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A HISTORY OF ENGLAND
FROM 1485 TO 1932

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND

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PART I.	55 B.C.—A.D. 1485.	pp. xii + 200
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A
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM 1485 TO 1932

BY

I. TENEN M.A.

*Sometime Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford,
Assistant Master at the Manchester Grammar School*

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FOR C. T.

PREFACE

THE increasingly higher standard expected in the teaching of History calls for text-books which incorporate some of the results of recent research and supply rather more detail than has been usual hitherto. This book is an attempt to meet present-day requirements. It is hoped that some of the more detailed information it supplies will not be simply an additional burden to the memory, but may perhaps "give an air of verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative."

Numerous cross-references are supplied. Teachers should insist on these being used. Their purpose is to make the narrative more intelligible and at the same time to ensure constant revision. A sufficient number of maps has been included to make the book reasonably independent of a general atlas. Constant reference to maps is essential for a sound study of History. But it is perhaps too much to expect the average pupil to hunt for places in the index of his (or her) atlas and then on a crowded map. In most cases, therefore, the pupil is given a clue as to whereabouts the place mentioned is to be found and on what map. This leaves him (or her) no excuse for ignorance. Battle-plans are not included. The movements leading up to important battles and the battles themselves are described sufficiently clearly, it is hoped. But the practice of supplying full-page plans for numerous battles must surely suggest to the adolescent mind that a battle is the climax of human activity. Most teachers will agree that this is hardly a desirable impression to leave.

Summaries have not been added, for the reason that they too often "short-circuit" the History homework. The only summary which is of any value is that which is the result of marking the text under the teacher's supervision when it has been carefully read.

It has not hitherto been usual for text-books of the first public examination standard to be illustrated. But there

is no good reason why pupils at this stage should not gain some idea of the appearance and environment of past generations whose activities they are expected to study so intensively. It must be understood that, in most cases, costume pictures illustrate the dress of the wealthiest classes only.

The index supplies detailed references in the case of important personages and topics. This should facilitate revision work, when it is necessary to trace the whole of a career or movement.

I have to thank Mr. F. Clarke, B.Sc., of the Scarborough Boys' High School, Mr. W. G. Poskitt, and Mrs. C. Tenen, B.A., for their invaluable help in checking the manuscript and the proofs. But the responsibility for any errors or faults of expression is, of course, mine entirely.

I. TENEN.

June 1932.

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SECTION III

CHAPTER XIII

NEW WORLDS

“ I’ll have them fly to India for gold,
Ransack the ocean for orient pearl,
And search all corners of the new-found world
For pleasant fruits and princely delicates ;
I’ll have them read me strange philosophy
And tell the secrets of all foreign kings ;
I’ll have them wall all Germany with brass,
And make swift Rhine circle fair Wittenberg ;
I’ll have them fill the public schools with silk
Wherewith the students shall be bravely clad ;
I’ll levy soldiers with the coin they bring,
And reign sole king of all our provinces.
Yea, stranger engines for the brunt of war
I’ll make my servile spirits to invent.”

MARLOWE, *Dr. Faustus*.

I. THE RENAISSANCE

THE essence of History is the story of Man’s progress from something a little higher than a beast towards something “ a little lower than the angels,” which we believe to be his destiny. There are times when the speed of that long pilgrimage develops a sudden and amazing increase, so that the advance recorded in a few years is greater than that of preceding centuries. Such a period was A.D. 1450–1500.

One of the many important events that mark that period was the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453. They were the last of a series of terrible invaders from Central Asia who had plagued Europe since the fall of Rome. And they were the most successful. They were brave and hardy soldiers, very skilfully led, and above all, assisted by thousands of cannon. Before 1453 they had already conquered most of Asia Minor and the Balkans. But for long they were held up by the mighty ramparts of Constantinople, that vast, luxurious and

cultured city which for eleven hundred and thirty years had been the capital of the Græco-Roman Empire. At last the Turkish cannon battered the walls down, mail-clad hordes swarmed through the breaches, and the city was sacked. It was the greatest triumph of Mohammedans over Christians. The huge Cathedral of St. Sophia became a mosque, and on its soaring dome a crescent replaced the cross.

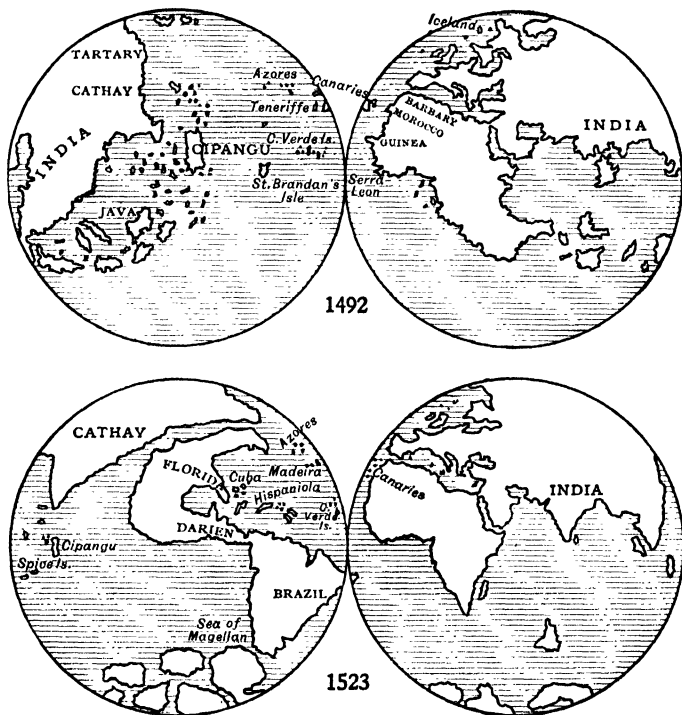
Even before the fall of Constantinople there were Greek scholars in the flourishing and highly civilised cities of Italy teaching their ancient language and literature. Whether the Turkish conquests greatly increased the number of Greek teachers in Italy is doubtful. But by 1500 classical Greek and Latin literature were familiar to most educated men. Now the study of the poets, dramatists and philosophers of ancient Greece tended to make men rebel against the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, which had dominated education throughout the Middle Ages.

Two mediæval ideas which the men of the New Learning began to challenge were, first, that Beauty is a snare and delusion, and secondly, that no man must question the wisdom and authority of the Church. Men had been taught to look upon the body as an unworthy and temporary vessel of the immortal soul, and to regard all natural beauty as a snare of the devil, to distract the mind from pious meditation on the life hereafter. But the ancient Greeks worshipped physical fitness and beauty, and a delight in the open air permeates their literature. Italians began to share this feeling, and the poet Browning has expressed the change of attitude, in "Fra Lippo Lippi," where he makes the Florentine painter say:

" Do you feel thankful, aye or no,
For this fair town's face, yonder river's line,
The mountain round it and the sky above,
Much more, the figures of man, woman, child,
These are the frame to? What's it all about,
To be passed o'er, despised? Or dwelt upon, wondered at? "

Again, the greatest intellects of the Middle Ages had all been in the service of the Roman Catholic Church, which had insisted on all men accepting their decisions without question. Now though the leading scholars of the Middle Ages were very clever men, there was little scientific knowledge at that time and far too much theorising. But

the Greek philosopher Plato, writing about his great teacher, Socrates, told how that ugly, clever, noble little man used to wander about Athens, asking its gay and bright young men what they were doing and *why* they were doing it. And so he got them to tell him what they believed, and he



TWO OLD GLOBES OF THE WORLD

would ask them *why* they believed it. Some of the Athenians grew tired of that eternal “*why*,” and silenced it tragically. But suddenly it rang out again in western Europe, far more loudly, in the fifteenth century. “Why do we do this?” “Why do we believe that?” It was the end of the faith and discipline of the Middle Ages. As an example, men had been told that if two weights were

dropped to the ground from a height, the heavier one would reach the ground sooner, in proportion to its weight. They all believed it; till ultimately, someone went up the leaning Tower of Pisa and dropped two unequal weights, and they reached the ground together! Socrates had said, "We must follow the argument whithersoever it leads." Men began to do that in the fifteenth century, and modern liberty and science have been the result. And that is why this period is called the "Renaissance," the "new birth" of Man's mind.

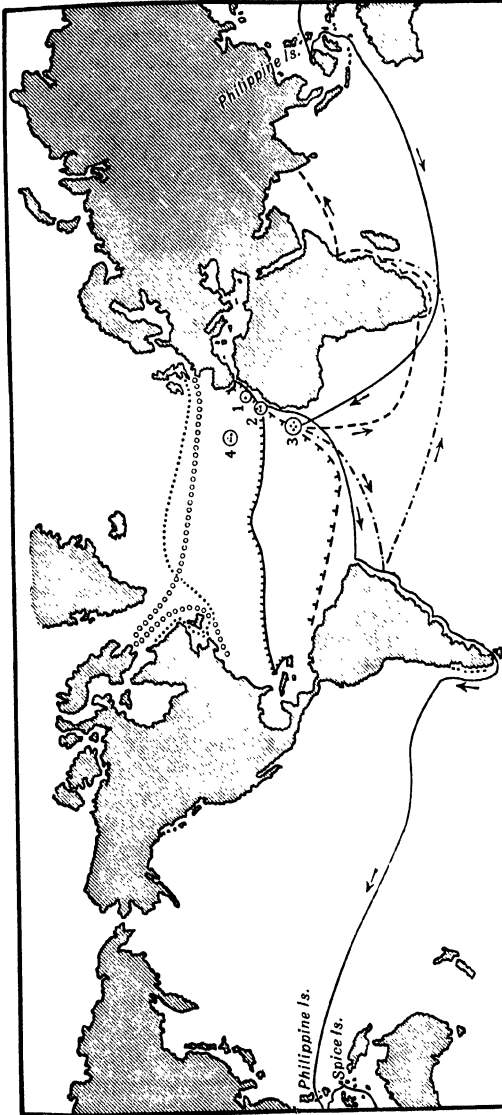
2. "His heart was bound in triple brass and oak,
Who first entrusted his frail bark to the cruel ocean!"
(From an Ode of Horace.)

The Turkish conquests affected the traders of Europe, if not the scholars. For they lay directly across the trade routes from the far East to western Europe. A romantic traffic in jewels, costly fabrics, perfumes and spices brought great wealth to those engaged in it. Cloves and nutmegs from the Moluccas, camphor from Borneo, pearls, sapphires and cinnamon from Ceylon, pepper and ginger from Malabar, delicate fabrics from Kashmir, Bengal, and Coromandel, all these had hitherto found their way across deserts to Constantinople, or to Aleppo and Beirut in Syria, on the backs of camels and ponies. Or Arab dhows had taken them from Chinese junks and brought them to the Red Sea, whence they went over the Suez desert to Alexandria. Once the cargoes reached the Mediterranean, the Venetians had distributed them over Europe. Western merchants about 1450 were beginning to have difficulty in getting and paying for these oriental wares, partly owing to the fighting near the western termini of these routes, and partly because of money exchange difficulties, and prices, already high, went higher still. It struck the more enterprising traders that if they could find a direct sea route to the East, just one ship stuffed with oriental cargo that had never changed hands till it reached western Europe would make its lucky owner's fortune. That was one motive behind the restless efforts that now followed to find an unbroken sea route to the far East. There were great improvements in the design of ships about this time, especially the addition of the mizzen-mast in the stern with a triangular sail which enabled boats to make better head-way against contrary winds.

But it was a tremendous task to work out a sea route to the East, for no one had ever gone very far out even into the Atlantic. Seamen believed that if you sailed a long way west, even supposing the terrible "Bishop of the Sea" did not swallow your ship entire, you would find yourself in perpetual darkness, and then your boat would fall off the edge of the world. Again, if you left the north coast of Africa and sailed southwards past the barren shore where the Sahara comes to the sea, you would meet ghastly sea monsters like the Kraken, but if you escaped those and still sailed south, you would find the sea boiling. The Portuguese, favoured by their situation, were the first to get accurate information about the South Atlantic. One of their princes, usually known as Prince Henry the Navigator, sent out expeditions to work their way south-west. They found their way to Madeira, to the Canaries, the Cape Verde Islands and the Azores. They worked their way down the west coast of Africa and began to bring home gold dust and negro slaves. In 1486, Diaz sailed round the Cape we now call Good Hope, and in 1497 Vasco da Gama sailed round Africa as far as Mombasa, then, with the help of Arab pilots, struck across the Indian Ocean and reached Calicut, on the south-west coast of India. Soon after, the Portuguese established a permanent base at Goa, further up the coast, which they still hold to-day, and from there, they established themselves in the Spice Islands (the East Indies). One of their expeditions, under Cabral, after leaving Lisbon, was blown far over to the west, and reached what is now Brazil, but the discovery was long kept a secret, and we cannot tell the exact date, though it was probably 1500.

