal power in the Lowlands and tribal power in the Highlands were still strong, the nation's spirit, expressed in its new Church system, promised to conquer both. Two profound revolutions had been undergone, not without many difficulties, but (on the whole) with less friction than in other countries. The first was the great religious change which, both in England and in Scotland, had turned the Church into a national institution, and raised deep problems which profoundly stirred men's minds. The second was the great economic change, whereby the shackles of mediæval ways were discarded, both in agriculture and in industry, and the era of free individual enterprise was opened. Thanks to the wise guidance of Burghley and Elizabeth, this change had been more completely and more peacefully effected in England than in any other European country. Finally, the ambitions of European conquest, which had haunted the rulers of England since the Norman Conquest, had been abandoned. The English had at last become a sea-faring race, and the strength of England now rested, as all the world could see, upon Sea Power. It was towards the world across the sea that the ambitions and enterprises of the English now chiefly turned: they had begun to be a trading as well as a sea-faring people. The sixteenth century had fixed the lines of their future destiny. They were now a united nation, the freest in the world. The expansion of their freedom at home, and the expansion of their activities overseas, were to be henceforward the great features of their history.

Supplementary Reading on Book III

The Third Book of the *Short History of the British Commonwealth* covers, more fully, the ground covered in this Book; the chapters on foreign policy, on Scotland, on Ireland, on the seamen, and especially the last chapter on the Elizabethan Age, add a good deal. There is much that is vivid and stimulating in Green's pages on this period (303–459), and in Trevelyan's *History of England* (267–374). For more detailed study, two volumes of Longmans' *Political History of England*—that by H. A. L. Fisher (1485–1547) and that by A. F. Pollard (1547–1603), will be found most useful. Period III of Maitland's *English Constitutional History* gives an excellent account of the constitutional history of the period (pp. 226–280). See also Keatinge and Fraser's *Documents of British History*. The earlier chapters in A. F. Pollard's *Factors in Modern History* deal suggestively with aspects of the period. Warner's *Landmarks of Economic History* is helpful on the economic side, also the *Piers Plowman Histories* (Book IV by Niemeyer and Wragge). There are some good chapters in Lord Acton's *Lectures on Modern History*. Payne's *Selections from Elizabethan Voyages* gives some thrilling narratives taken from Hakluyt; and Jacobs' *Geographical Discovery* deals in a succinct and interesting way with the course of exploration. Froude's great book deals with this period; and although it is wrong-headed and untrustworthy, its narrative style is so admirable that some selections from it should be read—especially on the reign of Elizabeth.

BOOK IV

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

(1603-1688)

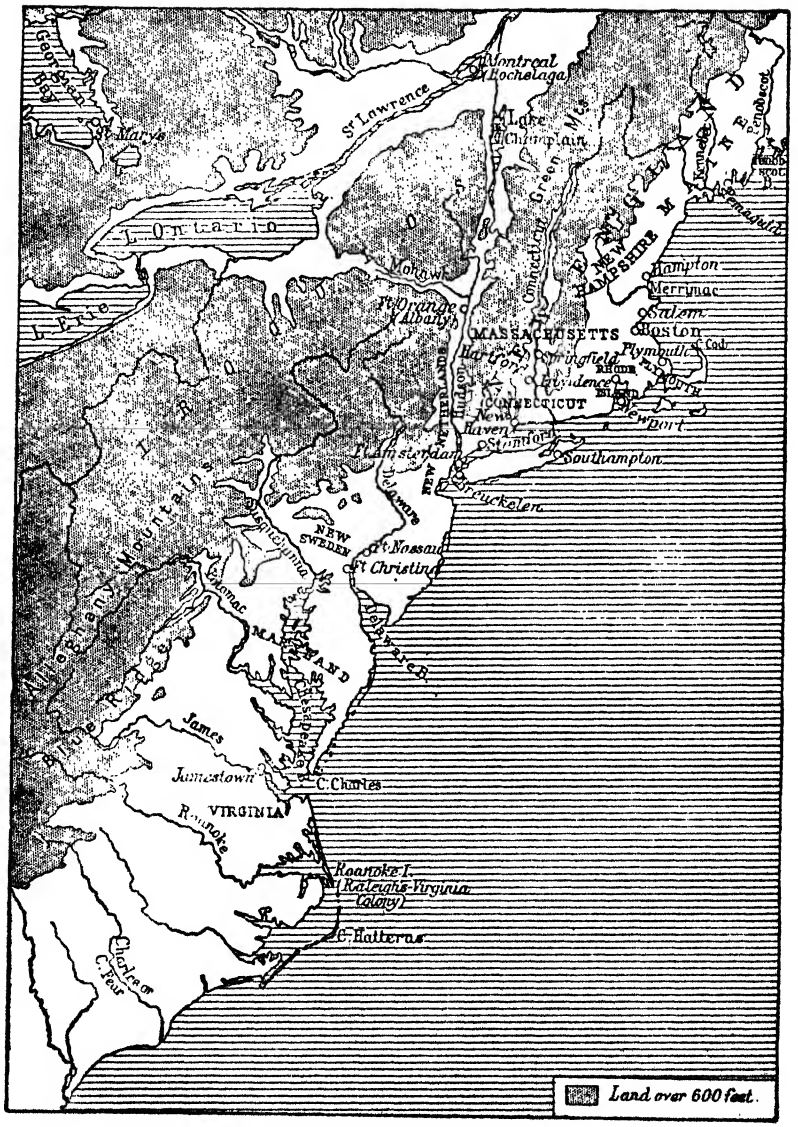


FIG. 20 —European Colonies in North America to 1650.

BOOK IV

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONFLICT AND OVERSEA EXPANSION (1603–1688)

In three main respects, the seventeenth century was an era of profound significance in the history of the British peoples.

In the first place, all the island-nations were now for the first time brought effectively under a single government. Wales had been incorporated with England in 1536; Ireland had been cruelly conquered by Elizabeth; and in 1603 the English and Scottish crowns were united by the accession of James VI of Scotland as James I of England. Scotland and Ireland still remained, indeed, separate realms. But the history of the three countries was throughout the century so closely intertwined, and their reactions upon one another were so profound, that their story became one.

In the second place, after a long and difficult struggle in which political and religious differences were blended, the system of parliamentary supremacy, which had been tried and had failed under the Lancastrians, was re-established upon a sounder basis. This achievement was the more remarkable because in the other countries of Western Europe the system of Estates (from which Parliament sprang) finally broke down in this century. Almost everywhere absolute monarchy was established, and there was a universal belief that it alone could give firm and efficient government. In the British lands alone a system of representative self-government was successfully established, and these lands stood forth before the world as the models and exemplars of political liberty. This was to be their most characteristic note; in this respect they led the way for the world.

Finally, it was in this period that the astonishing achievement of planting young British nations in the unoccupied lands of

the earth, and of establishing British influence among the ancient peoples of the tropics, really began; and the distinctive features which were to mark British expansion and to explain its success were defined. The most important of these was the extension to new lands of the habits and institutions of self-government. Thus the

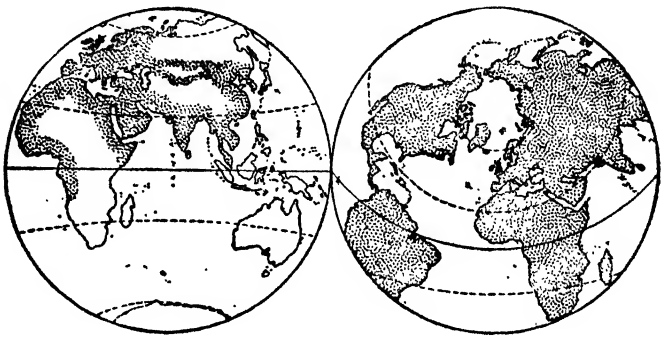


FIG. 21.—Britain before and after the Age of Discovery.

political controversy which raged in the Islands was of vital importance not for them alone but for the daughter-nations which were to spring from them.

CHAPTER XIX

JAMES I: A PERIOD OF BEGINNINGS (1603–1625)

1. JAMES I AND THE UNION OF THE CROWNS

The "Main" and "Bye" Plots.—Throughout the reign of Elizabeth, and especially in her last years, there had been constant nervousness as to what would happen when the great queen died. A disputed succession might involve the undoing of all the work of consolidation which she had achieved. The peaceful succession of James I, and the fact that he promptly gave his confidence to the dead queen's chief minister, Robert Cecil, son of the great Burghley, put an end to these fears. But certain obscure plots which were

unmasked in the first months of the reign showed that the fears had not been groundless. One was a plot in which a Roman Catholic priest was engaged in a strange partnership with a Puritan peer and others. They apparently intended to seize the king's person, but their objects were not clear. Behind this "Bye" plot, as it was called, the government suspected the existence of a "Main" plot, in which Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, among others, were said to be implicated. Its object was said to be to put Arabella Stuart, the king's cousin,* on the throne; possibly its real object was the overthrow of Cecil. The whole business is obscure. But Raleigh, the last of the great Elizabethan adventurers, was sentenced to death for high treason, and, being excused the death penalty, was imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he remained for fourteen years—using his enforced leisure to write a history of the world.

Gunpowder Plot.—Two years later a yet more fantastic conspiracy was formed by a group of fanatical Catholics, disappointed that James had not granted the toleration they expected. Its leading spirit was Robert Catesby, a Warwickshire gentleman; while Garnet, head of the English Jesuits, was in touch with it. The plan was to blow up the Houses of Parliament at the opening of the session, when the king and all the leading men could be disposed of at one blow. Under the cover of the confusion there was to be a Catholic revolt in the midlands. The explosion was entrusted to Guy Fawkes, who had served in the Spanish army. The plot was discovered in time; Garnet and Fawkes were tortured and executed; Catesby and some of his friends tried to put up a fight, but were easily disposed of. This plot, which was as foolish as it was diabolical, put an end for a long time to any chance of toleration for the Catholics.

Character of James I.—James I of England and VI of Scotland, whose position on the English throne was thus secured, was a man of thirty-seven.† His youth and early manhood had been full of troubles. He had suffered many things from the turbulent nobles of Scotland, and from the browbeating ministers of the Kirk, and had envied from a distance the wealth and power of Elizabeth. Until the last moment, he had never been sure of the succession to the English crown, and when it came so easily, it seemed like a

* See Genealogical Table B, at the end of the volume.

† There is a good portrait of James I in Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel*.

divine endorsement of hereditary right. James was a man of ability and learning. He had been trained by the great scholar George Buchanan. He could write forcibly, and had a pungent wit. He would have made an excellent professor. He was vain, fussy, pedantic, and physically a coward, though fond of manly sports. He was a man of large ideas, in some respects in advance of his time. He strongly shared the current political doctrines of the Divine Right of Kings, but he lacked Elizabeth's shrewd sense of what was practical. It was his intention to follow Elizabeth's policy in Church and State; and having no understanding of England, he was quite unable to see that Elizabeth's policy was becoming every year more difficult to pursue. In two respects, however, he was ready for new departures. He was a genuine lover of peace, eager to bring to an end the dragging war with Spain, and to use the influence of England as a means of maintaining peace in Europe. And he realised, to some extent, the magnitude of the opportunity presented by the fact that he was the first king of the whole of the British Islands. As a sign of this, he was the first to use the title "King of Great Britain."

James's Scottish Policy.—James would have liked to bring about a complete union between England and Scotland. But neither the English nor the Scots were ready for this. The English Parliament would not even agree (1607) to freedom of trade and an interchange of citizenship between the two countries; and the only satisfaction which the king obtained was an award of the judges that Scottish children born after his accession to the English throne (*post-nati*) were citizens of both countries. Nevertheless his new position made a vast difference to the government of Scotland. He was no longer the plaything of rebellious nobles and exacting presbyters. He was able to make himself practically an absolute monarch in Scotland, ruling his northern realm through a nominated Privy Council; and as he also secured the nomination of the Lords of the Articles (who controlled the procedure of the Scottish Parliament), no opposition was to be feared from that quarter. He brought to an end the turbulence and disorder of the Scottish border, and was able in some degree to tame the Highland chieftains: the robber clan McGregor was proscribed. Even the Kirk was brought into subjection. James avoided meetings of the dangerous General Assembly, which could be as troublesome in Scotland as Parliament in England. He succeeded in establishing a number of bishops, who were modestly endowed with Church lands held by the crown; and

in 1610, at a packed General Assembly, he got an agreement that his bishops should be the permanent presidents of district Synods, that they should ordain ministers, and that no General Assemblies or Synods should be held without his assent. Finally, in 1618, he obtained a reluctant assent to the Five Articles of Perth, which introduced into Scotland some of the ceremonies used in England. In short, he took substantial steps towards the assimilation of the Scottish to the English Church. These changes were deeply resented in Scotland; but the resentment did not break forth until the next reign. Such were the results of the new power which the King of Scotland drew from England. For the first time the age-long anarchy of Scotland was tamed. "By a clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now," James could boast, "which others could not do by the sword."

The Plantation of Ulster.—In Ireland also the omens were favourable for a fresh start. Tyrone, the leader of the national rising which had kept the country aflame for a quarter of a century,* made his submission in 1604. A policy of pacification might now have had good chances of success. Unfortunately the cruel tradition of the Elizabethan period, and the belief that Ireland could only thrive if the Irish "savages" were replaced by English settlers, still survived. In 1607, after disputes with some of his tenantry, Tyrone fled the country, and with him went the chief of the O'Donnells of Donegal and the chief of the Maguires of Fermanagh. Whether they fled (as the English believed) because they had been engaged in another abortive conspiracy, or because they thought they were going to be attacked, it is not possible to say. But their flight was made the excuse for a confiscation of the lands of seven Ulster counties,† though most of the owners had had nothing to do with the conspiracy, even if there was one. Small reserves were set apart for the Irish; and all the best lands were allotted to English and Scottish settlers (1608). To the city of London were given the town of Derry and county of Coleraine, both henceforth known as "Londonderry."

Effects of the Plantation.—This was the most permanent and successful of all the "plantations" that had been made in Ireland, mainly because a majority of the settlers were not absentee grantees but tenacious, thrifty and industrious Scots who made their homes on

* See above, Book III, p. 222.
† School Atlas, Plate 38*c*.

their lands. Ulster, hitherto the most untameable part of Ireland, became an English-speaking enclave, a garrison in Celtic Ireland. But as the Scots brought with them their Presbyterian organisation and practices, there was always a cleavage between them and the English settlers in southern Ireland. The disunity of Ireland had been made more acute. Similar settlements, of a less drastic kind, were later made in Wexford, Longford, and elsewhere. These confiscations destroyed any hope there might have been that the Irish would settle down with a sense of security and a belief that they would get just treatment. In 1611 the Irish Parliament was summoned to ratify the Ulster Plantation. But it was "packed" by the creation of thirty-nine new parliamentary boroughs, returning seventy-eight members, who were elected solely by the Protestant corporations of the boroughs. Although this Parliament included Catholics and passed an Act which removed all legal distinctions between the two races, it embodied and expressed the ascendancy of the small Protestant minority. This was not a happy beginning for the union of the nations, which had been so recently and so cruelly brought about.

Neither in Scotland nor in Ireland were the first results of the new regime satisfactory. In both there was too little recognition of national needs and sentiments. Both, therefore, were to be sources of great difficulty in the troubled times that were coming.

2. Peace Abroad and the Beginnings of Expansion

A Policy of Peace.—Almost the first act of the new king was to make peace with Spain (1604). The treaty of peace restored trade relations between the two countries, but it gave no definite answer to the vital question of the right of access for English traders to the Spanish dominions in the New World. This was characteristic of James's blindness to the importance of oversea developments. His eyes were fixed upon Europe. Pursuing a generally pacific policy, he strove to keep on good terms with France as well as Spain, and he formed a link with the German Protestants when (1613) he married his daughter Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine,* the leader of the more extreme or Calvinistic Protestants of Germany, who had

* From this marriage all the English sovereigns since George I are descended. See Genealogical Table C, at the end of the volume.

formed a Union of Protestant princes in 1608. His idea was to use the weight of England as a means of keeping the peace of Europe. But his pacific disposition, and his need of money, led him seriously to neglect the navy, upon which the prestige and strength of England depended; and the consequence was that, when a new crisis came, England counted for very little.

Rivalry for Oversea Trade.—James's European pacifism, and his neglect of the navy, had other consequences. It gravely weakened England in the keen rivalry, which was now beginning, to exploit the opportunities for oversea trade and expansion presented by the overthrow of the Spanish monopoly. The mere fact that the English were now at peace with Spain, and could not attack Spanish lands or ships, while the Dutch, still at war, were free to attack wherever they liked, gave to the Dutch a very great advantage, and largely explains the extraordinarily rapid development of Dutch oversea power which took place during this period. Moreover, the oversea enterprises of the Dutch had the full support of their home government, and the two powerful companies which took charge of them (the Company of the East Indies and the Company of the West Indies) were practically national enterprises.

Lack of Government Support.—English enterprise, on the other hand, received little or no government backing. When English merchants complained that their ships were attacked by Spanish or Portuguese or Dutch ships, James replied that if they chose to undertake dangerous adventures in distant seas, they must do so at their own risk. The failure of the Stewart monarchy to give help and protection to oversea enterprise was one of the reasons why the trading-classes took the parliamentarian side in the coming conflict. It was therefore by the private energy of individuals and organised groups that the English part in the development of oversea trade and settlement was played in this period: little help came from the government, and little protection from the navy.

The Massacre of Amboina.—One such group was the East India Company, which was engaged in getting a foothold in the eastern trade, at first in friendly partnership with the Dutch, but ere long in acute rivalry. The most lucrative branch of this trade was that with the Spice Islands in the Malay Archipelago, which yielded immense profits.* Here the well-organised Dutch company

* School Atlas, Plate 43*a*.

showed so much energy in overcoming Portuguese opposition and in planting forts and factories in the islands that they presently saw no reason why they should share their advantages with the English. James I tried to patch up an agreement with the Dutch in 1619; but as it was clear that he would not back his demands by force, negotiation was of no avail. Soon there was open conflict between the former allies in this field; and in 1623 the Dutch arrested a group of English traders in the island of Amboina, and put twelve of them to death. This episode, which was known as the Massacre of Amboina, practically put an end to English trade in the Spice Islands. James made no serious attempt to get amends for the massacre, and it was not until the time of Cromwell that any amends were made.

The English in India.—Meanwhile, however, the English had won a foothold on the mainland of India.* James sent an ambassador, in 1615, to the court of Jehangir, the Mogul Emperor at Delhi, to ask for trading privileges. But again mere negotiation was of little avail: Jehangir replied that the Portuguese controlled the trade with Europe. The English trading squadrons therefore had to fight the Portuguese for a foothold. In 1612 and again in 1614 they won two resounding victories over overwhelmingly superior Portuguese forces off *Surat*—then the principal trade-outlet for Northern India. The consequence was that in 1616 they were licensed to open a factory at Surat. This first English settlement in India was a quadrangular house, the basement of which was used for storage, while agents of the Company lived above, spending their time (between "voyages") in selling the goods imported from England and collecting Indian goods for the homeward cargoes. This was the beginning of the momentous connection between England and India. Trade with India gradually grew during James I's reign. But it was far behind that of the Dutch, who had several factories in India, and were winning control over Ceylon, besides dominating the Far Eastern trade.

The West Indies.—In the West also this was a period of beginnings. The West Indies† were haunted by "buccaneers," English, French, and Dutch, who carried on the lawless traditions of the previous period, and preyed upon Spanish shipping. They

* See School Atlas, Plate 53*a*; also the larger Atlas, Plate 30*a*.
† School Atlas, Plate 48*a*.

also engaged in a smuggling trade with the Spanish dominions, especially dealing in slaves brought from West Africa; but in this traffic the Dutch had, as yet, the upper hand.

Raleigh and Eldorado.—One characteristic enterprise was organised by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1617. As a means of escaping from the Tower, he offered to go in search of a gold-mine he knew of in Eldorado, up the Orinoco River, and was allowed to go on condition that he did not invade Spanish territory or fight the Spaniards. He inevitably came into conflict with the Spaniards, and returned from what may be described as the last of the Elizabethan adventures, bringing no gold. The Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, who now had great influence at the English court, demanded that Raleigh should be handed over for punishment in Spain. James could not descend quite so low as this; nevertheless, he had Raleigh executed (1618) on the old charge of treason for which he had been imprisoned since 1603. The contrast between this treatment of a famous and gallant man and Elizabeth's treatment of Drake showed how times had changed.

West Indian Colonies.—It was not until the end of the reign that settlement began in the West Indies. In 1623 a settlement was made in the empty island of *St. Christopher*, and in 1625 a more important one on the fertile island of *Barbados*, where English ships had been fitting and watering since 1605. The English colonisation of the West Indies had begun.

North American Settlements.—Far more important were the settlements which were meanwhile being made on the coast of North America.* In these enterprises, as in the piracy of the West Indies, English, French, and Dutch alike took part. The French, led by the great explorer Champlain, began the history of Canada by planting settlements at Port Royal in Acadia (Nova Scotia) in 1604, and at Quebec, on the St. Lawrence River, in 1608; and in the following years Champlain's daring explorations marked out a great part of the Great Lakes. The Dutch, with their shrewd commercial instinct, found their way to the best trading position on the continent, and in 1614 started a trading-station on Manhattan Island, at the mouth of the Hudson River, though it was not fully organised as a colony until 1626.

Virginia and Bermuda.—Meanwhile a number of English

* School Atlas, Plate 49*a*.

courtiers and traders had, in 1606, obtained a charter for a Virginia Company, to plant settlements in the region where Raleigh had made two unsuccessful attempts at colonisation during the reign of Elizabeth (1584 and 1587). The Company was divided into two branches, one, having its headquarters at Plymouth, to deal with the northern part of the area; the other, having its headquarters at London, to deal with the southern part of the area. Two expeditions were sent out. The northern one came to nothing; but the southern one planted a little group of settlers at Jamestown on the James River, which (with the aid of the parent company) took root and developed into the colony of *Virginia*. It had to face, at first, great difficulties, especially with the Indian tribes, from which it was rescued largely by the courage and resource of a romantic adventurer, Captain John Smith.* But in 1619 it was sufficiently developed to be equipped with a modest representative body to advise the governor; and in 1624, when the Company was wound up, the colony passed under the direct control of the king, who appointed a governor with an executive council. Meanwhile, in 1612, another modest settlement had been made in the *Bermuda* Islands, where Sir George Somers had been wrecked three years before. Bermuda also obtained a representative assembly in 1620, when it cannot have had more than a handful of settlers. Thus, from the very outset, these earliest English colonies were marked by a feature which distinguished them from all other European settlements: they were equipped with the institutions of self-government. That this should have happened under a king who believed in the Divine Right of Kings, and who was engaged in these very years in sharp conflicts with his Parliament, shows how deeply rooted was the English instinct of self-government.

The Pilgrim Fathers.—Before the end of the reign a yet more significant settlement had been made. Since the later years of Elizabeth, bands of English Puritans, mostly humble folk, had been emigrating to Holland in the hope of finding there a religious atmosphere more to their taste. One such band, which went from Scrooby in Lincolnshire in 1606, found that Holland was in this respect little better than England. They resolved to establish in the New World a Bible Commonwealth of their own, and for that purpose obtained a licence from the Virginia Company. In 1620

* There is a cheap reprint of Smith's *History of Virginia* in Rouse's English Classics, and a short Life of Smith in the English Men of Action Series.

they set sail from Plymouth, with many prayers, in the *Mayflower*. The winds carried them not to warm Virginia but to the inhospitable shores of Cape Cod. Here, after many hardships, their modest colony took root: they called it *Plymouth*, in memory of the last English soil their feet had touched. They organised themselves as a completely self-governing community, on the basis of their religious organisation. They were the Pilgrim Fathers, the forerunners of a remarkable series of religious plantations.

Thus five tiny colonies had been founded within the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The reign which saw these beginnings, and which also saw the beginning of the English connection with India, is memorable on these accounts. But the king cannot share the credit for these enterprises, which he rather impeded than encouraged.

3. Unrest at Home and the Beginnings of Parliamentary Conflict

A Threefold Controversy.—While these modest but momentous beginnings, in which he took so little interest, were being made, James found himself being drawn into controversy with his Parliament, with the common lawyers, and with the Puritans. These controversies did not become serious until the last years of his reign, when they all became merged in the beginnings of a tremendous conflict which rose to acuteness in the next reign. But the issues of this conflict were clearly emerging, and in this as in other respects the reign was a period of beginnings.

James and the Puritans.—The Puritan party in the Church was becoming yearly stronger. On James's journey to assume his throne (1603) he received a petition signed by some hundreds of clergy (the Millenary Petition), which demanded the removal of objectionable ceremonies. Next year (1604) the king met the leaders of the Puritan party at a conference at Hampton Court, which might have been made the occasion for a measure of comprehension. But the king was unbending. Though himself a Calvinist in theology, he feared and detested the Presbyterian system, of which he had had painful experience in Scotland, and regarded it as incompatible with royal authority. He would therefore make no concessions. On the contrary, after the conference, a series of new canons or rules were issued, the enforcement of which led to the

resignation of some three hundred ordained clergy. So long as the royal supremacy lasted, Puritans were forced to abandon the hope of remoulding the Church according to their ideas; and they therefore tended to identify themselves with the opposition which was growing up in Parliament, where a majority in the House of Commons sympathised with them.

The Authorised Version. — One good result, however, followed from the Hampton Court Conference. A committee of scholars was set up to carry out a new "authorised" translation of the Bible. In 1611 the Authorised Version was published. Its noble and beautiful language gave it, from the first, an extraordinary place in the affections of the people. It has been one of the great moulding forces in the nation's life. In the years following 1611 the English people became a Bible-reading people, and the more serious-minded among them made the Bible their rule of life, and learnt to trust their own judgment of what it ordained rather than the authoritative dicta of bishops and Church canons.

Common Law v. Prerogative.—Alongside of the religious controversy went a legal controversy. The common lawyers found it hard to admit the independent jurisdiction claimed by the "prerogative" courts—Star Chamber, High Commission, Court of Requests, Council of the North, Council of Wales—which had assumed so much power during the Tudor period. They claimed that nothing was valid that went counter to the "common law," and that not even the king could override it. On the other hand, the "prerogative" lawyers maintained that the king was the source of all law, and that nothing could derogate from his ultimate authority. In effect, this was a conflict between the theory of limited monarchy and the theory of absolutism. Sir Edward Coke, the greatest lawyer of his time, made a bold fight on this issue. In 1616 he was deprived of his office of Chief Justice because he upheld the sovereignty of the common law. He transferred his activities to Parliament, where he became one of the leaders of the opposition.

Trade Dues and Bate's Case.—A third subject of controversy was finance. In spite of her parsimony, Elizabeth had been in great straits towards the end of her reign, because of the costly campaigns in Ireland. She had fallen deeply into debt, and had been reduced to selling crown lands on a large scale, which of course diminished the revenue. James was therefore forced to ask for parliamentary grants, in spite of his avoidance of wars; and he used every device he

could think of to raise money within the law. He sold the new rank of baronetcy quite openly. He tried to persuade Parliament to buy out his feudal rights (which were irregular and vexatious) for a fixed annual sum; but Parliament refused to accept the proposed "Great Contract" (1610), and the abolition of feudal dues was postponed for fifty years. James found, however, a very important and an expanding source of revenue in the trade dues. Duties on imported goods, known as "tunnage and poundage" were, by a custom dating back to Richard II, regularly granted to the crown for life. The crown had, however, always assumed the power of revising the rates, and extending the duties to new imports. In 1606 a merchant named Bate refused to pay a new duty on currants. The courts decided against him, on the ground that the levying of these dues was a prerogative of the crown. Encouraged by this, the government issued in 1608 a new *Book of Rates*, the effect of which was that James was able to dispense with parliamentary grants for ten years (1611–1621). If the king was free to levy what duties he liked on the swelling volume of English trade, he might easily make himself independent of Parliament. It was inevitable that Parliament should refuse to accept such a position.

The Theory of Divine Right.—Thus on three issues—the religious question, the conflict between the prerogative and the common law, and the question of taxation—differences of vital import were gradually emerging during James I's reign. But behind all these lay a still deeper issue: the conflict between the ideas of despotic monarchy and self-government. The Tudors had been almost despots in practice; but their power had rested upon consent, and had been used with tact. Even under Elizabeth the readiness of Parliament to be a mere instrument of royal authority had been diminishing. Now, when the beloved queen was dead, the country gentlemen, lawyers and merchants of the House of Commons were ready to claim a more real partnership in government; and historical scholars like Selden were furbishing up mediæval precedents for their claims. On the other hand, James I was not content merely to cling to the powers Elizabeth had exercised. He really believed in the Divine Right of Kings—which was, it must be remembered, the prevalent political doctrine throughout Europe;—and he wrote a book to prove it. Here is a passage from a speech he made to his Parliament, which was in the mood to claim new powers: "The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth; for kings are

not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God Himself they are called Gods. As to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do." Listening to such words, Parliament became only the more grimly resolved to stick to its rights, and to revive those powers which had been allowed to drop under the Tudors.

First Parliament: Impositions.—But the inevitable conflict developed slowly. James's first Parliament, which had four sessions between 1604 and 1611, was handled by the experienced Cecil, and was relatively amenable, until 1610. Nevertheless, it obstinately insisted upon deciding its own election disputes, it repeatedly protested against the king's religious policy, and it would not agree with the king about relations with Scotland and other matters. In short, it was restive and distrustful. And in 1610 and 1611 there was a storm about the impositions levied under the Book of Rates. Parliament was dissolved, and the king went on collecting impositions; the question remained unsettled for thirty years.

The Addled Parliament.—In 1614 James tried another Parliament. The shrewd Cecil was now dead (1612), and a detestable Scottish favourite, Carr, Earl of Somerset, was surrounding the Court with a sordid atmosphere of divorce cases and poison mysteries. Parliament was so fractious that it would discuss nothing but Impositions, and was dismissed with nothing done—it was known as the "Addled" Parliament. Thereafter the king resolved to do without Parliament. He was successful until his pacific policy broke down. War, as always, gave the opportunity for a revival of parliamentary power; and in the last years of the reign the great constitutional issue was pretty definitely raised.

4. The Thirty Years' War and the Claims of Parliament

The Spanish Marriage.—It was James I's best feature that he detested war, and most of all religious war, which it was the aim of his policy to avert. But throughout his reign an outbreak of religious war had been gradually approaching in Germany, where the rival faiths were marshalled against one another. James vainly dreamed that the trouble might be averted if England and Spain, the leading Protestant and Catholic powers, came together. With that idea, he started negotiations in 1617 for the marriage of his son to a Spanish princess; and the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, became

very influential at court. Spain had no intention of doing what James wanted; she merely played with his sentimentalism. But the negotiations for the Spanish match dragged on until 1623. They were detestable in the eyes of all Englishmen, with the traditions of the sixteenth century behind them. And, of course, they did nothing to avert the war in Germany, but only prevented the influence of England from having any weight.