By this time the Spaniards were plotting out a route of their own, which involved a bold voyage straight across the Atlantic westwards. The first stage of this journey was discovered in 1492 by that rather mysterious character whom we call Christopher Columbus. In his earlier days he had sailed on the usual voyages from Genoa, and later from Lisbon. He had then become interested in routes to the Spice Islands. Now another effect of the revival of Greek learning had been to promote the study of mathematics and astronomy. Maps and instruments were made far more accurate, and Columbus made the acquaintance of the best map-maker in Florence. A strange idea took possession of Christopher's mind and it dominated him to

the day of his death. He was not the first man to realise that by sailing west one could reach a place we usually think of as being far east. Most educated men of his day knew that the world was a sphere. But he was the first man to put that theory to a dangerous practical test. He went to Bristol and found out what the English seamen knew of the Atlantic (p. 216). It is even said that he went to Iceland to study the old legends of Norse voyages southwards from that country. In his day the circumference of the earth was thought to be one-sixth less than it actually is. And the well-known narrative of Marco Polo's long travels in the East gave the impression that Asia jutted out far more to the east than it does. So Columbus thought that if he could get down to the Portuguese islands off the west coast of Africa, into the belt of easterly trade winds, a fairly short and easy voyage would bring him to the coast of Asia. He persuaded the Queen of Castile to fit him out a small fleet and struck out westward from the Canaries. Though he saw no land for weeks, his fanatical confidence triumphed over the superstitions of his mutinous sailors. He landed on the island he called San Salvador, now Watling Island in the Bahamas. Later he made three other voyages, exploring the islands and the north coast of South America. To the day of his death he imagined he had found some unknown part of Asia, and never dreamed he had discovered a new continent. But the Spanish explorers who followed him, quickly surveyed all the land round the Gulf of Mexico, crossed the isthmus of Panama, and began to penetrate South America. They realised they had discovered quite a new land, but at first it was considered rather a nuisance, an enormous barrier across the way to the East Indies. In 1519 Magellan was sent out with an expedition to find a way past the barrier. He sailed far down the east coast of South America, then in 1520 through the strait that was named after him and a little way up the west coast. Next he boldly struck across the huge waste of the Pacific, till he made the Philippines in 1521. Here he was killed in a fight with the fierce islanders, but one of his ships sailed through the East Indies, and right across another vast stretch of ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, and so home along West Africa. It was an amazing cruise, and, together with the first voyage of Columbus, it proved what the new spirit of inquiry and adventure could do for

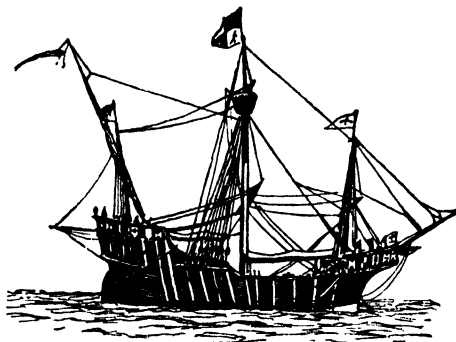


OCEAN VOYAGES OF EARLY EXPLORERS

Columbus { First Voyage, 1492 Third " " First " " Second " "	Da Gama, 1497-99 Cabral Magellan's Victoria, 1519-22	1. Madeira 2. Canary Isles 3. Cape Verde Isles 4. The Azores
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mankind, especially when we realise how small the vessels of the first explorers were. The English also were striving to find a northerly route across the Atlantic to the East, and this led to the discovery of Labrador and Newfoundland by Cabot in 1497 (p. 217). The French too tried to find a north-west passage round America, and Jacques Cartier explored the St. Lawrence in 1534.



THE "SANTA MARIA," FLAG-SHIP OF COLUMBUS, 1492

Note the triangular sail aft.

3. THE REFORMATION

We have seen that one result of the Renaissance was to make men more sensitive to beauty. The result was that artists and craftsmen, encouraged by generous and enlightened patrons, produced pictures, statues, buildings and furniture which have been the wonder and delight of the world ever since. It was late in the fifteenth and early in the sixteenth century that Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo painted majestic figures on walls and canvas, or wrought them in marble and bronze. It was then that Raphael painted his portraits of grave Popes and dignified princes, and supplied many churches with sweet-faced Madonnas. Titian told the legends of the classics in glowing, silken colours that seem to belong to the age when the world was young. At first Florence was the great art centre of Italy, while the Medici family ruled that fair city with its dreaming towers. But after their decline, the Popes of Rome became the greatest patrons of art and also

of classical learning. They eagerly collected manuscripts of ancient Greek and Latin authors whose pagan outlook on life they should have strongly condemned, had they been consistent. But many of these Popes were half-pagan themselves. It is Browning again who gives us a vivid impression of the Renaissance clergy, in his poem, "The Bishop orders his tomb at St. Praxed's Church."

This brings us to the second effect of the Renaissance which we noticed, a tendency to criticise conventions and institutions. The Roman Catholic Church was the strongest institution in the western world. From Ireland to Poland, from Sweden to Sicily, the Mass was celebrated in the same way, and all humble folk believed what the priest told them. But a few educated men now began to grow restless and critical. What right had the Church to this immense power, and why should its teachings be accepted without question? Scholars working among the manuscripts of the Vatican Library found that some of the Pope's claims to ancient authority rested on very doubtful documents. But as these scholars were well treated, they kept quiet, and Italy was generally too intoxicated with Beauty to trouble about Truth. Soon, however, scholars from north Europe came down the Rhone or up the Rhine and crossed the Alps to study the New Learning in Italy. And when they went back home again, they taught their pupils not only Latin and Greek classics, but the Hebrew and Greek necessary to study the Bible in its original form. Now when they got as close as they could to what the prophets and apostles had actually written, a few of them grew dissatisfied with the Latin version of the Bible which the priests had hitherto used, and with some of the teachings of the Church. When they looked round at the ministers of the Church, they were shocked to see immoral and worldly bishops, ignorant priests and lazy monks. We must not be surprised, then, if we hear of complaints about the practices, and later, about the teachings of the Catholic Church. Its two most famous critics were the Dutch scholar, Erasmus, and the German friar, Martin Luther. Erasmus, who travelled widely and had friends all over Europe, published in 1509 a book called "The Praise of Folly," in which he ridiculed the ignorant priests and monks, and superstitious practices which had no genuine religious feeling behind them. In 1516 he published a careful edition of the New Testament giving, as

far as possible, the original Greek, and a Latin translation with it. These works circulated widely and quickly, for there were now printing presses all over Europe, the first in England being set up in 1476 by William Caxton (p. 185).

During the Middle Ages books had been copied laboriously by hand on to parchment, and naturally were



AN EARLY PRINTING PRESS

few and dear, and full of mistakes made by sleepy monks dozing over the monotonous work. The first attempts at printing, by carving words on wooden blocks, were no great improvement. The real advance was made soon after 1450 in Germany and Holland, when separate letters were quickly and easily moulded from lead, arranged in a frame, inked, and pressed against paper by means of a large screw and lever. Thanks to printing, the new ideas in religion reached such a wide public that the suppression of heresy became a hundred times more difficult.

Erasmus never left the Roman Catholic Church, and Luther at first never meant to leave it. He was an earnest and conscientious monk, who was greatly troubled about his soul. He thus came to the notice of his superiors, who recommended him to the German prince, Frederick the Wise, of Saxony, who wanted good teachers for his university at Wittenberg. While Luther was there, the Pope began to rebuild the great church of St. Peter in Rome, the head-quarters of western Christianity. It was a gigantic and very expensive task, and one of the ways in which the Pope raised money was by the sale of Indulgences, which, to the ignorant, meant that they could escape a number of years suffering in Purgatory after death, by the purchase of a document of pardon. When the Pope's agent came to Wittenberg to sell Indulgences, Luther thought the matter ought to be thoroughly discussed, as it was too easy to get utterly wrong and dangerous ideas as to what the Indulgence granted. According to University custom he made out a list of ninety-five points for discussion (theses), and nailed it to a church door, with an invitation to all interested to come and debate them (1517). The theses roused great interest, and were printed and circulated throughout Germany. Luther then went on to study Church History; this gradually led him to a general attack on the organisation of the Catholic Church, and his views were published all over Europe. In 1520 the Pope issued a Bull or proclamation commanding him to recant his views and threatening to excommunicate him, together with any who supported him. Luther publicly burned the Bull. The newly elected Emperor, Charles V, overlord of Germany, asked the German princes to treat Luther as an outlaw. But Frederick hid Luther in one of his castles, and many of the German princes supported him. While in hiding, Luther began his translation of the Bible into German, which should enable thoughtful people who were not scholars to read the Word for themselves, which they had never been able to do before. The Emperor, who was also ruler of the vast Spanish dominions, could not devote all his attention to Germany, and in answer to the Pope's request that he should crush heresy, he asked the princes in 1529 to discourage new religious beliefs. Some of them refused, and a long and bloody civil war broke out in Germany between the Emperor and the rebel "Protestant"

princes. At last it was decided in 1555 that each prince should decide the religion of his own territory, and so Protestantism was established in northern and western Germany.

Even before Luther started his attack, a Swiss monk, Zwingli, revolted against the Catholic Church, but his influence was only local. A far more powerful influence for Protestantism began to radiate from Switzerland when John Calvin settled in Bâle in 1534 and published his "Institutes of Christianity" when he was only twenty-five years old. He was a French lawyer whose family had accepted Lutheran doctrines and was driven out of France by persecution. With the clear logic to be expected from his race and profession, he made out a powerful case for extreme Protestantism in his "Institutes," and drew up a scheme for an entirely new organisation of the Church, which dispensed with priests and bishops, and relied for strict enforcement of its gloomy doctrines on "elders" chosen by the congregations; and from the Greek Testament word for "elder," "presbytes," this system of Church management was known as Presbyterianism. The new creed emphasised the stern justice of the Old Testament rather than the love and mercy of the New. Its followers were usually men of a dour, sturdy, fearless, hard-working type, who aimed at securing control of the government, wherever they were, even as the prophets and priests of the Old Testament controlled the kings of Israel. Calvin was allowed to set up his system at Geneva, where he ruled with a rod of iron till his death in 1564. From Geneva, Calvinism spread to the Palatinate, a large province on the middle Rhine, to Holland, to western France, to southern Scotland, and thence to Ulster. Only for a short time was it dominant in England, which worked out its own form of Protestantism; but the Puritans who emigrated to America in the seventeenth century planted it there too. Denmark, Norway and Sweden, as well as north Germany, adopted Luther's system.

4. NATION-STATES

Europe to-day consists of a number of national states living within clearly defined boundaries. The inhabitants of each state feel bound together by their common race, language and traditions. The government can quickly

make its power felt in the remotest village, and few people think of defying it. But if we look at Europe, say, in 1400, we find that states are by no means so well-defined or subject to a single undisputed authority. Every frontier line is blurred by provinces whose powerful earls and dukes aim at independence, and take full advantage of their position. The king is never strong or wealthy enough to rule despotically, and he depends for a large section of his army on the good-will of his jealous nobles, who wish to keep the royal authority as weak as possible. The king is also hampered by the privileges of the clergy, who have their own law courts and are unwilling to recognise any master but the Pope. Scattered all over Europe are independent provinces, ruled by bishop-princes. So that if you asked a man, "Who is your king?" he would probably tell you that the Duke, or the Bishop, or the Abbot was his master. And people thought of themselves as Londoners, Bretons, Aragonese or Saxons, rather than as Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards or Germans.

But between 1470 and 1500, three kingdoms of western Europe were consolidated, and began their modern history. France was finally freed from English claims made during the Hundred Years' War, and outlying dukedoms which had been independent came directly under the royal power. In England, Henry VII triumphed in the Wars of the Roses, which were the result of the weakness of the monarchy, and set himself to make the Crown once and for all supreme. And he succeeded. But the most remarkable progress towards unity took place in Spain. There, until 1479, there were no fewer than four kingdoms, Castile, by far the greatest, occupying the whole of the central block, Aragon in the east, the little kingdom of Navarre in the north, and the Moors of Granada in the south. In 1479 Aragon was united to Castile as the result of the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, and in 1492, the very year that Columbus crossed the Atlantic under Queen Isabella's patronage, the joint kingdoms conquered and annexed Granada, and a few years later Navarre was absorbed. So that Spain became a strong monarchy immediately before it was due to acquire a vast empire in America and Europe.

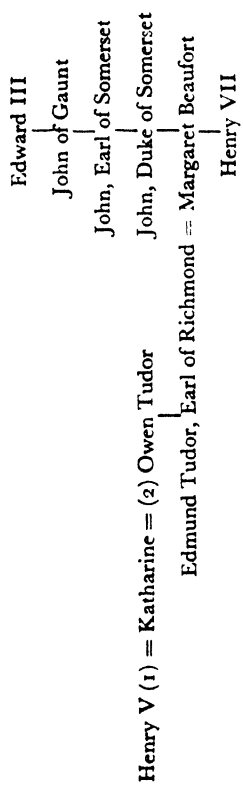
The triumph of monarchy was partly due to the royal monopoly of artillery. Gunpowder was known in the

Middle Ages, and cannon were used at the battle of Crécy in 1346. But little was done to improve guns till the Turks began to blast their way into south-east Europe with thousands of brass field-pieces, and the Emperor stirred up his master-gunners to answer that devastating fire. Arquebuses, the earliest form of muskets, came some time after. Rebel dukes were now no longer safe in their castles, when two or three well-aimed cannon balls could burst the gates in. Kings had no longer any need for their nobles' military service, and preferred to keep a few professional soldiers and a train of artillery. Trade was rapidly becoming recognised as the chief source of national wealth and strength. The merchant was now more important than the ignorant knights who had once despised and robbed him. King and merchant supported each other against the nobles, who stood for anarchy. High profits meant high taxes, in return for which kings helped their traders by negotiating commercial treaties. Permanent ambassadors and agents were kept in foreign lands, and modern diplomacy began.

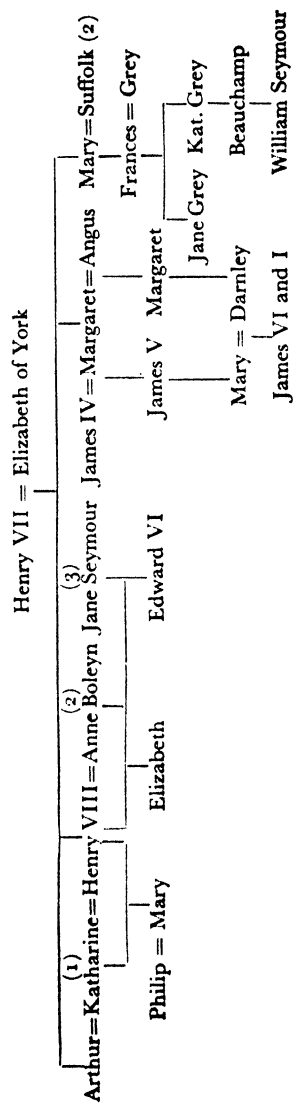
Change is not necessarily progress. Some writers even deplore the events that turned the mediæval into the modern world. But whatever excesses marred the Renaissance and the Reformation at the time, in the long run, humanity has gained immensely in breaking the fetters of custom and authority by free inquiry and bold experiment.

“The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.”

DESCENT OF HENRY VII



DESCENDANTS OF HENRY VII



CHAPTER XIV

HENRY VII (1485-1509)

I. THE LAST OF THE BARONS

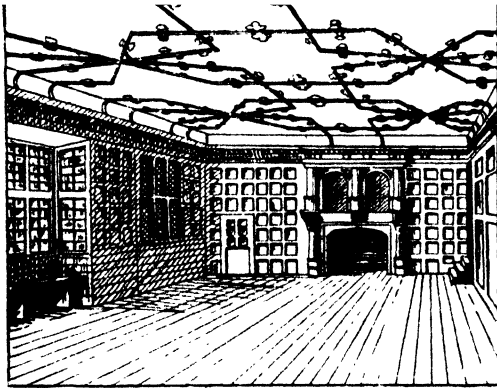
HENRY did well to take for his heraldic device, after Bosworth, the Crown on a Thorn Bush, for he had to grapple with a situation that bristled with difficulties. For the last thirty years there had been no undisputed authority for any length of time, and in the remoter parts of England law and order had broken down completely. Gangs of masked ruffians, "forlorn rogues," roamed the countryside, terrorising villages, and bold enough to exterminate the deer in the royal forests, once so jealously guarded. Manor-houses and churches too were frequently looted. Even in towns, including London itself, to be out at night was to risk a broken head or cut throat.

This reign of terror was chiefly due to the outrageous example set by the nobles in their successful defiance of the royal power. Secure in their strong, well-stocked castles, protected by hundreds, in some cases thousands, of armed "retainers," they could snap their fingers at a royal warrant or even a judge. Contented with their generous rations of food and beer (a gallon a day), proud to wear their lord's livery with its conspicuous badge, the retainers would man his castle walls, defend him in a street riot against his rival, or pack the local court if their master were concerned in a case. In the unlikely event of a jury of tenants giving a verdict against their lord, woe betide the officers who attempted to execute the sentence! A ducking in the castle moat or village pond would be the gentlest of their probable fates. Against this contemptuous defiance, the Crown had been too weak, both from a financial and military point of view, to assert itself.

How did Henry grapple with this serious problem? In the first place the nobles had helped him considerably by slaughtering one another mercilessly in the Wars of the Roses, while frequent intermarriage had concentrated

many titles in a few families. So that in the early Parliaments of the reign there were only thirty-five peers in the House of Lords, and in 1509 there was only one duke and one marquis.

After Bosworth, Henry spared the lives of many of his opponents, but he frequently confiscated their estates and inflicted such crushing fines that they had to sell most of their land, and with it went their power: and so he gained a reputation for clemency, while enriching himself and weakening the power and prestige of the nobility.



THE STAR CHAMBER

The plaster decorations, leaded lights, panelling and the arch of the fire-place are typical of a Tudor room.

Laws were passed, dealing drastically with the retainer nuisance (Statutes of Livery), and prohibiting nobles from supporting their dependents in court (Statute of Maintenance). And these laws were strictly enforced by Henry and his law officers. There is a story that once, taking leave of his favourite, the Earl of Oxford, after being entertained by him, Henry was surprised to see a large guard of honour, composed of the Earl's retainers, all with the badge of the Radiant Star. "My Lord," he said, "I thank you for your good cheer, but I cannot endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorneys will speak with you." And that display cost the Earl £10,000.

But it was still a difficult matter to deal with a noble in his own district. It was therefore decided to deal with powerful offenders in London. A special committee of the Privy Council, consisting of the highest officials of the realm, sat as the Court of the Star Chamber overlooking the Thames behind Westminster. It dealt promptly and sternly with unruly nobles or any other riotous law-breakers, or juries giving unjust verdicts. In the "Merry Wives of Windsor," the enraged Justice Shallow says to Sir John Falstaff, who has violently trespassed on his estate, "I will make a Star Chamber matter of it. The Council shall hear of it. It is a riot." The Star Chamber could and did employ torture to extract evidence, but it never inflicted the death penalty.

In the last resort, the king possessed an enormous advantage in the monopoly of artillery. Even if the nobles could afford fire-arms, they were strictly forbidden to keep them. Neither armour nor castle walls could now any longer avail against the anger of the king.

2. THE PRETENDERS

It was hardly to be expected that the remainder of the nobility would allow the iron grip of the royal power to close on them without some effort to free themselves. Six insurrections broke out during the reign. The first, under Lovel, minister of Richard III, and the second led by the Staffords (family of the Duke of Buckingham), were easily defeated. But in 1487 the Yorkists made a determined attempt to win back the throne. Their rendezvous was the court which that strong-minded old lady, Margaret of Burgundy (sister of Edward IV and Richard III), kept up at Bruges (pp. 185 and 215). Till her death in 1503 she was behind every attempt to upset Henry. Lovel had escaped there and met John, Earl of Lincoln (nephew and heir of Richard III). They found an educated Oxford boy, Lambert Simnel, and put him forward as the claimant, insisting that he was Edward, Earl of Warwick, nephew of Edward IV (table, p. 215). As the real Earl of Warwick was in the Tower, it was not a very sound scheme. Simnel was taken to Ireland, where Yorkist princes had been very popular governors, and crowned as Edward VI. A mixed force of Flemish and Irish brought him across to Lancashire, invaded York-

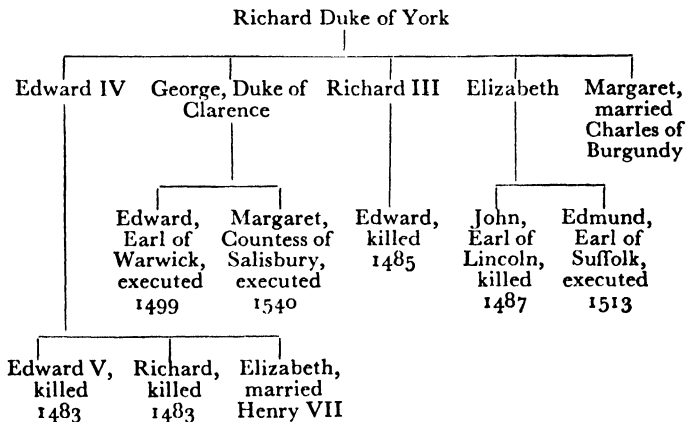
shire, and then began to move south towards London. Henry met and defeated them at Stoke, in Nottinghamshire (see map, p. 194), in 1487, and Lovel disappeared for ever. The Earl of Lincoln was killed, and Simnel was made cook's assistant in the royal kitchen, later rising to be a cup-bearer.

A far greater nuisance to Henry was the series of disturbances from 1492 to 1499, associated with the name of Perkin Warbeck. He was a Flemish youth sent to Cork to advertise and sell his master's silk goods. As he paraded the streets in his fine wares, he was mistaken for a Yorkist prince. This gave the Yorkist leaders an idea. The fate of the two young princes, put in the Tower in 1483 by their uncle Richard III (p. 188), was then still a mystery. The Yorkists, after coaching Warbeck carefully at Bruges, now pretended that he was the younger of the princes, Richard, Duke of York. In 1495 he headed an expedition to Deal, Kent. It was driven off, and they sailed to Ireland. But Henry, annoyed at Irish support of the Yorkists, had, in the meantime, sent over Sir Edward Poynings, who, by the Statute of Drogheda, 1494, better known as Poynings' Law, gave England a closer grip on the government of Ireland, which was to last for three hundred years. No law could be passed by the Irish Parliament without the consent of the English Privy Council, while new English laws applied automatically to Ireland.

Warbeck's welcome in Ireland was not, therefore, such as he had expected, and he completely disappeared for some months. He next turned up at the court of James IV of Scotland, where his imposture was accepted. He married a Scottish lady of high birth, and the Scots actually invaded England on his behalf, though they soon retreated. The threat of the Scottish war gave the king an excuse for fresh taxation. The Cornish people, who at that time hardly regarded themselves as English at all, thought it outrageous that they should have to pay for a Scottish war, and marched against London, but the royal artillery shattered them at Blackheath (south-east of London) in 1497. Perkin, after touching Ireland again, sailed to Cornwall and persuaded some thousands of Cornishmen to march against London once more. By the time he reached Taunton, however, he lost heart,

and surrendered later to the king. After a full confession he was put in the Tower near Edward, Earl of Warwick. The two plotted their escape, as the king expected, and in 1499 they were both executed, "the winding ivy of a Plantagenet thus killing the true tree itself." The only probable Yorkist claimant now left was Edmund, Earl of Suffolk, brother of John, Earl of Lincoln, and he was captured by the king and put in the Tower in 1506, and later executed by Henry VIII (who also executed Margaret, the aged Countess of Salisbury).

TABLE SHOWING DESCENT AND FATE OF THE LAST YORKISTS



The risings failed largely because the country was weary of the nobles and the mediæval anarchy for which they stood. As a class they had long outlived their usefulness. They were no longer of importance from a military point of view, and they lacked the education and training which were becoming increasingly necessary for royal officials. It became the deliberate policy of the Tudors to ignore them, and choose officials from the educated middle class, which was now rising in importance. So we find the few remaining nobles in attendance on the king under honourable supervision as courtiers, while the king's councillors were bishops like Morton (p. 188) and Fox, or officials like Empson and Dudley, and his executive

officers were the companions of his strenuous life as exile, all men of comparatively humble birth. The middle classes, especially the merchants, were anxious for the restoration of law and order. Though they had been mostly Yorkists during the Wars of the Roses, they now saw that Henry stood for firm government, and after he had married Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, and so united the two rival lines, they gave him their solid support. He in his turn worked strenuously for the improvement of English commerce.

3. MERCHANT ADVENTURERS

During most of the fifteenth century, it was chiefly foreign ships and foreign merchants, organised in powerful companies, that took away English wool and brought back the wares of Europe and the East. Besides encouraging shipbuilding by helping merchants to buy larger vessels, Henry strove with considerable success to win for Englishmen the right to take their goods wherever they wished, themselves. Two treaties with the Netherlands in 1496 and 1506 (the Great Intercourse and the Bad Intercourse), and the organisation of the Company of Merchant Adventurers in 1505, made it easier for English merchants to take their wool and rough cloth to the manufacturing towns of Flanders. Agreements with Denmark and the city of Riga gave English ships access to the Baltic traffic in shipbuilding material, hitherto jealously monopolised by the powerful league of Hansa cities: while the Venetians, whose galleys had regularly brought wine and Eastern luxuries to Southampton and London, were now compelled to permit return visits from the English. By a Navigation Act, trade with Gascony had to be carried on in English vessels manned by mainly English crews.

Henry was keenly interested in the idea of reaching Asia by sailing westward, and Columbus might have sailed under his patronage if the messengers conducting negotiations had not been delayed. Bristol seamen had for many years been cruising far out into the Atlantic, but they made the mistake of looking first for the legendary isle of St. Brandan, which was thought to be half-way across (see map, p. 197). After Columbus's voyages, the Spaniards claimed a monopoly of Atlantic exploration towards the south-west, while the Portuguese dealt firmly with all

trespassers on their south-east route. Henry therefore encouraged the attempts of John Cabot, a Venetian settled in Bristol, to discover a northern route. Cabot sailed in the tiny *Matthew* with its crew of eighteen, from the Avon in the spring of 1497. In June, after sweeping some distance to the north, he sighted Cape Breton island, and running through vast shoals of cod, explored the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, quite convinced that he had struck some part of Asia (see maps, pp. 197 and 201). He sailed again with a small fleet in 1498, and after working further north still, was driven back by the cold. He reached Newfoundland again, and then worked his way down the American coast perhaps as far as Virginia. By this time he must have had doubts whether it was Asia he had reached. He died soon after, and for the time the quest was not pursued.

4. DYNASTIC MARRIAGES

The last years of Henry VII were passed in a complicated tangle of marriage projects and alliances. His earlier foreign policy had secured valuable trading privileges, and also succeeded in discouraging help for Yorkists from abroad. Having now established his position and restored order and prosperity, Henry was anxious to safeguard his dynasty. England, France and Spain, by the end of the fifteenth century, had struggled out of the anarchy of mediæval feudalism to strong monarchies. Their kings were anxious not to weaken the royal position by intermarriage of their families with their subjects, for bitter experience had taught them that this resulted in dangerous ambition among the favoured nobles. And so we find a whole series of international marriages about this period. Now France was still the traditional enemy of England, while Spain resented a French attempt to conquer north Italy. It was natural, therefore, for Henry and Ferdinand, king of Aragon, to arrange a marriage between Prince Arthur, Henry's eldest son, and Katharine, daughter of Ferdinand, in 1501. Arthur died in the next year, but to retain the connection and the dowry, Katharine was betrothed to Prince Henry in 1503, and he married her in 1509, rather unwillingly. It was also in 1503 that Henry's daughter, Margaret, married James IV of Scotland. Thus originated an important claim to the English succession,

which later materialised in the Stuart dynasty (table, p. 210).

In his last years Henry seems to have degenerated sadly, especially after the death of his wife. The lion-hearted warrior and wise statesman changed into a cold, cunning miser, ever urging his ministers on to fresh extortions. But when we see the lovely carved wood and stone of his chapel at Westminster, we must confess that he knew how to spend money, too. And we ought not to lose sight of the fact that he healed England of her grievous wounds, and set her firmly on her feet, to face a great destiny.

CHIEF DATES FOR HENRY VII'S REIGN (1485-1509)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1487. Battle of Stoke. | 1503. Death of Elizabeth and Marriage of Margaret. |
| 1496. The Great Intercourse. | 1505. Charter granted to Merchant Adventurers. |
| 1497. Cabot's First Voyage. | 1506. The Bad Intercourse. |
| 1499. Execution of Warbeck and Warwick. | |
| 1502. Death of Prince Arthur. | |



THE FINAL DEVELOPMENT OF ARMOUR
A suit presented to Henry VIII by Maximilian.