The Thirty Years' War.—In 1618 the war in Germany began, when the Bohemians elected James's Protestant son-in-law, Frederick the Elector Palatine, to fill the Bohemian throne, a throne which the Catholic House of Habsburg had held for a century. Frederick was swiftly driven out of Bohemia, and soon lost also his hereditary dominions (1620).* From this beginning the conflict spread until it involved all Germany, and ultimately most of Europe. James had condemned Frederick's action in Bohemia. But he was not ready to see Frederick deprived of his own hereditary lands. For this purpose he fatuously pinned his hope to Spain, and tried to press on the marriage. But he also allowed English volunteers to go to Frederick's aid. English sentiment was all on Frederick's side, and there was keen indignation at the king's failure to help him, and at the continued negotiations with Spain. A Protestant war against Spain was what the English people wanted.

Third Parliament: Impeachments.—It was in these circumstances that James met his third Parliament, in 1621; and he found them in a very angry mood. He asked them for a subsidy to enable him to restore his son-in-law. Ultimately they gave it; but not until they had very vigorously criticised the king's policy, and attacked his ministers. They also revived the old procedure of impeachment, which had long since been disused. They impeached one Mompesson for his abuse of monopolies; they even impeached the Lord Chancellor—the great Francis Bacon †—for accepting bribes; and in both cases the House of Lords gave verdicts against the accused, which the king had to accept. More serious still, they directly attacked the proposed Spanish match, and sent a petition to the king asking that Charles should be married to "one of our own religion." At this invasion of his prerogative James raged furiously

* School Atlas, Plates 15 and 16; larger Atlas, Plate 46–7.

† One of Macaulay's Essays is on Bacon, and there is an excellent short life of Bacon by Dean Church (English Men of Letters).

and forbade the House to "meddle with deep matters of State." The Commons replied by passing a Protestation declaring it to be the right of Parliament to debate all questions "concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the Church of England." James thereupon dissolved Parliament, imprisoned some of its leading members, and, sending for the Journals, tore out the Protestation with his own hands. The issue between Crown and Parliament was definitely raised. Parliament had asserted the right to be consulted upon all questions of policy, and not merely on grants of money.

War with Spain.—For some years James had fallen under the influence of a dashing and brilliant young favourite, whom he had created Duke of Buckingham; and the Duke and Prince Charles were sworn friends. In effect, these impetuous young men now took the conduct of affairs out of James's hands. In 1623, without consulting him, they went off *incogniti* to Spain to try and bring the Spanish match to a head. They came back in disgust, having learnt that they had been fooled, and resolved to throw themselves into the popular cause, declare war against Spain, and send an expedition to the Palatinate. This sudden change of front made relations easier with James's last Parliament (1624) which readily voted money for the popular war. But even this Parliament sharpened its weapons by impeaching Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer. This was done, however, at the instigation of Charles and Buckingham, who wanted to get rid of him: "You will live to have your bellyful of impeachments," said the old king when Charles asked for his sanction.

Military Failure.—After this complete reversal of the policy of peace to which he had clung throughout the reign, James lived only long enough to see the humiliating failure of the first English military expedition. A force of 6,000 men was sent to Holland to act under the command of a German soldier, Count Mansfeld. It did nothing, but was wasted away by disease and mismanagement; and the cost of it put the treasury into debt, and made a fresh recourse to Parliament inevitable. When James died, in March 1625, the stage was set for a more dramatic conflict than any he had known. His reign was, indeed, the transition from the Elizabethan era of royal autocracy and foreign war to the era of domestic revolution.

CHAPTER XX

CROWN AND PARLIAMENT (1625–1642)

1. War and Parliamentary Conflict (1625–1629)

Charles I.—The new king started his reign with a gleam of popularity, because he had drawn England into a Protestant war. But it soon clouded over, and after four hectic years England found herself humiliated abroad, and on the verge of revolution at home, mainly owing to the character of the king and his confidant the Duke of Buckingham. Charles I, twenty-five years old at his accession, was a handsome, dignified, and cultivated man, with a fine taste in arts and letters, and all the private virtues. But in politics he lacked imagination and a sense of realities. Self-centred, reticent, obstinate, and slow-witted, he could never understand any point of view but his own. He would never face facts; and was apt to make promises with the intention of evading them.

The Anglo-Catholic Party.—Charles was sincerely religious. But, unfortunately for him, his beliefs were those of a party. Over against the Puritans a rival party, which may best be described as Anglo-Catholic, had been growing in strength in the later years of James I. They valued the very ceremonies which the Puritans detested. They scorned the rigid Sabbatarianism of the Puritans. They interpreted the Bible in the light of the traditions of the Church, and questioned the right of private judgment. While rejecting transubstantiation, they proclaimed the Real Presence in the Communion, and exalted the divine character of the priesthood. They held episcopacy to be of divine ordination. They repudiated the characteristic Calvinist doctrine of predestination. And, in the political sphere, they exalted the divine character of monarchy, and were the strongest advocates of royal absolutism. They were therefore the natural allies of the crown in the coming struggle; but they were decidedly the weaker party in the Church, though among them were some of the saintliest divines of that day. Charles had already made a friend of the most active Anglo-Catholic leader, William Laud,* Bishop of St. Asaph, who was marked out for Puritan hostility. The favour which the king markedly showed to

* There is a short Life of Laud by W. H. Hutton.

clergy of the rising Anglo-Catholic school aroused from the first the distrust of Parliament, which was predominantly Puritan.

Reckless War-plans.—In his first years Charles was dazzled and dominated by his friend, the reckless, self-confident and irresponsible Duke of Buckingham. Together they had light-heartedly launched the country into the war with Spain, and undertaken to restore the Elector Palatine. They were planning grandiose schemes for this purpose. The king of Denmark, supported by a large English subsidy, was to invade Germany and restore the Protestant cause. Perhaps the Dutch would help. There was a hope, also, that France would join in the fray; and it was partly with that end in view that a marriage was hurriedly arranged for the king with Henrietta Maria of France (1625). But the marriage treaty provided that the queen should preserve her own religion, and that toleration should be granted to the Catholics—a provision which was certain to arouse the alarm of Parliament. And this was not the worst. Charles promised to lend ships to France to help in reducing the French Huguenots, who were in rebellion, in order that she might be free to take part in the campaign. English ships to serve against Protestants! The very sailors refused to obey.

First Parliament: Tunnage and Poundage.—All these things poisoned Charles' relations with his first Parliament (1625). They voted him money, indeed; but less than one-seventh of what he needed to fulfil his various obligations, especially to Denmark. They broke a long precedent by voting tunnage and poundage for one year only, and not for life—a means of ensuring the re-opening of the Impositions question. They denounced the Anglo-Catholic clergy, and demanded the enforcement of the laws against "recusants" (Roman Catholics). Finally, they vigorously attacked Buckingham and the king's other advisers, and vehemently criticised the giving of aid against the French Protestants. Charles angrily dissolved Parliament. They had left him without the means of carrying on the war.

Military Failures.—The result was soon seen when an ambitious naval expedition against *Cadiz*, planned on the old Elizabethan lines, ended in humiliating failure. This was the consequence of James I's neglect of the navy: Charles took the lesson to heart, and was genuinely eager to restore the navy's strength. Again, in Germany, Denmark suffered disaster (1626), and blamed England for her failure to redeem her promises.

Second Parliament: Impeachment of Buckingham.—In these circumstances, desperately needing money, Charles summoned his second Parliament (1626). But the second Parliament was even more uncompromising than the first. Led by the fiery eloquence of the Cornish knight, Sir John Eliot,* the House of Commons proceeded to impeach the Duke of Buckingham, as the cause of all this failure—comparing him to Sejanus, the minister of the tyrant Tiberius. In defence of his friend, Charles once more angrily dissolved Parliament.

War with France: The Five Knights.—But he was still without the means to carry on the war. And as if his difficulties were not already great enough, the irresponsible Duke light-heartedly quarrelled with France as well as Spain, and resolved to relieve the Huguenots of La Rochelle, whom he had recently been ready to help in conquering. But how was money to be got? Charles went on levying tunnage and poundage. He tried to raise as a free gift what would have been paid as a subsidy, arguing (not without justice) that Parliament had first driven him into a war, and then refused him the means to carry it on. This failing, he levied a *forced loan*. Those who refused to pay were thrown into prison, or had soldiers billeted on them, or were themselves "pressed" for service as soldiers or sailors. Five knights, imprisoned in this way, applied for a writ of *habeas corpus* (1627), in answer to which, by long custom, the gaoler ought to show why the prisoner was kept in custody. The gaoler reported that the knights were imprisoned "by the special command of the king"; and the judges decided that this was an adequate cause. But if non-parliamentary taxation, enforced by arbitrary imprisonment, could not be prevented, what had become of English liberty, and where was the use of Magna Carta? Meanwhile the Duke of Buckingham had led a great naval and military force to the relief of La Rochelle; but on the *Ile de Ré*, opposite La Rochelle, his army was cut to pieces, and he had to re-embark with a loss of 4,000 men (1627). To redeem this disaster, money must somehow be raised; and once more Charles summoned his Parliament.

Third Parliament: Petition of Right.—This third Parliament brought the conflict to its climax (1628). It contained many famous men: Eliot, and Coke, and the resolute Yorkshire squire Sir Thomas Wentworth, who loathed inefficiency, and Hampden,

* There is a Life of Eliot by John Forster.

and Pym, and (a silent member) Oliver Cromwell. They assembled in the solemn belief that they had to save not only English prestige abroad, but English liberty and the Protestant religion. Disregarding for the moment the king's needs, they drew up a grave and weighty statement of the nation's grievances, which was known as the *Petition of Right*, and demanded that before a penny was granted, the king should accept it. It declared any "gift, loan, benevolence, or other tax" to be illegal without parliamentary authority. It declared the imprisonment of any man without cause shown to be illegal. These were the main clauses: they secured Parliament's control of the purse and the liberty of the subject; there were also other clauses dealing with billeting and other grievances. The king had to yield: Parliament would not tolerate any of his attempts at evasion; and the Petition of Right became the law of the land.

Final Breach with Parliament.—Then Parliament proceeded to impeach an Anglo-Catholic clergyman who had preached the doctrines of absolutism; and they also demanded the dismissal of Buckingham. That cause of difference, however, was soon removed; for in August 1628, while preparing for his second French expedition, Buckingham was assassinated by a private enemy at Portsmouth. But Parliament still went on with its protests. In a second session (1629) it attacked Laud and other Anglo-Catholic divines. A new quarrel also arose when it was discovered that the king was still levying tunnage and poundage (which he held not to be covered by the Petition). The king finally lost patience and resolved on dissolution. But the doors of the House were locked, and the Speaker was held down in his chair, while three resolutions were passed declaring that any one who introduced innovations in religion, or who either proposed or paid taxes without the authority of Parliament, was an enemy of his country. Then the House broke up, after the most memorable sessions it had yet held. The angry king (Petition or no Petition) imprisoned nine of the parliamentary leaders, including the greatest of them, Sir John Eliot. Eliot died in captivity two years later; and two of his companions were not released until 1640.

Withdrawal from War.—This was the end of the first phase of the great conflict. Realising that it was impossible to work with Parliament, Charles resolved to govern without it—as his predecessors had often done for long periods. But this meant that the costly luxury of war must be avoided. He therefore withdrew

wholly from the continental struggle, which went on with varying fortunes for another twenty years, until it was ended by the Treaties of Westphalia in 1648. During this period Germany was reduced to chaos; the power of France was raised to a dazzling height; Sweden entered upon a brief period of military glory; the Dutch enjoyed immense prosperity, and built up a mighty commercial dominion; and Spain definitely fell from her high estate. But in all these great events England had no part. Her prestige, so high under Elizabeth, had been reduced to vanishing point by the events of 1624–1629. She counted for nothing at all in the affairs of Europe, while the predominance in oversea trade definitely fell to the Dutch. The islands were left to themselves. But during the next eleven years they were fermenting towards a final outburst.

2. Personal Government and Laud's Church Policy (1629–1640)

Fiscal Devices.—The eleven years, 1629–1640, during which Charles I dispensed with Parliament, were, in England, so placid that he might well feel that his experiment was a success. The country was prosperous; trade was growing; and the trade-dues (which Charles, supported by the lawyers, held he was entitled to collect as part of the ancient revenues of the crown) were expanding. They were supplemented by the revival of old feudal devices such as distraint of knighthood (borrowed from Edward I) or fines for the infringement of royal forests. An additional device was the levy of ship-money—which had often been collected in Tudor times and earlier—for the maintenance of the navy. Ship-money was raised from the maritime counties in 1634, and from all the counties in 1635, without serious protest, and the proceeds were honestly used to strengthen the navy.

Hampden and Ship-money.—But when in 1636 a third levy of ship-money was made, and it appeared that this was to be turned into a regular source of revenue, John Hampden,* a wealthy squire, and a member of the Petition of Right Parliament, who was assessed to pay twenty shillings, refused to pay on the ground that the levy was illegal. The case was fought out in the law-courts, with an immense array of constitutional learning. The decision went against

* One of Macaulay's Essays is on Hampden.

Hampden, by the votes of seven out of twelve judges; but there were five who risked their livelihood by voting that the levy was illegal. If such a tax could be regularly levied after the Petition of Right, what became of the liberties of England? It was characteristic of seventeenth-century England that so grave an issue should be fought out in the law-courts, and that the decision should be accepted until there was a chance of altering it constitutionally.

Laud and Wentworth.—If these methods should be continued and expanded, a power more absolute than the Tudors had ever wielded might have taken root in England. This was clearly the intention of Charles, and of his chief advisers, among whom Laud (archbishop since 1633) now took the principal place: Laud sincerely believed in the Divine Right of Kings. It was also the declared intention of a very able man, Sir Thomas Wentworth (later Lord Strafford),* who, having supported the Petition of Right because he detested the inefficiency of Buckingham, had come over to the king's side because he did not believe that Parliament could govern efficiently. "Thorough" was his motto; he was an intimate friend and constant correspondent of Laud; and although he held no high office in England, from 1632 onwards he was at work in Ireland, building up the royal power there, and forming an army upon which the king could draw at need.

Laud's Church Policy.—The main activity of these years, under Laud's direction, was the organisation of the Church of England upon Anglo-Catholic lines. Laud was not a persecutor. No man suffered death for his faith in England in his time. Some ferocious sentences of imprisonment and ear-cropping were indeed inflicted upon Puritan writers by the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court; but they were nothing in comparison with the penalties imposed by Henry VIII or even Elizabeth. Laud's work was to staff the Church gradually with Anglo-Catholic clergy, and to insist that the ceremonial order imposed by the Prayer-book should be strictly observed in every church. He was content to deny promotion to Puritans, and to put a stop to their preaching; he was probably less severe in enforcing his own views than the Puritans would have been. But they were the views of a minority; and they were closely connected with the theory of Divine Right.

* There is a short Life of Strafford by H. D. Traill (English Men of Action).

Changing Temper of the Nation.—All this went on without overt protest for eleven years. There were no rebellions or serious riots. England, full of prosperity, seemed to have accepted the non-parliamentary regime. But the stillness was ominous. In hundreds of manors and counting-houses there were grave discussions as to the trend of royal policy. And a change insensibly came over the tone of English literature; a deeper and graver note emerged. The great dramatic creation of Elizabeth's reign had lasted right through the reign of James I: indeed, the greatest of the "Elizabethan" dramas—Shakespeare's noblest tragedies, and all the best work of Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Webster and Massinger—belong to that period. Then came a change; and the poets of the Carolean period strike a new note of reflection, and show an interest in religion almost unknown to the Elizabethans. Milton, whose earlier works belong to these years, takes the place of Shakespeare. Quietness did not mean submission.

3. Emigration to America (1629–1640)

The Puritan Emigration.—The only overt protest against the Laudian regime which came from the Puritans took the form of a remarkable movement of emigration, which began, on a large scale, immediately after the dissolution of the Petition of Right Parliament, and went on with growing strength throughout the years of personal government. Since the Puritans were not to be allowed to mould the Church of England after their own ideas, they went forth to find new homes in the New World, following the trail that had been blazed by the Pilgrim Fathers. It was not toleration that they wanted—they would have been less tolerant than Laud had they enjoyed his power; they wanted to construct Bible Commonwealths where every one would be forced to live according to the Puritan ideal. Charles I made no serious attempt to check this emigration; perhaps he was glad to be rid of troublesome citizens; and he told one of the leaders of the movement that he did not desire to impose the rules of the Church of England upon them. Nor did the emigrants intend to cast off their allegiance. They conceived themselves to be still citizens of the English state, and they carried English law and institutions with them.

Massachusetts.—The first of these new plantations,* which

* School Atlas, Plate 49*a*.

were unlike anything that has been seen before or since in the history of colonisation, was Massachusetts, founded in 1629 by a body of 2,000 emigrants, which included many gentlemen of rank and university men. Year after year fleets of ships came out to Boston with new emigrants; and by 1642 the population of the new colony had risen to 18,000. It was governed by a close oligarchy of leading men, who derived their power from the fact that a Company had been formed to float the colony: they were its directors. In local affairs power was shared by all Church members, but the strictest orthodoxy was exacted. Massachusetts was an example of the rule of the saints, which was later attempted in England. It was utterly intolerant.

Other New England Colonies.—In 1633 a second colony, organised by a group of leading Puritans in England, was founded in *Connecticut*. A third group, the most rigid of all, established themselves at *New Haven* in 1638. And between 1636 and 1638 various groups of unorthodox refugees, driven out of the other colonies, settled in and about *Rhode Island*. There were also some settlements, not purely Puritan in character, on the coast of *Maine*. Thus before 1640 six distinct self-governing settlements (including Plymouth) had been established in that barren projecting angle of America which is called New England. Then the emigration dwindled or ceased; because with the meeting of the Long Parliament and the outbreak of civil war there was plenty for Puritans to do in England.

Maryland.—These were not the only colonising activities of this period. In 1632 the Catholic Lord Baltimore, taking a leaf from the Puritan book, obtained from Charles I a grant of land to the north of Virginia, to be a refuge for Roman Catholics. In honour of the queen it was called *Maryland*. From the first its settlers enjoyed self-governing rights; they also enjoyed something which was at that date unique in the world, and which sharply distinguished them from the New England colonies—religious toleration.

Finally this period saw the settlement of a number of small West Indian islands *—Nevis, Barbuda, Antigua, and Montserrat (between 1628 and 1632); and a very curious Puritan settlement was made at Providence Island, off the coast of Nicaragua. In India, also, the

* School Atlas, Plate 48*a*.

activities of the East India Company developed rapidly during this period of quiescence. In 1639 they built, on land purchased from the local raja, *Fort St. George*, which was to develop into Madras; and in the same year they planted a factory on the River Hooghly, the predecessor of Calcutta. Thus religious disturbance combined with commercial activity led to a very striking development of oversea settlement and trade. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the whole movement is that the government, which at home was striving after absolutism and religious uniformity, offered no obstacles in the oversea settlements to the development of self-government and religious diversity.

4. The Brewing of the Storm in Ireland and Scotland

While England lay quiet, and apparently submissive, and while Puritans were pouring over the Atlantic in thousands to find room for their strict modes of life, in Ireland and in Scotland the king and his agents were at work striving to establish royal absolutism.

Wentworth in Ireland.—In Ireland the task was entrusted to Wentworth (1632). By seven years of steady and able work he succeeded in reducing all Ireland to better order and more complete submission than she had ever known. He fostered new industries, especially the linen industry; he gave to Ireland a new prosperity. At the price of some concessions to the Catholics, he obtained from Parliament a substantial revenue, though there was some trickery which made the Catholics feel they had been deceived. He organised an army, primarily to maintain order, but ultimately to be a source of royal strength. If he had been content with these achievements, he might have turned Ireland into a real danger to the liberty of both England and Scotland. But the traditions of English government in Ireland were too strong. He projected a plantation of Connaught—the only undisturbed province—which awakened all the old alarms and heart-burnings. He was not able to carry it out before the crisis flamed up in Scotland and England (1639); but the damage had been done, and Ireland was a broken reed to the king's party in the coming struggle.

Religious Tyranny in Scotland.—Meanwhile in Scotland the king and Laud, using the all but despotic power which James I had built up, but showing none of James's shrewd sense of how far it was safe to go, had set themselves to destroy the Presbyterian system, and to assimilate the Church of Scotland to that of England, as Laud

had reformed it. With incredible folly Charles began by alienating all the Scottish nobles, who had always been jealous of the Kirk. James had skilfully played off the nobles against the Kirk; Charles required the nobles to disgorge a large part of the plunder they had taken from the Scottish Church, in order that he might find funds for the endowment of his bishops, and by this act he ensured their hostility. In 1633, visiting Scotland to be crowned, he horrified the rigid Scots by the ceremonies and vestures that were used; and he then forced through the Scottish Parliament an Act requiring the universal use of the surplice, which the Scots regarded as an emblem of "papistry." Next year (1634) he set up, without consulting Parliament or the General Assembly, a Scottish High Commission Court; and in 1635 he issued—again by his own sole authority—a book of canons whereby the government and ritual of the Church were henceforth to be determined. The whole system of John Knox was swept aside; and it was ordained that a liturgy, to be published in the following year (1636), should be used in every church.

The Scots Revolt.—The liturgy was fixed to be read for the first time in St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, on July 23rd, 1637. But the reading caused a riot; and all over the country its introduction led to the same result. The tumult was so great that the Privy Council suddenly lost all its power. The reins of government were seized by four Committees, known as the "Tables," representing nobles, lairds (or squires), burgesses, and ministers. At a single stroke a national organisation sprang into being, and Charles found he had to deal with a united nation. No such united rising had ever yet been seen in any country. Thoughtful Englishmen watched these events with sympathy.

The Covenant and the General Assembly.—When Charles refused to accede to the petition of the "Tables" that his recent changes should be withdrawn, they responded by drawing up a National Covenant and declaration of faith, and sending it out for signature. Amid scenes of extraordinary emotion it was signed in every parish; many signed it in their own blood. To deal with a national rising of this kind, money was needed, and it could not be got without a meeting of the English Parliament. Charles was therefore compelled to yield to the demand of the Tables that a freely elected General Assembly should be summoned. This Assembly—the most democratic body, and the most completely

representative of a whole nation, that had yet met anywhere in the world—met at Glasgow on November 21st, 1638; and its meeting began the British Revolution. In defiance of the king's edict dissolving it, the Assembly proceeded to sweep aside all Charles' changes. It abolished episcopacy. It abolished the High Commission. It abolished the canons and the liturgy; and it then proceeded to re-establish the whole Presbyterian system.

The First "Bishops' War."—Such defiance could only be met by force. Charles scraped together an army. But the Scots carried out an enthusiastic general levy; and their organisation was in the hands of men trained in the continental wars, notably Alexander Leslie, who had been a field-marshal under the great warrior Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. There was no resisting such a force. Without even venturing to fight a battle, Charles asked for a truce (June 1639). But a truce was of no use to him unless he could raise an effective army; and to get the funds for this, he had to summon the English Parliament once more, after eleven years. Thus it was the fervour of the Scots that ended the long quiescence, and raised the greatest issue of government that had yet been discussed in any country.

5. The Short and the Long Parliaments (1640–1642)

The Short Parliament.—In April 1640, Parliament met once more. It was a united body; and its leader was the practised parliamentarian, John Pym, who had fought through the Parliament of 1628–1629. Asked for supplies for the Scottish war, Parliament replied that it knew not whether it had any money to give until its liberties were secure. Within three weeks the "Short Parliament" had been dissolved, and riots were breaking out in London.

The Second "Bishops' War."—Somehow or other, the king managed to raise a sort of army to face the Scots when the truce expired. But his untrained troops could not resist the disciplined Scottish army. They were brushed aside at *Newburn* on the Tyne; the Scots swept over Northumberland and Durham. There they halted, demanding an immediate summons of the English Parliament; and granted an armistice on condition that their expenses were paid—£25,000 a month.

The Long Parliament.—There was nothing for it but submission; and on November 3rd, 1640, one of the most momentous

dates in the history of free institutions, the Long Parliament met. Its members came together with a practically unanimous resolve that the constitution of England, and the relations of crown and Parliament, must be defined once for all with absolute clarity. On this there was no division of parties. To begin with, the Scots were granted maintenance allowance until the questions at issue should be decided. Then Parliament prepared to punish the ministers responsible for the fallen system. Wentworth (now Lord Strafford) was impeached; Laud was thrown into prison to await his turn; the Secretary of State and the Lord Keeper only escaped vengeance by fleeing to the Continent. The proceedings against Strafford were long delayed, and did not come to a crisis until the next year.

Constitutional Definition.—Meanwhile, in a series of Acts passed mainly in the early part of 1641, the constitution was defined. A *Triennial Act* laid it down that Parliament must be summoned at least once every three years. A *Tunnage and Poundage Act* laid it down that no customs duties might be levied without parliamentary grant, while another Act abolished ship-money, distraint of knighthood, and other modes of raising money used by the late government. These Acts, in conjunction with the Petition of Right, reduced the crown to absolute financial dependence upon Parliament. All the prerogative courts—Star Chamber, High Commission, Council of the North, Council of Wales—were abolished by a single Act, and the crown was left to depend upon the ordinary law of the land. These Acts definitely laid down the principles of limited monarchy. They formed the permanent part of the work of the Long Parliament. They were carried with practical unanimity; and when the coming revolution was over, and the monarchy was restored, these Acts still remained in force.

Execution of Strafford.—But here unanimity ceased, and a division began to appear between a more extreme and a more moderate party. The cleavage began on the prosecution of Strafford. He defended himself with great courage and resource; and indeed it seemed impossible to make out a charge of treason against him, since treason consisted in "levying war against the king." Feeling that things were going wrong, the parliamentary leaders abandoned the method of impeachment for that of attainder—that is, condemnation without trial: a method of tyranny, beloved by Henry VIII. The Act of Attainder was passed. Charles, after agonising hesitations, signed it, and never thereafter forgave himself for his surrender.

On May 12th, 1641, Strafford was executed; but the vindictiveness of this Act caused a reaction in many minds. The prosecution of Laud was dropped in the meanwhile: he waited for death in prison until 1645, when he too was executed.

Religious Differences.—Division became more acute when the more extreme Puritans proceeded to introduce violent religious changes in a Root and Branch Bill "for the utter abolition of archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, prebendaries, and canons." This aroused the hostility of all who loved the Church of England as it had existed since the Reformation. Led by Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, and by the chivalrous Lord Falkland, they fought the Bill steadily; it was only carried by a narrow majority. Parliament was, in fact, almost equally divided; and with this sobering reflection, it broke up for a vacation.

The King in Scotland.—During the vacation two things happened which further embittered feeling. The king went to Scotland to settle the Scottish problem. He had, of course, to accept the full restoration of the Presbyterian system. But he got into touch with a group of Scottish nobles, headed by the Marquis of Montrose, who did not want to push the struggle too far. There was also a foolish plot, formed by some of his friends, to seize some of the Presbyterian leaders. These episodes aroused the suspicions of the parliamentary leaders, who had lost all confidence in the king.

The Irish Rebellion.—A worse thing also happened. Suddenly, in October 1641, a widespread insurrection broke out among the Catholics of Ireland. Many Protestants were killed, perhaps as many as five thousand, and the numbers were naturally magnified in England. The rebels claimed to be acting for the king, and his enemies in England were ready to believe that this was so. It was obvious that the rebellion must be quelled. But could the king be trusted to control the forces necessary for quelling it? On this issue, of confidence or no-confidence in the king, a deep cleavage appeared in Parliament, which corresponded with the cleavage already made between the supporters and opponents of the Root and Branch Bill. A King's Party had come into being.

The Grand Remonstrance.—When Parliament met again, Pym introduced a document known as the *Grand Remonstrance*, which definitely declared no confidence in the king, setting forth all the offences with which he was charged. After a stormy debate, it was carried by only eleven votes: the cleavage between parties

was complete. Next the majority leaders introduced a *Militia Bill*, to take the command of army and navy out of the hands of the king, and put them under officers appointed by Parliament. This was a constitutional revolution.

The Five Members.—Realising that he had now a strong body of supporters, the king foolishly decided to attack his enemies. He prepared to impeach one of the lords and five Commoners—Pym, Hampden, Hazlerigg, Holles, and Strode ; and with a band of excited young loyalists he went down to the House to arrest them. They escaped by river from Westminster to the City of London, which was overwhelmingly anti-royalist, and two days later returned, escorted by the train-bands of London and by 4,000 freeholders of Buckinghamshire.

The Final Breach.—The king dared not remain in London. Further discussion was useless. Six weeks later the queen fled to France, while the king set out for York (March 1642). He was followed by *Nineteen Propositions*, drawn up by the parliamentary majority, the effect of which would have been to reduce him to a mere figure-head. He would not even discuss them. This was the end ; and in August the royal standard was raised at Nottingham, and civil war had begun.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CIVIL WAR (1642–1652)

1. The Character of the Civil War

Varying Issues.—The civil war which began when Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham lasted, with only brief intermissions, for ten years, and affected every part of the British Islands. The issues were different in each of the three countries. In England it was a conflict between two views of the place of the king in the constitution, and between two religious attitudes. In Scotland it was a war for the supremacy of the Presbyterian system, not merely of belief and worship, but of national organisation. In Ireland it was a rebellion of the oppressed Irish Catholics against English and Protestant ascendancy. These varying aims confused and complicated the issues. While the main and deciding struggle was fought

out in England, it was deeply influenced by the course of events in Scotland and Ireland, and the distinctive features of the struggle in the two smaller countries must always be kept in mind.

The War in Ireland.—The struggle in Ireland was the most isolated part of the whole war.* It is unnecessary to follow its confused details; but it will be convenient to describe its main features, which remained unchanged until Cromwell went over in 1649 to subjugate the country. After the rebellion of 1641, the Irish Catholics were masters of at least three-fifths of the country. In 1642 they gave themselves a national organisation by setting up a sort of Parliament, with a managing council, at Kilkenny. There were two parties at Kilkenny—those who did not wish to cut the connection with England, and who would have been satisfied with a free Irish Parliament and freedom of Catholic worship; and those who aimed at independence. The latter had the support of a papal nuncio, Rinuccini, whose influence was very great; but the more moderate party were too strong to be disregarded. These divided counsels probably alone prevented the Catholics from destroying the weak forces opposed to them. These were of two kinds. In Dublin and parts of Leinster the Marquis of Ormond held out for the king at the head of the remnants of Wentworth's army and of the English settlers. He had no hope of reconquering the country, and his only chance of helping the king's cause lay in some accommodation with the Catholics, such as was tried in 1643. In the north the Scottish settlers in Ulster held out in a few strongholds, with the aid of a small force sent across by the Scottish Parliament in 1641. They would not make common cause with Ormond, and their sympathies were rather Scottish than English. They held out with great difficulty against the Catholic forces of Ulster, which inflicted upon them a crushing defeat at *Benburb* in 1646. Had the Irish Catholics pushed home their advantage, they might have brought English rule to an end. As it was, Ireland had to be re-conquered by Cromwell in 1649. Until that date, therefore, we may almost disregard the Irish struggle, and fix our attention upon the main and decisive conflict in England and Scotland.

Parties in Scotland.—There was very little division of opinion in Scotland, though the gallant Montrose led a small royalist party, and struck a bold stroke for the king in 1644. The nation was

* School Atlas, Plate 39*b*.

practically united in desiring the triumph of the Presbyterian system, if possible, throughout the Islands. It had little interest in the constitutional problems that exercised the English, and had no desire to overthrow a Scottish king, if only he would accept Presbyterianism.

The Two Sides in England.—In England the division of opinion was acute.* Every class, every county and many families were divided. High Churchmen were for the king, Puritans for the Parliament. The king had on his side three-quarters of the House of Lords, and one-third of the House of Commons. The majority of the landowning class were king's men, and carried their tenantry with them, especially in the north and west; but a substantial number of landowners were Parliament men—a majority, indeed, in the south-eastern counties, and in some regions, especially in the east, the yeomanry were enthusiastically parliamentarian. The trading and manufacturing towns, notably London, were the main strongholds of the parliamentary party; but in most or all of them there was a royalist element—one-third of the inhabitants, it was said, even in London. Everywhere, however, there was a large neutral element, consisting of people who did not care deeply about the issues involved, or who distrusted alike the character and record of the king, and the extravagances of the parliamentary leaders. In many counties these formed leagues to keep the war away from their borders. This was why both sides found it difficult to raise recruits, though the armies in the field were always small. Broadly speaking, the king was strongest in the relatively backward north and west, where feudalism had lasted longest, and the Reformation had made slowest progress; while Parliament was strongest in the prosperous regions of the south and east, which included all the important ports. This had the great advantage that the dues on trade came into the parliamentary exchequer. Moreover, the navy (built up by ship-money) early declared for Parliament.

Nature of the Armies.—To begin with, neither side could command any body of trained soldiers, for England had never possessed a standing army, being the least military country in Europe. Until 1645 the war was mainly fought by armies made up of groups of tenants led by their landlord or his sons, or of the half-trained militia of the shires and the train-bands of London 'prentices. Hired soldiers, not bound by such natural loyalties, were more numerous

* School Atlas, Plate 36.

on the side of Parliament than on the king's side, but they were mostly incompetent. Until Cromwell began the creation of a real professional army, the king had a great advantage in the larger number of gentlemen, accustomed to riding, shooting, and hunting, who were at his disposal. For this reason cavalry played an altogether disproportionate part. The two pre-eminent leaders, Prince Rupert on the king's side, and Cromwell on the other, were both cavalry men.*

One feature of this civil war deserves comment. It was remarkably free from bitterness, until its later stages. There were no wholesale slaughters, such as the Wars of the Roses had produced, and no executions after victories.

2. The Course of the War (1642–1646)

The First Campaign.—In the first campaign,† the king began by marching to Shrewsbury, where he collected great numbers of recruits from the loyal western shires, and then set out for London. At *Edgehill* (October) he was met by the main parliamentary army, under the commander-in-chief, the Earl of Essex. The battle was drawn ; and both armies marched by different roads towards London. If Charles had struck hard, he might have mastered the city ; but, checked by earthworks at Turnham Green, which were held by the London train-bands, he turned back, and fixed his headquarters at Oxford, which became his main base of operations. Meanwhile local campaigns had been deciding the fortunes of various districts of the country. In the east the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Huntingdon organised themselves as the "Eastern Association," and raised an army of their own for the parliamentary side, under the command of the Earl of Manchester. Oliver Cromwell led the cavalry, and set himself to make his own regiment a model of efficiency and good discipline. In the far west the Royalists under Sir Ralph Hopton overcame all opposition in Cornwall and Devon, except the town of Plymouth, which held out staunchly for the Parliament. In the north there was hard fighting between the Royalists under the Duke of Newcastle and the Parliamentarians under the Fairfaxes, father and son ; but the Royalists had the better

* For all this, and later army developments see Firth's *Cromwell's Army*.
† School Atlas, Plate 36*a*.

of it, and controlled all the north save Hull and the weaving districts of the West Riding and East Lancashire.

The Second Campaign.—The campaign of 1643 was still more favourable to the king. Hopton with his gallant Cornishmen swept eastwards, beating the Parliamentarians under Waller at *Lansdown* and *Roundway Down* (July), and made themselves masters of Bristol and the counties of Somerset, Wilts, Dorset, and Hampshire. But Plymouth and Portsmouth still held out; and Gloucester, strong for Parliament, held the valley of the Severn. The king threw himself at Gloucester from Oxford. To relieve the faithful city, six strong regiments of Londoners set forth under Essex, and raised the siege. Charles intercepted their return march at *Newbury* (September), but failed to prevent them from getting through. The resistance of Gloucester had prevented the complete subjugation of the west; while the resistance of Plymouth prevented Hopton from joining in a convergent march on London, which was planned for the autumn. Meanwhile in the north, Newcastle had beaten Fairfax at *Adwalton* (June), and driven him into Hull. He would have conquered Lincolnshire also; but the army of the Eastern Association, and Cromwell's horse, beat him back at *Winceby*.

Irish Help for the King.—Thus the second campaign had brought no decision; and although the king's cause had prospered, he was feeling the strain of finance far more severely than his foes. Both sides were anxious to get help from without. The king urged Ormond to make a truce with the Irish Catholics, and authorised him to hold out hopes of toleration. This "Cessation," negotiated in September, 1643, enabled Ormond to send over part of his army, and some Irish Catholics joined them.

Solemn League and Covenant.—On the other hand, Parliament approached the Scots, who would only give their aid subject to the acceptance of a Solemn League and Covenant, whereby the Presbyterian system was to be established in England (September 1643). The conclusion of this Treaty was the last work of "King Pym," who had hitherto directed affairs on the parliamentary side.

The Westminster Assembly.—An assembly of divines was already sitting at Westminster, to advise Parliament upon the reorganisation of the Church. It was now joined by Scottish representatives, and during the next four years the Assembly was engaged in drawing up a Confession of Faith on strictly Calvinistic lines, and two catechisms: the Shorter Catechism, though it

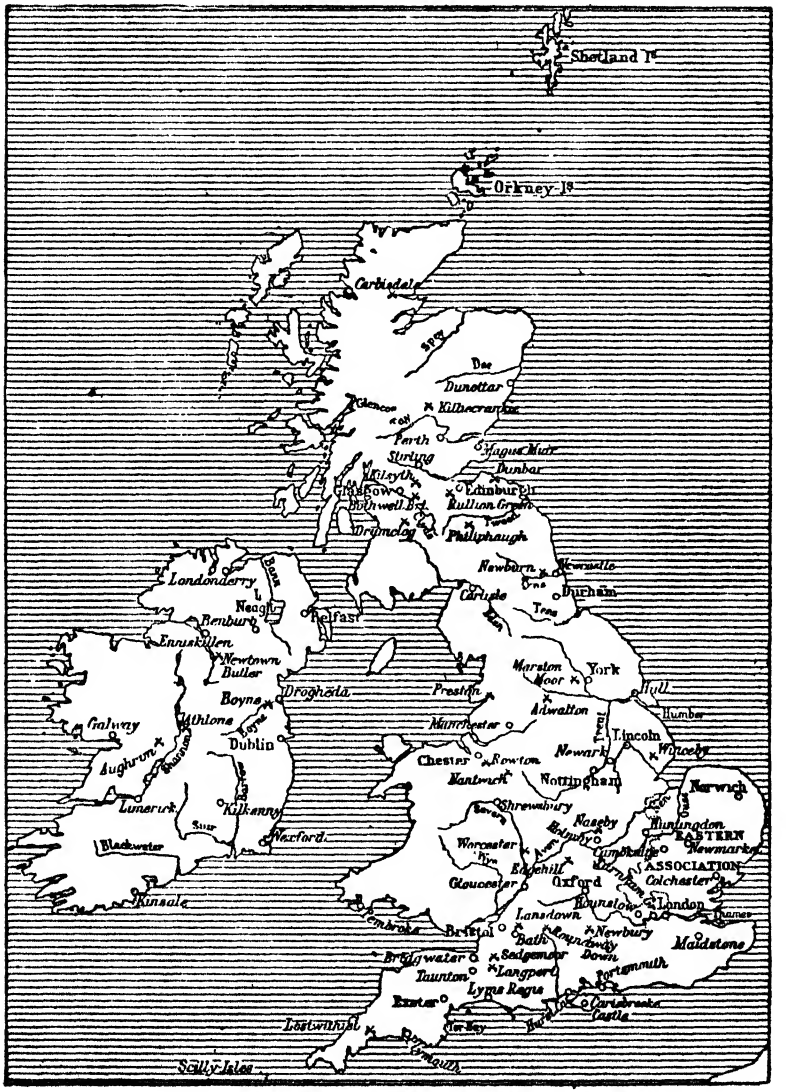


FIG. 22.—The Civil War.

never had much influence in England, was to become a vital factor in moulding the character of the Scottish people. The outlines of a Presbyterian organisation were also established during these years. Thus the Scottish alliance committed Parliament to the adoption of Presbyterianism. The Scots felt that the new English system was not strict enough; but it was much too strict for the English people, and the attempt to enforce it led to violent and important reactions.

Marston Moor and Lostwithiel.—The new forces brought into the field for the campaign of 1644 were of very different value; for while the Irish, who landed in Cheshire, were promptly scattered at Nantwich (January), the Scottish intervention was decisive. A Scottish army under Leslie marched southwards to join Fairfax in Yorkshire; the army of the Eastern Association, including Cromwell's Ironsides, moved northwards to join them. To save Newcastle from being overwhelmed, Prince Rupert was hastily sent north through Lancashire.* But he only arrived in time to share the disastrous and decisive defeat of *Marston Moor* † (July 1644), which caused the loss of the whole of the north to the king. ‡ The credit of this victory mainly fell to Cromwell; it established his position as the best general in the Parliamentary forces. § Meanwhile, the southern Parliamentary armies had driven Hopton out of Hampshire, and were overrunning Wiltshire and Somerset, when the king, striking from Oxford, got between them and London. Essex allowed himself to be driven westwards into Cornwall, where his army was destroyed, and all his infantry, guns, and stores were captured at *Lostwithiel* (September). To cover London, the northern army had to be hurried south, where it met the Royalists in the second battle of *Newbury*. The indecision of the commander, Lord Manchester, threw away what might have been a victory for the Parliament.

The New Model Army. — Marston Moor seemed to be balanced by Lostwithiel and Newbury; and this disappointment brought a crisis on the Parliamentary side, between those who were half-hearted and those who were for pressing towards a military

* His route is shown in School Atlas, Introduction, p. 25.

† Plan in School Atlas, Introduction, p. 25.

‡ School Atlas, Plate 36*b*.

§ The best of the many Lives of Cromwell is by C. H. Firth (Heroes of the Nations).

decision. It was evident that some of the Parliamentary leaders, and the peers who led the armies in the field, did not want to beat the king too decisively, because they were thinking always of the necessity of a settlement: in this very winter, they were carrying on negotiations. The more zealous soldiers, among whom the leading spirit was Cromwell, had no patience with these hesitations, and attacked the Parliamentary generals for deliberately protracting the war. The result was that Parliament came to two highly important decisions. In the first place, it adopted a *Self-denying Ordinance*, whereby members of both Houses gave up their military commands—an exception being made for Cromwell, the most successful general of the war. And in the second place it decided to raise a regular, professional army of 20,000 men in place of the militia, train-bands, voluntary levies, and other scratch forces which had hitherto been employed. Fairfax was made commander-in-chief, with Cromwell as his second-in-command. These decisions were of momentous importance. They turned the army into a separate force, more or less independent of Parliament, and having a mind of its own. And as, in recruiting for the New Model army, Cromwell and his colleagues paid no attention to the orthodoxy of their recruits, but asked only that the men should be good fighters and earnest in the cause, it was soon found that the new army was filled by enthusiasts and "sectaries" of an infinite variety, ready to scorn the rigid religious system which Parliament was pledged to enforce.

The Decisive Campaign.—On the military side, the results of the change were immediate. At *Naseby** (June 1645) the new army, though so recently organised, utterly routed the king's main force; and the midlands were lost. Then Fairfax went on to deal with the hitherto successful western army of the royalists, beat it at *Langport*, took Bristol, and undid all that Hopton had done. Naseby and Langport were decisive.

Montrose in Scotland.—For a moment a gleam of hope came in this year from the North, where the gallant Montrose,† gathering (like the Young Pretender long afterwards) a little army of Highlanders, had swept through the Highlands, and coming down into the Lowlands had beaten a considerable army at *Kilsyth* (August),

* Plan in School Atlas, Introduction, p. 25.

† There is a good short Life of Montrose by Mowbray Morris (English Men of Action).

seized Glasgow, and mastered the greater part of Scotland. For a moment Charles thought of joining him. But Montrose's army, like many other Highland hosts, melted after victory; and when Leslie returned with the Scottish army from the north of England, this gallant venture came to an end at *Philiphaugh* (September)—fought in the same month as Langport.

Charles Surrenders.—The king's cause was now desperate. Only a few outlying districts and castles held out for him, and their fall was certain. When, in the Spring of 1646, the Parliamentary armies prepared to besiege Oxford, he slipped away from that city, and surrendered himself to the Scots at Newark. So ended the first phase of the war. Parliament had won. But a settlement had still to be reached; and, as is always the case, the bitterness of war had doubled the difficulty of finding a reasonable and stable settlement.

3. Negotiations, Renewed War—and Regicide (1646-1649)

The Possibilities of Settlement.—Defeated in the field, Charles hoped still to get his way, by the subtler methods of negotiation, and by playing off the discordant groups of his enemies one against the other. If he had been capable of facing facts, and of acting with frankness and candour, he might have done much. For, with the exception of a few fanatics, the whole nation longed for peace. The mass of Englishmen wanted no revolutionary changes in Church or State. They wanted the old institutions of England, with the king ruling in concurrence with Parliament. Even the king's own followers would have been glad to accept the constitution as it had been defined in the first session of the Long Parliament, for they had not been fighting for the Divine Right of Kings; and all but a small minority of extremists would have been glad to accept the old settlement of the Church, with reasonable freedom for Puritans, and no High Commission Court to dragoon men's consciences. But Charles was congenitally incapable of seeing any but his own point of view, and his aim was, not to reach a reasonable settlement, but to get his own way by sowing dissension among his enemies.

The Scots: Parliament: the Army.—Unfortunately he had to deal with men of extreme views, whose attitude had been hardened (as always happens) by conflict. The *Scots* wanted, not merely a Presbyterian system for Scotland, but to force this system

upon England and Ireland, and they thought that a Scottish king ought to share their views. But they had no desire to dethrone their Scottish king, and they would probably have been content so long as the Kirk was free. The leaders in *Parliament*, having tasted power and proved their competence, were loth to abandon control; and having committed themselves to the Presbyterian view, were anxious to impose it on the nation. But they were afraid of the Army, which had become too much of an independent power in the State, and was honeycombed with revolutionary ideas. The *Army*, being full of arguing enthusiasts of various shades of belief, had come to the conclusion that toleration of differences was necessary, and was determined not to submit to the rigid discipline of the Presbyterians; it also included many—Cromwell was one of them—who would have liked to see a more logical and unified system of government for the three kingdoms; and some—Cromwell was decidedly not one of them—who dreamed of complete democracy and even equality of wealth; for ideas sprout like weeds in a time of revolution, when nothing seems fixed. The leaders of the Army (as distinct from the more excitable of their followers) were sane and practical men, accustomed to facing facts, and ready to accept any practical solution which promised a reasonable freedom of religion and a reasonable efficiency and stability of government.

Charles and the Scots.—Trying to play off these points of view one against the other, Charles first tried to win over the Scots. But he could not give a definite assurance that he would impose the complete Presbyterian system on England, though he tried to convey that impression. The Scots gave up the attempt to deal with him; and, after receiving their pay from Parliament, went home, leaving the king in the hands of Parliament, who placed him in honourable confinement at Holmby House, Northamptonshire.

Charles and Parliament. — Parliament's terms were that the king should surrender control over the army and navy for twenty years, take the Covenant, accept a Presbyterian system, and persecute the Roman Catholics. To these terms also Charles could not assent; and if he had frankly said so, he would have arrayed a great body of opinion on his side. He preferred evasive and illusory discussion, pinning his hopes on the outbreak of a quarrel between Parliament and the Army.

The Army takes Control.—This quarrel was steadily maturing, and it came to a height when in March 1647 Parliament

issued an ordinance disbanding the Army, all except a few regiments needed for service in Ireland—and did not even undertake to meet the arrears of pay. The Army refused to be disbanded, unless it was satisfied with the use that was made of the victory which it had won. It proceeded to elect two deputies or "agitators" from each regiment to form a directing committee—with the approval of Fairfax and Cromwell. Then, suddenly, Cornet Joyce with five hundred men appeared at Holmby House and carried off the king to the army headquarters at Newmarket. And, finally, the Army marched on London, and the Presbyterian leaders discreetly withdrew—leaving their Independent colleagues to negotiate with the king as the spokesmen of the Army chiefs.

"Heads of Proposals."—It was now the Army's turn to propose the terms of a settlement. Their "Heads of Proposals" (1647) were drafted by Cromwell and Ireton, and were extraordinarily reasonable. The episcopal system was to be restored in the Church, but there was to be toleration for all forms of Christian belief; there was to be an indemnity for all Royalists; and the king was to recover his military control after ten years. Here was at least a basis for discussion. But Charles would not accept it. He hoped that the fear of the Army and its heretical opinions, which was shared by the Scots and Parliament as well as by the defeated Royalists, would destroy the Army's power. He had been working secretly to bring about an invasion by the indignant Scots, in defence of Presbyterianism, and a simultaneous Royalist insurrection. In November 1647, he escaped from his gaolers to the Isle of Wight, where he was detained in Carisbrooke Castle. Thence new proposals came from him to both Army and Parliament; but they were only meant to gain time until a new war had been stirred up.

The Second Civil War.—In April 1648, the north-country Royalists raised the royal standard, and the Scots crossed the border. In May and June Royalist risings broke out in many parts of England—not only in Royalist Wales and Cornwall, but in Kent, which had been untouched by war, and even in the country of the Eastern Association. The king, rather than face the problem frankly, had deliberately stirred up a new war. But he had counted without the competence and vigour of the New Model Army. In less than three months all the risings were crushed. Fairfax stormed *Maidstone*, and routed the men of Kent; then he passed into the Eastern

Counties, where the insurgents were driven into *Colchester* and starved into surrender. Cromwell, meanwhile, after stamping out the Welsh rising, had swept north to meet the Scots and their northern Royalist allies. At *Preston* he defeated the straggling host (August); and in the next three days, by hard fighting, rounded up the whole army. The "Second Civil War" was over; and the Army marched back, vowing vengeance against "that man of blood" who had rekindled the embers of war.

Pryde's Purge.—This sealed Charles' fate. Cromwell and his leading colleagues (except Fairfax, who refused to accept any responsibility for what followed) had come to the decision that there was no use dealing with Charles: he must die. The king had been imprisoned in Hurst Castle on the Solent, and Parliament had started again the Penelope's web of negotiation. But on December 6th, 1648, as the members assembled, they were met in Westminster Palace Yard by soldiers under the command of Colonel Pryde, who arrested 41 of the Presbyterian leaders, ordered 96 more not to come near the House again, and left 60 Independents to constitute the House of Commons—60 of the 490 who had assembled at the opening of the Long Parliament eight years before. They came to be known as "the Rump." This was "Pryde's Purge."

Execution of Charles I.—The sixty had their orders. They passed a Bill to bring the king to trial for the treason of "levying war against Parliament and the realm of England," and appointed a High Court of Justice to conduct the trial. The Court, too, had its orders: it consisted largely of soldiers, who had come, not to apply the law, but to exact vengeance. In Westminster Hall, which had seen so many great events, the king was brought before his judges. He was never so kingly as at that moment. Denying that the Court was in any real sense a court of justice, or the Rump which had created it a Parliament, he stood proudly dumb, and listened to his preordained sentence. Three days later (January 30th, 1649), on a frosty morning, he walked out quietly from the window of his own Banqueting Hall in Whitehall, on to a scaffold beset with soldiers, and in the presence of a vast, awed crowd, laid his head upon the block. He was a man of many faults: he had strained the laws and imperilled the liberties of England. But his death was a negation of law; and, resting upon mere force, it was a denial of liberty, which depends upon law. His executioners did not destroy monarchy, as they thought to do; they sanctified it. A few days after Charles'

death there was published a little book, *Eikon Basilike*, which purported to give the reflections of the Royal Martyr in his last days. It had a profound effect; it was in vain that Milton tried to counter it with *Iconoclastes*. From the moment of the king's death, the tide of reaction, which had been rising since 1641, became irresistible; even the greatness of Cromwell and the strength of the finest Army England had ever known could only dam it for eleven years.

4. The Republic Triumphant (1649–1652)

The Rule of Force.—The only power which now survived in England was the Army. For the king had gone, and monarchy was abolished by a declaration of the Rump in February 1649; the House of Lords had ceased to sit, and it, too, was formally abolished at the same time; the House of Commons had been reduced to a wholly unrepresentative group of sixty men; and the vast majority of the nation was hostile to the men in power. The Army itself was threatened by mutiny, stirred up by Levellers and enthusiasts such as John Lilburne, who thought Cromwell a hypocrite and an apostate because he did not instantly ordain the establishment of complete democracy. Some of the Levellers had to be imprisoned—as arbitrarily as the Five Knights. In May 1649, there was a mutiny in three regiments, and the ringleaders had to be shot before it was suppressed.

Position of the Republic.—The new government was indeed surrounded by perils created by its own action. Every State in Europe was hostile, and English envoys were murdered in Holland and Spain: if the government had shown any weakness, there might have been a foreign invasion to restore the monarchy. Part of the fleet had already revolted in 1648. Under the command of Prince Rupert, it was welcomed in foreign ports, and preyed on English shipping. In Scotland the news that the Scottish king had been put to death aroused fierce indignation: the Scots promptly recognised the exiled Prince of Wales as Charles II, and invited him to return. In Ireland the king's execution transformed the situation. Ormond had, in despair, submitted to Parliament in 1647. After the king's death he reconstituted the Royalist party, made a league with the Catholics, and captured the remaining strongholds, all except Dublin. England itself was only held down by force. Only very able and resolute

action could redeem such a situation. But Cromwell was equal to the demand.

The Reconquest of Ireland.—His first attack was directed against Ireland, where he landed (with the rank of Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief) in August 1649. He came as a minister of vengeance, but he had to reconquer the whole country. Landing at Dublin, he first turned north against *Drogheda*, which was garrisoned by Ormond's men. The town was stormed; every soldier and every priest was put to death. Next he turned south against *Wexford*, and repeated his grim work. This method of terrorism had its effect, and towns surrendered without resistance. By the end of 1649 he controlled the whole of the east and south coasts. By May 1650, he had mastered three-fourths of the country. Recalled to deal with other dangers, he left the completion of his work to his lieutenants, Ireton and Ludlow. In May 1652, Galway, the last place to resist, surrendered. Ireland was more completely subjugated than it had ever been.

Overthrow of the Scots.—Meanwhile a crisis had arisen in Scotland, where Charles II had landed, and abjectly accepted the terms imposed upon him. The gallant Montrose had tried to save him from his complete dependence upon the Earl of Argyle, now the leader of the dominant party; but Montrose had been captured, hanged, and dismembered (May 1650). The Scots were preparing to invade England. To anticipate them, Cromwell led an army into Scotland, and won a brilliant victory at *Dunbar* (September 1650). The Scots fell back behind Stirling; whereupon Cromwell turned their flank by crossing the Firth of Forth, and captured Perth. But this left the way open to England. Led by Leslie, Cromwell's old comrade in arms at Marston Moor, and carrying Charles II with them, the Scots marched into England, hoping to be aided by Royalist insurrections. But the spell of the Army was too powerful, and there was no rising. Cromwell pursued the invaders as far as *Worcester*, where (September 1651) their army was annihilated. Half the nobility of Scotland were taken prisoners; and Charles II had to skulk as a fugitive for seven weeks before he could escape to France. Meanwhile an army under George Monk was reducing Scotland to obedience. In May 1652, at the same moment as the surrender of Galway, Dunnottar Castle, the last Scottish fortress to resist, submitted to the conquerors.

Blake's Naval Triumphs.—Meanwhile the Republic had dis-

covered, in Robert Blake,* a commander at sea who was a compeer worthy of Cromwell. His first business was to deal with the Royalist fleet under Prince Rupert. He drove it from its Irish base at Kinsale (1649), where it had been working in co-operation with Ormond. When Rupert took refuge in the Tagus, Blake blockaded him there (1650); and when the king of Portugal refused him permission to attack his prey in Lisbon harbour, he attacked the Portuguese fleet returning from Brazil, sank three ships and captured seventeen with a rich cargo. When at length Rupert slipped out from the Tagus and made for the Mediterranean, Blake pursued him into those waters, where no English naval force had yet been seen, and destroyed his squadron at *Cartagena*, thus making the Republic secure upon the seas. Next year (1651) he captured the Scilly Isles, a Royalist refuge.

The Civil War was over. England, Scotland and Ireland—their old institutions destroyed, and their power of resistance annihilated—lay at the mercy of Cromwell and his colleagues, to re-shape according to their ideas.

CHAPTER XXII

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE (1649–1660)

1. The Government of the Rump (1649–1653)

The New Government.—Pryde's Purge, and the execution of Charles I, left England under the absolute rule of the Rump, an irresponsible and irremovable group of men, whose power could not be checked or limited by any authority whatsoever, save only the Army. This was indeed an ironical result of a movement which had begun with protests against arbitrary power! Yet it cannot be denied that the rule of the Rump, which lasted for four and a half years (December 1648–April 1653) was extremely efficient: England had never known more competent government. The functions of the Privy Council were taken over by a Council of State of forty-one members, three-quarters of them members of Parliament; and the Council worked through a series of Committees, which included outside experts. Some of the members of this govern-

* There is a good short Life of Blake by David Hannay.

ing group were men of outstanding ability, notably Sir Harry Vane, who was especially interested in trade, naval, and colonial questions. One of the Secretaries of the Council was the poet, John Milton. To him fell the duty of defending the Republic against foreign critics, in a series of very able pamphlets. The Council raised and spent annually a revenue of about £2,000,000—three times as much as Charles I ever commanded. It was raised partly by new and efficient methods of taxation, which had been worked out during the war, and which constituted a lasting improvement of the English financial system; but partly also by very heavy fines imposed upon the Royalists. These exactions, continued long after the war had ended, caused much bitterness, and provided one of the reasons why the English squirearchy—predominantly Puritan in the first half of the century—became violently anti-Puritan in the second half.

Law and Church Reforms.—Much of the good work done by the Rump has been credited to Cromwell, who at the most only continued what it had begun. Thus it was the Rump which appointed an expert commission, presided over by the great jurist Matthew Hale, to overhaul the legal system. The commission did excellent work, which was continued under the Protectorate; but it was undone at the Restoration, and for the most part not resumed until the nineteenth century. Again, it was the Rump which (guided by the great Puritan divine, John Owen) found a solution for the religious problem. Local committees of Triers, including laymen, were empowered to appoint parish ministers, drawing no distinction between different shades of Protestant belief; a travelling commission went round to eject incompetent ministers and schoolmasters; and, with the exception of obstinate "prelatists" or "papists" (who were politically dangerous), freedom of worship was allowed to those who did not choose to attend the parish services. But some 2,000 of the Anglican clergy lost their livings. They had their revenge in 1662 (p. 293).

The Navy Strengthened.—The most distinctive achievement of the Rump was its success in building up the Navy: it was the first English government to appreciate the importance of sea-power. A large part of its revenue was spent in building warships, the design of which was carefully studied: over two hundred vessels were added to the Navy between 1649 and 1660. And the administration of naval affairs, hitherto left to an aristocratic Lord High Admiral, was entrusted to a body in which experts and practical

seamen were included. It is customary to give Blake all the credit for the naval successes of this period; but even Blake could have done nothing without ships, and his victories were largely due to the improved design and equipment of the vessels of his fleet.

Trade and Colonial Policy. — The Rump may also be described as the first "imperialist" government of England; and it is significant that the title which it adopted for the republican commonwealth included, besides England, Scotland, and Ireland, their "dominions." The Rump sent out a fleet to enforce obedience upon Virginia and the West Indies, and maintained close relations with New England—where Sir Harry Vane had at one time dwelt. Finding that, since the beginning of the century, the Dutch had obtained an immense preponderance in shipping, so that ten Dutch vessels were said to visit the English colony of Barbados for every English vessel, it tried to remedy this by adopting, in 1651, a new *Navigation Act*. This Act provided that no goods should be carried to or from the British islands or the colonies except in British or colonial ships with British or colonial crews, or in ships of the countries from which the goods came. At first the Act inflicted considerable hardships upon the colonists by increasing the cost of transport; but in the long run it led to a great increase of British shipping. At the same time it struck a shrewd blow at the Dutch carrying trade; and, in conjunction with other causes of trouble, it led to a Dutch war, which broke out in 1652.

The First Dutch War.—The Dutch were at this period unquestionably supreme at sea, and they possessed, in Tromp and de Witt, the ablest admirals of the time. Yet, thanks to the way in which the English Navy had been built up, English fleets, led by Blake and other admirals, more than held their own in one of the most fiercely fought of naval wars. The battles of this war were, in fact, the first regular fleet-actions of the modern type, and they were very important in the development of naval tactics: there was little change in naval tactics between Blake and Nelson. The first important battle was fought off the mouth of the Thames, at *Kentish Knock* * (1652), where Blake severely defeated de Witt. He was himself still more severely defeated, two months later, off *Dungeness*, by Tromp, who greatly outnumbered him. But the energetic admiralty so rapidly reorganised the fleet that in 1653 Tromp had

* See the map of the Narrow Seas, School Atlas, Introduction, p. 28.

to admit defeat in two great naval battles. The first, off *Portland* (February) was fiercely fought for three days; in the second, off the *Gabbards* (Essex), about one hundred warships were engaged on each side (May). Between these two battles the government of the Rump was replaced by the Protectorate, which carried on the war for another year. The Dutch coast was blockaded for seven months, with very serious results for Dutch trade; and in an attempt to break the blockade a final battle was fought off *Scheveningen*, in which Tromp was killed. The Dutch were glad to make peace in 1654: the losses of their mercantile marine had been so severe that they were estimated at twice the value of the whole English mercantile marine. In the treaty of peace the United Provinces not only accepted the Navigation Act, but paid compensation for the outrage of Amboina, thirty years before. Dutch naval power had not been broken by this struggle; but the English navy had at least established its equality with the Dutch navy; and this result, though it was credited to Cromwell, was certainly due to the work of the Rump.

Dissolution of the Rump.—However successful, the irresponsible autocracy of the Rump could not last; and as soon as the Army had returned from its triumphs in Ireland and Scotland, it was inevitable that a new system of government should be established. The Rump itself was the only body which could give a semblance of constitutional authority to a new system. Knowing the dangers of a free election, it proposed that a new Parliament should be constituted in which the members of the Rump would keep their places, and have the right of approving other persons elected: in other words, a self-renewing oligarchy was to be established. With this proposal the Army lost patience; and on April 20th, 1653, Cromwell went down to the House, turned out the members, and removed "that bauble," the Mace—the emblem of the last relics of constitutional authority left in England. Nothing remained save the power of the sword, the dictatorship of the Army: to this strange conclusion had come the movement that began by defending the sovereignty of law!