CHAPTER XV

HENRY VIII (1509-1547)

I. FRANCE AND FLODDEN

THE new king was a handsome, athletic young man of eighteen, very well educated, like all the Tudors, and an expert in every gentlemanly accomplishment. He could play any musical instrument, argue theology with bishops, talk to ambassadors in their native language, then go out and wrestle and shoot with the yeomen of his guard and beat them all. To make him completely Fortune's darling, he was tremendously wealthy, as the heir to his father's hoarded treasures. Naturally, a young king like this was anxious to cut a figure in the world, and especially to cover himself with martial glory.

Now there were cunning old monarchs in Europe very willing to give him a chance of distinguishing himself for their benefit. Ferdinand of Spain and Maximilian of Austria and the Netherlands were alarmed at the attempt

of the French to win a foothold in Italy, and they determined to keep them busy at home. So they invited Henry to join them in an attack on France. War with France was traditional and popular, and Henry agreed. In 1512 an English army invaded Guienne, the large province in the south-west of France which had had a long connection with England. But heat, disease and the strong wine of the district were ruinous to discipline, and the mutinous rabble had to be led back home. So far from discouraging Henry



COSTUME, PERIOD OF HENRY VIII

this roused his dogged obstinacy. A fresh expedition was carefully organised by an official who was rapidly climbing to the highest rank, Thomas Wolsey. This was directed against the most northerly frontier of France. Communication with England was easy, and the friendly Netherlands provided a line of retreat. In 1513 a relieving force of French was routed at Guinegatte, east of Boulogne (the Battle of the Spurs). Therouanne, on the frontier, was successfully besieged by Henry himself, and the French were driven out of Tournai (valley of the Scheldt, Netherlands; map, p. 164).

Meanwhile, the Scots, with some grievances against

both Henry VII and Henry VIII, took advantage of the king's absence to invade England. Crossing the Tweed with a large army, James IV took up a strong position on Flodden Edge (see map, p. 194). The Queen sent the Earl of Surrey north with a "scratch" force. He worked his way through the hills, and got between James and Scotland. James very foolishly left his strong position and his artillery, and came down to lower ground, where the English artillery and archers made terrible gaps in his ranks. The Highlanders ran away, James and the flower of his nobility were slaughtered after desperate fighting (1513), and Scotland sank into anarchy.

After organising the French campaign so well, Wolsey helped to draw up the terms of peace, Louis paying a million crowns and marrying Henry's younger sister, Mary.

2. THE RISE AND FALL OF WOLSEY

✓ Wolsey was rewarded with glittering prizes, being made Archbishop of York in 1514, and a Cardinal of the Catholic Church, and Chancellor of England in 1515. From this time until 1528 he was the leading figure in England, and a striking example of the opportunities which lay open to middle-class officials under the Tudors.

He was the son of a wealthy cattle-dealer of Ipswich. He went to Oxford University, and after holding posts there, became tutor to the sons of the Marquis of Dorset, who introduced him to Henry VII. He was made a royal chaplain and secretary, and his unusual energy and efficiency soon marked him out. Henry VIII gave him diplomatic work to do, and promptly rewarded his success by appointing him to the Council. Quite apart from his control of foreign policy, his position as Chancellor meant that he was responsible for government at home also. He was by no means popular with the upper and middle classes. The nobles detested him as an upstart who treated them with arrogant scorn, enforcing the Statutes of Livery in the Star Chamber court with crushing severity. The middle classes resented the heavy taxation he frequently levied, and his indifference to Parliament, which he summoned once only, though it had met almost annually before. But he showed strong sympathy with the poor, and lent a ready ear to their grievances, doing his utmost to stop the crying scandal of enclosures, that is, the growing tendency of rich

landowners to seize and enclose with fences the common land of the village (see p. 236).

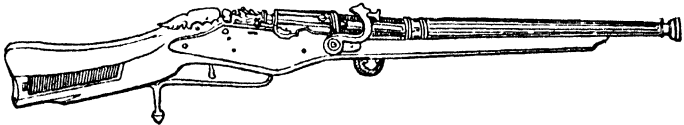
Immediately after his rise to power, Wolsey was called upon to play a very important part in the affairs of Europe. The old French king, Louis, had died, and was succeeded by the high-spirited young Francis I. He and Henry were natural rivals personally, but politically, Francis' mortal foe was a very serious and obstinate monarch who succeeded Ferdinand as king of Spain, his daughter's son, Charles. Not only did he rule Spain and its vast possessions in Italy and the New World, but as Maximilian's grandson also, he was soon to be the ruler of Austria and the Netherlands. At first, Wolsey scored a great triumph by arranging a general reconciliation of European monarchs in 1518, for which he was made Papal Legate, that is, a special representative of the Pope in England. Next year, Maximilian died. Besides being Archduke of Austria, he had been Emperor, that is, elective overlord of the German states, and an election was held to appoint his successor. In theory every European prince was eligible, and so Henry, Francis, and Charles were all candidates. But actually, there was always a strong tendency to choose the Archduke of Austria, and so Charles was elected, especially as Henry did not compete seriously, and, out of jealousy of Francis, helped Charles.

A fierce struggle between Francis and the Emperor Charles V now became inevitable, for supremacy in Europe and especially in Italy. Both sides tried to win Henry's support. The young Emperor actually came to England himself, meeting Henry at Sandwich in 1520. Henry crossed the Channel soon after, to meet Francis, the meeting taking place on English territory, in the little province of Calais. At Guisnes the monarchs and nobles of England and France met, amidst the gorgeous pomp and ceremony of the Field of Cloth of Gold. There were feasts and tournaments, and Henry had the great satisfaction of personally unseating Francis. But there was little sincerity in the lavish exchange of courtesies, for as soon as it was over, Henry rode a few miles along the coast into Flanders, met the Emperor again at Gravelines, and came to an understanding with him, which soon hardened into a definite treaty against France.

It is not easy to believe that this was Wolsey's work,

for, if there is any definite line to be discovered in his policy in foreign affairs, it was to avoid any close connection with France or Spain, while inclining rather to France. There is evidence that Charles offered Wolsey a bribe in 1520. If that is not the explanation, then it seems as if Henry and his nobles had been inflamed by the sham warfare of the Field of Cloth of Gold into desiring the grim reality, and Henry in his masterful way brushed aside Wolsey's schemes and declared war on France in 1522. But the English made a very poor show. Wolsey's heart was not in the war, and the heavy taxation it involved was very unpopular. Francis suffered a terrible defeat at Pavia (north Italy) in 1525, and was ready to pay heavily for peace with England: Wolsey persuaded his master to agree, and the treaty was signed in 1527.

England's foreign policy, then, in these fifteen years, varied to some extent according as Wolsey was given a free



THE ARQUEBUS, PERIOD OF HENRY VIII

hand or not. Time showed that he was right and Henry wrong, though Wolsey himself was later inclined to favour Charles when the Emperor had conquered Rome and so could help him to realise his growing ambition of becoming Pope. War with France was simply a bad legacy from the Middle Ages. Towards the end of his reign (1544), Henry again allied himself to Charles against Francis and invaded France, but the results were not encouraging. Before very long, England saw all too clearly that it was Spain that was the real foe.

After 1527 interest is concentrated at home. Henry was disappointed that Katharine had not borne him a son. True, there was a young princess, Mary, but Henry was troubled as to what would happen after he died. If she did not marry, the problem of the succession would be a very serious one on her death, and in any case, no queen had, as yet, governed England. If she did marry there would be difficulties, whether she married an English noble or a foreign prince. Henry gradually convinced himself that

he was denied an heir because his marriage with Katharine, his brother's widow, had been a sin. The Church usually forbade such a marriage, and the Pope's special permission had been obtained, while Henry, for years after the betrothal, had declined to go through with the marriage. The doubts he had felt at that time now rose again with greater force, and he finally determined to get the marriage cancelled. Hence arose what is usually known as the "Divorce" question, though, strictly speaking, the Roman Catholic Church never allows a divorce. The nearest approach to it is for the Pope to declare a marriage null and void, because of something that occurred before it took place.

In this particular case, Henry wanted the Pope to cancel his marriage with Katharine on the ground that she was his brother's widow, in spite of the special dispensation granted by this Pope's predecessor. Now, in any case, the Pope would be unwilling to admit that a special dispensation had been worthless. But, in addition, he was at this time practically a prisoner of the Emperor, who was Katharine's nephew, and cousin therefore to Princess Mary, whom he thought of marrying. So that Henry's chances of success were very poor. But he was a man not to be easily daunted. He first turned to Wolsey, as Papal Legate, ordering him to get the decree from the Pope by any means at his disposal. Henry was all the more insistent as he had by now fallen in love with one of Katharine's ladies-in-waiting, a dark-eyed, rather forward girl, Anne Boleyn. She was hardly a suitable wife for Henry, so Wolsey was in an even more uncomfortable position. However, he tried scheme after scheme. The Pope was ready to agree to anything rather than cancel the dispensation, while Henry would be satisfied with nothing less. Cardinal Campeggio was sent to England by the Pope, to hold a court with Wolsey to hear the case. After making every excuse for delay, he took the case back to Rome.

Henry was losing patience, and Wolsey's doom was near. He was compelled to give up the Chancellor's seals, and his various bishoprics and estates. After a time the King relented, and reinstated him as Archbishop of York. He had hitherto neglected his duties in that capacity, but now made amends by a highly conscientious administration of his diocese, perhaps realising, rather too late, that much was wrong with the Church in England. Unfortunately, he

entered into a correspondence with Francis, begging him to intercede with Henry, and effect a reconciliation. The King learned of this, and Wolsey was summoned south to answer a charge of treason. Broken in health and spirit, he died on the journey, among the monks of Leicester Abbey, 1530. Hampton Court Palace and Christ Church College, Oxford, still remind us of his sometime princely splendour.

3. SIR THOMAS MORE

Wolsey's successor as Chancellor (1528) was Sir Thomas More (or Moore—Tudor spelling is so free and easy). He had been brought up in the household of Cardinal Morton, Henry VII's minister, and was trained for a lawyer, though he was always a keen student of religious problems. As a member of Parliament, he led the House of Commons in resistance to Henry VII's last extortions. Early in the next reign, he became Under-Sheriff of London, published "Utopia" and became a successful and influential lawyer.

From 1523 he was Speaker of the House of Commons, and in frequent contact with the king, who greatly enjoyed his witty and cultured conversation. More was one of the champions of the New Learning in England. Erasmus lived with him and his attractive family for some time, and wrote the "Praise of Folly" at his house (p. 203). More cordially detested the ignorance and bigotry of the old-fashioned clerics, and was quite prepared to see their power and wealth cut down. But he had little sympathy with new doctrines, and acted up to this threat of "treading down heretics like ants" in a manner unworthy of the author of "Utopia," or of the king's highest legal official. The only possible defence for this part of his conduct is that, impressed by events in Germany, he dreaded heresy as leading to anarchy.

Henry by this time (1530) had given up hope of success with the Pope, and was working for another solution. While staying near Cambridge, he had heard of the suggestion made by Thomas Cranmer, Professor of Theology there, that the learned men of the Universities of Europe could give a decision on "the King's matter." Henry eagerly caught up this idea, sending Cranmer on a tour of Europe, during which he visited both the Pope and the Emperor.

4. THE POPE DEFIED

In the meantime Henry had begun an attack on the power and privileges of the Pope, as far as they were exercised in England, which became more and more determined till the Pope completely lost all authority over, and profit from, the Church in England. From 1528 to 1536, a Parliament sat, passing laws for Henry which stopped the golden stream which had flowed so long to Rome. In 1529 came an Act regulating the fees payable to the priests and to the Church law courts, which did a huge business. In 1532, the first Act of Annates diverted to the king the first year's income of bishops and archbishops, hitherto sent to the Pope. In 1533, the Act in Restraint of Appeals prohibited any sort of appeal to the Pope's court. The second Act of Annates, 1534, besides extending the first Act, also gave the king control of the election of bishops, and the same year, the "Peter's Pence" Act prohibited all payments to Rome: while the Act of Supremacy finally abolished the authority of the Pope in England, and declared the King Supreme Head on earth of the Church in England. In the meantime Henry had also solved his original problem by marrying Anne Boleyn in 1533, and making Cranmer Archbishop on his return. Cranmer declared the marriage with Katharine illegal, and the ex-queen and her daughter Mary passed into melancholy retirement.

By this time More had fallen. Foreseeing the issue of the "king's matter," he retired in 1532. He was willing enough to allow Parliament, with the king, to settle the problem of the succession. But in 1534 the king insisted on More swearing that he approved of the divorce of Katharine and the marriage with Anne. More refused, and was imprisoned. Henry discovered that More had indiscreetly patronised a nun who had prophesied an early death for the king after his second marriage. After a long cross-examination, More was convicted of treason (1535), and Henry sent to the block the loyal and charming companion whom he had once treated as a dear friend.

But Henry soon tired of Anne after she had borne a daughter, Elizabeth, and took advantage of her indiscreet conduct in her unhappiness to have her beheaded; and this second marriage, in its turn, was declared illegal by the obliging Cranmer. Soon afterwards, Jane Seymour, who

had been Anne's lady-in-waiting, became the third queen, and died on the birth of an eagerly welcomed baby boy, the Prince Edward, who, however, was so sickly that it was always doubtful whether he would ever be king. On the strength of a flattering portrait, Henry then married a German princess, Anne of Cleves, an unattractive lady who quite cheerfully agreed to a prompt divorce granted by Act of Parliament. Consoled by an estate and a pension, she retired in 1540. The next queen was Katheryn Howard, cousin to Anne Boleyn. Extremely young, she behaved unwisely, and was beheaded in 1542. The tragic list is closed by Katharine Parr, a discreet and good-tempered lady who was kind to her step-children, and although she barely missed the Tower, managed to outlive her dangerous husband.