2. Constitutional Experiments

Oliver Cromwell.—The whole of the British Islands had been reduced to obedience by the Army, which was now the sole remaining sovereign power; and the trusted master of the Army was

Oliver Cromwell. Never in the history of the British peoples has one man wielded such power. He was now fifty-four years old. Up to the age of forty-two he had been a country gentleman of modest fortune, an earnest Puritan, but almost unknown beyond his own neighbourhood. He had played his part in the first sessions of the Long Parliament, but not as a leader, because he lacked the gifts of a parliamentarian. Then war had revealed in him great qualities of mind and character—a firm resolution, a power of seizing essentials, an assured self-confidence, a controlled enthusiasm—which made him a natural leader. Without military training, he had shown himself to be not merely the greatest commander in the war, but perhaps the greatest natural soldier whom England had ever produced; and he was to show himself also a very great administrator. In his character strong practical sense was blended with a vein of mysticism. He had wrestled too hard before he reached his own convictions not to respect the honest convictions of others, and this made him a believer in toleration. He hated shams and insincerities; but he could not see that what seemed shams to him were often, for others, rooted in deep sentiments: the sanctity of the king, for one example; the tradition of Parliament, for another. He had swept both aside when they seemed to him to stand in the way of truth. But in doing so he had outraged sentiments which were stronger even than his will, stronger than his Army. He knew that no system of government, however efficient, can long survive unless it rests upon the consent of the governed. He had alienated the sentiments from which consent had sprung; he spent the rest of his life in striving to find a system that would win consent. He failed, and knew that he had failed; but he never shirked his task. He has been described as a hypocrite, greedy of power. Nothing could be more untrue. He was one of the greatest of Englishmen.

Various Plans.—Three different views as to the new frame of government had supporters in the Army. One was the view of the Levellers—that a complete system of democracy should at once be instituted. This was never seriously considered: had it been tried, the immediate result would have been a restoration of the old regime. Another was the view of the religious fanatics, led by General Harrison; they wanted to establish a Bible Commonwealth, under the rule of the Saints. The third was the view of the more statesmanlike officers, men like Ireton and Lambert, who wanted to make a clean, logical, efficient system of government for the united realm of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Rule of the Saints.—The vein of mysticism in Cromwell led him to try first the Rule of the Saints. He summoned an assembly of 140 godly men, carefully selected (July 1653). Their Speaker was the Provost of Eton; but they were known in derision as "Barebone's" Parliament, after one of their members, a godly leather-seller who bore the proud name of "Praise-God Barbon." At the first meeting Cromwell spoke in a vein of exaltation: "this may be the door to usher in the things that God hath promised. . . . Indeed, I do think something is at the door." But the experiment was a failure. The Saints were not practical. They tried to do everything at once. After five months of confusion, Cromwell's practical side reasserted itself, and he was glad to accept the resignation offered to him by a group of the more rational members, who met in a hurry in the morning, before the hotheads had come down.

The Instrument of Government.—The next experiment (December 1653) was a constitution drawn up by the leading officers, and drafted by Lambert: the *Instrument of Government*. England, Scotland, Ireland, and the colonies, united in a single Commonwealth, were to be governed by an elected Parliament of one House, and an executive consisting of a Lord Protector, chosen for life, and a Council of State. The Lord Protector was to have a fixed revenue, which should only be exceeded with the approval of Parliament; subject to this, and to the laws made by Parliament, he was to have independent control of government: in short, the system was to be very like the modern American constitution. Parliament was to meet at least once every three years, and to sit for at least five months. In the election of Parliament Scotland and Ireland were included; and all the anomalies of the old electoral system were swept away, seats being assigned in proportion to the wealth and population of the various districts. The franchise was limited to men owning property to the value of £200 or more. The Constitution was to be unalterable. This was a very skilful piece of constitution-making, and it should have succeeded if any "paper" constitution could. But it owed its authority solely to the Army Council. And who were the Army Council that they should dictate for all time the constitution of the British Peoples?

Breakdown of the System.—From the first the system would not work. When the first Parliament met (September 1654), the members felt that the mere fact of election gave them a better authority than the Army Council could claim. A hundred members

were excluded for refusing to promise not to alter the constitution. Even the remnant was as troublesome as Charles I's Parliaments had been. They wanted to reduce the size of the Army! At the earliest possible moment Cromwell dissolved Parliament, for all the world like Charles I.

The Major-Generals.—During the next year, the government of the Protector was threatened by a series of risings—risings of Royalists in England, of Scots, of Levellers who considered that Cromwell had betrayed liberty, of Fifth Monarchy men who wanted the rule of the Saints. He dealt with this unrest by establishing military rule in a form which was never forgotten or forgiven. Ten major-generals, with military forces at their disposal, were placed in control of ten areas, with large police powers. Their expenses were met by an income-tax levied from the Royalists. This experience made England hate the very name of a standing army. During this period taxes were levied without parliamentary authority, and judges were turned out for questioning the Protector's authority. One merchant named Cony (like Bate in James I's time) refused to pay customs duties not imposed by Parliament, in defiance of the Act of 1641. He and his lawyers were thrown into the Tower. Beyond question, the government of the Protector was far more arbitrary than that of Charles I had ever been. He was, in truth, a military despot, like Napoleon Buonaparte, and like Napoleon he was very efficient. But if he had taken a popular vote, as Napoleon did, he would not have received the support which Napoleon obtained.

The Humble Petition and Advice.—In 1656 Cromwell made a last attempt to base his power upon parliamentary authority. A second Parliament—carefully packed by the Major-Generals—was summoned under the Instrument of Government. This time it was permitted to discuss the constitution; and the result was a new scheme, called the *Humble Petition and Advice* (1657), the essence of which was an attempt to return as nearly as possible to the old monarchical system. Cromwell was even asked to assume the title of King, and but for the opposition of the Army he would have been willing to do so. In any case, he was to have the powers of the old monarchy, together with the power of nominating his successor. There was also to be a Second Chamber, consisting of life-peers nominated by the Protector, to take the place of the House of Lords. The scheme was accepted. But it, too, would not work. Cromwell's staunchest supporters went to the new Second Chamber. The

reconstituted House of Commons insisted upon challenging the Second Chamber, and upon reopening the whole constitutional question. Once again, Cromwell dissolved his Parliament in disgust (February 1658); and seven months later he was dead, having utterly failed to find or make any popular basis for his power. The government of one of the ablest men who have ever ruled England was vitiated, and all his good work was made futile and evanescent, by the mere fact that the source of its authority was force and not law, and that it disregarded the sentiments and traditions of the nation.

Cromwell and Scotland.—Still more evanescent was the work which Cromwell did in Scotland. He reduced it to order; even the wild Highlands were kept at peace by his garrisons. He gave it (as a consequence of union) freedom of trade with England and her colonies, and this led to a substantial growth of prosperity. But the burden of taxation which he imposed was heavy, and nothing could overcome the fact that his was an alien rule, created by conquest and maintained by force. Its disappearance was welcomed, and it left no permanent mark.

Cromwell and Ireland.—The only part of the British realms upon which Cromwell's government left an indelible mark was Ireland; and there he left a memory of hatred, deeper than all the earlier memories of conquest and dispossession. This was because his policy was inspired by religious venom. His aim was to limit the Irish Catholic population to Connaught, and in the other three provinces to replace them by godly Englishmen. So irresistible was his power that he was in fact able to dispossess the Catholics of nearly all their land in the three provinces, and many English settlers were introduced.* But he could not pen the Irish into Connaught; they came to the other provinces, with bitterness in their hearts, to labour on lands that had once been theirs. And in a very short time they succeeded in turning into Irishmen the sons of Cromwell's settlers. He tried to stamp out Catholicism by hunting down the priests and by introducing Protestant missionaries. But he had no success; he only made the Irish more Catholic than ever because Protestantism was the religion of the oppressor. Two centuries after his death "the curse of Cromwell" was still the bitterest malediction that an Irishman could call down upon his enemy.

* School Atlas, Plate 39*c*.

3. Cromwell's Foreign Policy

An Out-of-date Policy.—Though it was a failure at home, the Protectorate raised the prestige of England abroad to the highest point it had ever reached. Yet even here it must be acknowledged that, on a long view, Cromwell's policy was a failure. Cromwell's initial idea was to go back to what he conceived Elizabeth's policy to have been—that of fighting for the supremacy of Protestantism. Hence he made haste to bring to a close the Rump's war with the Dutch, and strove to form a League of the Protestant powers. The attempt was a complete failure, because religion was no longer the real cause of division in European politics. The only service he was able to render to Protestantism was that he got France to bring pressure upon Savoy to stop the persecution of the Waldensian Protestants.

Rivalry of France and Spain.—The outstanding fact in Europe was the intense rivalry of France and Spain, two Catholic powers. In the later stages of the Thirty Years' War the power of France had seemed to be securely established, and Spain had sunk to the second rank. But at the time of the conclusion of that war by the Treaties of Westphalia* (1648) France was afflicted with internal discords, which persuaded Spain that it was worth while carrying on the struggle; and the Franco-Spanish war was not concluded until the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659. If England meant to play an active part in European affairs, she must take sides in this conflict. On any broad view of European politics, the most important fact was the formidable growth of the power of France, which was soon to become, under Louis XIV, an even more serious menace to the liberty of Europe and of England than the power of Charles V or Philip II had ever been. But Cromwell, dominated by the old ideas of foreign policy which had prevailed before England had dropped out of European affairs in 1629, could not see this. He thought of Spain as the "ancient enemy" of Protestantism and of England.

Filibustering Raids.—The true British policy at this period would have been to hold aloof from the war, for there was no British interest directly involved. But Cromwell was anxious to do something brilliant to raise his prestige, and he was something of a Jingo.

* School Atlas, Plate 16.

Both of the rival powers sued for his alliance. While the negotiations went on (1654) he sent out three naval expeditions to establish the fame of British arms. One, under Blake, went into the Mediterranean to deal with the "Barbary corsairs"—the pirates of Tunis and Algiers: it was brilliantly successful, destroyed the pirate fleet at Tunis, and forced the Dey of Algiers to release all his British captives and grant freedom of trade. A second expedition was designed to conquer the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam (New York); but peace being concluded with the Dutch, this force was deliberately turned against the French colony of Acadia, which was conquered and occupied—in spite of the fact that England was not merely at peace with France, but negotiating an alliance with her. France passed over this monstrous violation of international right because she wanted Cromwell's help. The third expedition—a fleet under Admiral Penn and an army under General Venables—was sent, without any declaration of war, to seize the rich island of Hispaniola the centre of the Spanish power in the West Indies. The attack on Hispaniola failed, but *Jamaica** was conquered (1655)—the first British possession taken from another European power. When he heard of the failure at Hispaniola, Cromwell observed that "the Lord hath greatly humbled us"; but he urged the attackers of Jamaica to "set up your banners in the name of Christ, for undoubtedly it is His cause."

The War with Spain.—These purely piratical expeditions were the preamble to a war with Spain, in alliance with France. Blake's greatest triumphs were won in this war: he blockaded Cadiz (1656), and in 1657, attacking *Santa Cruz* in Teneriffe where the Spanish treasure fleet was anchored under the forts, he silenced the forts and destroyed the whole fleet. British naval prestige was raised to a pinnacle by these achievements. Next year, on land, a contingent of English troops played a leading part in winning a final and decisive victory for France over Spain in the battle of the *Dunes* (1658), and for a time Dunkirk became a British possession. But the main result of the battle was to establish the European supremacy of France, which so gravely menaced the liberties of the world in the next generation. Dazzling as its immediate results were, the foreign policy of Cromwell, inspired by purely militarist ideas, was wholly mistaken.

* School Atlas, Plates 48*a* and *b*.

4. The Collapse of the Puritan Republic

Abolition of the Protectorate.—When this great man died, the unnatural power which his genius alone had maintained swiftly collapsed. His son, Richard Cromwell, succeeded him without opposition, and a new Parliament was elected. But republican intrigues were at work in the Army. A demand was put forward that a commander-in-chief, independent of the Protector, should be appointed with power to select all officers. Ere long the Protector was forced to dismiss Parliament, which was showing hostility to the Army (April 1659). Next month the Rump was restored. It promptly declared the Protectorate abolished; and Richard Cromwell retired into private life, after nine months of impotence.

Revolt against Military Rule.—But the old quarrel between the Rump and the Army soon revived; and meanwhile, the strong hand of Oliver being gone, a Royalist rising broke out in Cheshire. This was easily repressed; and in October the Rump was once more expelled, and the Army chiefs formed a Committee of Safety to carry on the government. This led, however, to loud protests. The fleet in the Downs, the army in Ireland, and (most serious of all) Monk,* the able general of the army in Scotland, declared for Parliament against mere military rule; upon which the Army chiefs took fright, and once more recalled the Rump (December). The Rump thereupon called upon Monk to protect it; and Monk arrived in February, to find London in a state of high excitement. The next step was to undo Pryde's Purge, and go back to 1648; and in February the Long Parliament resumed its sessions. It promptly declared that everything done since 1648 had been illegal, restored the Solemn League and Covenant, and decreed the election of a new Parliament.

The Restoration.—The new Parliament (known as the Convention because it had not been properly summoned by a king) was elected on the old basis. It had a Presbyterian majority, and a strong Anglican minority. The House of Lords also met. Meanwhile Monk had been in negotiation with the exiled Charles II, who, in April, issued the *Declaration of Breda*, in which he promised a

* There is a good short Life of Monk by Julian Corbett (English Men of Action).

general pardon, liberty to "tender consciences," and arrears of pay to the Army. On May 8th he was solemnly proclaimed king. On May 24th he landed at Dover; and on May 29th he rode into London, amid the frenzied welcomes of a crowd whose fathers had formed the backbone of the resistance to Charles I.

Results of the Puritan Revolution.—So easily and so rapidly collapsed the Puritan Republic, once the strong hand of Oliver was removed; and the only break in the continuity of English political development was ended. So ended eighteen years of revolution by violence. What had been the result of this period? Nothing of all the good work that had been done since 1641 survived: the only permanent results were those which were attained constitutionally, by agreement and not by force. The English were left with a deep fear and hatred of standing armies, and with a conviction that the old ways were best; and the later Stewarts traded upon this feeling, to their ultimate undoing. The Puritan sentiment, which had been strong before the revolution, was greatly weakened, and henceforward the Puritans were mere sectaries, regarded with dislike and contempt, especially by the all-powerful landowning class, in which they had once been so strong. Yet, even as sectaries, they remained numerous; they continued to be a wholesome element in English life, stubbornly upholding a view different from the prevailing doctrines, and forming always the nucleus of an opposition. And such a nucleus was to be very necessary, because the result of eighteen years of violence and confusion was to make men feel the danger of resisting and weakening authority. "The Divine Right of Kings" got a new lease of life. Even during the Commonwealth the trenchant pen of Hobbes had argued forcibly that an unlimited sovereign power was essential in every State if Society was not to be dissolved in anarchy. The struggle for political liberty, won in 1640, had to be fought over again, this time by constitutional means, because the use of violence gave strength to the forces of reaction.

Change of Temper.—The Puritan revolution seemed to have failed. But it had left an indelible mark upon the mind and temper of the English people. This had already been shown in the realm of literature. The exuberant vitality of the Elizabethan age had come to an end with the rise of the great controversy; the stream of dramatic literature had been suddenly stopped when stage-plays were prohibited in 1642; and the literature of the Puritan period—

whether produced by men of Puritan or of Anglo-Catholic outlook—had taken a graver and more serious cast. Now another change was to come. Gravity had been overdone; in many cases it had degenerated into hypocrisy. The Puritan temper was, indeed, still alive, and it received its noblest expression, after the Restoration, in Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. But the prevailing temper of the time was lighter, more cynical, and free from moral restraints.

CHAPTER XXIII

CHARLES II AND THE RESTORATION (1660–1678)

1. The Restoration Settlement in England, Scotland and Ireland

The Three Kingdoms Separated.—The first result of the Restoration was that it automatically brought to an end the union of England, Scotland, and Ireland which the Commonwealth had enforced; and there had to be a distinct settlement in each of the three countries. All three welcomed the return to the old division, though both Scotland and Ireland lost by it, especially in the cessation of freedom of trade with England and the colonies. The work of settlement fell to three statesmen who had played an important part in the troubles—Clarendon in England, Lauderdale in Scotland, and Ormond in Ireland. The only unifying factor was the king; and although Charles II was an astute politician who could not be disregarded, he was also a lazy and pleasure-loving man, quite content to leave the brunt of the work to other people.

Character of Charles II.—Charles II was strangely unlike the other kings of his House. He had none of the blinkered obstinacy which marked alike his grandfather, his father, and his brother. In 1660 he was thirty years old—a good-humoured, witty, easy-going libertine, who had no principles, no beliefs, and no sense of honour. Having suffered great inconveniences during fourteen years of exile, he meant to have a pleasant life, and to avoid "going on his travels again." He envied the unrestrained power and almost limitless wealth of his cousin Louis XIV, and would have been glad to be free from the irksome restraints of Parliament. But he was not going to

run any risks ; and he had too keen a sense of humour to take himself seriously as the Lord's Anointed. He was cynically and shamelessly immoral, and a corrupter of the morals of all who haunted his gay and frivolous court—even in an age when there was in any case a reaction against the starched virtue of the previous age, whether Puritan or Anglo-Catholic. Charles had, in truth, no religious beliefs. No doubt he thought the Roman Church the most convenient for a king ; and on his deathbed he declared himself a Catholic. But he was really a sceptic ; he did not care enough about any beliefs to be a persecutor. He never lost his temper ; he understood men's baser motives ; he was naturally shrewd and clever ; and when he took a hand in the amusing game of political intrigue, these qualities made him a much more dangerous player than his father or his brother. But in the meantime, he was content to leave business to the old fogeys who enjoyed it.

Clarendon.—In England the work fell mainly to Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, an upright and serious-minded statesman of the old school, whose demeanour was a rebuke to the flippant court. Clarendon had been one of the members of the Long Parliament in its first days of unanimity, and he looked back to the settlement reached in 1641 as the perfection of the English constitution. He aimed at restoring the balance between the power of king and Parliament which he believed to have been then established. In religion he was an Anglican, but not a fanatical Laudian, and he would have been glad to reach an accommodation with the more reasonable Puritans. He was statesman enough not to be governed by rancour.

The Convention.—While the Convention was sitting, Clarendon strove to reach a reasonable settlement. To the disgust of ardent Royalists, only fourteen lives were taken—those of the regicides who had been members of the illegal court which condemned Charles I. Clarendon cannot have liked the grim and futile vengeance which took Cromwell's body from its grave to be gibbeted, for he warmly admired much of Cromwell's work. He was responsible for an *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion*, which the Royalists keenly resented, though it was a fulfilment of the Declaration of Breda ; and he assented to, and defended against all attacks, a settlement of the land question whereby, while royal and Church estates confiscated since 1641 were resumed, private estates which had been sold during the troubles to raise money for the king or to pay fines

imposed by the Rump were left in the hands of their actual possessors. Clarendon was endeavouring to bring about an accommodation in the Church, at a *Savoy Conference* of Anglican and Puritan divines, when the Convention came to an end, and (May 1661) new elections returned a Parliament overwhelmingly "Cavalier" in complexion.

The Cavalier Parliament.—The new Parliament, which is known as the Long Parliament of the Restoration, and which sat for nearly eighteen years, largely took the settlement out of Clarendon's hands, and made it clear that it was not only the king that had been restored, but the Royalist gentry, who had suffered many things at the hands of the Puritans and meant to have their vengeance, and the Anglican parsons, who had been ousted from their livings. There was a close alliance between the gentry and the parsons now—not so much to carry out the theories of Laud as to put the Puritans in their place.

The Political Settlement.—On the political side, indeed, this Parliament was at one with Clarendon. It declared that no laws could be passed without the king's assent, and that war against the king was treason. But this was sound constitutional doctrine. It also reaffirmed the decisions of the first session of the Long Parliament, endorsing the abolition of Star Chamber, High Commission, and the other prerogative courts, and passing a new *Triennial Act* to ensure that there should be no more government without Parliament. Moreover, it accepted the new financial system (including excise duties) which had been worked out during the war, and did not dream of going back on the Tunnage and Poundage Act, or allowing the king to levy impositions at his will. It voted an annual income of £1,200,000 to the king for life; but only on condition that the old feudal dues should be abolished—the last element of taxation that had remained outside the power of Parliament. Royalist and anti-Puritan as it was, the Restoration Parliament had no intention of yielding up its power; and, as we shall see, it was often a very troublesome body during its long life.

Persecution of the Puritans.—But when it came to the religious settlement, the Cavalier Parliament would have no compromise. Political Puritanism was to be reduced to impotence; and the fierce group of laws known (quite unfairly) as the "Clarendon Code" was the result. Its first item was the *Corporation Act* (1661) designed to destroy the power of the Puritans in the towns, where their strength had been greatest. This Act required every member

of a municipal corporation to abjure the Covenant and to receive Holy Communion according to Anglican rites : the most solemn of the sacraments being thus employed as a political test. Next followed the *Act of Uniformity* (1662). The Prayer-book (slightly revised, in a sense hostile to the Puritans) and the Thirty-nine Articles were declared to be the rule of faith, and every clergyman was to vacate his benefice unless he declared assent to them and accepted episcopal ordination before a fixed date ; while every university professor and every school teacher was required to obtain a certificate of orthodoxy from his bishop. On the day fixed—St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662—something like 2,000 ministers left their benefices rather than take the oaths. How many of their parishioners followed them it is impossible to say, but the number was certainly large. Henceforth the Dissenters or Nonconformists were always a substantial element in the nation, which was divided into a privileged and an unprivileged, a dominant and an oppressed class. Moreover, exclusion from schools and universities meant that while many Puritans had been learned and highly cultivated men, the Dissenters tended to be marked off by their lack of culture, which is the profoundest kind of cleavage. In 1663 the kirg tried to obtain some powers of granting toleration (he had promised " liberty to tender consciences " in the Declaration of Breda). The reply of Parliament was the *Conventicle Act* (1664) which imposed sharp penalties upon any religious meeting of more than four persons beyond the members of a family. It was under this Act (which filled the gaols) that John Bunyan spent the years in Bedford Gaol during which he wrote the *Pilgrim's Progress*. One final enormity was still to come. In 1665, during the dreadful Plague of London, many dissenting ministers courageously returned to tend their former flocks. Thereupon Parliament (safe at Oxford) passed the *Five Mile Act* which forbade any minister who had not taken the oaths under the Act of Uniformity to live within five miles of a corporate borough, or of a place where he had ministered.

Effects of the Persecution.—These vindictive Acts were designed to destroy Puritanism. They failed to do so, for two reasons. In the first place, very large numbers took the oaths without changing their opinions or their sympathies ; these became the Low Church party in the Church of England. In the second place, the brave men who refused to take the oaths were still numerous, and their cruel plight led to various attempts to relieve them, culminating, after thirty years, in the establishment of Toleration. The

chief distinguishing mark between political parties came, indeed, to be sympathy with or hostility to the Dissenters. It may have been, in the long run, a good thing for England that the Dissenters were thus marked off: they kept the nation from stagnating in an enforced and deadening uniformity such as killed the intellectual life of Spain and Italy.

Censorship of the Press.—One other Act ought to be included with this group, though it was not exclusively aimed at the Puritans. Since 1641 a complete freedom of the Press had existed in England, and this had been one of the noblest achievements of the Puritans. In 1662 a *Licensing Act* imposed a strict censorship; and though the Act was only for two years, it was regularly renewed until 1679, and was not finally withdrawn until 1695.

The Restoration in Scotland.—In Scotland the Restoration Settlement went back farther than in England. A *Rescissory Act* (1661), passed by a very obsequious Parliament, cancelled all legislation since the Edinburgh coronation of Charles I in 1633, including Laud's canons and liturgy. In effect Scotland returned to the conditions which had existed under James I. Parliament voted the king a substantial revenue for life, which made it possible to maintain a small standing army. Through a nominated Privy Council, the king's agent, Lord Lauderdale, wielded almost autocratic power. The Lords of the Articles, also nominated, ensured the subservience of Parliament. In the Church, the bishops of James I were restored, and, though Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries still met, the General Assembly, that formidable body, was never summoned. The nobles, tired of the dictatorship of the Kirk, welcomed this compromise, and the greater part of the country accepted it, willingly or unwillingly.

Resistance of the Covenanters.—But in the south-west—Lanark, Ayrshire, Dumfries and Galloway—three hundred ministers refused to submit to episcopacy, and, in defiance of Conventicle Acts, insisted upon holding services for their followers. These unbending Covenanters were known as the Westland *Whigs*. Troops were sent to deal with them, and billeted in their houses. The result was a forlorn rising, which began in Galloway: a handful of rebels, marching on Edinburgh, was crushed at *Rullion Green*, in the Pentlands (1666), and there were many executions. For a time, after this, Lauderdale tried more moderate measures; but when this failed to get rid of the Conventicles, a fierce persecution, the bitterest

yet seen in Britain, began in 1676. Its consequences will be discussed later. Thus to Scotland the Restoration brought political absolutism backed by an army, the destruction of the freedom of the Kirk, and (in one part of the country) cruel persecution.

The Restoration in Ireland.—In Ireland the loyal Duke of Ormond, who belonged, like Clarendon, to the old regime, strove for conciliation. His most difficult task was to deal fairly with the results of the wholesale confiscations of land which Cromwell had carried out. It was found impossible completely to undo their results. But under two *Acts of Settlement* (1662 and 1665) some attempt was made to redress the wrong. In the event, about one-third of the land of Ireland was restored to Irish Catholic proprietors, one-third remained in possession of the grantees under earlier plantations, and one-third was kept by Cromwell's grantees. The result was that a great majority of the Irish Catholics were left to work as labourers on the lands their ancestors had owned. Many of them took to the wilds and became outlaws. They were known as *Tories*. But, on the whole, Ireland settled down under the new regime. Ormond abstained from harassing the Catholics; and there was a considerable development of prosperity. The Irish Parliament, which seldom met, and which mainly represented the Protestant domination, was very amenable, and voted to the king a substantial revenue for life, which enabled him to maintain an army.

Military Resources of the Crown.—Thus in Scotland and Ireland the power of the crown was greatly increased by the Restoration, while in England the king had to submit to serious restraints from Parliament. In Scotland and Ireland he possessed standing armies, such as Charles I had never possessed—if he had, despotism might have been riveted upon the British peoples. In England also there was a small force of Guards for the protection of the king, and certain regiments, hired out to the Dutch, were available in case of need: these are the oldest regiments of the British Army. But these forces were kept in the background. The English people had learnt to dread standing armies; and although the Cavalier Parliament, by the *Militia Act*, restored to the king supreme control over the military forces of the country, it assumed that these would be limited, as in the good old days, to the untrained levies of the shires.

2. Imperial Development: the Old Colonial System

There are three main threads of interest in the politics of the Restoration period. The first is the gradual emergence of two political parties, and of a constitutional conflict which became acute in 1678, and ten years later led to the Revolution. The second is the growing interest of foreign politics, due to the rise of the overwhelming power of France under Louis XIV. The third is the development of the oversea Empire. All three were closely interrelated. But the third, imperial development, can perhaps be most easily disentangled from the others, and considered separately.

Colonial Rivalries.—The second half of the seventeenth century was a period in which the Powers of western Europe were all beginning to take a serious interest in oversea possessions, and to frame their policy largely with a view to them. The Dutch were still preponderant in oversea trade, but they were concentrating their attention more and more upon the East. In 1652 they had planted a modest settlement at *Cape Town*, as a calling station on the way to the East. Portugal, having (1640) regained her independence, was actively developing her great empire in Brazil. Spain, in spite of her decadence, was extending her dominions in the New World, and was soon to establish herself in California. But the great new factor in the colonial sphere was France, who, under her able minister Colbert, was building up a powerful navy, starting trade with India, and systematically developing the struggling French settlements in Canada and the West Indies. It was in this period that French explorers discovered the Mississippi * and the Ohio rivers, and laid claim to the vast central plain of the North American continent. France was becoming a serious competitor for oversea empire, and this inevitably brought about a keen rivalry with England. But at first this was not apparent: as in the Commonwealth period, the Dutch seemed, until 1668, to be still the most dangerous commercial and colonial rivals of England.

Colonial Policy of the Restoration.—The government of Charles II inherited from the Commonwealth a keen interest in oversea questions. Clarendon profoundly admired the work of Cromwell in this field. The navy was vigorously maintained, and

* School Atlas, Plate 50. There is a special map for American Exploration in the larger Atlas, Plate 51.

the king's brother, James Duke of York, who was Lord High Admiral, took his duties very seriously. All the leading statesmen of the Restoration, notably Clarendon and the old Cromwellian Ashley (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury), took a keen interest in colonial questions. A Council of Trade and Plantations was established at the beginning of the reign, and a definite imperial policy was laid down. The chief feature of this was an attempt to make England the central market of the whole empire. The *Navigation Act* of 1660 (supplemented by several later Acts) not only limited inter-imperial trade to British and colonial ships, it made a list of "enumerated articles"—products of the colonies—which could only be exported to England; and one of the later Acts (1664) provided that all foreign goods intended for the colonies should be sent through England. Thus England was to become the economic centre of the whole empire. A second feature of the imperial system was that full self-governing rights were given to all the colonies as a matter of course; and in this respect the English colonies stood alone. Charters were granted even to the Puritan colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1662 and 1663, which fully confirmed their existing practice; and in 1661 Jamaica—conquered only six years before—was endowed with a representative assembly. In all the colonies, also, full liberty of conscience was allowed. There was great activity in the creation of new colonies.* In 1663 Clarendon, Shaftesbury, Monk, and others obtained a patent to found the colony of *Carolina*, which (with its capital, Charlestown) was named after the King; and the philosopher Locke was employed to draw up a model constitution—which proved to be unworkable. In 1670 the *Bahama Islands* were annexed.

The Second Dutch War.—In 1664 an attack was directed against the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, which lay between New England and the Southern English colonies: Cromwell had already projected such an enterprise. This was the beginning of the *Second Dutch War*, which was purely a war for trade and colonies. It was very fiercely fought. Though Blake was dead, he had worthy successors in Monk and Prince Rupert. In two hard-fought battles, off *Lowestoft* † in 1665, and in the *Downs* in 1666, the English fleet held its own. To prevent a complete English victory, Louis XIV

* School Atlas, Plates 49*a* and 48*a*.
† School Atlas, Introduction, p. 28.

entered the conflict on the side of the Dutch, and there was hard fighting between English and French forces in the West Indies. The later stages of the war were less fortunate. The Great Plague of 1665 affected part of the fleet; the Great Fire of London in 1666 disorganised supply; there was a shortage of funds, partly owing to the king's extravagance, partly to the fact that Parliament was stingy; and the fleet had to be laid up in the winter of 1666. In 1667 the Dutch seized their chance, sailed up the Medway, captured one ship and burnt three others, and almost attacked London. But this was only a momentary set-back; as the Dutch evidently realised, for in the same year (1667) they made peace, and ceded New Amsterdam.

The Middle Colonies.—This valuable colony, which commanded the great inland waterway of the Hudson River, was handed over to the Duke of York, after whom it was christened *New York.** On the other side of the Hudson River from New York, the Duke granted a wide extent of territory to Sir George Carteret, a Jersey man, who established the colony of *New Jersey*, where many Quakers (persecuted in England) were freely welcomed. Farther south the little colony of *Delaware* was later organised, on land that had been first settled by the Swedes, and then conquered from them by the Dutch. Finally, in 1681, the Quaker William Penn was given a huge grant of territory on the far side of the Delaware, in payment of a debt due to his father. Here he founded the model colony of *Pennsylvania*, which attracted a stream of emigrants because it was known as the freest and most liberal of all the colonies. Thus a complete series of English colonies occupied the coast of North America from Maine to Carolina. But this was not all. In 1670 the *Hudson's Bay Company* was founded, with Prince Rupert as its governor, to develop a fur trade with the Indian tribes in the wild country north of the French colonies. The French asserted that this was illegitimate; and here was a cause of quarrel in the future.

Africa and India.—Although the main English activities in this period were in North America, a good deal of vigour was shown in other regions also. In 1662 an African company was organised to exploit the lucrative slave-trade of West Africa—a trade in which every maritime country eagerly participated without any sense of wrong; and trading posts were maintained on the *Gambia* and on the

* School Atlas, Plate 49a.

*Gold Coast.** Finally, the East India Company saw in this period a remarkable development. In 1661 it obtained by charter the right to coin money, raise garrisons, and exercise jurisdiction : it was getting ready for its great career. And in 1668 it obtained its first territorial possession. Charles II had married a Portuguese princess, and as part of her dowry the island of *Bombay* was transferred to the king, who sold it to the East India Company. Thus in all directions this was a period of very active imperial development. It was, in fact, the period during which the imperial system that came to an end with the revolt of the American colonies was defined. Its essence was an attempt to unite the Empire by trade bonds. The experiment was tried for a century, and failed.

3. Foreign Politics and Domestic Discords (1660–1678)

Clarendon's Policy. — During the first seven years of Charles II's reign the conduct of affairs was mainly left in the hands of Clarendon. But his position was never secure. He was not sufficiently anti-Puritan for the Cavalier Parliament, who never forgave him for his leniency in the matter of lands ; while he was much too austere to enjoy the confidence of the frivolous king. Clarendon admired the foreign policy of Cromwell, and held that the future of England lay across the seas. He wisely sold Cromwell's conquest of Dunkirk to France—an act for which he was bitterly attacked.

The Portuguese Alliance.—The marriage of Charles II to a Portuguese princess was another sign of the continuance of a policy friendly to France ; for France had helped to win the independence of Portugal (1640), and, being now at peace with Spain, wanted to win for her protégé a useful alliance. This was, for England, the beginning of an alliance which has been unbroken from that day to this : it counted for a great deal in the eighteenth century ; it took British troops into Portugal in the Peninsular War, and brought Portuguese troops into the British sector during the Great War. In the meanwhile it gave to England the island of Bombay in India, and the fortress of *Tangier* on the African coast—a post which, until 1683 (when it was lost), played the part later played by Gibraltar of giving England a secure base at the entrance to the Mediterranean.

* School Atlas, Plate 56*c*.

Parliament and the Dutch War.—The Dutch War of 1665–1667 was the outcome of Clarendon's interest in colonial questions. But this war also showed the independence of Parliament. Parliament attached to its money-grants for this war an "appropriation-clause," to make sure that the money was rightly spent; and this became a regular practice. The Cavalier Parliament was by no means "subservient." Already there was growing up in it an opposition, which took the name of the "Country Party": the rudiments of a party system were appearing.

Plague and Fire.—The Dutch War had just begun when the Great Plague broke out: it ravaged the whole country, and decimated the crowded alleys of London (1665). In the next year a terrible fire destroyed the greater part of London (1666). It burnt out the germs of the Plague, and gave to the rising architect Christopher Wren not only the chance of rebuilding St. Paul's Cathedral and a multitude of other churches, but of suggesting a new city plan for London, which that generation had not sufficient imagination to carry out.

Impeachment of Clarendon.—These disasters were necessarily a grave handicap to government, coming in the midst of a great war. Parliament made no allowance for this. When the Dutch fleet appeared in the Medway, it impeached Clarendon as Charles I's Parliament had impeached Buckingham. Charles II had not the courage to defend his loyal minister by dissolving Parliament. Glad to be rid of his austere mentor, he advised Clarendon to go abroad; and the old statesman died in the exile which he had for so many years shared with his ungrateful master. The readiness of a Royalist Parliament to use the weapon of impeachment against a Royalist minister was ominous.

The Cabal.—After Clarendon's fall Charles II took no chief minister, but tried to work with a group of his intimates—men who were emancipated from the scruples of Clarendon, and who did not share the rigid Anglican views of Parliament. The Privy Council was now too big to be an effective working body as it had been in Elizabeth's time; and there was a tendency for an informal group of ministers to grow up—the ancestor of the modern Cabinet. Men called these secret groups "Cabals"; and by a curious coincidence, the initials of the five men whom Charles most consulted spelt the word Cabal—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley (later Lord Shaftesbury), and Lauderdale. Two of these—Clifford and

Arlington—were Catholics. Buckingham (a brilliant, versatile creature "who in the course of one revolving moon was chemist, statesman, fiddler, and buffoon") and Shaftesbury (an old Cromwellian) were friendly to the English Dissenters; Lauderdale, an ex-Presbyterian, chiefly interested in Scottish affairs, was now trying the effects of toleration in Scotland. All were anxious, for various reasons, to introduce religious toleration, which they knew they would never get from Parliament; and so long as the king was in financial straits, he must do as Parliament desired.

The Triple Alliance.—The Dutch had made peace in 1667 largely because they were alarmed by a sudden aggressiveness on the part of France. Louis XIV had claimed the Spanish Netherlands in right of his Spanish wife, when her father died in 1665; and he had proceeded to make good his preposterous claim by the sword. This was the first sign of the menace of French power, which was later to become so formidable. It especially alarmed the Dutch, because the Spanish Netherlands were their defence against France. They therefore strove to build up an alliance against France; and in 1668 succeeded in persuading England and Sweden to join the *Triple Alliance*. The mere formation of this alliance was enough to stop the French advance; and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ended the first of Louis' aggressive adventures. Thanks mainly to Sir William Temple, the English ambassador at The Hague, England had played her natural part in helping to check a menace to the peace of Europe.

The Secret Treaties of Dover.—But Louis XIV would not accept this check. He resolved to ruin the Dutch. The first step was to isolate them, and for this purpose he could make use of Charles II's need of money. Secret negotiations were opened (through a brilliant lady who became Charles II's mistress and Duchess of Portsmouth), and Charles was offered a subsidy of £200,000 a year, which would relieve him from his humiliating dependence upon Parliament, on condition that he would join in an attack on the Dutch and re-establish Catholicism in England; he was also promised, for the latter purpose, the use of an army of 6,000 men. This project could not, however, be submitted to the Protestant members of the Cabal, whose support was essential; so a second draft treaty, also secret, was prepared for them. It provided that the Dutch dominions were to be partitioned and that toleration was to be granted to all. Shaftesbury, who believed in

toleration, and as a colonial enthusiast was ready to join in plundering the Dutch, was prepared to accept these terms. Without French money, to make Parliament unnecessary, he knew that toleration was impossible. So the *Secret Treaties of Dover*—the real one and the sham one—were signed in 1670.

Declaration of Indulgence.—In 1672 three events followed from this project. In January (despite strong protests from Shaftesbury) Charles announced a *Stop of the Exchequer*, whereby he suspended repayment of the loans he owed to the London bankers, though he still paid interest. This dislocated trade, caused many bankruptcies, and drove the whole trading interest into opposition to the king. Next a *Declaration of Indulgence* was issued, whereby full toleration was offered to all religions in virtue of the power which the king claimed to " suspend " any law or " dispense " any individual from its operations.

The Third Dutch War.—Finally war was declared against the Dutch, who were attacked by English fleets at sea, while huge French armies poured over their country by land.* If the war had been quickly successful, the plunder of the Dutch would have removed all difficulties. But the Dutch, though taken by surprise, rose heroically to the challenge. Led by Charles II's own nephew, William of Orange, who now entered upon his lifelong duel with Louis XIV, they opened their dykes, and at the cost of sacrificing the lands which their toil had won from the sea, flooded out the French. Ere long they found allies in Europe whose aid saved the Republic from extinction. Meanwhile, at sea, they fought so well that the English fleet, even with French aid, could not overcome them. The result was that, within a year, Charles' exchequer was again empty, in spite of the French subsidies; and as he could not borrow after the Stop of the Exchequer, there was nothing for it but to summon Parliament (1673).

Parliamentary Crisis.—A real constitutional crisis had arisen. Public sympathy was all on the side of the Dutch, and William of Orange became a popular hero. There were deep suspicions that Charles was the tool of a Catholic conspiracy, led by France. The Declaration of Indulgence implied a dangerous claim of superiority to the laws. Even the Dissenters, though some of them took advantage of the Declaration, denounced it as a device of Rome. Shaftesbury,

* School Atlas, Plate 22*a*.

learning how he had been tricked, went into vehement opposition, vowing vengeance against the king. There was even a *rapprochement* between Churchmen and Dissenters, and a Bill for the relief of the Dissenters passed the House of Commons, though the bishops threw it out in the House of Lords.

The Test Act.—Charles saw that resistance was impossible. He gave way all round. He withdrew the Declaration. He accepted a *Test Act* (1673), which was designed to exclude Roman Catholics from office by requiring all officials to take the Anglican sacrament and repudiate the doctrine of Transubstantiation. When both Clifford and the king's brother, James Duke of York, retired rather than take the test, the belief that there had been a Roman Catholic conspiracy was intensified. The heir to the throne was now a declared Catholic. And when, in the midst of the excitement, James actually took a Catholic princess, Mary of Modena, as his second wife, the alarm was increased. His children by his first wife, Clarendon's daughter, were both girls—Mary and Anne. If by his new marriage he had a son, England would be faced by a Catholic succession. This prospect undermined the loyalty of the Anglicans in Parliament, in spite of all their talk about Divine Right. Charles saw the danger; and to bring about a reconciliation, he took as his chief minister a sound Cavalier churchman, who could command the confidence of the House of Commons—Sir Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby. Danby's appointment may be described as the first occasion on which the crown was forced to accept a minister drawn from the preponderant party in Parliament.

Government of Danby.—Danby held office for five difficult years, 1673–1678. His task was to restore the confidence of the Cavalier Parliament in the monarchy by pursuing a definitely Protestant policy. In 1674 he made peace with the Dutch, and withdrew from the now intensely unpopular war. And in 1677 he arranged a marriage between the Duke of York's elder daughter, Mary, and William of Orange,* the hero of the resistance to Louis XIV. William came to be married in England, where twelve years later he was to be crowned king. But he cared little about the English throne in comparison with the resistance to France. He wanted England to join in the war on the Dutch side, and Danby would have liked this; but the king would not have it. Charles

* See Genealogical Table C, at the end of the volume.

wanted French subsidies for his pleasures, and in 1675 he had signed a secret treaty of neutrality. Danby had refused to countersign this treaty. Early in 1678, however, the king made him send a letter to Louis asking for a large grant. Danby protested, and only consented when the king added a note to say that the letter was written by his orders. Louis XIV, however, knew well enough that Danby was his enemy. It was, in fact, partly the fear of English intervention against him that led Louis to interrupt his conquests in 1678, and to accept the Treaty of Nimwegen. This was a bitter pill, for which he blamed Danby.

Organisation of Parties.—During these five years Danby's main work was to build up again the broken Royalist party. He was the first party organiser, and he spent money freely on the work. The party which he formed was that which was later called "Tory." Its motto was "Church and King"; but in this motto the word "Church" comes first. Meanwhile the able, venomous Shaftesbury was as busily at work forming a rival party, primarily a party of opposition to the crown and to the Catholic succession. Already the English Parliament was beginning to be divided into two rival parties when, in 1678, there suddenly broke out a new revolutionary storm which nearly brought about another civil war, and which ended in the Revolution of 1688.

CHAPTER XXIV

PARTY STRIFE AND REVOLUTION (1678–1688)

1. The Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill: Whigs and Tories

In 1678 there began a period of fierce political and religious strife,* which is of critical importance for two reasons—first because it brought into being the two organised political parties whose conflicts have filled the modern history of Britain; and secondly because it led up to the peaceful but decisive Revolution of 1688, which put an end to "Divine Right" monarchy.

* Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, the most pungent political satire in the language, deals with these events.

Shaftesbury.—The fomenter of this strife was Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, a man of immense ability who in happier circumstances might have been a great and successful statesman. He was a rationalist in politics and religion, a close friend of the rationalist philosopher, John Locke. He had no patience with the stupidity of religious persecution, and the "Divine Right of Kings" seemed to him a foolish superstition. He knew that the parsons who had been preaching Divine Right and the duty of Passive Obedience ever since the Restoration, and the squires who had been backing them, did not really believe this creed, though they thought they did. What they really believed was that Passive Obedience was the duty of those who differed from them, and that the king's Right was Divine if he agreed with them. Shaftesbury had been a Republican under the Commonwealth, and Republicanism seemed to him a sensible political creed. He had worked with Charles II against the Cavalier Parliament because this seemed the only way of obtaining toleration and doing other rational things. He had been tricked into supporting a contemptible plot to make England the vassal of France in order to restore Roman Catholicism. He never forgave the king, or put his trust in the monarchy again. Now the right line of advance seemed to him to be the reduction of the monarchy to impotence, since it could not be abolished. And the popular fear of Rome, and the fact that the Duke of York was a declared Catholic, seemed to offer him the means of achieving his ends. A shackled monarchy and religious freedom: this was, in six words, Shaftesbury's aim. It was shared by a good many important people, especially among the greater nobles, who felt no awed veneration for the king; but they could not state it openly, in the then temper of the nation. A powerful monarchy in close alliance with the dominant Anglican party was the rival policy of Danby. This was the creed of the greater part of the nation; but it was only practicable if the alliance of Church and King stood firm. Hence it was essential to damp down or conceal the Catholic leanings of the king and his heir. Danby had succeeded in doing this. Shaftesbury's aim was to bring them out in high relief.

Impeachment of Danby.—Louis XIV, whose ambitious plans of continental conquest had been spoilt by his inability to rely on England, knew that Danby was his enemy, favouring a Dutch alliance. To get rid of Danby, he disclosed to the English opposition the request for a subsidy, which Danby had signed under protest.

This gave Shaftesbury an opportunity to get rid of the sanest and ablest servant of the monarchy. Danby was impeached before the House of Lords. He defended himself by saying that he had only signed the letter by the king's express command. It was replied that this did not exonerate him: he was responsible. But if a minister is responsible for the king's orders, and if it is his duty in certain circumstances to disobey the king, what becomes of Divine Right? Charles was only able to save Danby by dissolving Parliament (January 1679), thus bringing to a close, in anger, the Long Parliament of the Restoration which had begun with such a fervour of loyalty.

The Popish Plot.—Danby fell because it was believed that there had been a revival of the secret plan of the Treaty of Dover, to restore Catholicism by French arms. Before his trial, this suspicion had been deepened by the appearance of an infamous and depraved scoundrel, Titus Oates, with a circumstantial story about a popish plot to murder the king and put the Catholic Duke of York in his place. Oates was a disgraced clergyman of the Church of England who had turned Catholic and spent some time at the Jesuit College at Douai. Expelled from Douai for misconduct, he came to England with his fabricated story, to which his association with the Jesuits gave plausibility. He came at a moment when the English people were in a fevered state of suspicion, and all his stories were believed. He swore informations against Catholics, and reaped wealth from his rewards as an informer: his wretched victims were condemned by panic-stricken juries. Other scoundrels—some of them, like Dangerfield, cleverer than Oates—joined in the lucrative trade; and soon panic reigned, and an abominable persecution raged.

Coleman's Letters.—During its course one true revelation, in itself sufficiently alarming, was made. The correspondence of the Duke of York's confidential secretary, Coleman, was seized and published. It contained letters to Louis XIV's Jesuit confessor, in which the prospects of a forcible conversion of England were discussed. "We have a mighty work upon our hands," Coleman wrote, "no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that the subduing of a pestilent heresy. . . . There was never such hope of success since the death of Queen Mary. . . . That which we rely upon most, next to . . . the favour of my master the Duke, is the mighty mind of His Most Christian Majesty" (Louis XIV).

Popular Panic.—The danger was a real one. But it did not arise from murder plots by harmless Catholics. It arose from the prospect of the Duke of York's succession, and the events of his reign showed later how real it was. Even the strongest of Royalists shared the panic: this was why, in its final session, the Cavalier Parliament raged so furiously against the Government. But it was the duty of statesmen to restrain the cruel panic stirred up by the informers, while taking measures to guard against the future peril. Shaftesbury cynically stirred up the panic, hoping to profit by it, and egged on the London mob to terrorise moderate-minded people. Thereby he forfeited his chance of success, and his reputation as a statesman.

The Problem of the Succession.—Shaftesbury's plan was to exclude the Duke of York from the succession by an Act of Parliament. The Royalists, shocked by the idea of interfering with hereditary succession, were willing to go to almost any length in limiting the rights of a Catholic king. But this would not content Shaftesbury. He wanted the succession to be fixed by Parliament, as the surest way of destroying the superstition of Divine Right. But if James was excluded, who should succeed? The natural heir would be James's eldest daughter Mary, a Protestant, married to the Protestant hero William of Orange, who was himself (as a grandson of Charles I) next in the line of succession after James's daughters. But William was a friend of Danby's, who had arranged his marriage. Shaftesbury feared that he would not be content to be a puppet-king. He therefore put forward as his candidate for the throne the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II; and fantastic stories were set about to the effect that the king had been secretly married to Monmouth's mother.

The Exclusion Bill.—Over this question of Exclusion and the Duke of Monmouth fierce controversy raged for two years: it was, in fact, a duel between Shaftesbury and the monarchy, and at first, owing to the heated state of public opinion, the advantage seemed to lie wholly on the side of Shaftesbury. A new Parliament, elected in March 1679, gave an overwhelming majority to Shaftesbury. It renewed the impeachment of Danby. It also passed a very valuable Act, the *Habeas Corpus Act*, which provided new safeguards for the long-established right of all Englishmen to be promptly brought to trial on a definite charge when imprisoned by authority: this was meant as a safeguard against arbitrary power. Finally, it introduced and carried an *Exclusion Bill*. After three

months, Charles dissolved this dangerous House, and fresh elections were held.

Whigs and Tories.—But it was obvious that the new House would be even worse than the last, and Charles put off its meeting from month to month. Thereupon a rain of petitions and addresses began; petitions from those who believed in the Exclusion Bill, demanding an immediate meeting of Parliament; addresses from staunch Royalists expressing abhorrence of this interference with the royal prerogative. The nation was divided into two parties, of Petitioners and Abhorrers. Presently they began to bandy other nicknames. The Petitioners called their opponents *Tories*, after the Roman Catholic outlaws of Ireland. The Abhorrers fixed upon their enemies the name of *Whigs*, after the embittered Covenanters who were at this very moment in rebellion in Scotland. The nicknames stuck, and presently became names of pride; thus the two English political parties drew their names respectively from Ireland and Scotland.

Rejection of the Exclusion Bill.—After delaying the meeting of Parliament until he could feel that the frenzy was beginning to abate, Charles summoned it in October 1680. Amid stormy scenes, the House of Commons passed the Exclusion Bill. But the Lords rejected it, influenced mainly by the eloquence of Lord Halifax, who called himself a "Trimmer," and begged them to beware of plunging the nation into civil war. This was, indeed, a real danger; and all over the country reasonable men were fearing that 1641 had come again, and that if unrestrained passions were allowed to reign the nation might easily be plunged into the still unforgotten miseries of war. Moreover, men were beginning to be ashamed of the ugliness of the Popish Plot, and the cruelties that had been inflicted in its name. When, in December 1680, an aged and inoffensive Catholic peer, Lord Stafford, was executed, the turn of the tide came suddenly.

The Reaction.—Charles had been patiently waiting for this. He knew that his enemy, Shaftesbury, had ruined his own cause by his violence. Charles had dissolved the Parliament of 1680 after the rejection of the Exclusion Bill. In 1681 he summoned a fresh Parliament at Oxford, the centre of extreme Royalism. The Whigs came to this meeting with bands of armed followers, and civil war seemed almost inevitable. But the Tories were now holding up their heads again. The reaction had manifestly come; and after a

brief, stormy session, Charles once more dissolved. His shrewd patience had been rewarded. The Exclusion Bill had been killed by the violence of its supporters and by the bitter memories of civil war which they had revived. For the rest of his reign he was untroubled, and wielded a more absolute authority than he had yet enjoyed. The Whigs had shot their bolt, and had rather strengthened than weakened the power against which they strove. Violence nearly always defeats its own ends.

Persecution in Scotland.—Meanwhile Scotland had been suffering from still more intense troubles. Having found that he could not kill the Covenanters' conventicles with kindness, Lauderdale let loose upon them the most ferocious persecution that had yet been seen in Britain. Atrocious penalties were imposed on those who attended conventicles, culminating in death for preaching in the open air. An army of 10,000 men, including 6,000 half-savage Highlanders, was let loose upon the Whig districts: nobody was safe from them without a licence.*

The Revolt of the Covenanters.—This ferocity led to the violence of despair. In 1679 Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, a recreant Covenanter who was now Lauderdale's right-hand man, was murdered by a band of fanatics at Magus Muir, near St. Andrews. The murderers took refuge in the oppressed West country, and the Covenanters prepared to rise. A large conventicle, attacked by a body of troops under the gallant but cruel persecutor, Graham of Claverhouse, beat them off with loss at *Drumclog* (1679), and this was the signal for a rising. But the pitiful array of desperate peasants could not hold out against regular troops; and at *Bothwell Bridge* (1679) they were scattered with heavy slaughter by an army under the Duke of Monmouth.

The "Killing Time."—Now began a terrible persecution, which is known in the annals of Scotland as "the Killing Time." The Covenanters were hunted like wild beasts among the moorlands; they were shot without trial on their own doorsteps; they were rounded up in droves and sent to Edinburgh to "glorify God in the Grassmarket"—the execution-place of the Scottish capital; they were subjected pitilessly to the tortures of the boot and the thumbscrew. This horror went on from 1679 until it was ended by the Revolution in 1688; and these ten years left a deep mark upon the

* Scott's *Old Mortality* deals with this period.

mind of Scotland, only comparable with the far less cruel Marian persecution in England. The direction of this ugly work was given to James Duke of York, who was in these years safer out of England; and the gusto with which he carried out his hideous task was a bad omen for the future.

2 The Royalist Reaction (1681–1685)

Vengeance on the Whigs.—After 1681 Charles II held no more parliaments—flouting the Triennial Act, under which a meeting should have been held in 1684 at latest. There were no serious complaints. Parliament had been discredited by its own violence. Charles was free to pursue his vengeance against the Whigs. They had thought for a moment of resistance, but realised that it was hopeless. The leaders, including Shaftesbury and Monmouth, fled to Holland, where they received a chilly welcome from William of Orange; and in Holland they were busy plotting during the next few years. At home a knot of extremists, led by Colonel Rumbold, an old Cromwellian soldier, formed a foolish plot (the *Rye-house Plot*, 1683) to seize the king and the Duke of York on their way from Newmarket to London. The organisers of the plot were executed; and the occasion was seized to wreak vengeance upon leading Whigs who were still in England, though it is certain that they had nothing to do with the plot. Lord Russell, the upright and honourable son of the Earl of Bedford, and Algernon Sidney, a strict Republican aristocrat who had been a member of the Rump, were sent to the scaffold. They became the martyrs of the Whig party.

Revision of Charters.—Charles next set himself to prepare a submissive Parliament by calling in the charters of a large number of boroughs, and revising them in such a way as to ensure that the boroughs would return amenable members. This was an unprecedented exercise of the royal prerogative; yet it was accepted with scarcely any protest. The same method was applied in another and more important sphere. There had been complaints from the colonies that the governors were not always to be trusted—especially in the New England colonies in which they were popularly elected; and that they were failing to enforce the restrictions imposed by the Navigation Acts. The charters of Massachusetts and the other New England colonies, and the charter of New Jersey, were therefore called in. Even the New England colonies submitted with extra-

ordinary docility. Charles II died before he had an opportunity of showing what changes he proposed to make in the colonial system. Indeed, the new charters had not even been granted before the Revolution. But it is some indication of what was intended that James II appointed a single governor to control all the colonies from Delaware to Maine. Evidently it was intended to establish a highly centralised system. But before the character of this system had been made clear, the Revolution put a stop to all these projects.

Passive Obedience.—Throughout these years of reaction, the doctrines of Divine Right and Passive Obedience were preached with a fervour greater than ever. The glimpse which had been given, in 1679–1681, of the possibilities of a return to civil war, had for the time being tamed those tendencies to independence which even the Restoration Parliament had often shown. Charles II knew that his restored authority rested upon the blind devotion of the Anglican Church; he was careful to employ ministers who were acceptable to the High Church party, notably the sons of the old Chancellor, Clarendon, who were more whole-heartedly High Church and absolutist than their father had ever been. He knew, also, that as yet it was not safe to attempt unparliamentary taxation; and he still drew, till the day of his death, his pension from Louis XIV for the service of keeping England out of European politics.

The Insolent Power of Louis XIV.—These years of reaction in England were, in fact, the years of Louis' most unbridled excesses of power. He was setting up tribunals to award to him, under a pretence of law, large territories in Alsace, notably the great city of Strassburg, which he seized in 1681. The other Powers of Europe watched these actions anxiously, but with England neutral or hostile they could not check them. In 1683 even Charles II thought of throwing off the French alliance; and his brother, the Duke of York, who was more sensitive, disliked the feeling of dependence upon France. In the year of Charles II's death, Louis XIV gave another evidence of his irresistible power. He revoked the *Edict of Nantes*, under which the French Protestants had enjoyed protection for nearly a century. The refugees poured into England by thousands, bringing with them many of the industrial arts in which France had hitherto excelled. But the spectacle of their sufferings sharpened once again the English dread of Rome. On the other hand, the Revocation gave to the obstinate, fanatical James II a grim example which he might be tempted to imitate.

3. The Reign of James II: the Fullness of Power (1685–1686)

Strength of James's Position.—The ease and quietness with which James II succeeded to the throne on his brother's death in February 1685—only five years from the time when his exclusion from the throne had seemed inevitable—showed how violently the pendulum had swung towards reaction. And when his first Parliament met—elected under Charles' revised charters—it displayed the most enthusiastic loyalty. It condemned the informers of the Popish Plot to vindictive punishments—Oates received 3,400 lashes in public in three days. It voted to the king, for life, a revenue of £1,900,000 per annum, which was more than Charles had drawn from his annual grants and his French subsidies put together. The Scottish Parliament and the Irish Parliament were equally loyal. James seemed to be in a stronger position than any of his predecessors since 1603.

Whig Plans of Rebellion.—Across the North Sea, the exiled Whigs had been hoping that the accession of the Catholic king would awaken resistance. They had not measured the strength of the reaction. Some of them believed that a stimulus from outside was all that was needed to cause a great revolt. In June 1685, the Earl of Argyle, the exiled leader of the Scottish Presbyterians, set forth to rouse his clansmen in the Highlands, and the oppressed Covenanters in Ayrshire; while in the same month the Duke of Monmouth landed with a handful of followers at Lyme Regis in Dorset, hoping to raise the West of England.

Monmouth's Rising and the Bloody Assize.—Both expeditions were total failures. Argyle was easily crushed, and executed; and the only result of his adventure was to intensify (if that were possible) the ferocity of the persecution of the Covenanters. Monmouth's standard was joined by large numbers of peasants and miners, and in the towns of Taunton and Bridgewater he was welcomed as a hero. But the gentry did not join him; Bath and Bristol refused to receive him; and in the beginning of July he was caught by the army sent to deal with him, at *Sedgemoor*, near Bridgewater. In this, the last battle fought on English soil, the peasants fought manfully, but they were of course heavily defeated; and there was a pitiless slaughter after the battle. Monmouth was captured and sent up to London, where he was beheaded. Then Judge Jefferies

was sent down to teach a lesson to the rebels. In what was known as the Bloody Assize he condemned three hundred wretches to death, and their gibbeted bodies hung in rows by the roadsides. Eight hundred more were sentenced to transportation. Many of them were granted to courtiers, who sold them as slaves in the West Indies. For these brave deeds Jefferies received a peerage and the office of Lord Chancellor and keeper of the king's conscience. The weapon of terrorism is a two-edged one. This exhibition of cruelty began the reaction against James II.

4. The Tyranny of James II (1686–1688)

James II and his Aims.—These victories, however, convinced the king that he was irresistible, and could now proceed to carry out the desire of his heart. In some ways James II was a better man than his brother. At least he had sincere beliefs, and the courage to act on them. But he was without insight or foresight, obstinate and implacable, even less capable than his father of honestly facing facts. He completely misunderstood (as Charles II never did) the minds of his Tory supporters: he took at their face value their enthusiastic assertions of his Divine Right, and of the duty of Passive Obedience. He thought he was too strong to be resisted. He was the first English king who commanded the services of a trained, professional army. He had 20,000 soldiers in England. Scotland was cowed, and there was another army there. Ireland also had an army, and he could count upon the devotion of the Irish Catholics in an endeavour to enthrone their religion.

The Organisation of Catholic Ireland.—Parliament, loyal as it was, had refused his request to repeal the Test Act. He dissolved it. He dismissed his High Church Tory ministers, and surrounded himself with sycophants—chief among them the very clever but utterly corrupt Earl of Sunderland, who did not scruple to announce his conversion to Catholicism in order to please the king. In place of the Earl of Clarendon, James gave the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland to the Catholic Earl of Tyrconnell, Tyrconnell's instructions were to attack the Protestant ascendancy. He remodelled the corporations of all the Irish boroughs, so as to ensure a Catholic majority in the Irish Parliament, and weeded out Protestant officers from the Irish army, so as to make it a more effective instrument for the overthrow of Protestantism in England.

The Irish Protestants watched these proceedings with helpless dread, fearing a repetition of 1641.

The Dispensing Power.—Since Parliament would not repeal the Test Act, James resolved to make it inoperative by the use of the power of suspending laws, or dispensing individuals from their provisions, which Charles II had tried to employ when he issued the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672. To obtain a secure legal basis for his acts, a collusive action was brought (by his own coachman) against the Catholic Sir Edward Hales, whom James had appointed colonel of a regiment. The judge decided that Hales' commission was valid, in view of the king's dispensation. Thus supported by the law, James proceeded to staff his army with as many Catholic officers as possible, while additional troops were drafted in from Ireland and Scotland. The whole force of about 40,000 was stationed at Hounslow, to overawe unruly London.

Attack on the Church.—Next he opened a direct attack upon Protestantism and the Church of England. In defiance of the law, a Court of *High Commission* was established, though it had been formally abolished by the Acts of 1641 and 1661; and Judge Jefferies was put in charge of it. Its business was to punish all who questioned the king's will. The Deanery of Christ Church, Oxford, was given to a Roman Catholic; the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, were ordered to elect a Roman Catholic as their president, and ejected from their fellowships by the High Commission when they refused to obey. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge was deprived of his office by the same authority for refusing to give a degree to a Benedictine monk. When the Universities were thus attacked, every parsonage in England was wounded to the quick: the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings began to wear a less convincing aspect.

Meanwhile in Scotland the same policy was being pursued with equal vigour. Complete toleration was granted to the Roman Catholics. The Privy Council, and the chief offices of State, were filled with Roman Catholics.