5. THE MONASTERIES DISAPPEAR

Just before its dissolution in 1536, the Reformation Parliament aimed a last blow at papal authority by breaking up the smaller monasteries. All monasteries were papal strongholds, for their abbots or priors looked upon the Pope alone as master, and recognised little, if any, loyalty to the king, who did not appoint them as he virtually did bishops. Yet the abbots practically governed large slices of England. Henry meant to end the semi-independence of the Church, as his father had ended the semi-independence of the nobility.

During the Middle Ages the monasteries had done very valuable work, having departments which served as schools, hospitals and inns. The monks were often skilful farmers, or copied ancient manuscripts. But during the centuries they had accumulated privileges and wealth, and many were now slack and worldly. In any case, by this time their social duties were being better performed by others in the outside world.

Their treasures, and their loyalty to the Pope, roused Henry's jealous attention. Commissioners were sent round, and discovered that in many cases the abbeys were grossly mismanaged by swindling abbots, and that the monks were often ignorant ruffians. This was sufficient excuse for Henry, and he got Parliament to pass an Act "dissolving" the smaller monasteries (1536). The treasures, which had been carefully registered by the com-

missioners, were confiscated, the buildings pulled down or even blown up, and the monks transferred to larger abbeys.

The minister who advised and carried out the dissolution was the "Vicar-General," Thomas Cromwell, a ruthless, fat-faced fellow, once secretary to Wolsey. He had had an adventurous career when a young man, and as a soldier of fortune had wandered through Italy, where he had noted the despotic way in which the princes governed the small independent states into which Italy was divided. After some years as a merchant in the Netherlands, he became a lawyer in London, successfully transacted some business for Wolsey, and was appointed his secretary. On Wolsey's fall, he pluckily spoke up for his master against his many enemies. The king bore him no ill-will for this, and rapidly promoted him. Cromwell fascinated Henry with the new idea of an all-powerful monarchy. Laws were passed making it dangerously easy to commit treason by any sort of opposition to the king, and giving the king's proclamations the force of laws.

But Cromwell's activities were challenged. Riots broke out in Lincolnshire, in protest against the methods of the commissioners. The trouble was no sooner suppressed than a serious rising occurred in Yorkshire, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536). The monks were popular in the backward north, and a large proportion of the suppressed monasteries were in Yorkshire. A lawyer named Robert Aske was travelling to his Yorkshire home, and became involved in the Lincolnshire rising. On reaching home, he found the whole of Yorkshire and the north seething with discontent. For besides their devoted attachment to the monks, peasants and gentry had grievances in connection with the holding of land. Somehow, Aske found himself leader of thirty thousand armed but pious rebels, from earls, squires and abbots down to peasants and monks, singing hymns as they marched south under holy banners. Briefly, their demands were, that the monasteries should be restored, bishops who held new-fangled doctrines should be dismissed, and that Cromwell should be banished. The Duke of Norfolk was sent north with a small army. He could not persuade or force the rebels to depart, so he forwarded their demands to the king, who promised to consider them favourably. Aske visited the king, and the rebels dispersed, but some impatient hot-heads attacked

Scarborough. Aske promptly used his influence to prevent the new outbreak from spreading. But the king took the opportunity of arresting and executing him, with the other leaders, in London. The rebellion then collapsed. We can still read for ourselves in the State papers of 1537 Henry's brutal instructions to his agents for savage reprisals in the unhappy villages of the north.

The rising gave Henry sufficient excuse for proceeding with the dissolution of the larger monasteries which he had spared in 1536. They were given the option of voluntary surrender. In most cases the monks went quietly and were pensioned. But the stubborn or conscientious resisters were harshly treated, especially if they had taken part in the Pilgrimage. There were cases of abbots hanged at their own gates. Once more, as soon as the treasure wagons had left for London, pick, crowbar and gunpowder shattered the triumphs of mediæval craftsmanship. The so-called abbey ruins we see to-day are the remains of the abbey chapels only. These were sometimes converted into parish churches, or even cathedrals, *e.g.* Chester and St. Albans. The vast estates of the monasteries were now at the king's disposal. Some he bestowed on his favourites, but most he sold cheaply, so that a new, grasping, landlord class arose. With the proceeds he founded a few schools, and built a few coast fortresses: but most of it was squandered on his extravagant court; so that in a few years he was paying his huge debts in debased coinage.

Henry's disappointing marriage with Anne of Cleves had been part of a plan to meet new developments in foreign affairs. Charles and Francis had suddenly become friendly with each other, and cool towards England. Cromwell proposed an alliance with a group of rebel German princes who were giving Charles a good deal of trouble (see p. 205). But Henry did not approve of these rebels and their heretical beliefs, nor did he believe that Charles and Francis would remain friends for long. Cromwell, however, finally won him round. But soon Charles did quarrel with Francis, and the danger to England quickly dissipated. Henry was furious at having been misled both as to foreign policy and Anne of Cleves' attractions, and Cromwell was beheaded (1540).

6. THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH

Though Henry had so completely and permanently shattered the authority of the Pope in England, he was still, according to his lights, a good Catholic, and he viewed with genuine alarm the spread of the heretical beliefs which steadily gained ground in London and the eastern counties. And yet his favourite minister from now till the end was Cranmer, a reformer, married to a German Protestant wife, and in constant touch with German Protestants. He even allowed Cranmer to appoint Protestant tutors to the young Prince Edward. It looks as if, at first, he was just as determined not to tolerate heresy as he was to insist on the denial of Papal authority. He had Protestants tortured and burned for heresy just as readily as he had conscientious Catholics hanged and quartered for treason. In 1539 the Act of the Six Articles was passed. This was an attempt to enforce rigid adherence to the chief doctrines of the Catholic faith, including belief in transubstantiation, clerical celibacy, and "auricular" confession to the priest. Besides this "Whip with Six Strings," other similar codes were issued in the course of the reign. But gradually Henry realised that he could not put the clock back, that some change was inevitable: Cromwell had persuaded the king to allow the Bible in English to be placed in the churches, and kept in the homes of the upper classes. And yet a few years before, Tyndale, who was burned by the Spanish Inquisition (1536), had had to get his English bibles printed secretly in Flanders, and smuggled into England in bales of cloth, while the English authorities had promptly destroyed every copy they could trace. Little did Henry realise how eagerly men, women and children would listen to Bible-reading in their own tongue after the regular service was over, and how carefully they would think over what they had heard. By the end of the reign the most important prayers were being read in English, and fully understood for the first time.

7. A UNITED KINGDOM

Men argue so hotly about the value and morality of Henry's religious reforms that it is sometimes forgotten that he was the founder of the United Kingdom. On his accession, Wales was only loosely attached to England, while

his predecessors had been "Lords of Ireland" in name only. Scotland was, of course, a foreign country, but even the north of England, wild, lonely, and lawless, was almost neutral ground. Henry tightened his grip on these outlying dominions. Wales, submitting more readily to a king of Welsh descent, was completely organised on the English county system. The Lords Marcher gave up their feudal jurisdiction, which had survived in east Wales, and the counties of Denbigh, Montgomery, Monmouth, Brecon and Radnor were formed. Wales henceforth sent representatives to Parliament, while Henry was sensible enough to appoint Welshmen as Justices of the Peace there. There was no longer any need for Cheshire to watch the Welsh, and so its semi-independence as a "county palatine" came to an end.

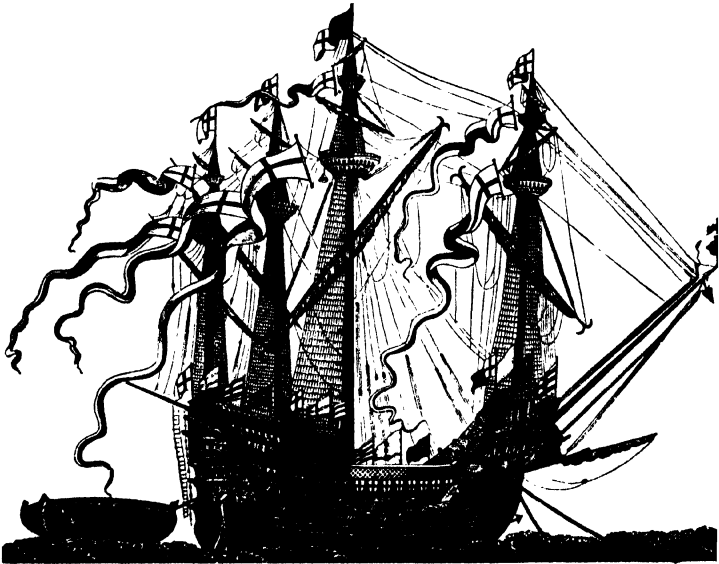
After the Pilgrimage of Grace, the Council of the North was appointed to enforce order on the Scottish border and end the dangerous isolation of the north, and it did good work for a hundred years.

Henry was the first king of Ireland. Hitherto the theory had held that the Pope was the overlord of Ireland, and that English kings held it as a fief, acknowledging by the title "Lord of Ireland" that they were his vassals. After quarrelling with the Pope, Henry boldly declared himself "King of Ireland" and paramount ruler, and he set about giving some reality to the title. According to the Irish view, the land belonged to the various tribes, and the chiefs merely administered it in the tribes' or septs' interests. But Henry enforced the English feudal view that the land belonged to the king, who leased it indefinitely to nobles on condition of service to him. Many of the Irish chiefs were glad to accept the English status of earl, with a strong legal title to large estates increased by confiscations from Irish monasteries.

Henry clearly had in mind the possibility of a union between England and Scotland. After an interchange of border raids, resulting in the crushing defeat of the Scots under James V at Solway Moss, 1542 (map, p. 194), a marriage treaty was forced on the Scots. Henry persuaded his sister Margaret to arrange for a marriage agreement between young Edward and the new-born baby princess, Mary Stuart. The more determined patriots soon repudiated it, and renewed "the auld alliance" with France.

An indecisive war followed (1544), renewed in the next reign, when the stubborn Scots, declaring they "misliked not the wooing itself, but the manner of it," packed the little princess Mary off to France to be wedded in due course to the Dauphin.

Henry, then, foresaw Great Britain. He could hardly have foreseen Greater Britain overseas, yet he helped im-



THE "HARRY GRACE-A-DIEU," OR "GREAT HARRY," BUILT BY HENRY VIII IN 1512

It was of 1,000 tons, and carried 349 soldiers, 301 mariners, and 50 gunners. Note the number and positions of the guns.

mensely towards its building. For besides providing the nucleus of a royal navy, he personally improved the design of the Tudor fighting ship. Above all, he had rows of cannon mounted below deck, with their wicked brass muzzles peering out through square port-holes. Other nations looked on fighting ships as floating barracks. Henry made them floating batteries. He loved to go down to the dock-yards to watch his vessels rising to completion, or to warp them down the river on a trial trip. And he founded

Trinity House, which still supervises our pilots and light-houses.

We need to keep in mind the permanent value of Henry's constructive work if we are not to turn away in disgust from our last glimpse of him, maddened by persistent headaches, diseased, morbidly suspicious, and inflicting great hardships on the poor by tampering with the coinage. Ungrateful to loyal and efficient servants, dangerously sensitive where his dignity was concerned, quite unscrupulous and obstinate in getting his will done, he was all these and more. We are so often reminded of the block and the rack, the stake and the gallows, the masked butchers of the Tower, and the rotting heads spiked on Traitors' Gate, that Henry readily takes nightmare shape. But we have to remember that to most of his subjects he was always an attractive figure, "bluff King Hal" to the very end, echoing their passions and prejudices. Treating his own perverted conscience with solemn respect, he showed as much consideration for the constancy of others, as the proverbial bull for the delicate contents of the china shop. It may be that his firmness saved England from wars of religion. But in his dying hour he clung tightly to Cranmer's hand, afraid, as well he might be, to meet the great unknown.

CHIEF DATES FOR HENRY VIII'S REIGN (1509-1547)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1512-14. War with France. | 1535. First printed English Bible. |
| ✓1513. Battle of the Spurs.
Battle of Flodden. | 1536. Dissolution of small monasteries. |
| ✓1515. Wolsey, Chancellor. | Pilgrimage of Grace. |
| ✓1520. Field of Cloth of Gold. | 1539. Dissolution of large monasteries. |
| 1525. Tyndale's New Testament in English. | Act of the Six Articles. |
| 1528. Thomas More, Chancellor. | 1540. Fall and death of Cromwell. |
| 1528-36. Reformation Parliament. | 1541. Henry, King of Ireland. |
| ✓1530. Death of Wolsey. | 1542. Battle of Solway Moss. |
| 1533. Cranmer, Archbishop. | 1544. English invade France and Scotland. |
| ✓1534. Act of Supremacy. | 1545. First Prayers in English. |
| 1535. Cromwell, Vicar-General.
Death of More. | |

CHAPTER XVI

EDWARD VI (1547-1553)

I. SOMERSET, PROTECTOR (1547-1549)

THE new king was a pale-faced, red-haired and solemn little prig of ten, already an ardent Protestant, and fond of long discussions with grey-beard scholars and officials. But of course the little man was a puppet in the hands of the Council of Regency nominated by Henry. There were sixteen members, Catholic and Protestant, but the latter promptly asserted themselves, led by the king's uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who now had himself appointed Duke of Somerset and Protector. At the end of the previous reign he had led Henry's armies in Scotland and France. He was a well-meaning, kindly man, but his ambition was far greater than his ability, and he found the problems of the age too difficult for his solving. England sorely needed a period of rest, but the reign is marked by violent activity and change.

Though neither France nor Scotland was in friendly mood, and the treasury was empty, Somerset saw fit to insist at once on the fulfilment of the marriage treaty, and he invaded Scotland. He defeated the Scots at Pinkie Clough (near Edinburgh) in 1547, but we have already seen (p. 232) what a prompt and effective counter-stroke they made.

2. THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

Now that they were free from the extortions of foreign clerics, and could hear the Bible and simple prayers in English, the majority of Englishmen were satisfied. But the aggressive Protestants were not ready to cry "Halt!" Some were genuinely anxious for further reform in the Church, as a result of their study and hard thought, and contact with the stream of Swiss and German visitors which Somerset's tolerant rule encouraged. Others simply craved for more loot. The churches had barely been touched by

Henry. Commissioners were now sent round to every parish church to abolish all that savoured of idolatry. Images of the saints that had comforted many a weary heart were rudely smashed: sacred paintings on church walls, that had told Bible stories to generations of illiterates, disappeared under whitewash. Any gilds that were too closely attached to their patron saint were suppressed, and their long-hoarded treasures confiscated. The commissioners pulled down all the chantries, little chapels where priests prayed for dead souls, and perhaps taught a few children. There was even the beginning of an attack on Church property. Somerset and his family disgraced themselves by their greed, and the first Somerset House rose on the banks of the Thames, made of Church timber and stone, and paid for out of the proceeds of Church robbery. On Whit Sunday, 1549, England first became officially a Protestant country, for on that day every church was ordered to use a new single Prayer Book entirely in English. Its musical prose was the work of Cranmer, and it has changed little through the centuries; while sermons and readings from the Bible became regular features of the service.

3. SHEEP AND DEER

The toughest problem that Somerset had to face was that of the distress caused by "enclosures." This was already acute in Henry VII's time, and in "Utopia," Book I, More gives a clear and vigorous account of it. Up to the time of the early Tudors most of England was still cultivated under the "open field system." The fields which were to grow crops were ploughed, sown and harvested under a communal system, though each man owned scattered strips in the vast, unenclosed field. The meadows, rough fields and woods were regarded as "commons," that is, village property, where a man might graze a few cattle, keep poultry, cut timber, and generally eke out his poor livelihood. Occasionally a few enterprising owners, dissatisfied with their neighbours' efforts under the communal system, would agree to reshuffle their scattered plots, so that each received in exchange a compact block, which he could enclose with a ditch and hedge, so that his neighbours' weeds or diseased cattle should not trespass.

This arrangement now became more frequent, but it

was attended by the gravest abuses. Powerful landowners insisted on rearrangements, in which they secured far more than their fair proportion. Worse than this, they went on to seize the commons, by force or fraud, and treating them as their own private property, turned them into sheep ranches. They were tempted to this high-handed robbery by the rapidly rising price to be obtained for wool. Fences were quickly run up round these new ranches, and behind them slips of quickset were planted, which in a few years grew into the lovely hawthorn hedges which mark an English landscape. Lowly men looked with hate and



SHEPHERD WITH SHEEP, DRAWING OF ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

despair on the vast, bleating flocks that had brought them ruin. "Horn and thorn," they said, "are making England all forlorn." "Silly sheep are now become devourers of men." For thousands of labourers found themselves workless. Their cottages were pulled down. Wool was too dear now for poor people to make a little money by weaving coarse cloth. So they went on tramp to look for work, and usually failed to find it. They begged and were imprisoned for it, they stole and were hanged for it. Wolsey, More, Cromwell and Somerset all tried to prevent enclosures, but the greedy landowners found all sorts of mean and impudent devices for evading laws and proclamations. When they were told that so many of their fields had to be ploughed,

they just ran a single furrow across them. When they were told they must not have more than two thousand sheep, they presented flocks to their wives and children. As the landowners were Justices, it was hard to obtain redress. Not content with their sheep-runs, many of them arranged extensive deer-parks round their mansions, for the Tudor period saw a great increase in hunting as a pastime for the middle class. These "chases" seem to have caused as much distress as the sheep ranches. The area most affected was north-central England, round Leicester and Notts. Gradually, after much misery, the problem created its own solution. So much wool was produced that the price began to sink. So much less corn was grown that the price began to rise, till corn-growing became as profitable as wool. But it was not till the end of Elizabeth's reign that the balance was struck.

These sudden changes, both in religion and agriculture, were bound to rouse discontent. The conservative peasants of Devon and Cornwall would not accept the Prayer Book. Somerset dealt sternly with them, importing German "hand-gun" men to shoot them down. But he had more sympathy with the Norfolk men, who, rising under Robert Ket, a wealthy and generous tanner, broke down hedges and massacred sheep, and he would not stir a finger to suppress them.

This sympathy was to cost him dear. He had already made enemies on the Council by the execution of his own brother, Lord Thomas Seymour, richly though that rascal deserved his fate. On Henry VIII's death, Thomas had married Katharine Parr, and was suspected of having poisoned her with a view to marrying Princess Elizabeth, with whom he undoubtedly carried on a dangerous flirtation. He had issued debased coinage from his own mint, and made secret agreements with the Channel pirates whom it was his duty as Admiral to suppress. This same disastrous year, 1549, Somerset had provoked the French to renew the war, and they soon recaptured Boulogne, which he had helped to take in 1544.

4. NORTHUMBERLAND, PRESIDENT OF COUNCIL

Now there was one man in particular on the Council who was itching to get rid of Somerset, and that was Robert Dudley, Earl of Warwick, soon to be Duke of

Northumberland. He was even less of a constructive statesman than Somerset, but he was cunning and ruthless enough to be able to look after the selfish interests of the



A ROYAL HUNT PICNIC, LATE TUDOR PERIOD

great landowners, who were alarmed at Somerset's tolerance of the desperate poor. The Protector was outvoted and sent to the Tower. Warwick soon crushed Ket's rising, and executed the brothers Ket, to whom he owed large sums of money. Somerset was released from the Tower, but he

rashly criticised Warwick, and was executed in 1552. The crowd forgot his greedy family, and, remembering him as a friend of the poor, mourned him deeply.

The nation soon felt the iron hand of the new President of the Council. He revived all Henry's tyrannous laws which Somerset had repealed. The coinage was still further debased. Posing as an extreme Protestant, he pillaged the churches, dragging in a vast haul of plate, jewels, and estates. A second Prayer Book was issued in 1552, Cranmer's work being revised by Bishop Ridley so as to give priests no loophole for continuing Papist practices, and this Prayer Book was made compulsory for all, not merely for priests as in 1549. The gorgeous vestments of the older Church ritual were simplified. The priest was not allowed to stand aloof from the congregation, and the communion was so arranged that the congregation should all take part in what was now looked upon simply as a memorial ceremony, not a miracle.

Finally, as Edward's "tough, strong, straining cough" grew rapidly worse, Northumberland set on foot a scheme to perpetuate his power by marrying his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane Grey, and persuading Edward to recognise her as heir, for she had a claim as the granddaughter of Mary, Henry VIII's sister (see table, p. 210). Now Henry's will had arranged for his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, to succeed first, and Northumberland, as a member of the Council, had sworn to carry this out. But he won Edward over by pointing out that Mary's accession would mean a Catholic England once more, while Jane was a staunch Protestant. Edward made a will leaving the crown to Lady Jane's male heirs, and this will was clumsily altered to "Lady Jane *and* her heirs."

The king's death was kept secret for a few days, while Northumberland tried to trap the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, but they were on their guard. Lady Jane was proclaimed queen, but few people cheered, and when Northumberland went to arrest Mary, his own men deserted him, and he himself proclaimed Mary as queen, wept, and grovelled for her mercy, and declared he had always at heart been a good Catholic. Knave and coward, he met a swift doom on Tower Hill: while the Nine Days' Queen and her young husband were removed from the Tower palace to the Tower dungeons (July 1553).

CHIEF DATES FOR EDWARD VI'S REIGN (1547-1553)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1547-49. Somerset, Protector. | 1549-53. Northumberland, President. |
| 1547. Battle of Pinkie. | 1552. Death of Somerset. |
| ✓1549. First Book of Common Prayer. | Second Book of Common Prayer. |
| Rebellion in Cornwall. | 1553. Northumberland plots for Jane's succession. |
| Rebellion in Norfolk. | |
| Fall of Somerset. | |

CHAPTER XVII

QUEEN MARY I (1553-1558)

I. THE SPANISH MATCH

As the eldest child of Henry VIII, Mary started with the good-will of her people. That she was a most devout Catholic alarmed none but a few extreme Protestants, and we must beware of the mistake of thinking of the English people as already convinced Protestants. It is quite certain that the majority were not.

Personally, Mary was a most kindly and honourable woman, who paid off some of her father's debts out of her own savings. Her earlier portraits give a pleasing impression of good temper and a lively intelligence. She was by now thirty-six years of age, and naturally her position demanded an early marriage. The nation enthusiastically recommended the last Yorkist nobleman, Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, but Mary coldly replied, "Your desire to dictate to us the consort whom we shall choose, we consider somewhat superfluous." As the daughter of Katharine, she had grown up under Spanish influence, and felt herself to belong, first to the Catholic Church, then to Spain, and last of all to England. Her brooding imagination had been fired by a portrait of her kinsman, Prince Philip, son of Charles V. "Whatever happens," she said to the Spanish ambassador, "I am the wife of the Prince of Spain; crown, rank, life, all shall go before I will take any other husband." Philip by no means returned this ardent affection, but he was fully alive to the value of English support in the Continental struggles, especially as French soldiers had been admitted to Edinburgh Castle, since Mary Stuart's French mother was Regent in Scotland (p. 251).

The extreme Protestant party were alarmed at the unpleasant possibilities which the Spanish match held for them. Risings occurred under the Courtenays in the west, the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, in the Midlands, and Sir Thomas Wyatt in Kent, with a view to putting

Elizabeth and Courtenay on the throne if Mary persisted in arranging a marriage with Philip. Wyatt actually entered London, and was defeated only after a fierce struggle on London Bridge. The revolt had a distressing sequel. Influenced by Spanish advisers, Mary decided on the execution of Lady Jane and her husband. After a futile attempt to convert her to Catholicism, Jane was beheaded on the green inside the Tower, for fear of popular sympathy (1554). Bullied all her life, first by her father, then by Northumberland, she hardly deserved her fate. An earnest scholar and yet a very human little lady, with her innumerable gowns and very high-heeled shoes, Englishmen were soon to think of her with regret.

Princess Elizabeth too was brought to the Tower, and for some time her life was in danger. She was closely cross-examined, but her quick wit and caution saved her from any false step. Still under close arrest, she was moved to Woodstock, near Oxford, where they used to show a window on which was scratched, "Much suspected of me, nothing proved can be, quoth Elizabeth prisoner."

It was now safe to invite Philip over. He landed at Southampton, and was duly married to Mary in Winchester Cathedral. He did his best to allay the hostility of the English by his friendly demeanour. The marriage treaty carefully safeguarded England's independence, on paper, at any rate. But the nation was obstinately suspicious. When Philip was first coming up the Channel, the English Admiral had actually fired on his flagship for omitting the usual courtesy of dipping the flag and striking the topsail. And when he came to live in London, rude boys threw things at his solemn gentlemen as they stalked the streets. Moreover, the design on some of the new half-crowns was hardly reassuring, for they portrayed Philip and Mary face to face, the queen gazing up affectionately at her consort.

Having secured personal happiness, as she thought, the queen proceeded to the performance of what she considered a sacred duty, the restoration of England to the Catholic faith and allegiance to the Pope. The heretical laws of Henry VIII and Edward VI were repealed, the Protestant bishops dismissed and imprisoned, and the Mass restored. A cardinal was sent over by the Pope to receive the erring land back into its ancient faith. It was Reginald Pole, who had left England in 1535, as a protest against Henry's

breach with the Pope. Parliament readily accepted the reversion, but stubbornly refused to restore the monastic lands, for there were by now forty thousand new owners grimly determined to hold fast. The old laws prescribing burning for heretics were rigidly enforced, especially after the death of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and the departure of Philip (1555), both of whom had counselled moderation.

2. THE BURNINGS

It was only to be expected that the leading Protestant bishops would suffer, for not merely were they teachers of heresy, but they had also branded Mary and her mother with shame by arranging the "divorce." In what is now Broad Street, Oxford, the two boldest died a noble death, the Bishop of Worcester, Hugh Latimer, nearly eighty, dauntless opponent of all oppression, and Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, author of the second Prayer Book. Latimer's words, as the ordeal commenced, are one of the trumpet calls of English history: "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

But it was the humbler martyrs whose faith impressed the ordinary Englishman, some two hundred and fifty common men and women, who had had no share in the loot or well-paid posts. As the victims were chained to their stakes in Smithfield, or on market squares and village greens of East Anglia, the crowds wept and shouted words of pity and encouragement. Watered by the blood of these martyrs, the hitherto rather feeble seedling of Protestantism now thrust its roots deep in England's soil. The last of the victims was the most notable, the ex-Archbishop, Thomas Cranmer, doubly hated by Mary as the designer of the "divorce" and the author of the first Prayer Book. Imprisoned at the beginning of the reign, he had been condemned by the Pope without a chance to defend himself, and he was now unfrocked with ignominy. Plagued by Mary's councillors, he had over and over again renounced the Protestant faith. But when he found that all his recantations would not save him from the stake, he publicly announced his firm and final adherence to Protestantism. Poor Cranmer, with his sad, perplexed face, we must not judge him too sternly. Besides being physically timid and

sensitive, he had always maintained that loyalty to the reigning monarch was a supreme duty, and his last agonies must have been as much spiritual as bodily. More than once he had risked much to intervene on the side of peace and mercy.

Cardinal Pole succeeded him as archbishop. When even the stern Bonner, Bishop of London, wished to stop the persecution, the grim Dominican Black Friars, who kept the Queen's conscience, urged her on. Philip's absence, and the fact that no son was born to her, she construed as signs of Heaven's displeasure. The burnings continued. But in fairness to Mary it must be pointed out that most of the martyrs belonged to extreme sects who would have suffered under any of the Tudors.

Fresh insurrections took place, and failed, perhaps only because they meant foreign intervention if successful. Philip, now master of Spain and the Netherlands, went to war with France. As her subjects had feared, Mary readily supported him, and angry rumours told how shiploads of gold were smuggled out of England to Spain. The French attacked Calais, and as its walls were crumbling, and its garrison outnumbered by fifty to one, England lost in five days the gateway to France which she had held for over two hundred years; no real disaster in the long run, but felt at the time as deep disgrace.

Lonely, diseased, embittered, Mary died soon after.