Attempt to Bribe the Dissenters.—At first James seems to have hoped to carry out his will by the mere strength of his own authority. But presently he realised that he needed some foundation of popular support, and the Roman Catholics were too few to give it. The Protestant Dissenters, therefore, must be enlisted. In 1687 he issued a Declaration of Indulgence, despite the declared illegality of the Declaration of 1672. It did not merely grant freedom of

worship. It announced that henceforth no tests would be required for any office. This was a handsome bribe; and on the assumption that it would be accepted, James began to fill town councils with dissenting members, in view of the election of a new Parliament which was to repeal the penal Acts. But the Dissenters received these boons very coldly. Only a few of them sent addresses of thanks. The majority felt that they were being used as tools to prepare the way for a Catholic revolution.

The Seven Bishops.—In 1688 James issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered that it should be read in all churches on the first two Sundays in June. This was to make the clergy the instruments of destroying their own power. Archbishop Sancroft, an extreme Tory and advocate of Divine Right, was fain to take counsel on this crisis with some of his brethren. Seven of them drew up a petition, couched in the most respectful terms, begging the king not to force the clergy to break the law. Encouraged by this lead, the majority of the clergy throughout the country refused to read the Declaration. James was furious. He sent the Seven Bishops to the Tower, charged with publishing a seditious libel. The whole nation watched their trial with an intensity of interest which had not been equalled since Charles I was judged in Westminster Hall.

Birth of an Heir.—But before the crisis of the trial was reached, another piece of news shocked the nation. On June 10th a son was born to James's Catholic queen. Until this moment it had seemed possible to endure the frenzies of James, because at his death the Protestant Mary and her hero-husband would come to the throne. The birth of this luckless child destroyed that hope, and opened the grim prospect of a long succession of Catholic kings. Men declined to accept such unpleasant news. They took refuge in the story that the child had been brought into the queen's bed in a warming-pan.

Acquittal of the Seven Bishops.—It was in this atmosphere of strain and excitement that the case of the Seven Bishops was gravely argued, with a wealth of constitutional learning. But the decision rested with a London jury; and the jury declared the bishops Not Guilty. London and England went wild with delight. Even the Dissenters, whom the bishops had persecuted, rejoiced at their acquittal. Even the king's troops on Hounslow Heath threw up their caps and huzza'd.

Invitation to William of Orange.—That night seven leading men signed a letter in cipher, begging William of Orange to come

over and save England from ruin. One of them was Compton, Bishop of London—representative of the Church. Another was the Earl of Danby, who had striven so hard to build up the Tory party. Another was the Earl of Devonshire, spokesman of the more moderate and responsible Whigs. The letter was taken oversea by Admiral Herbert, disguised as a common sailor.

The Situation in 1688.—This momentous message reached William at a critical moment (July 1688). Since 1686 the alliance (known as the League of Augsburg) which he had built up had been awaiting the beginning of a new and more desperate war with Louis XIV. Louis' troops were embodied, and were watching Holland. It would have been impossible for William to leave Holland, still less to take an army with him, if Louis had attacked. Louis warned James II of the danger, and offered his protection. In his besotted pride, James replied that he had no need of protection; whereupon Louis, feeling that his ally would be none the worse for a lesson, and calculating that if William of Orange did land in England, he would be locked up there and given plenty to do by James's well-organised army, turned his own forces towards Germany, and more or less deliberately let William sail unimpeded. It was in September that Louis began his campaign in Germany. On November 5th William of Orange landed at Torbay in Devonshire.

A Risky Expedition.—He had come because it was of desperate importance for Europe that England should be on the right side in the war which was just beginning. But his landing was a very daring venture. He had only the nucleus of an army, and it was an army of foreigners, always unpopular in England. At first recruits were slow to join him. James had an army of 40,000 men, which was promptly put in motion against him. On every paper calculation William ought to have been defeated; and if that had happened, Louis XIV's war would have been won in England. Yet within six weeks, without a single battle, the victory had been won, and James had lost his crown.

Collapse of James II's Power.—For while William waited for recruits in the West, Danby had raised Yorkshire, and Devonshire had raised Notts and Derbyshire. And as James advanced westwards to meet his challenger, the army to which he had trusted melted in his hands, deserting, first by units, then by companies and regiments, to join the invader. Even his own daughter Anne, and the most brilliant and trusted of his young officers, John Churchill,

slipped away. In a panic James returned to London. As William's army, growing every day, drew near to London, James resolved to flee; and by doing so solved one of the most difficult problems of his opponent—the problem of what to do with him. He was intercepted, indeed, at Faversham. But no one wanted to keep him; and, lacking even the courage to remain and make what difficulties he could for his foes, James escaped from England, never to return, on December 23rd, 1688.

On his first flight he had thrown into the Thames the Great Seal of England, in the hope of inconveniencing his successors. What he had really thrown away was the emblem of Divine Right monarchy. He had thrown it away by his own deliberate folly. It was sunk for ever beneath the waters, and mired by the memory of his frantic tyranny.

Problems Unsolved.—The flight of James II settled the fate of Divine Right Monarchy; but it did not determine the character of the British constitution. It had still to be discovered whether efficient government could be reconciled with parliamentary supremacy. No country in the world had yet achieved this reconciliation; England had already twice failed in the attempt. That problem James II left behind him, and there was to be much anxious and fearful discussion, and very timid action, ere a solution was found. Moreover, the solution had to be sought in very difficult circumstances. The islands were divided, and they were threatened by the greatest power in the world. They had to fight for their unity, which was less than a century old; they had to fight for their freedom, and for the freedom of Europe; their own leaders were anything but confident; and it was in these critical circumstances that the new principles of government had to be decided and brought into operation. The period of twenty-five years in which all these great issues were debated was so important for the future of the British peoples that it must be separately studied in the next Book.

Supplementary Reading on Book IV

Book IV and the first half of Book V of the *Short History of the British Commonwealth* (Vol. I, pp. 357–559) deal, much more fully, with this period, especially with foreign affairs. Green's *Short History* is good on the Puritans (pp. 460–672), and Trevelyan's *History of England* (pp. 375–

476) has many useful lights, though lacking in detail. For more advanced study, Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*. Among shorter books, Gardiner's *Puritan Revolution* and Airy's *Restoration and Louis XIV* (Epochs of Modern History) will be found useful, especially the former; Gardiner was the supreme authority on the period. Maitland's *English Constitutional History* (Period IV, pp. 281–389) deals with the great constitutional issues of the period. Book V of the *Piers Plowman Histories* (by E. H. Spalding) is useful for social and economic history. Firth's *Cromwell's Army* is a very interesting account of the military methods of the period. Beer's *Origins of the British Colonial System* is a good modern book on that subject. There is splendid reading in Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World*. *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, by his Wife (Bohn's Library), is a very charming picture of a Puritan gentleman. Lord Acton has a good lecture on "The Rise of the Whigs" in his *Lectures on Modern History*. Gooch's *Political Thought from Bacon to Halifax* (Home University Library) is useful for the development of political ideas. Macaulay's *History of England* covers the reign of James II in vivid detail, and his famous Third Chapter, on the condition of England in the time of Charles II, is very readable.

BOOK V

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

(1688–1714)

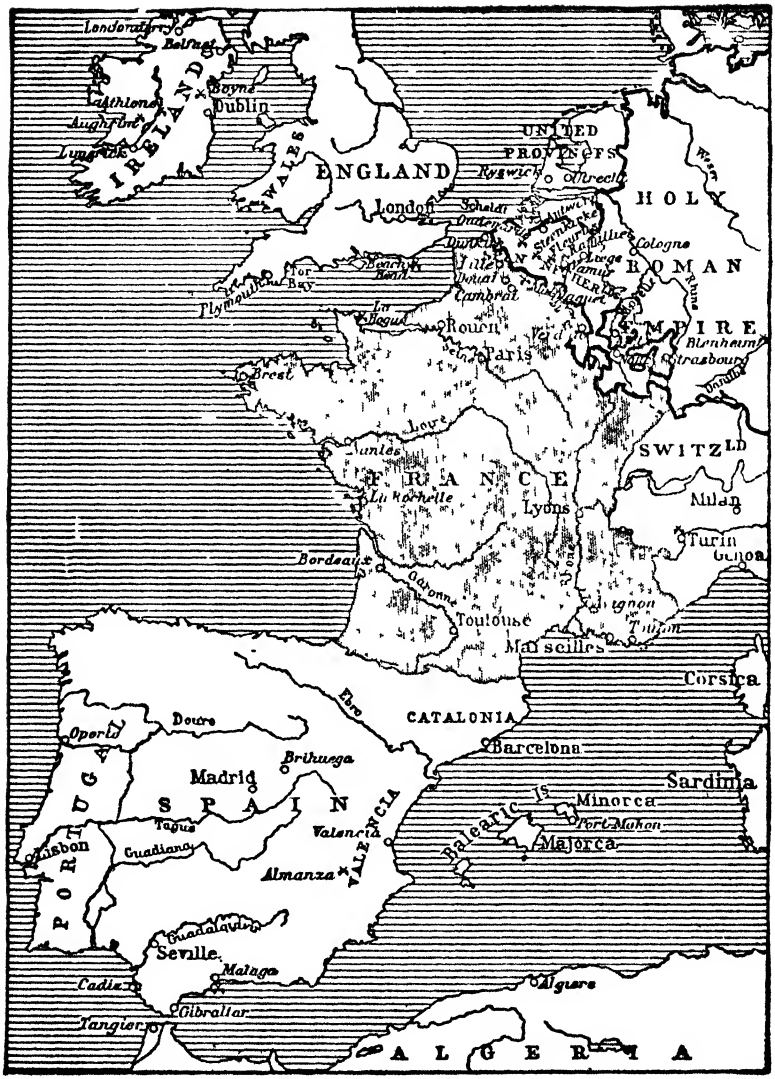


FIG. 23.—The Struggle against Louis XIV.

BOOK V

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT (1688–1714)

THE quarter of a century which followed the flight of James II was a period of great significance in British history. In one aspect it was the completion of the preceding period, because it saw the conclusion of the long struggle between Crown and Parliament which filled the seventeenth century, and the definition of the methods of government by a landowning oligarchy wielding control through Parliament which lasted until the nineteenth century. In another aspect it was the beginning of the next period, because it saw the opening of the long duel with France for commercial and colonial supremacy which came to an end in 1815.

The best way of regarding these twenty-five years is to think of them as occupied with a struggle for the establishment and defence of constitutional government and parliamentary supremacy. The process of constitutional definition was not completed in 1689. It lasted throughout the period; it covered the Scottish Union of 1707 and the establishment of the cruel penal code in Ireland; and it reached its culmination in the defeat of the attempt to restore the Stewarts on the death of Anne. The struggle with Louis XIV was at first waged mainly for the defence of the Revolution Settlement, and the long war of William III has sometimes been called "the War of the English Succession"; while the later stage of this conflict may fairly be described as a battle for supremacy, in the European field, between two conceptions of government—absolutism, represented by Louis XIV, and constitutionalism, represented by the English and the Dutch. This struggle was to be extended to the non-European world in the following period.

CHAPTER XXV

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT AND THE FIGHT FOR ITS DEFENCE (1689–1692)

1. The Settlement in England

The Situation in 1688.—The bloodless victory over James II was not decisive. Many difficulties had yet to be solved, not only in England, but in Scotland and Ireland. And across the Channel Louis XIV, exasperated by the unexpected turn of events, was watching for an opportunity to restore the situation. He not only commanded immense military resources: at this moment his fleet, built up by Colbert during the previous quarter of a century, was so strong as to give him, for a time, command of the Channel. It was therefore urgently important that the new Government should be firmly established in every part of the islands as rapidly as possible.

The Convention.—Immediately after occupying London, William of Orange called together an irregular assemblage, known as the *Convention*, to give the cover of popular support to his actions. There was no time for an election; so the Convention consisted of the peers, together with all who had sat in the parliaments of Charles II, and the Mayor and Aldermen of London. This body drew up a *Declaration of Rights*, setting forth all the breaches of the constitution of which James II had been guilty; and authorised the election of a Parliament, which met in January.

The Problem of the Succession.—Meanwhile the leading men were discussing the problem of what was to be done about the succession to the crown. It was the great virtue of the Revolution of 1688 that it was not a party victory: Tories as well as Whigs had shared in it. But Tories and Whigs still differed sharply about the theory of the monarchy. The Whigs, regarding the king as only the first officer of the State, would have liked Parliament frankly to declare James II deposed, and to choose William as his successor. The Tories hated the idea of disturbing the divinely appointed hereditary succession, and would have liked to salve their consciences by appointing William as "Regent" on behalf of James II: at the most, they wanted to pretend that James had abdicated, to pretend further that his son was a changeling, and to let the throne pass to Mary, as his heir. There might easily have been strife between

these irreconcilable views. But the decisive word lay with William. He made it plain that he would neither accept a Regency, nor be content with the position of Prince Consort. He was making ready to return to Holland, when a compromise was reached which saved the face of the Tories: James was declared to have abdicated by his flight, and William and Mary were invited to occupy the throne jointly. In February they were crowned, and the two months' interregnum came to an end. In reality the Whig view had triumphed. It was Parliament which had fixed the line of succession, and this fact governed the whole settlement.

The Bill of Rights.—The main feature of the Revolution Settlement in England was its extraordinarily conservative character, and the slight and seemingly unimportant changes which it made in the Constitution. *The Bill of Rights* (1689), which repeated the terms of the Convention's "Declaration," is accounted one of the main documents of English constitutional history, ranking with Magna Carta. Yet it was, like Magna Carta, mainly a restatement of long recognised laws and usages, which had been violated by the Crown. It declared illegal the exercise of the "suspending power," the maintenance of an army without parliamentary consent, the creation of a High Commission Court, and the like. But there was nothing new in all this. There was no general statement of principle, no assertion of parliamentary supremacy, no attempt to diminish or define the powers of the Crown.

Financial and Military Control.—Nevertheless parliamentary supremacy was very effectually secured, by two simple devices. (1) Instead of voting a large revenue to the king for life, as had been done in the cases of Charles II and James II, Parliament made the greater part of its grants only annual, thus ensuring that it should be summoned every year, and that its assent should be obtained for the purposes for which the taxes were to be spent; and it also "appropriated" particular taxes to particular purposes, thus ensuring its control over the main departments of government. (2) Recognising that a standing army was now necessary, especially in view of the great war in which England was now to be involved, it found an easy means of ensuring that the Army also should be under its control. For this purpose it passed a *Mutiny Act*, defining the special obligations of military discipline: apart from this Act, only the ordinary laws of the land would apply to soldiers, and discipline would be destroyed. The Mutiny Act was made annual; Parliament,

therefore, must meet every year to renew it. These two simple measures made the Crown completely dependent upon Parliament, and unable to carry out any policy which Parliament did not approve. This completed the Revolution Settlement, as it was defined in 1689.

The Triennial Act and Freedom of the Press.—Two enactments, made later by a Whig Parliament, formed a sort of supplement. In 1694 a *Triennial Act* was passed. Its purpose was not (like that of the Act of 1664) to ensure that Parliament should meet at least once every three years, for such a provision was now unnecessary. It provided that no Parliament should last for more than three years, in order to ensure against the existence of any more Long Parliaments, kept in being because they suited the Crown. Finally, in 1695, the Licensing Act was not renewed. It was never revived again. And this meant that complete *liberty of the Press* was established in England. This is one of the most essential elements in a system of free government.

The Toleration Act.—On the religious side the settlement was equally modest and simple. There was some talk of a measure of "comprehension" for the Dissenters. But the High Church clergy were already sufficiently restive and unhappy: the archbishop, four bishops, and four hundred clergy (known as the "Nonjurors") gave up their benefices rather than take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns. This ensured the supremacy of the Low Church party, who were allies of the Whigs and not unfriendly to the Dissenters, and the new archbishop, Tillotson, was a strong Low Churchman. It was, however, felt to be dangerous to press the High Church party too hard. So the only religious change made was the passing of a *Toleration Act* (1689), which gave freedom of worship to all who would accept thirty-six of the Thirty-nine Articles. This excluded Roman Catholics, who could not abjure Transubstantiation, and Unitarians, who could not accept the doctrine of the Trinity. The laws were not enforced, however, even against these, except at moments when Jacobite plots made the Roman Catholics appear politically dangerous. The Toleration Act undid the cruelty of the "Clarendon Code." But it did not repeal the Test Act of 1673, or the Corporation Act, which excluded Dissenters from all public offices. Many Dissenters, however, got over the difficulty by "Occasional Conformity," that is, by taking the Anglican Sacrament for qualifying purposes; and in practice toleration

was genuine in England from 1689 onwards, except for the Roman Catholics.

Such were the extremely modest legal changes whereby parliamentary supremacy and religious liberty were established in England. They had the supreme virtue that they were reached by consent, and enabled the nation to pass through a difficult period without serious division. Nevertheless, the new regime was felt to be insecure. For that reason, there were very few of the leading men of this period—Tories and Whigs alike—who were not guilty of maintaining secret relations with the exiled court, since there was always a danger that the Stewarts would be restored by the might of Louis XIV.

2. The Revolution in Scotland

Collapse of the Stewart System.—In Scotland the change was more complete and unflinching than in England. The flight of James II brought about an immediate collapse of the whole system of tyranny in Church and State which had been built up since 1660. The Roman Catholic ministers fled. While the persecuted peasantry of the south-west " rabbled " the hated curates, an assembly of nobles and gentry invited William to undertake the government, and a Convention was called, which met in March 1689—after William and Mary had been crowned in England. There was a Jacobite element in the Convention, but it was so much outnumbered that many of its members withdrew. A " Claim of Right " was drawn up on the model of the English Declaration, setting forth James's offences ; but without any evasion it went on to declare that he had forfeited the crown, and to offer it to William and Mary. The Episcopate was condemned, and also the practice of appointing " Lords of the Articles " to do the work of Parliament, which had been one of the main foundations of royal power. Thus, for the first time in its history, the Scottish Parliament acquired real freedom of action. Next year (1690) the full Presbyterian system was restored, and the General Assembly met again. The Revolution brought constitutional and religious liberty to Scotland. But this liberty was attended by dangers. Now that, in both England and Scotland, Parliament was supreme, there was a real danger of a divergence of policy between the two countries. A Union of the Crowns was not enough. A Union of Parliaments had to follow, though seventeen years passed before it came.

The Battle of Killiecrankie.—While the Convention was establishing the new system, Graham of Claverhouse (now Viscount Dundee), who had for ten years commanded the royal forces in Scotland, was preparing to strike a blow for the fallen king. He was a gallant and loyal soldier, with some of the qualities of his cousin Montrose. He was able to raise an army in the Highlands, especially among the clans that hated the Campbells, whose chief, the Earl of Argyle, was almost the hereditary head of the Presbyterian party. The Scottish army, under General Mackay, was sent to deal with Dundee, and met him in the Pass of *Killiecrankie*. They were dispersed by one wild onrush of the clansmen, while they were trying to fix their new-fangled bayonets. But Dundee was killed in the fray; and after his death resistance melted away.

The Massacre of Glencoe.—It took two years more to pacify the Highlands. In 1691 an indemnity was offered to all who would take the oath before the end of the year. One petty chieftain, Macdonald of Glencoe, delayed till after the last moment through motives of pride, but actually took the oath on January 7th, 1692. The Master of Stair, William's most trusted adviser on Scottish affairs, thought that this gave an opportunity of teaching a lesson to the Highlands, and resolved to punish the Glencoe Macdonalds. The task was entrusted to a detachment from Argyle's own regiment, the hereditary enemies of the Macdonalds. Welcomed as guests, in the night of February 1st the soldiers turned on their hosts and massacred them: a profitless and unforgivable crime which has stained William III's memory. It did not turn the other Macdonald clans into friends of the new regime; they were in the van of every later rising. But for the moment there was no further ground for nervousness in regard to Scotland.

3. The Revolution in Ireland

The Irish Situation in 1688.—It was in Ireland that the crisis of the Revolution had to be fought out. There, during James II's reign, his Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Tyrconnell, had already done much to stir up national feeling among the Irish Catholics. As soon as the news arrived that William of Orange had landed in England, Tyrconnell proceeded to arm the Catholics, raising, it was said, as many as 100,000 men; while he ordered the Protestants to give up their arms. Many Protestants fled the

country. Those of Ulster, deserting their homes, concentrated in Londonderry and Enniskillen, where they prepared to defend themselves; they proclaimed William and Mary as king and queen and sent urgent messages to England for aid.

Londonderry and Enniskillen.—In March 1689, James II landed in Ireland, bringing some French troops, French officers to train the Irish, large supplies of arms, and a considerable sum of money—all given by Louis XIV. Londonderry and Enniskillen were at once besieged: they were the last English strongholds in Ireland. The *Siege of Londonderry* lasted from April to July, and the defenders had almost been starved into surrender when English vessels contrived to break the boom which closed the river, and threw provisions into the town. A little later (August) the defenders of Enniskillen sallied out and beat back the opposing forces at *Newtown Butler*. James had thus failed to crush this last resistance while he was still left to himself. In October a small English force landed at Belfast, under the Duke of Schomberg, a French Huguenot exile in the service of William. This force contrived to win back most of Ulster, where the Protestants were numerous. But at the end of 1689 four-fifths of Ireland was still under the control of James, and the Revolution was insecure while this state of things continued.

The Irish Parliament.—Meanwhile an Irish Parliament had met in Dublin. It cancelled the Acts of Settlement of Charles II, and voted the restoration to their original owners of all lands confiscated since 1641. It practically established the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. It repealed Poynings' Acts, and declared the Irish Parliament independent of English control. In other words, Ireland, like Scotland, declared for political and religious independence. James did not welcome these decisions, though he had to accept them; and friction and divided purposes resulting from this weakened the action of the Irish leaders. The Irish Parliament also committed the grave blunder of passing a savage Act of Attainder, whereby it condemned to death as traitors over two thousand peers, landowners, and clergy who had failed to give their allegiance to James II. This made the struggle one of life and death. In any case, it seemed essential for the safety of England and Scotland that Ireland should be reconquered. In 1690 the war in Ireland became the centre of the whole European conflict, and William III himself took command.

The Crisis of 1690.—If Louis XIV had realised the importance of the Irish struggle, and concentrated his strength upon it, the situation would have been grave indeed. For at this moment, having won an important battle at *Fleurus* in the Netherlands, he had the upper hand of the continental allies on land. And, what was far more important, he also had command of the sea. In July 1690, the French fleet, under Tourville, defeated the combined English and Dutch fleets under Lord Torrington, off *Beachy Head*. This was the worst defeat yet recorded—or ever recorded—in British naval annals, and it might have been disastrous. There was a panic in England lest there should be a French invasion : troops for the purpose were mustered at Dunkirk, and the main English military forces had gone to Ireland. Louis missed this opportunity. He did not even attempt to cut the communications between England and Ireland, which he might readily have done ; nor did he send more than a small force to Ireland to take part in the critical struggle. He allowed the Battle of the Boyne, which had been fought just before the Battle of Beachy Head, to be the decisive event in the Irish struggle.

The Battle of the Boyne.—William had landed in Ulster in the spring of 1690, with an army of 35,000 men. Advancing southwards on Dublin, he found his passage barred at the River Boyne by James, with an army of 30,000 men, including 6,000 French. This was a cosmopolitan battle : while there were French troops on the one side, on the other there were, besides Irish Protestants and English troops, also Dutch, German, Swedish, and even Finnish soldiers. The Battle of the Boyne was a turning-point not merely in the history of Ireland, but in the great European conflict. William won a complete victory ; James abandoned Dublin without attempting a defence, and fled to France.

The Treaty of Limerick.—Deserted by their king, the Irish resisted gallantly for another year. In 1691, when it was too late, substantial French forces were sent to stiffen the resistance. A hard campaign had to be fought by English troops under the Dutch General Ginckel, before Munster and Connaught were conquered. The decisive events were the forcing of the line of the Shannon at *Athlone*, and the shattering of the main Franco-Irish army at *Aughrim* (June 1691). Even then, Limerick held out for three months under the gallant Patrick Sarsfield. Its surrender (October 3rd, 1691) marked the final subjugation of Ireland. In surrendering, Sarsfield thought he had at least gained something for his country. The *Treaty of*

Limerick permitted the Irish troops to go abroad and take service there if they wished, and many gallant officers in continental armies made Irish names famous during the eighteenth century. The Treaty also provided that Irish Catholics should enjoy the same degree of freedom as they had enjoyed under Charles II. Alas! the Irish Parliament—now again reflecting the Protestant ascendancy—repudiated this provision (1697), on the ground that Ginckel had exceeded his powers.

Supremacy of the English Parliament.—The Revolution Settlement in Ireland could not begin until the war was over. In 1692 the English Parliament—overriding the rights of the Irish Parliament—passed an Act requiring all officials and all members of Parliament in Ireland to make a declaration against Transubstantiation. This, of course, excluded the Catholics—three-quarters of the population—from all public offices and from Parliament, though not from the right of voting. The Irish Parliament did not challenge this extraordinary assumption of power on the part of the English Parliament, and it was thus established that the English Parliament could legislate over the head of the Irish Parliament—a claim never put forward in the case of Scotland.

The Irish Settlement.—In 1692, 1695, and 1697 the Irish Parliament (now limited to the Protestant minority) passed a series of Acts which regulated Irish affairs for more than a century. In the first place it rescinded all that had been done by its Catholic predecessor in 1689. This brought back Poynings' Acts into effect, which provided that the Irish Parliament could pass no laws which had not previously been approved by the English and Irish Privy Councils; accordingly the English government must share responsibility for all the subsequent legislation. The restoration of Poynings' Acts, together with the power of direct legislation claimed by the English Parliament, turned the Irish Parliament into a controlled and subordinate legislature. Hence there appeared to be no such reason for a Union as there was in the case of Scotland.

The Penal Code.—In 1695 it was enacted under severe penalties that no Catholic might teach in a school or in a private house, and that no child might be sent abroad to be educated as a Catholic: in so far as this law was enforced, the whole Catholic population was sentenced to the ignorance which means barbarism. It was also enacted that no Catholic might possess arms, or a horse worth more than £5. In 1697 all Roman Catholic bishops and

priests were banished; marriage between Catholics and Protestants was forbidden, and it was provided that if a Protestant heiress married a Catholic her inheritance should pass to the nearest Protestant heir. It was also enacted that all lands belonging to anybody who had taken the side of James II in the recent war should be confiscated: two years later the English Treasury stepped in and sold these lands, taking the proceeds as a contribution to the cost of the war.

Thus were laid the foundations of the iniquitous Penal Code under which Ireland had to live for a century. Further refinements of cruelty were added later. These disgraceful laws form the gravest blot on the records of the British peoples. They caused more than two centuries of conflict, and the poison which they engendered still works in the veins of the British Commonwealth.

4. The Revolution in the Colonies

Parliamentary Supremacy.—In the colonies the Revolution was very quietly accepted. It swept away at once the scheme of centralised government for the northern American colonies which James II had begun to apply. In effect, the post-Revolution government accepted and developed the colonial policy of Charles II. But the establishment of the supremacy of Parliament in England made a very great difference to the position of the colonies. Hitherto their dealings had been almost wholly with the king and the Privy Council; and, in theory, their own legislative bodies had stood in the same relation to the king as the parliaments of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Now their legislatures, like that of Ireland, were definitely subordinated to the English Parliament.

The Massachusetts Charter.—One important change, however, was due to the Revolution. In 1691 a new Charter was granted to Massachusetts, in place of the one which Charles II had called in. It transferred the appointment of the Governor from the colony to the Crown, merged the old colony of Plymouth with its greater neighbour, established a system of religious toleration in place of the rigid intolerance which had hitherto marked New England, and introduced a moderately democratic franchise in place of the old limitation of civic rights to Church members. Everywhere, save in Ireland, the Revolution brought greater liberty and religious freedom. In Ireland alone it brought cruel oppression and the most crushing form of religious persecution.

The Board of Trade and Plantations.—In 1696 a new public office was instituted to deal with colonial questions—the Board of Trade and Plantations. Its officers conducted the correspondence with the colonial Governors, and endeavoured to maintain a consistent and continuous policy in dealing with them. Although the Revolution brought no material change in English colonial policy, it made that policy more definite and coherent; and this was important in the long series of colonial wars which now began.

CHAPTER XXVI

WILLIAM III AND LOUIS XIV (1688–1702)

I. "KING WILLIAM'S WAR" (1689–1697)

Character of William III.—William III* was always a foreigner in England, as his popular nickname, "Dutch William," indicates. Perhaps it was only his English queen, a lady of great charm and ability, with an understanding affection for her difficult husband, who made the new regime even tolerable in its first years: after her death in 1694 William's difficulties multiplied. He was an ailing, silent, morose man, with no attractive gifts; but he had an indomitable courage in difficulties, and this probably saved the Revolution in England as it had earlier saved the very existence of Holland. He lived for one thing alone—to dispel the nightmare of French domination, and to abase the intolerable pride of Louis XIV. England was for him no more than a means to this end, and he took little interest in her problems save as they helped or hindered his great task. He was never happy except in Holland. He made no English friends: indeed, he had good reason for distrusting Englishmen, for almost every leading man, Whig and Tory alike, was a potential, and often an actual, traitor in secret relations with the exiled king. His friends were Dutchmen who came over with him, and his lavish gifts to them (which founded the fortunes of at least

* There is a short Life of William III by H. D. Traill (Twelve English Statesmen).

two of the English ruling families, the Bentincks and the Keppels) were among the causes of his unpopularity.

Jacobite Plots.—One of the reasons for William's dislike of England was that he was the object of frequent Jacobite plots. The worst of these was a plot formed in 1696 by Sir John Fenwick and other Tories to murder the king: it resembled the Rye-house Plot of 1683 against Charles II. For a time the disclosure of this conspiracy discredited the Tory party, and it was followed by the formation of an Association on the model of that formed for Queen Elizabeth's protection a century earlier. But the inquiries which were carried out in connection with this plot showed that nearly all the leading men in both parties, though they knew nothing of Fenwick's plans, were in secret relations with James II. It is no wonder that William III was unhappy in England, and distrusted the men with whom he had to deal. In truth, there was nothing heroic about the men of the Revolution period. Long years of immorality in high places, of faction-strife, and of pretended enthusiasm about religion which had no roots of genuine belief, had undermined the morale of the politicians.*

The War with Louis XIV.—William had come to England solely in order to swing her weight over to the coalition against Louis XIV; and this aim was achieved when war was declared against France in June 1689. It was his greatest service to England that he brought her into this war; for both by its direct result—the checking of Louis XIV's inordinate ambitions—and by its yet more important indirect consequences, it marked an epoch in British history.

The Fighting in the Netherlands.—The aspect of the war which attracted most attention was the struggle between the rival armies round the fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium).† The art of fortification had been brought to so high a pitch of perfection (in relation to the offensive weapons then available) that, unless one side had overwhelming strength or was led by daring genius, deadlock was the normal condition; and, in fact, during nine years of fighting, scarcely any advance was made by either side. William had no such genius for war as Marlborough

* Stanley Weyman's novel, *Shrewsbury*, gives a good idea of the spirit of this time.