CHIEF DATES FOR MARY'S REIGN (1553-1558)

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 1553. Arrest of Lady Jane. | → | 1554. Marriage of Philip and Mary. |
| Death of Northumberland. | | 1555. Persecution begins. |
| 1554. Wyatt's rising. | * | ↓ 1556. Death of Cranmer. |
| Death of Lady Jane. | ↘ | 1558. Loss of Calais. |

CHAPTER XVIII

ELIZABETH (1558-1603)

ENGLAND hailed Elizabeth's accession with feasting, revelry and bonfires. Men felt as they do when a nightmare is over and they are reassured by the dawn. But the young queen had grave problems awaiting her, bluntly stated at a meeting of the Council, that all-powerful committee of ministers which did the actual work of government in Tudor times; . . . "the queen poor, the realm exhausted, good captains and soldiers wanting, beggars abounding, the people out of order, steadfast enemies but no steadfast friends."

I. THE PROTESTANT SETTLEMENT

The first problem with which she grappled was that of "the people out of order" because of religious differences. The sweeping reforms of Edward VI, followed by violent reaction under Mary, had left men's minds and consciences bewildered. Elizabeth personally was attracted by the picturesque solemnity of the older system. But for Anne Boleyn's daughter to be legally queen, a permanent separation from Rome was essential. Cardinal Pole had died the same day as Mary, and the other Catholic bishops resigned in protest against Elizabeth's accession. So she gathered round her a group of moderate Protestants, and within a year they worked out a system which England finally accepted. They took the second Prayer Book, and removed from it phrases that would seriously offend Catholics, who were still in the majority outside London. The communion service, over which the fiercest controversies raged, was so tactfully worded that this sacrament could be regarded by the conservative as something of a miracle still, while reformers could treat it simply as a memorial ceremony.

The queen now determined to end religious anarchy. An Act of Supremacy decided once and for all that the sovereign was head of the Church in England, though it

was moderately worded, "Supreme Governor in all causes as well civil as ecclesiastical," and it set up later a Court of High Commission to try those who disputed the supremacy. A new Act of Uniformity compelled clergymen to use the new Prayer Book and no other, and to declare their unfeigned assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of the official faith, while vestments and church arrangements were to be such as were usual in the second year of Edward VI's reign. As these had then differed from one parish to another, men could still keep something of the old colourful ceremony. As for the laity, the Act (which in its later form [1662] is often a preface to the Prayer Book) did not directly attempt to force any views on them. It simply said everybody in the family must go to church every Sunday and sit quietly for the duration of the service. If they absented themselves, they would be fined a shilling a time, the proceeds being devoted to the poor of the parish. There was nothing as yet to prevent Catholics celebrating the Mass in private. Many people liked hearing the prayers in English. Hymns were sung at the beginning and end of the service, and in that musical age the habit quickly caught on. Soon many Catholics grew tired of paying the fines, and began to come regularly, while their children never heard a Mass, and grew up under the influence of the new service.

It was an arbitrary settlement of the religious problem, but when we read of the savage intolerance displayed both by Catholics and Calvinists abroad, and the ghastly bloodshed of the religious wars, Elizabeth's system seems, by comparison, a triumph of sweet reason.

2. THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

"Hark, hark, the dogs do bark, the beggars are coming to town." The problem of "beggars abounding" gradually grew less acute as the reign advanced, and this was partly the direct result of Elizabeth's measures, based on the advice of the great financier, Sir Thomas Gresham. The Royal Exchange was built as a rendezvous for merchants and a sample-warehouse for their goods, and it stimulated trade by its splendid facilities. The debased and counterfeit coinage was called in, and a new, honest issue minted (1560), a troublesome and expensive business, but, in the long run, of enormous benefit to trade. In

1563 The Statute of Artificers attempted to re-enforce the old system of apprentices which had been weakened by the suppression of many of the guilds and the growth of more individual methods in trade and industry. The statute also required magistrates to fix annually the rates of wages in the chief industries.

As religious warfare on the Continent grew more fierce, England benefited by the immigration of foreign Protestants who brought new industries with them. Dutchmen and Walloons settled in East Anglia, and made fine cloth, glass and pottery. Huguenots from the south and west of France poured into Kent and Sussex, and taught Englishmen how to make silk and linen. When the Spanish soldiers ran amok and burned Antwerp in 1576, its trade was diverted to London, and by the end of the reign the East India Company and others were developing direct trade with the East. There was also a great revival of the Sussex iron industry. In the country, landlords were finding it profitable to grow corn again, and more labourers were now wanted for ploughing and sowing, reaping and carting, threshing and milling.

But though the problem of unemployment grew less acute, it was still serious. The Poor Law of 1601 was the first attempt to deal with hopeless poverty in a business-like way, now that there were no monasteries at the end of the day's tramp. In each parish the churchwardens were empowered to levy a rate on the wealthiest residents. The proceeds were employed in providing work for the able-bodied unemployed, in doles to the old and infirm poor, in apprenticing pauper children, and in building workhouse-prisons for incorrigible idlers. It was a harsh system, but the Justices of the Peace, on whom all local government depended, worked it reasonably well, and it was better than the earlier remedies of flogging, branding, or enslaving the unemployed indiscriminately.

3. "DUX FEMINA"

("The Leader, a Woman," inscription on Armada medal)

In the settlement of religious and economic difficulties Elizabeth had to accept the guidance of experts. But there was one department of government wherein she was

herself the supreme expert, and that was diplomacy. The international rivalries of this period formed a tangled skein, but while her ministers fumbled, sure instinct told her just which thread to pull. And in her direct contacts with princes and ambassadors she could bluff and coax and threaten as skilfully as they, exchange smile for frown as readily as any actress, keep a secret for years and blurt it out exactly when it suited her. She had served a full apprenticeship in all the arts of dissimulation and hypocrisy during the dangerous years of her girlhood. And now for thirty years the queen lied and cheated as a mother would to save a threatened child; and after that, there was no further need to lie.

During these critical years she was faithfully served by two ministers, William Cecil and Francis Walsingham. Cecil, who later became Lord Burghley, was a cold and cautious man who believed in safety first. He had been secretary to both Somerset and Northumberland and so had to lie low during Mary's reign, which period he spent in quietly cultivating Elizabeth's acquaintance. Walsingham was a much more outspoken and eager character. A more zealous Protestant than Cecil, he found it safer to go abroad during Mary's reign, and Elizabeth used his Continental experience by making him ambassador in France. Later he was recalled and made responsible for tracing and foiling the numerous plots against Elizabeth's life. He died a poor man, having spent a private fortune in his country's service. Both men were rigidly honest and patriotic. They quarrelled with one another and with Elizabeth, who abused them in the most vulgar terms. But they never dreamt of resigning nor she of dismissing them.

The menace which they faced together so long was the danger of a Catholic revolt, assisted first from Scotland and later from Spain. The challenge of Luther and Calvin to the supremacy of the Catholic faith in Europe was vigorously taken up by a succession of Popes after the Council of Trent, which sat at intervals from 1546 to 1563. This conference of leading Catholic prelates and scholars carefully defined the true Catholic faith, so that it might be quite clear who was a believer and who was not. It arranged for the removal of many of the grave abuses which had provoked the attacks of the reformers. Then the Pope launched a vigorous offensive

against heresy throughout Europe, backed by Catholic monarchs, especially Philip II of Spain. The Dominican Friars, champions of strict orthodoxy, hunted out heretics more zealously than they had ever done before, examined them under torture, and, if they were stubborn, had them burned. The most searching of these Inquisitions was that which operated throughout the Spanish dominions in Europe and America. Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish ex-officer who developed intense religious feeling after being wounded desperately, founded the Society of Jesus in 1534, a highly-trained and disciplined body of devoted priests, later the favoured agents of the Pope, who, as missionaries, teachers, explorers and spies, worked to maintain and extend the Catholic faith throughout the whole world. In France, the Netherlands and Scotland, the Protestant doctrines had taken such a hold that the attempt to uproot them resulted in tremendous political upheavals. Hotly attacked, the desperate reformers looked anxiously for help to England, the one officially Protestant country.

In spite of her religious settlement of 1559, the Pope and Philip did not despair of winning Elizabeth, and through her England, back to Catholicism. The danger in the earlier years of the reign was from France and Scotland, and, to be more precise, from the clever, beautiful and ambitious Mary Stuart, for a time queen of France and Scotland and claimant of England. We heard of her in 1547 (see p. 232) as a little girl of five being hurried across the hills to the Clyde when Somerset was threatening Edinburgh after Pinkie. She was brought up in France, and the same year that Mary Tudor died, Mary Stuart married the Dauphin, who soon became King Francis II of France. Not satisfied with this, the young couple soon added the lions of England to their coat of arms, though France had already recognised Elizabeth's succession. It must not be forgotten that in the eyes of devout Catholics, Elizabeth was not the lawful daughter of Henry VIII, while Mary Stuart was a Catholic and a direct descendant of Henry VII (see table, p. 210). To make the situation more threatening, Philip was in a very unusual mood of friendliness towards France, and the two leading Catholic countries actually made an alliance for the suppression of heresy. Mary's French mother, an extreme Catholic,

like all the Guise family, was ruling Scotland for her, while French soldiers held Edinburgh Castle (p. 243).

Yet, within a year, this first black storm cloud had passed over harmlessly. Francis II died, and Mary was driven by the snubs of her mother-in-law to return to Scotland. In the meantime, the Scottish Protestants, led by the bitter and fearless John Knox, who had been for years a galley slave of France, were struggling to eject the French. The Catholic Church in Scotland had become grossly corrupt and provided an easy target for Protestant attack. As elsewhere, greedy robbers joined the honest reformers, and their zeal was inflamed by the French occupation, which naturally told in favour of the Catholics. The Lords of the Congregation, as the Protestant leaders were called, appealed to Elizabeth for help, and she decided, on Cecil's urgent advice, to send it. An English squadron sailed to Leith in 1560 and English soldiers assisted in the expulsion of the French garrison. Mary of Guise died soon after, and her heretic-hunting family lost their influence in France for a time.

Though Mary Stuart could no longer count on French backing, she was still a dangerous rival. And the delicate situation was made still more complicated by the queens' marriage problems, for their choice of consorts was bound to affect their countries and their neighbours. We can be fairly certain that in her heart Elizabeth never had any serious intention of marrying. For she realised that a promise to one prince could be used as a threat to another. And as she was supremely skilful and supremely shameless, she led her suitors a fine dance, flirting with them, jilting and recalling them just when it suited her—and England. And as this baffling courtship involved a ceaseless round of balls and masques, banquets and processions, she enjoyed herself immensely.

At first Philip himself offered his hand. Elizabeth soon made up her mind against him, but consented to give his brother a trial. Then, as Philip grew more sulky, she encouraged the advances of the sickly, royal French brothers, first the Duke of Anjou and then, for a long time, his younger brother the Duke of Alençon, in spite of his comical appearance. Londoners jeered at the "Frog who would a-wooing go." But Elizabeth had realised long before her conservative subjects that it was no longer

France, but Spain that was the enemy. And all the time there were bold subjects of her own who quarrelled for their mistress's favour. Foremost among these was Robert Dudley, son of the executed Duke of Northumberland, whom she raised to the earldom of Leicester. He was a clever, attractive man and ambitious enough to dream of a royal throne. Elizabeth was undoubtedly very fond of him, especially as he had been kind to her when she was poor and a prisoner. She loved the company and flattery of these gay and vigorous young men. But when she wanted serious advice, she got it from two men only, Cecil, patiently planning the safest course while a mule carried him round and round his park, or Walsingham, with his long confidential reports and ubiquitous spies. But she would not take their advice about an early marriage. They were worried about the succession; she preferred to think of England's immediate welfare.

But Mary had a simpler task before her. She too had Continental suitors, but she was out to strengthen her claim to the English throne. Now she knew of a tall young man who was not unsuited to be king of England and Scotland, her cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, like herself, a grandchild of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII (see table, p. 210). He had been brought up and was living in England, and was intimate with the English Catholic nobility. Mary soon persuaded herself she was in love with "the long lad," and married him in 1565. And when a son was born to them, Elizabeth could not contain her envy. "The Queen of Scots is mother of a fair son," she cried, "but I am a barren stock."

Yet this new threat of a Catholic union between England and Scotland failed in its turn, owing to the characters of Mary and Darnley themselves. Darnley turned out to be a weak, spiteful fool, and Mary soon began to hate him. He went over to the Protestant nobles and assisted them in the brutal murder of Mary's secretary, Rizzio. Soon after, Darnley was found murdered, and Mary, now infatuated with the Earl of Bothwell, whom everybody believed to be responsible for the murder, ruined her position by running away with that ferocious border raider. Her subjects rose against her and defeated her twice. A hunted fugitive, she crossed the Solway Firth in a fishing smack, and was at length admitted to Carlisle

Castle. From there she wrote, throwing herself on Elizabeth's mercy (1568).

Elizabeth was rather at a loss what to do with her dangerous rival. She sent Mary a few paltry cast-off clothes and refused to see her until an inquiry was held into Darnley's murder. At this inquiry a silver casket was produced containing letters which she was alleged to have written to Bothwell helping him to plan the murder. Mary protested that they were forged. In that age State forgeries were not uncommon, and modern experts have pronounced the letters to be forged. But most people were convinced Mary was guilty, and during her nineteen years in England she was never allowed to see Elizabeth.

Even if Elizabeth had been tempted to treat Mary generously, the first effects of her presence in England were hardly reassuring. The Catholic nobles of the north, who were allowed at first to visit Mary freely, revolted in her favour, tearing up Bibles and Prayer Books and restoring the Mass. The Scottish Catholics were prevented from joining by the Protestant government now ruling Scotland in the name of Mary's little son, James. The rising of 1569 was a failure. Sparing the leaders, Elizabeth took a brutal vengeance on the misguided peasants, who had simply followed their masters in the old feudal way. A strong demand now arose for Mary's execution, but the queen hesitated, for fresh dangers now threatened her from abroad. In 1570 the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth, declaring her deprived of her kingdom, and releasing her subjects from their allegiance. This meant that discontented Catholics would be more ready to join in plots against her, while foreigners would have more excuse for interference.* The government retaliated by passing anti-Catholic laws: so began an ugly period, of conspiracies for the assassination of Elizabeth, countered by savage persecution of seditious Catholics.