† School Atlas, Plate 22a.

later displayed. He was defeated in two pitched battles, at *Steenkerke* (1692) and *Landen* (1693), but was skilful enough to avert any evil consequences. In 1695 he achieved one brilliant success, in the capture of *Namur*, the most important victory of the war. In all these battles English regiments played an active part: it was in these Flanders campaigns that the regular British Army, so recently formed, was "blooded"; and Steenkerke, Landen, and Namur are the earliest names inscribed on the standards of the oldest English regiments. But, beyond stopping the conquering career of Louis XIV, all this fighting had no very definite result.

The War at Sea.—Far more significant was the fighting on the sea, in which the English and the Dutch were now standing allies, but the English became more and more the predominant partners. The war had opened with the disaster of Beachy Head, which gave an alarming proof of French naval strength. But Louis XIV, fighting a ring of enemies on land, could not also maintain a supreme navy. In 1692, at *La Hogue*,* his fleet suffered a crushing disaster from the English fleet under Russell. It was to have been used to convoy an army of invasion into England; Russell's victory not only put a stop to that, and killed James II's last hopes, it also securely established English supremacy at sea. There were no more naval battles in this war, and for that reason the importance of the naval war has been overlooked. But the pressure of sea-power is often most effective when it is so great that no battles need to be fought. In reality, the part played by the navy was decisive. It made Britain absolutely safe from attack. It enabled British forces to be moved wherever they were needed. It crippled the enemy: thus when France was attacking Spain in 1694, and sending troops by the sea-route from Toulon, the appearance of an English fleet in the Mediterranean was enough to ruin her enterprise, without any fighting. During these years, English trade suffered very severely from French privateers, while there were very few captures from the French. This was a ground of bitter complaint against the Government, but it was really a proof of naval supremacy. For the reason why there were few captures from the French was that French commerce had been swept from the seas, while the number of British ships was mounting so fast that the lurking French privateer could always find its prey. At the end of

* See School Atlas, Introduction, p. 28.

the war English foreign trade was greater than it had ever been; French foreign trade had been ruined. This was the result of naval supremacy.

War in the Colonies.—The war extended also to the colonies: it was the first phase of the long rivalry between France and England in America, which ended in 1763.* A French force from Canada invaded the Hudson Valley, and sacked the frontier town of Schenectady (1690). The New Englanders, led by the Governor of Massachusetts, responded in the same year with a vigorous attack on the French colonies. They conquered *Acadia* (Nova Scotia) and seriously threatened Quebec. There was fighting also in the West Indies and in West Africa. In these fields this war was a sort of rehearsal for the fiercer conflicts that were to come. It taught the colonists that they were in danger from the French, and therefore strengthened their loyalty.

The End of the War.—The struggle came to an end in 1697, with the *Treaty of Ryswick*. By this treaty both sides restored their conquests, and Acadia returned to French allegiance, only to be conquered again in the next war. This may seem a lame and impotent conclusion for so much fighting. But it meant that Louis XIV had been definitely checked. His power began to decline; and the wealth of France had been gravely impaired, both by the expulsion of the Huguenots (many of whom had brought their skill to England, while others had gone to Brandenburg, to Holland, and to the Dutch colony of South Africa), and still more by the setback which the naval war had given to French oversea trade. But perhaps the most important element in the peace was that Louis XIV recognised William III as King of England. "The war of the English Succession" had made the Revolution secure.

2. Party Government: the National Debt

The indirect consequences of the war were even more important than its direct results. It led to, or hastened, very important constitutional and economic changes.

Rise of Party Government.—In the first place, it brought about an approach to the modern system of Cabinet Government. At the opening of his reign William naturally tried to avoid identi-

* School Atlas, Plate 49*a*.

fying himself with either of the political parties, and gave offices to the best men on both sides. But this led to friction and cross-purposes among his ministers, while Parliament, in which there was now a Whig majority, was very distrustful of Tory ministers. This was not merely inconvenient, it might have been disastrous when the nation was at war, because the efficient conduct of war demands unity of purpose. It was by no means easy to carry on government efficiently under the system of parliamentary supremacy. The shrewd Earl of Sunderland, who had been James II's chief minister, suggested to William that the best way out of the difficulty would be to choose all his ministers from one party. They would then be more easily able to work together, and to command the confidence of the House of Commons. The Whigs not only had a majority in Parliament, they were also much more whole-hearted than the Tories about carrying on the war. Accordingly, William gradually gave all the important posts to Whigs; and by 1696 the Whig ascendancy was complete. The group of ministers who held office at that period worked together so intimately that they were known as "The Whig Junto," and there were complaints that government by a secret clique was being revived. In reality the "Junto" of 1696 (whose ablest members were Somers, the Lord Chancellor, and Charles Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was the first shadowy anticipation of a modern party cabinet. Cabinet government, based on parties, was being forced into existence by the pressure of circumstances.

The Bank of England and the National Debt.—In the second place, the war made great changes in financial methods necessary. It was the first war in which England maintained an army abroad, year after year, besides keeping up a great fleet. It was also the first war in which she found subsidies for her continental allies. But this involved an enormous outlay, far greater than could be met by the proceeds of taxation. It had to be met by borrowing. Governments had long been in the habit of borrowing from year to year, in anticipation of the collection of taxes, and the London bankers had always been ready to accommodate them with loans from the money deposited with them. But these could only be "short-term" loans; they had to be repaid in a few months, otherwise the bankers would be unable to meet their obligations to their depositors. Something different from this was now needed—"long-term" loans, for an indefinite period, forming a permanent "National Debt."

In 1694, on the advice of a Scotsman, William Paterson (who in the next year started the Bank of Scotland), Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, found a means of getting over the difficulty. A group of merchants made a permanent loan to the Government, on condition that they were incorporated as the Bank of England and given the management of future loans of the same kind. The foundation of the Bank of England was an event of the highest political and economic importance. It greatly encouraged the habit of banking, because the security it could offer was greater than that of private banks. It made the raising of government loans easy. And the establishment of the permanent National Debt was also politically important, because those who had lent their money to the Government became strong supporters of the Revolution Settlement, being afraid that a restored Stewart monarchy might repudiate the debt. The "moneyed" and commercial interest, which was growing rapidly stronger, became a very important political factor, able to influence the policy of governments. Its influence was generally thrown on the Whig side.

3. Tory Hostility and the Problem of the Spanish Succession

Tory Reaction.—The conclusion of peace in 1697 ended the first period of William III's reign. Hitherto, while the Revolution was in danger, the Whigs had been most powerful and had had a majority in Parliament, because they had no divided sympathies, and were enthusiastic in their support of the war. But now a reaction towards Toryism began. The Revolution Settlement was safe. The English queen was dead. The "foreignness" of William III, and his lavish generosity to his Dutch friends; the heavy cost of the war, and the burden of the National Debt of £20,000,000; the omnipotence of the Whig "Junto"; the growing power of the "moneyed" interest as against the "landed" interest—all these things aroused the anger of the country gentlemen. The French war had never been popular among the Tories: some of them sympathised with the exiled king, sheltered by France; most of them could not see why England should be dragged by a foreign king into a foreign war, in the interest (as they supposed) of the Dutch. Toryism became the party of Little England and peace. In 1698 there was a Tory majority in the House of Commons. They

attacked the Whig ministers, and reduced the army to 7,000 men.

The Partition Treaties.—William resented this reaction all the more because it came at a very critical moment in foreign politics. Charles II of Spain, the last heir of Philip II in the direct male line, had always been sickly, and his death had been awaited for twenty years. It was now clear that he could not live much longer; and the question of the succession to the immense Spanish empire, in the old world and the new, was vexing the diplomats of Europe.* The French and the Austrian royal lines had claims to the succession, of practically equal validity; but neither would allow the other to absorb the whole Spanish empire, nor could Europe contemplate the creation of a power so gigantic without fear. Louis XIV, taught moderation by the strain of the last war, was anxious to avoid the conflict that loomed ahead; and in 1698 he agreed with William III to recognise the infant prince of Bavaria as heir to the Spanish throne, France and Austria receiving modest compensations in Italy for the abandonment of their claims. In 1699, however, the Bavarian infant died, and the whole question was reopened. With even greater magnanimity Louis consented to recognise the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor, as heir to the Spanish crown, France being compensated by Milan and Naples, which would have made her the predominant power in Italy.

Opposition to the Treaties.—These treaties, which were secretly concluded between Louis and William without any consultation with Spain, could only be justified on the ground that they would maintain the peace of Europe. They aroused a natural indignation in Spain. They aroused, also, the anger of the English Tories, because they involved England in incalculable obligations on the Continent. Despite their theories of royal power, the Tories were challenging the king's right to direct foreign policy. The opposition was so vigorous that William had to get rid of his Whig ministers, and appoint Tories, as the only means of keeping the House of Commons in a good humour. This was another step in the direction of party-cabinet government.

A French King in Spain.—And, after all, the Partition Treaties were of no avail. For in 1700 Charles II of Spain died; and being anxious to preserve the unity of the Spanish empire, made a

* See Genealogical Table G, at the end of the volume.

will just before his death whereby he bequeathed his throne to Louis XIV's grandson, Philip Duke of Anjou, calculating that France was the only power capable of defending the whole inheritance. There was no doubt that the sentiment of the Spanish people endorsed this decision. The temptation thus offered to Louis XIV was too great to be resisted. Here was Spain clamouring to be taken under the wing of France, and all the wealth of the Indies awaiting exploitation. Louis might have hesitated if he had been certain that he would have to meet the united opposition of England and Europe. But in England the Tories were in power; they were attacking William III's policy; they had cut down the army to an almost negligible size. Without the fleet and the subsidies of England other opposition was not to be feared. Louis accepted the splendid prize on behalf of his grandson. At one stroke the results of all the long wars were undone, and the combined Franco-Spanish power seemed to dominate not only Europe but the whole world.

Impeachment of Somers.—With bitterness in his heart, William had to accept the accomplished fact. His Tory ministers and the Tory majority in Parliament took the view that the balance of power in Europe was no concern of England's. They even proceeded (1701) to impeach the Whig leader, Lord Somers, and two of his colleagues, for the part they had played in negotiating the Partition Treaties. In actual fact, William had kept the negotiations in his own hands, holding (like his Tudor and Stewart predecessors) that foreign policy was the king's business. In the case of the first Partition Treaty, he had actually required Somers to send him a blank commission, sealed with the Great Seal, authorising unknown persons to sign an unknown treaty. The impeachment of Somers in 1701, like that of Danby in 1678, implied that ministers were responsible for foreign policy. But it is significant to find the Tories, with their exalted views of royal power, taking the lead in thus restricting the king's authority. The impeachment of Somers came to nothing, because there was a Whig majority in the House of Lords. But thenceforward the responsibility of ministers to Parliament for the conduct of foreign as well as domestic affairs was never again seriously challenged. With sublime inconsistency, it was the Divine Right party which established this principle.

The Act of Settlement.—In 1701 Parliament was called upon to decide upon a very difficult question. The only surviving

son of the Princess Anne had just died ; and it was necessary to make provision against the probable event that both William and Anne would die without heirs. This question was answered by the *Act of Settlement*, 1701, which, though passed by a Tory Parliament, disregarded the claims of James II's son, and the claims of the next heirs, the Dukes of Savoy, who were descended from Charles I's youngest daughter ; and went back to the descendants of James I's daughter Elizabeth.* Even the line of her eldest son was passed over, because they were Catholics ; and the right of succession was conferred upon the aged Sophia, Elizabeth's daughter, who had married the elector of Hanover, and upon her eldest son, afterwards George I. It is important to realise how far afield this Tory Parliament had to go in order to find a Protestant heir ; because this shows how completely they had broken with the idea of divine hereditary right.

Attacks on the Crown.—The Tory authors of the Act of Settlement went out of their way to wound William III. They provided in the Act that the next king was not to involve England in war to protect his foreign dominions without the consent of Parliament, that the king was not to leave England without the consent of Parliament, and that no foreigners (this glanced at William's Dutch friends) were to receive grants or offices or to sit in Parliament. Inspired by personal opposition to a "Whiggish" king, these clauses nevertheless represent an extraordinary departure from divine-right monarchy. The same hostility was shown in other clauses, which provided that no minister or holder of office was to sit in Parliament, and that public affairs were to be transacted in the full Privy Council, and not in cabinet councils of ministers. This was meant as a condemnation of the Whig "Junto." If these anti-Whig clauses had remained law, they would have prevented the development of the system of cabinet government.

Judicial Independence.—One very valuable clause, however, was included in the Act of Settlement, which formed a vitally important appendix to the Revolution system. It provided that the judges were to have fixed salaries, and that they were only to be removed after an address to the Crown by both Houses of Parliament. This clause established the independence of the judicial bench, a vitally important constitutional principle, and one of the essential safeguards of liberty. Henceforward the judges were not to be

* See Genealogical Table C, at the end of the volume.

servants of the Crown, as they had been under the Stewarts—"lions under the throne" Bacon had called them; nor were they to be liable to dismissal because the king disliked their decisions. They were to be the impartial interpreters of laws which were equally binding upon all.

Louis XIV recognises "James III."—Almost at the moment when the Act of Settlement became law, the exiled James II died. Thereupon the magnificent Louis XIV, now, as he thought, securely master of France and Spain, the Netherlands and the Indies, recognised James II's thirteen-year old son, later known as the Old Pretender, as king of England. This was a direct repudiation of the Treaty of Ryswick, and of the Act of Settlement. It suggested that the now redoubled power of France might be employed to conquer England for Catholicism. This bravado brought about a sudden reversal of opinion in England. At the end of 1701 a new Parliament was elected. It was far more Whig in complexion than its predecessor; and even its Tory members were indignant at Louis' action, and ready for war with France.

Death of William III.—Having lived to see English opinion swing round to a sense of the danger of French domination, William III did not survive to take the lead in this last crusade against his life-long adversary. He fell from a horse in March 1702, and his frail constitution was unable to resist the shock. The second, and more intense, phase of the duel with France was left to other leadership. William died unlamented, except by a few friends; yet in face of almost insuperable difficulties he had achieved great things, and had guided England and Europe through a perilous time.

CHAPTER XXVII

QUEEN ANNE: THE DOWNFALL OF LOUIS XIV: WHIGS AND TORIES

1. Marlborough and the War of the Spanish Succession

Queen Anne and the Churchills.—Queen Anne was a placid, stupid, obstinate lady, married to a bovine husband, Prince George of Denmark; she was clearly incapable of directing a great war. But

she had been for twenty years completely under the influence of her brilliant and domineering friend, Sarah Jennings, the devoted wife of John Churchill ; and Churchill,* though few opportunities of displaying his power had yet been given him, was beyond all comparison the ablest man in England, ideally fitted for the difficult work which now lay before him. When Anne dismissed the Whig ministers whom William III had appointed at the end of his reign, and practically put the control of affairs in the hands of the Churchills, she opened the most dazzling period of military glory that England had yet enjoyed. †

John Churchill.—Handsome in person, and with infinite charm of manner, Churchill was always master of himself, and could preserve an Olympian calm in moments of crisis. These qualities made him a wonderful diplomat, able to deal with the touchy and pompous representatives of the heterogeneous States which formed the Grand Alliance : only the highest diplomatic genius could have held them together and directed their activities to a common end. But he had also a genius for war. He was the greatest soldier whom England has ever produced—great not only in tactics, or the management of battles, and in strategy, or the planning of campaigns, but in the still greater power of seeing the war as a whole, and co-ordinating apparently disconnected campaigns on land and sea. He was the first to grasp how sea-power could best be employed in connection with land armies. This superlative genius (like Napoleon later) had no sense of honour, and was governed not by patriotism but by personal ambition. He had betrayed James II and William III in turn ; for this reason William, while recognising his military gifts, had never trusted him. He had no political principles, and, though bred a Tory, despised Whig and Tory alike, and used them for his own purposes : moreover, both parties distrusted him. He was avaricious of money, and used every opportunity that came in his way of adding to his private fortune—taking commissions on all the subsidies paid by England to her allies. He was "the greatest and the meanest of mankind."

Godolphin.—Churchill's most intimate political ally was Lord Godolphin, whose son had married his daughter. As Lord Treasurer,

* There is a Life of Churchill (Marlborough) by C. F. Atkinson (Heroes of the Nations).

† Thackeray's *Esmond* gives a good picture of England and English society in this period of war.

Godolphin was at the head of the English government during eight glorious years, yet he has left a singularly indefinite impression. He had enjoyed long experience of public affairs, and was a very competent man of business: Charles II summed him up as "never in the way, and never out of the way." While Godolphin managed the business of government and finance at home, Churchill (who spent every winter, between campaigns, in London) directed not only the war, but the foreign policy of the country. These partners, engrossed in their single purpose, tried at first to work with Tory colleagues; but finding that the Whigs alone whole-heartedly supported the war, they gradually drifted into association with them, until in 1708 the ministry had become wholly Whig.

The Military Situation.—When the war began,* all the advantages seemed to lie with Louis XIV. He was facing the old combination of England, Holland, and Austria, with some of the minor German States; but now Spain, instead of being against him, was under his control, and he also had the useful alliance of Bavaria in Germany. Relatively to his enemies, he held the central position, and had the great advantage of unity of direction; the allies were not only geographically scattered, but under independent governments. Only the fact that England was the paymistress gave unity to their counsels, and this lever had to be used with tact and caution. One advantage, however, the allies possessed—they had command of the seas. Nobody except Marlborough realised the significance of this fact. Even modern narratives assume that only the land-battles counted; whereas sea-power was the controlling factor, though only one naval battle was fought.

The First Campaigns.—The main object of the war was to drive out the French king of Spain, and to put his Austrian rival on the Spanish throne. But before this could be seriously attempted, the position of the European allies had to be secured.† Austria was endangered on the side of Bavaria and also by a rebellion among her Hungarian subjects. Holland was gravely endangered by the fact that France now controlled the whole of the Spanish Netherlands. During the first two campaigns, 1702 and 1703, the Emperor was

* Macaulay has an essay on the War of the Spanish Succession and on the politics of the period.

† For the situation of the various European powers engaged in the war, see School Atlas, Plate 16. For France and the Spanish Netherlands, see School Atlas, Plate 24.

hard pressed ; the Bavarians were even threatening Vienna. But Churchill, in the Netherlands, made Holland safe by mastering the fortresses of the Meuse and the lower Rhine as far as Bonn. * He concentrated his attention on this part of the field in order to get into touch with the Germans and the emperor. The Dutch, who could not see the war as a whole, would have liked him to throw his strength into the war in western Flanders ; if he had done so, the emperor would have been ruined, and the Grand Alliance would have broken up. Churchill was, in fact, laying the foundations of the great campaign of 1704, which really decided the issue of the war. Meanwhile the British fleet was preparing for the attack on Spain. Though it failed in an attempt to capture Cadiz as a base for an invading army, it captured the Spanish treasure-fleet and destroyed the French squadron that convoyed it (1702) ; and its appearance in southern waters persuaded Portugal to join the allies, thus providing a good base for the invasion of Spain : the *Methuen Treaty* of 1703 with Portugal not only fixed this useful alliance, but in return for facilities for English trade gave an advantage to Portuguese wines over French wines in England, with the result that the English became a port-drinking nation. Meanwhile in Italy the Duke of Savoy had also joined the allies.

Blenheim and Gibraltar. — Thus, by 1704, things were ready for a great series of combined operations. Churchill had no intention of being tied down to a stationary war among the fortresses of the Netherlands, such as William III had fought : he meant to restore the war of movement, and to give the enemy no rest. Hoodwinking the Dutch, who would never have consented to the withdrawal of the army from the Netherlands, he marched swiftly across Germany, made a junction with the main Austrian army, and falling upon the combined French and Bavarian forces under Marshal Tallard, inflicted upon them a shattering blow at *Blenheim* (August 1704), the first great defeat that the armies of Louis XIV had ever suffered. This dazzling victory (in which the enemy had 14,000 casualties and lost 12,000 prisoners) not only saved Austria and reduced Bavaria to impotence, it put France henceforward on the defensive. The prestige of victory was now on the side of the allies, and the initiative always lay with them. Churchill was rewarded with the title of Duke of Marlborough, and with a great estate on

* For the barrier fortresses and Netherlands campaigns, see School Atlas, Plate 22a.

which he erected Blenheim Palace. Meanwhile the fleet, under Sir George Rooke, had seized *Gibraltar* (August 1704), and defeated a French fleet that tried to relieve it at *Malaga*. The seizure of Gibraltar gave to the allies a naval base at the entrance to the Mediterranean. It was fiercely attacked during the winter, but it remained securely in English control.

Invasion of Spain.—In 1705 a double attack was made on Spain : * it was, of course, only made possible by sea-power. Under the Earl of Galway, a joint English, Dutch, and Portuguese force advanced from Portugal into Spain ; while on the east coast an Austrian and English force (the latter under the daring and reckless Lord Peterborough †) was landed by a fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel on the coast of Catalonia. That province rose in support of the Austrian claimant ; and (always by the aid of the navy) the provinces of Catalonia and Valencia were rapidly won. In the next year, 1706, Galway even succeeded for a moment in occupying Madrid. No hostile army had been seen in Spain since the expulsion of the Moors. These brilliant successes, though they were only temporary, terribly strained the resources of Louis XIV and weakened his prestige. They also demonstrated the formidable nature of sea-power, which made it possible to land unexpected armies at any point on the coast.

Ramillies and Turin.—Meanwhile, Marlborough had been busy in the Netherlands. In 1705 he had broken through the fortified lines, supposed to be impregnable, which the French had prepared from Antwerp to Namur, though the defenders greatly outnumbered the attackers. In 1706 he followed this up by winning, at *Ramillies*, the most brilliant of all his victories, in which he shattered the main French army of the north, inflicting terrible losses. Most of the fortified towns of the Netherlands surrendered. In the same summer, an Austrian army in Italy, under Prince Eugene, won a crushing victory at *Turin*, and drove the French out of Italy.

First Offer of Peace.—Since modern history began, no such series of crushing blows had been endured by any nation as the French had suffered between 1704 and 1706. The pride of Louis XIV

* School Atlas, Plate 26*b*.

† There is a short Life of Peterborough by W. Stebbing (English Men of Action).

was humbled. He asked for peace, offering to let the Archduke Charles have Spain, and to leave to the Dutch a barrier of fortresses in the Netherlands. These terms (1706) ought to have been accepted. The intoxication of victory made the allies refuse them.

A Year of Failures.—In 1707 the tide seemed to have turned. The Austrians were severely defeated in southern Germany. The allies in Spain, attempting a new attack upon Madrid, were disastrously defeated at *Almanza* by the Duke of Berwick (an illegitimate son of James II), and were left with nothing but rebellious Catalonia. And an attempt to take Toulon, backed by the fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, was a complete failure; though the French burnt the best ships of their Mediterranean fleet lest Shovel should seize them, and thus left to the English an unchallenged control of the Mediterranean.

French Resistance Broken.—But the set-backs of 1707 were only temporary. In 1708 a British fleet seized *Minorca*, as a base for operations on the coast of Spain : it remained in British possession for more than seventy years. In the Netherlands Marlborough won a brilliant victory at *Oudenarde*, which broke the French army defending the road to Paris; he also captured the great fortress of *Lille*, and the road to Paris lay open.

Second Offer of Peace.—Once more Louis begged for peace. He was willing that his grandson should give up the whole Spanish empire except Naples and Sicily, and for his own part to cede all the Belgian fortresses to the Dutch, and even to surrender his own earlier conquests of Strassburg and Franche Comté. The allies refused to negotiate, except on the intolerable condition that Louis should send French armies to turn his grandson out of Spain; for they knew that they could not themselves conquer Spain.

Dragging War.—The war went on; but there were no more runaway victories. In 1709, indeed, Marlborough won a fiercely contested battle at *Malplaquet*, but his losses were terribly heavy—heavier than those of the enemy; and this slaughter, coming on the head of the rejected terms of 1708, turned English feeling against the war. The French fought with the courage of despair. During 1710–1711 Marlborough made his way slowly into France; in Spain, though Stanhope again occupied Madrid, he was defeated and forced to surrender at *Brihuega* (1710).

Conquest of Acadia.—During these last years, the war was for the first time extended to the New World, which had hitherto

been left untouched.* In 1710 an English force, with contingents from New England and the co-operation of a fleet, conquered *Acadia* (Nova Scotia) and, in honour of the queen, gave the name of Annapolis to its capital, Port Royal. Next year a more elaborate campaign was planned against Quebec, in the hope of sweeping the French out of Canada; but it was a failure.

English Politics and the War.—Louis XIV was saved by a change of ministers in England; the fate of Europe now depended upon the course of English politics. For, thanks to Marlborough's genius, England had suddenly become the greatest power in Europe. Her strength depended, though neither Europe nor, indeed, England herself yet realised this, upon her naval power and the wealth she drew from oversea trade. Her navy had bound the allies together; her wealth, dispensed in annual subsidies, had enabled them to keep their armies on foot; and the genius of Marlborough had seen how to utilise these factors of success.

2. The Union of England and Scotland and the Fall of Godolphin

While the pride of Louis XIV was being lowered by the hammer-blows of Marlborough, the Godolphin ministry had brought about an event of even greater significance in British history—the parliamentary Union of England and Scotland.

Scotland since the Revolution.—Scotland had been enjoying the beginnings of an unknown prosperity since the Revolution. Her Parliament was now free and sovereign. Her Church was also free. In 1696 she had fulfilled the ambitions of John Knox by establishing a school in every parish. By creating a banking system, she had begun to organise the thrift of her people. She had also conceived the ambition of creating an oversea trade of her own, and in 1695 had launched a South Sea Company, which (after various unsuccessful experiments) sent a group of settlers to *Darien*, on the Isthmus of Panama (1698). This adventure was discouraged by William III, because it was bound to arouse the hostility of Spain. In fact, the settlers were attacked by the Spaniards, and decimated by fever; and every penny invested in the venture was lost. The Scots attributed this failure to English jealousy, and anti-English feeling grew strong.

* School Atlas, Plate 50*a*.

Scotland and the Succession.—This was the more serious because the question of succession to the crown had to be decided. When the Scots failed to imitate the English Act of Settlement, negotiations for a Union were opened. They broke down upon the prickly nationalism of the Scots, who in 1702 passed an *Act of Security*, providing that the English king should not be also king of Scotland unless he accepted "limitations" which would have made the Scottish Parliament independent. Even more alarming, another Act ordered the general arming of the Scottish nation (1703)—and this at a time when the great war with France was at a critical stage. Thereupon the English militia of the northern counties was called out, and the English Parliament passed resolutions threatening to treat Scotland (especially in trade) as a foreign State, "unless a union be had." It looked as if war between England and Scotland was at hand.

The Act of Union.—Fortunately a more moderate party now gained the ascendancy in Scotland, and negotiations were resumed. Equality of trade throughout the English dominions, which would follow from Union, was the bribe to win Scottish assent. The negotiations went on through 1706. It was agreed that the Scottish Church system and the Scottish legal system should not be interfered with. With great wisdom, the English negotiators showed much generosity in making the necessary financial adjustments. While Scotland obtained sixteen representative peers, and forty-five members of the united House of Commons (one-eleventh of the whole) she was to provide only one-fortieth of the revenues of the United Kingdom; and she was to receive £400,000 to pay out the shareholders of her bankrupt colonial enterprise. On these terms a treaty was concluded, which passed through both parliaments early in 1707; and on May 1st, 1707, the separate kingdoms of England and Scotland ceased to exist, and the *United Kingdom of Great Britain*, with a new flag, the "Union Jack," blending the white cross of St. Andrew with the red cross of St. George, took its place. The union was at first intensely unpopular in Scotland: on a democratic vote it would certainly have been rejected. It was unpopular in England also. Nevertheless, it was the beginning of happier days for both countries, and especially for Scotland.

Balance of Parties in England.—It was a fortunate thing that in 1707 the Tories were not in power, for they would not have been likely to accept the establishment of Presbyterianism. Godolphin

was already largely depending upon Whig votes; and when, in 1708, the ablest of the Tories, Harley and St. John, left his ministry, it became exclusively Whig. There were 190 Tories in the House of Commons and only 150 Whigs, but a solid body of 100 placemen who steadily voted for the Government, whatever its complexion, ensured him a majority. If the Act of Settlement were to come into force, as was intended, when Anne died, this convenient arrangement would have come to an end, because it forbade placemen to sit in the House of Commons. But in 1708 an Act was passed which limited the exclusion to the holders of offices created after 1705. This Act made the rise of the cabinet system possible.

Fall of Godolphin.—After 1708 the power of Marlborough and Godolphin rapidly declined. Their failure to make peace was highly unpopular. Public opinion was stimulated against the war by Swift's brilliant pamphlet, the *Conduct of the Allies* * (1711). The Tories vigorously took up the cause of peace. And another ground of attack was provided by the case of *Dr. Sacheverell*, a Tory divine and a pompous windbag, who preached two violent High Church sermons in which he attacked the ministry. The Government foolishly impeached him, and the Whig majority in the House of Lords suspended him for three years. He became a popular hero, for no particular reason, and made a triumphal progress through the midlands: evidently the High Church party was very strong. Finally, Queen Anne, who had quarrelled with the domineering Duchess of Marlborough, was persuaded by her new favourite, Mrs. Masham, and by Mrs. Masham's cousin, the Tory leader Harley, to dismiss the ministry (1710).

3. The Tory Supremacy and the Plans of Bolingbroke

Harley and St. John.—The complete change of ministers which took place in 1710 gave power into the hands of the Tories. They now commanded the votes of the placemen. An election in 1710 increased their own following in the House. And, two years later, by the creation of twelve peers, they turned the Whig majority in the House of Lords into a minority. The Tory ascendancy thus established lasted until 1714. Its leaders were Robert Harley, now created Earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.

* This pamphlet is worth reading as a model of controversial method.

These two men were agreed upon the necessity of ending the war; but otherwise they differed greatly. Harley was a moderate-minded man, with Dissenting connections, who had been trying to educate his party into accepting the Revolution Settlement: he had been largely responsible for the Act of Settlement, so surprising a product of a Tory government. Bolingbroke, on the other hand, was a brilliant and unprincipled sceptic, whose chief desire was to destroy the Whigs; and for that purpose, sceptic as he was, he was not ashamed to hound on the High Church Tories into a new persecution of the Dissenters.

The Treaty of Utrecht.—The first act of the new Government was to recall Marlborough, and to disgrace him by bringing against him unanswerable charges of peculation. He had no defence; and could only retire to the Continent. He was succeeded in his command by the Duke of Ormond, who was ordered to do nothing; and, without consultation with the allies, negotiations were promptly opened with Louis XIV. The way in which peace was negotiated was a model of how such matters ought not to be settled; and the desertion of the Catalans, who had been encouraged to rebel by promises of protection, and were now left to the vengeance of Philip V, was highly discreditable. But the terms of the *Treaty of Utrecht* * (1713), which resulted from these negotiations, were in themselves wise and sound. Philip V was allowed to retain the crown of Spain, on condition that it should never be united with that of France; Austria became dominant in Italy, and received the Spanish Netherlands, thus forming a barrier between France and Holland. Great Britain kept Gibraltar and Minorca, and with them naval supremacy in the Mediterranean. She also kept Acadia in the New World; and the island of Newfoundland, on which there had been both English and French trading settlements, became British, subject to certain French fishing rights. Thus the two gate-posts of the St. Lawrence were in British hands. Britain also secured the "Asiento," *i.e.* the right of sending one trading ship yearly to Spanish America, and of importing to the Spanish dominions 4,800 negro slaves per annum. This concession was regarded as one of the greatest achievements of English diplomacy. The Treaty of Utrecht may be said to have marked the definite establishment and recognition of British naval and colonial superiority.

* There is a map showing the results of the Treaty of Utrecht in the larger Atlas, Plate 59*a*.

Attack on the Whigs and the Dissenters.—While the war-policy of the Whigs was being overthrown by these negotiations, a systematic campaign was opened at home to destroy the power of the Whigs and to establish securely the power of the Tories. In 1710 an Act was passed restricting membership of the House of Commons to owners of landed estates worth more than £300 a year in the case of borough members, and £600 a year in the case of county members: this was meant to exclude the "moneyed" interest, who supported the Whigs. Sir Robert Walpole, the ablest Whig debater in the House of Commons, was silenced by a baseless charge of corruption, for which he was expelled from the House and imprisoned in the Tower. An attack was also directed against the Dissenters. On several occasions an Occasional Conformity Bill (to prevent Dissenters from qualifying for office by taking the sacrament) had been introduced. It was carried in 1711, with the enthusiastic support of Bolingbroke, who was himself an Occasional Conformist, since, being an atheist, he could not otherwise have held office. Next year (1712) the opponents of toleration for Dissenters in England enacted a measure giving toleration to Anglican Dissenters in Scotland. Finally, as a last blow against the Dissenters, Bolingbroke framed a *Schism Act* which was carried in 1714. Excluded from the universities and the public schools, the Dissenters had created schools of their own. The Act aimed at ruining these schools by forbidding any person not licensed by a bishop to teach in any school.

Plan of a Jacobite Restoration.—Behind this attack on the Whigs and their supporters lay a deeper plan: no less than a restoration of the exiled Stewarts, in defiance of the Act of Settlement. For the Tory leaders knew that if the Hanoverian line was allowed to succeed, the influence of the Whigs would probably revive. Secret communications were opened with the Pretender in 1713. The Pretender, to his honour, refused to become a Protestant, though this would probably have ensured his succession; and at this Harley began to waver. Bolingbroke, who cared nothing for religion, was ready to go on, and persuaded the queen to dismiss Harley.

Collapse of the Plot.—All was going well for the realisation of the great design. The Whig nobles, in alarm, were preparing for armed resistance, and a new civil war seemed almost inevitable; when, two days after Harley's dismissal, the queen had a stroke of apoplexy. Her death was plainly imminent. A Cabinet Council

was held to decide upon the course of action to be taken. Bolingbroke, left to himself, would no doubt have persuaded his colleagues to go on with the scheme. But two Whig magnates, the Dukes of Argyll and Somerset, forced their way into the Cabinet, on the ground that as members of the Privy Council they had a right to be consulted. Their presence turned the waverers. A special envoy was sent to summon the Elector of Hanover. The fleet was called out, and precautions were promptly taken against any possibility of resistance. Bolingbroke's scheme had failed. When George I landed (September 1714), and when his first Parliament threatened an impeachment of the fallen ministers, Bolingbroke fled to France (1715), where for some years he acted as Secretary of State to the Pretender whom he had tried to use as the instrument of his ambition. The chief result of his folly was to ensure the domination of the Whigs for half a century.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TRANSITION TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. Political and Social Conditions

A Century of Conflict.—The peaceful accession of George I brought to an end the century of religious and political conflict which began with the peaceful accession of James I. James I's accession was a triumph for hereditary right; George I's a triumph for parliamentary sovereignty. Save for the last hopeless flickers of Jacobitism, both the constitutional and the religious conflicts were at an end for more than a century. The supremacy of Parliament had been established; not even George III ever ventured to challenge it again.

The Character of Parliament.—This omnipotent Parliament was in no sense a democratic body. It was the organ of a governing class, the class of landowners. At the end of the eighteenth century it was laid down in the law-courts as an axiom that "those who own the land should rule the land"; and this aphorism sufficiently well reflected actual practice. The House of Lords was filled with the greatest landowning magnates. Membership of the

House of Commons was limited by law to gentlemen of landed estate; and if this law was not rigidly enforced, the exceptions were very few, and mainly consisted of younger sons of the great landed families. The franchise in the county constituencies was limited to landowners—the "forty-shilling freeholders." But (except at times of great excitement) the small freeholder was content to leave the nomination of his representatives in the hands of his powerful neighbours, and for two generations the real choice of the members for Yorkshire took place in Lord Rockingham's drawing-room. As for the boroughs, most of them were modest market-towns lying at the park-gates of some great man, whose lead they naturally followed. The right of voting was fixed by a great variety of local customs. In some cases the franchise was limited to the occupiers of particular strips of land called "burgages," which it was easy for a rich man to buy up. In other cases the corporation of the borough nominated its representatives, and as the members of most corporations sat for life and filled up vacancies in their own membership, it was easy to get control over them. In yet other cases the franchise belonged to freemen, usually elected by the corporations; and batches of freemen of the right complexion could be nominated on the eve of an election at the request of a borough "patron." In some boroughs (such as the dockyard towns) the voters were mostly government servants who would lose their jobs if they did not vote for government candidates. There were only a few boroughs, such as Westminster and Preston, in which there was a democratic electorate, and even in these places the voters expected to be paid for their votes. It was therefore easy for a man with wealth and family influence to get control of a group of borough seats if he cared to do so.

The Landowning Oligarchy.—Thus, when the power of monarchy was overthrown, its place was taken by the power of a landowning oligarchy, which retained its domination, practically unchallenged, until the next great revolution, in the nineteenth century. The eighteenth century, which was now opening, was the golden age of the landowning oligarchy. It controlled not only national government but (except in the towns, which included less than one-quarter of the population) local government as well.

The Justices of the Peace.—All the functions of local government in the rural areas were in the control of the Justices of the Peace, who were the leading local gentry, appointed by the Crown on the nomination of the Lord-Lieutenant of each county.

And the Justices of the Peace were no longer subject to the close supervision which the Privy Council had given to them under the Tudors and early Stewarts. The Privy Council had become a large and formal body, which never met as a whole. Its place had gradually been taken, since the Restoration, by a "Cabinet Council" of Ministers, who practically confined themselves to questions of national policy; and the Justices of the Peace were left very much to themselves. If they chose, they could be petty local tyrants. The novels of the eighteenth century, from *Pamela* and *Tom Jones* to *Caleb Williams*,* show that they often abused their powers. But in actual fact, the Justices were much less active than they had been under the Tudors. They had ceased to trouble themselves with the fixing of wages and the regulation of apprenticeship; and they left the management of the Poor Law largely in the hands of the parish overseers. The age of *laissez-faire* in government had begun.

Buttresses of the Oligarchy.—The powers of the landowning oligarchy cannot have been seriously abused, for there was little or no active protest against them. The rule of the landowning class was, in fact, willingly accepted, almost as part of the order of nature. It was, in truth, deeply rooted. The legal profession was closely allied with it, judges and barristers being nearly always members of the landed families, while attorneys and solicitors drew their livelihood mainly from serving them. The Church was equally closely linked, bishoprics and good livings going nearly always to "men of family," while the poorer livings fell to their dependants. The universities had become in part the playgrounds of the aristocracy, where men of family wore "tufts" that were assiduously "hunted" by needy dons; in part the universities were funnels through which the brains of the nation were sucked into the service of the ruling class. The best endowed schools had become the preserves of the ruling class, where their sons underwent a Spartan discipline, and studied the manners and ideals of the patricians of old Rome, whom in many ways the English ruling class resembled.

Safeguards against Abuse of Power.—It was a real safeguard against the abuse of their immense powers by this ruling aristocracy that it had divided itself into two parties, jealous and watchful of one another. Not only in national government and in Parliament, but in local government and on every county bench of

* By Samuel Richardson, Henry Fielding and William Godwin respectively.

magistrates, the rival parties were constantly on the watch for one another's blunders or injustices, in the hope of weakening or discrediting one another. It was a further and still greater safeguard that the Reign of Law had been very thoroughly established in England, and that the habit of respect for law was deeply rooted in all classes. In the British lands, alone of all the world, nobody was exempted from the ordinary law of the land; the judges were absolutely independent, and were dominated by a great professional tradition of impartiality; and through the jury system the whole nation had a share in the administration of the law. For these reasons, the supremacy of the ruling class of landowners worked, on the whole, very well. Indeed, it reflected the social order of the nation, which was still predominantly rural and agricultural. The landowners were the natural leaders of a community which was mainly engaged in tilling the soil, and of which a large proportion had some share of ownership in the soil which they tilled.

Social Classes.—English rural society was roughly divided into four classes, which shaded insensibly into one another, so that there was no sharp cleavage anywhere. First there were the *Magnates*, owners of very great estates, who lived in splendour in their princely mansions, the noblest of which were erected during this period; they also had their town houses, where they gathered annually for the Season while Parliament and the law-courts were sitting, and thus brought together spokesmen of every part of the country. There were about seventy of these great ruling families, and it seemed natural that they should play the principal part in the management of national affairs. This highest class shaded gradually into the *Squirearchy*, men of substantial estates, living on their land, often keeping a house in the county town, and playing a very active part in county affairs. Next came the *Yeomanry*, though it was impossible to distinguish between a small squire and a substantial yeoman. Sometimes farming their own land, and sometimes renting farms, they formed a solid and prosperous middle class, from which the upper classes were steadily recruited; and, through the parish vestries, and in the offices of churchwarden and overseer, they mainly managed village business. Finally there was the great class of the *Peasantry*—the majority of the whole nation—not, as now, wholly wage-earning labourers, but including large numbers of smallholders; even the day labourer often drew a substantial part of his livelihood from a little holding and pasture rights on the village common.

Industrial Classes.—Great as had been the advance of English trade and industry during the seventeenth century,* they were still of minor importance, in comparison with agriculture. The woollen industry, still far the greatest of English manufactures, was mainly carried on in three great areas—the west-country, Norfolk, and the West Riding of Yorkshire. It was still largely carried on in the homes of the weavers, who often combined with their trade the cultivation of a little land; while the spinning of yarn for the weavers gave occupation to thousands of spinning-wheels in the cottages of rural workers, whose livelihood was thus supplemented. Although the capitalist "clothiers" (who bought up raw wool, got it spun in the cottages, and then had the yarn woven to their own patterns by the weavers) were winning an increasing control over the industry, it was still a "domestic" industry, and was closely connected with the agricultural work of the rural population. Mining and metal-work stood more aloof from rural life, but they were as yet on a very modest scale. There was therefore no sharp cleavage between the industrial population and the rural population; and the English society was still a coherent body.

The Dominance of London.—Even the population of the towns was mainly engaged in rural marketing. Only a few towns, engaged in foreign trade, had a separate economic life of their own—London, Bristol, Southampton, Hull, and (just beginning to become important) Liverpool. London was the only really big town. Its population of about half a million made it the greatest city of the western world; and the great companies, such as the Bank of England, the East India Company, and the South Sea Company, which had their centres in London, gave to it a political importance which outweighed that of all the other English towns put together. The city of London was, in fact, the only powerful factor in English life which was independent of the landowning class. But even in London, the potent influence of snobbery (which has been one of the chief moulding forces in English life, leading each class to imitate the class above it) was impelling the rich merchants to identify themselves with the ruling class by acquiring estates; and their sons, as landowners, easily became absorbed in the ruling class. Lord Danby, later Duke of Leeds, who played so great a part in the reign of Charles II and in the Revolution, was an example of this: his

* See the map of England before the Industrial Revolution, School Atlas, Plate 42a.

great-grandfather had been a London merchant in Elizabeth's reign.

An Era of Contentment.—England, in short, was in a state of social harmony and contentment. Her prosperity aroused the admiration of foreign visitors, who especially admired the well-being of her peasantry, in contrast with the wretched lot of the peasantry of France, Germany, and Italy. It has been asserted that there has never been a time since the era of the Antonine Emperors in Rome when prosperity and contentment were so widely diffused as in England during the first half of the eighteenth century. The claim is exaggerated, but it has a foundation of truth.

Progress of Scotland and Ireland. — Scotland was less prosperous. But she was enjoying the first period of settled peace and orderly government in her history. Her people, more generally educated than any other people in Europe, with a school in every parish and no less than four universities, were beginning to turn their energies to wealth-making, and to utilise the opportunities afforded by the Union for expanding trade. But beyond the "Highland line" * the primitive conditions of tribal life still survived, and travellers who penetrated the Highlands during the first half of the eighteenth century brought back amazing accounts of modes of life that were not far removed from savagery. In Ireland the barbarous treatment of the Catholics had reduced a large proportion of the population to a pitiful state of poverty, of which Dean Swift gave mordant descriptions. Yet even Ireland saw some improvement of prosperity in the first half of the eighteenth century, thanks to the existence of settled peace. If not contented, her people were at least submissive.

2. The Movement of Ideas

Decay of Enthusiasm.—Contentment often means stagnation, and the period which opened with the accession of George I—and, indeed, the quarter of a century which preceded that event—was in many respects a stagnant interval in the development of national life. The fervid and passionate beliefs of the seventeenth century had burnt themselves out. They had been succeeded by a cynical and materialist temper. Nobody believed strongly enough

* School Atlas, Plate 38*a*.

in anything to run great risks or to make great sacrifices. Religious ardour had died down, not only in England but in Scotland, and, indeed, throughout Europe. In the ruling classes Latitudinarianism, or a polite scepticism, was the prevailing fashion. Anglo-Catholic and Puritan alike had lost their intensity of belief. Even in the Dissenting communities ardour had decayed, and it is significant that during the first half of the eighteenth century the majority of English Presbyterians became Unitarians, while in Scotland the reign of the Moderates succeeded the fanaticism of the Covenanters. "Enthusiasm" had been the note of the seventeenth century: the eighteenth despised "enthusiasm," and was the age of reason and good sense.

The Age of Prose.—This change of temper was reflected in the literature of the period. The first half of the seventeenth century was an age of great poetry. It began with the supreme tragedies of Shakespeare, and passed on to the austere and profound poetry of Milton; even in prose, its exalted temper was expressed in the rich and mystical eloquence of Sir Thomas Browne or the majesty of Jeremy Taylor. The second half of the seventeenth century was an age of disillusioned fervour: its representative poet was the masculine satirist Dryden, and it gave birth to the cynical drama of the Restoration wits, which reached its highest point after the Revolution, with Congreve. The reign of Queen Anne is always accounted a great literary epoch. But it was essentially an age of prose, limpid, persuasive, and sweetly reasonable, as in Addison's and Steele's essays, or grimly sardonic as in Swift's great satires * and pamphlets: even the great poet of this age, Pope, who is one of the supreme masters of pointed phrase, appeals always to the head, not to the heart. The age of Shakespeare and the age of Pope were both great ages, but there is a mighty contrast between them, and the contrast is a measure of the change that had taken place in the mind of the nation. The age of poetry had given place to the age of prose; the age of faith and ardour to the age of reason and common sense.

Progress of Science.—The most notable mark of the new era was that it saw almost the beginning of modern organised science. Great investigators had not been lacking in the previous era: Bacon

* *Gulliver's Travels* was designed, not as a fairy tale for children, but as a fierce satire on the politics of Swift's time.

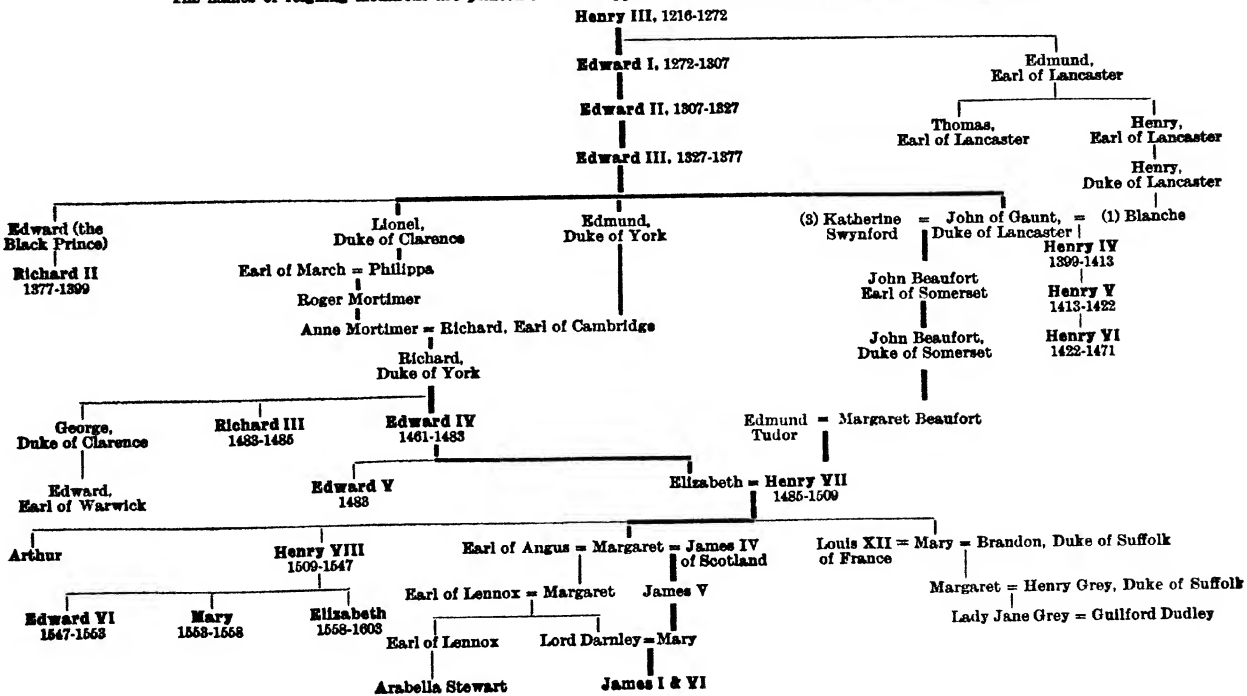
had foreseen the new scientific methods, and the first of the great English men of science—Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, who was a court physician in the time of Charles I—pursued his inquiries by methods that were in accord with the strictest canons of modern research. But it was in the reign of Charles II that organised and co-operative research began, with the foundation of the Royal Society (1663); and before the accession of George I the supreme genius of English science, Isaac Newton, had not only set forth his epoch-making discoveries, but had founded a school of the new learning. Even mechanical invention was beginning. Newcomen's steam-pump (1705), which made deep coal-mining possible, foreshadowed the coming of the age of steam. The quiet, non-partisan, patient methods of the laboratory were slow to conquer the controversial realms of politics and theology. But even here argument was taking the place of persecution. Hobbes and Locke were working out the theory of politics; Bolingbroke was trying to find a logical basis for Toryism; and a crowd of theological writers were discussing the foundations of belief in a spirit of rationalism that would have been impossible a century earlier.

Supplementary Reading on Book V

The *Short History of the British Commonwealth*, Bk. V, Chaps. V–IX, covers the subject-matter of this Book more fully: see especially Chap. VI on the ideas of the political parties, and Chap. VIII on economic developments. Maitland's *Constitutional History* (Period IV: Public Law at the Death of William III) is illuminating on constitutional questions. For the great period of colonial rivalry, see Seeley's *Expansion of England*. Mahan's *Influence of Sea-power on History* is very important for this period, bringing out the significance of the naval war which most of the books underestimate. Lord Acton has three very good lectures on this period (*Lectures on Modern History*). Morris's *Age of Queen Anne* (Epochs of Modern History) is a good short book.

B. TABLE OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND FROM HENRY III TO JAMES I AND OF THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK.

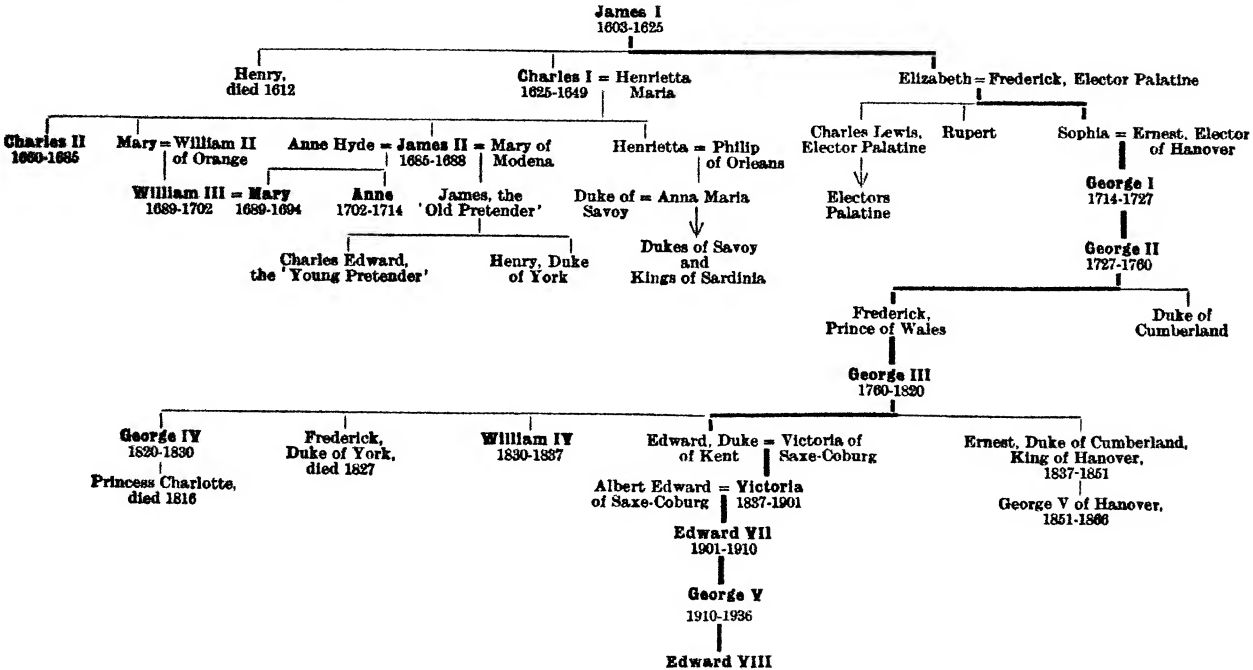
The names of reigning monarchs are printed in black type. The strong black line shows the line of succession.



C. TABLE OF THE KINGS OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM JAMES I TO EDWARD VIII

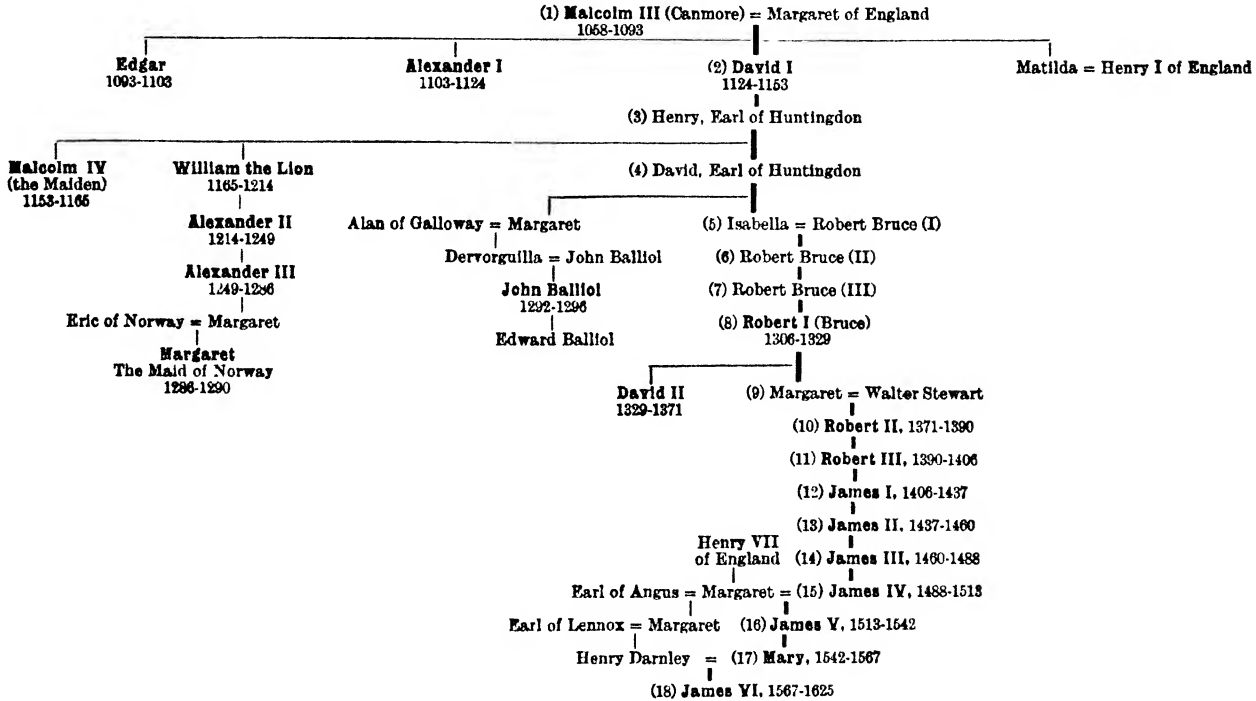
Names of reigning kings and queens of Great Britain are printed in **black type.**

The strong black line shows the line of succession from James I to Edward VIII—eleven generations in 300 years.



D. TABLE OF THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND FROM MALCOLM CANMORE TO JAMES VI (and I)

Reigning sovereigns are printed in black type. The strong black line shows the line of succession from Malcolm Canmore to James VI (and I). The arabic figures show the generations—eighteen generations in 500 years.

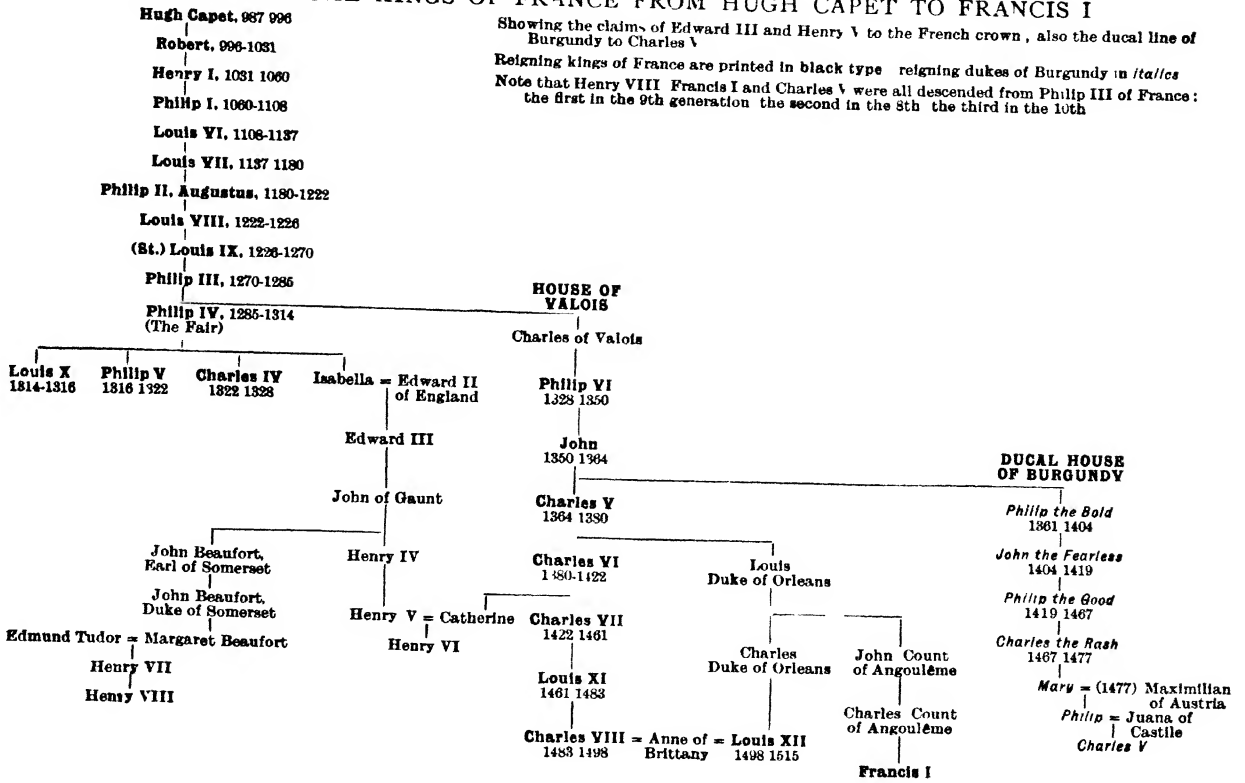


E. TABLE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE FROM HUGH CAPET TO FRANCIS I

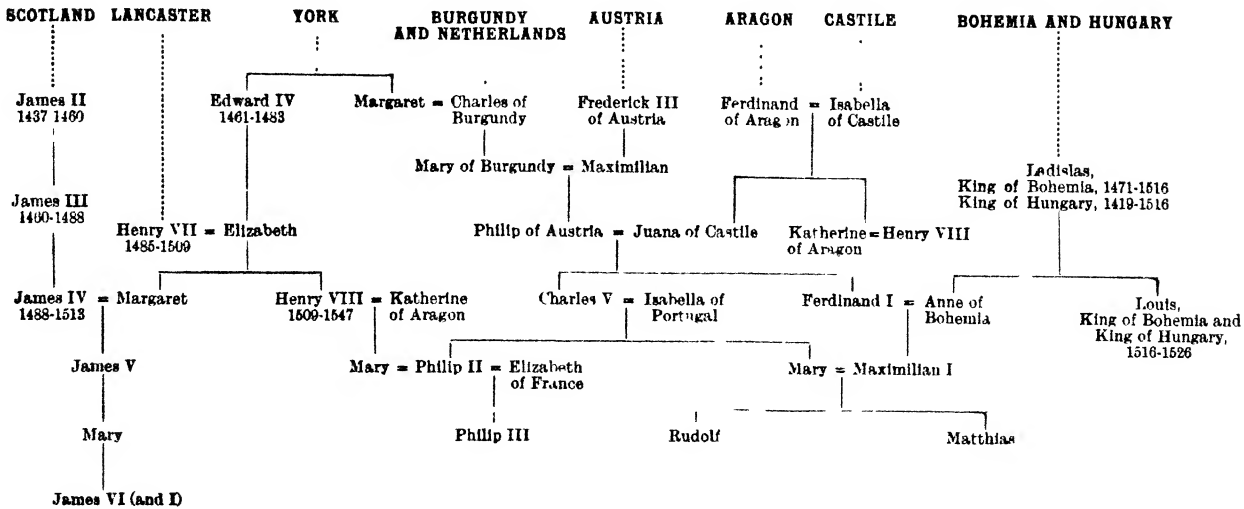
Showing the claims of Edward III and Henry V to the French crown, also the ducal line of Burgundy to Charles V

Reigning kings of France are printed in black type reigning dukes of Burgundy in *italics*

Note that Henry VIII Francis I and Charles V were all descended from Philip III of France: the first in the 9th generation the second in the 8th the third in the 10th



F. DYNASTIC INTERMARRIAGES OF THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES SHOWING THE GROWTH OF THE POWER OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG



INDEX TO PART II

N.B.—Battles will be found, arranged in alphabetical order, under the word *Battles*; Statutes and Acts of Parliament under the word *Statutes*, and Treaties and Agreements under the word *Treaties*.

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