The Counter-Reformation had cast its shadow over England, but more terrible storms had broken out on the Continent. In France, during a period of comparative peace between the Huguenots and the Catholic government, the baneful influence of the Guises once more triumphed, and resulted in ghastly massacres of Huguenots throughout France, starting in Paris early on Saint Bartholomew's Day, 1572. The same year saw a general

rising in the northern Netherlands against the monstrous tyranny of the Spanish governor Alva, who levied crushing taxes and at the same time backed the Inquisition with incredible cruelty. As the revolt progressed, the religious element became dominant, and the Dutch appealed to Elizabeth for help. She was unwilling to provoke Philip, but did not prevent private volunteers from helping Dutch or Huguenots by sea or by land. And it was quite a common thing for a young Englishman leaving college to go out and fight for Protestants in Holland or France.

The first plot against Elizabeth was organised by Ridolfi, an Italian banker living in London. Elizabeth was to be assassinated, a Spanish force was to support the Catholics, and Mary was to marry the Duke of Norfolk, a discontented and very influential nobleman. The plot was scotched by the sudden execution of Norfolk (1571). Philip found himself fully occupied by the Netherlands, and for a few years there was peace. But the Pope was dissatisfied, and began an intensive campaign for the recovery of England. Jesuits were specially trained for the purpose, and in 1580 a resolute band, including many who were English, arrived and began to work feverishly for the re-establishment of the ancient faith. Of the leaders, Edward Campian was a high-minded missionary, convinced that he was saving lost souls. But his colleague, Robert Parsons, was little more than a spy and a traitor. The government set to work to ferret them out. Campian was caught and put to a cruel death (1581), but the wily Parsons escaped; and soon after, a Catholic attempt to win over young James VI of Scotland also collapsed.

But though most of the Jesuits were expelled or executed, their work had not been in vain. And so fresh laws were passed against the Catholics in 1581. The fine for non-attendance at church was increased to twenty pounds a month, a crushing figure, while the penalties imposed in 1571 for attending Mass were increased. Again plots were hatched, to be unearthed by Walsingham and the secret service. In 1583 it was discovered that a troublesome fellow named Throgmorton was arranging for the usual assassination of Elizabeth, while Mary was to be supported by French and Spanish soldiers—the result of a dangerous friendship growing up between the Guises and Philip. Most Englishmen were furious at this ugly

threat, and their leaders, including the cautious Cecil himself, formed in 1585 an Association, pledged, in the event of Elizabeth's murder, to put to death the person on whose behalf the crime was committed. This was, of course, a warning to Mary that she would not be allowed to reach the throne over Elizabeth's corpse. By this time, however, Mary was frantic at her long captivity, and was prepared to take big risks. In 1586 it was revealed that she had approved of a priest's plot which involved the assassination of Elizabeth by one Anthony Babington. She was tried for treason and found guilty.

There was still the question of the sentence. Parliament clamoured for her immediate execution. Reluctantly Elizabeth agreed to the death sentence, and even more reluctantly signed the death-warrant, without naming an officer to carry out the unpleasant duty. But Cecil arranged for it on his own responsibility (1587). Mary died like the gallant lady she was, a romantic and, in some ways, a lovable figure, but a sorry failure as a queen. On hearing the news, Elizabeth meanly rounded on her ministers, and protested that she was not responsible. But Catholic Europe was not to be bluffed.

It was one of the most critical moments in the history of the world. The leader of the Dutch rebels, William of Orange, had been shot dead in 1584 by a religious maniac bribed by the Spanish. The Dutch implored Elizabeth to help them. The murder of William of Orange, together with the renewed triumph of the Guise family, who promised Philip that France would henceforth give him a free hand, had frightened Elizabeth. Philip, on the other hand, was getting more and more furious with Elizabeth and the English. He was convinced that the stubborn resistance of the Dutch was due to English help, unofficial though it might be. And he had another grievance, that on the other side of the Atlantic the English were interfering even more seriously with his plans, by their impudent attacks on his treasure towns and treasure ships. To understand how this had come about, we must go some way back.

There is a quaint map of the South Atlantic, dated 1502, which shows the African coasts dotted with little flags of red and blue squares with black dots, while the Central and South American coasts have flags with red

and white stripes. Now these flags each marked the site of a stone fortress bristling with guns, by which the Portuguese guarded their south-east route to the East Indies round Africa, while the Spaniards equally jealously discouraged visitors to Central America. In 1494 the two nations agreed to take longitudes 50 degrees west and 130 degrees east as the dividing lines between their empires.

Now England by its very position was bound, sooner or later, to take its part in Atlantic discovery and navigation. But at first her sailors respected the Spanish and Portuguese monopolies, and faced incredible hardships in attempting to find a north-east passage round Norway and Russia, or a north-west passage round Canada. After the middle of the sixteenth century, they began to give up the quest in despair, as well they might. But the more daring of them decided to defy the strict prohibitions against trespassers, to run the gauntlet of the fortress guns and pick up some profitable trade in the South Atlantic. They began to raid the Gulf of Guinea (1553), and discovered that not only were gold-dust and ivory cheap there, but so were sturdy negro slaves. Now when the Spaniards discovered the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru, and realised the fertility of the lands round the Gulf of Mexico, they ceased to care about trade with the East Indies, and devoted themselves to exploiting the mines and developing the plantations. At first they compelled the native Indians to do the hard work, but they most inconveniently died off. The Spaniards then began to import negroes. About this time Devon seamen, led by John Hawkins and Francis Drake, worked out a triangular trade route. They sailed to the Gulf of Guinea and bought or kidnapped hundreds of negroes. They then made "the middle passage" across tropical seas to the Gulf of Mexico, and smuggled in their surviving negroes at a hundred and fifty pounds a head. With the proceeds they bought a cargo of tropical produce which they brought home to England and sold at a great profit. The Spanish colonists were quite willing to assist in this traffic, but the authorities were furious, and they made a treacherous attack on Hawkins and Drake in the harbour of St. Juan de Ulloa (Mexico; see map, p. 358), from which they barely escaped, with heavy loss (1568). Hawkins gave up the trade, and became the designer of

the Queen's battleships, but Drake thirsted for immediate revenge. He carried out a series of raids in the Gulf, culminating in an attack on Nombre de Dios, the treasure port on the Atlantic side of the Panama isthmus. Run-away slaves showed him the way across the isthmus, and he ambushed the mule-train which was bringing gold and silver ingots across the mountains from the Pacific port of Panama. The glimpse he caught of the vast ocean, about which the English as yet knew nothing, fired his imagination. In 1577 he sailed down the east coast of South America and struggled through Magellan's Strait (which the Spaniards never used to do) up to the mining ports of the Peruvian coast. After a number of successful raids, he captured a big treasure galleon on its way to Panama. His one remaining ship was now ballasted with treasure. He would not risk capture by returning over the same route, so he worked his way up the west coast as far as what is now California, hoping to find the elusive passage round North America, which English captains were now seeking once more. Baffled, as his gallant predecessors from the opposite side had been, he boldly struck westward across the wastes of the Pacific, cruised through the Spice Islands, and followed the Portuguese route home round the Cape of Good Hope. He reached Plymouth in 1580, the first captain to plough his white furrow round the world. The Spaniards were wild with rage, but Elizabeth, when their fury had abated, graciously accepted some bags of pearls and gems, filled her coffers with plundered gold, and knighted Drake, who now began to teach the royal navy to handle the ships Hawkins was designing.

In 1585 the hollow pretence of official peace between England and Spain broke down completely, when Philip, in an unusually aggressive mood, seized all English merchantmen in his harbours. Elizabeth returned the compliment, and answered the Dutch appeal by sending a small army out under the command of Leicester, now fifty-four years old, bald, white-bearded, red-faced, but still a favourite. He did little but quarrel with the Dutch, who were not the best of allies, and the war is chiefly remembered by the siege of Zutphen (east Holland), which included a gallant and quite insane attack on the whole of the Spanish army by five hundred well-born

Englishmen. Two of the results of that charge were the death of Sir Philip Sidney, poet, scholar, and "verray parfit gentil knight," beloved of all the finest spirits of Europe: and the knighting of a high-spirited youth, Robert Devereux, later Earl of Essex, and the darling of Elizabeth's old age. In the meantime, an official raid on the West Indies had been organised by Drake, and they were thoroughly sacked in 1586, to prevent any considerable help for Spain coming across the Atlantic,

" huge argosies,
And from America the golden fleece
That yearly stuffs old Philip's treasury."



ELIZABETHAN
SAILOR

ELIZABETHAN
MUSKETEER

4. THE ARMADA

The idea of an invasion of England from the Netherlands was growing rapidly in Philip's mind, and the execution of Mary, who in her will named Philip as her successor, somewhat strengthened his weak claim to the English throne. Preparations were made in the Spanish and Portuguese harbours (Philip had annexed Portugal in 1580) for the collection and equipment of a fleet which

should take all the soldiers Philip could spare up to the Netherlands, there increase the numbers by taking on board the army fighting the Dutch rebels, and cross to England.

By the spring of 1587 these preparations were well under way, but in this year Drake sailed to Cadiz (south-west Spain); and in spite of its fortresses, shattered the greater part of the Spanish navy, and completed the process of "singeing the king of Spain's beard," by lying off the coast for some time, trapping treasure-ships homeward bound, and making a thorough nuisance of himself.

But Philip was a terribly obstinate man. By the summer of 1588, the "Armada" or "Expedition" was once more ready, but the queen would not allow Drake to repeat his exploit. Admiral Santa Cruz, Spain's finest seaman, died at this critical moment, and in his place Philip appointed a silly booby, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, chiefly because his blood was sufficiently "blue" for all the noble captains to consent to take orders from him. The twenty thousand musketeers and pikemen, the Spanish, Portuguese and Italian crews, were under strict religious as well as military discipline, and were made to feel they were on a crusade. In May the Armada sailed from Lisbon, and at once encountered terrific storms, which drove it into Corunna (north-west Spain) to refit. In July it crossed the Bay of Biscay and was sighted off the Scillies on the 19th, sailing up the Channel in crescent formation. Drake and Hawkins brought their squadron out of Plymouth, where it had just returned for supplies, and harassed the Spaniards from the rear, firing broadsides while swiftly sailing by in a line. So, for a week, both navies worked eastwards, like an angry dog hustling a surly bull along a country lane, till the Armada anchored off Calais, dangerously near the Netherlands, and as yet not seriously damaged.

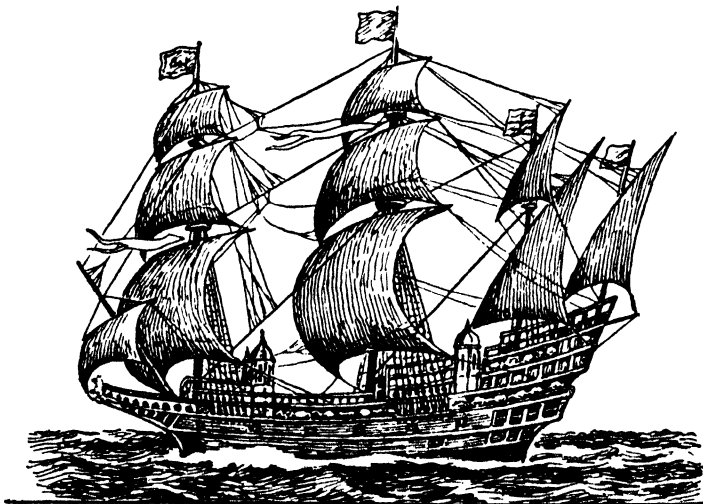
But Parma, the Spanish commander in the Netherlands, had not yet got his troops ready, and when Drake was joined by the Thames squadron, it was decided to force a battle. During the night some old ships were set on fire and allowed to drift towards the Spaniards. They were really not very dangerous, and good seamen would have lowered boats and towed them out of the way. But the Spaniards imagined them to be crammed with ex-

plosives. A wild panic ensued. The Spaniards slashed through their anchor cables and scattered north-east, up the coast. Off Gravelines the English hotly attacked the rearguard, which scarcely consisted of a third of the Armada, including the flagship. And now the Spaniards learned painfully in a few hours the lessons they had failed to learn in twenty years. The Spanish commanders were fantastically proud, and thought sailing rather a degrading profession. But there were few among the English captains who could not do the roughest task they ever asked any of their seamen to do. For Drake had fixed the tradition of the navy when he declared, "I must have the gentlemen haul with the mariners." The tall Spanish ships rolled badly, answered the helm slowly, and had comparatively few guns, stiffly mounted, mostly fore and aft. But the lower, leaner and much faster English boats kept well out of reach, and flashed rapid, devastating broadsides till ammunition ran out.

The Spaniards fought pluckily enough; but that night, such of their vessels as had not sunk or stuck on the sandbanks now fled before a strong gale from the south, and the English escorted them up to the Firth of Forth. Far round the north of Scotland rocked the Armada. Then north-west gales drove them down again upon the "rocky coasts to lee" and pitiless tribesmen of the far west of Scotland and Ireland. One ship in three found its way home again. The struggle was not yet over, though the danger was past. A few years later, when the Irish were in rebellion, Philip launched a second and then a third Armada. But they were crippled by storms, and he died soon after.

The losses of the English in 1588 were absurdly small, and their success gave them tremendous self-confidence. Drake and Walsingham wished to attack the Spanish empire in America, but Elizabeth and Cecil (now Lord Burghley) were still playing for safety, and would only permit plundering raids. The Spaniards soon profited by their bitter experience, and improved their gunnery. Drake and Hawkins both died during unsuccessful attacks on the scenes of their early exploits. But in Europe the Protestant faith was saved. In 1596 Philip had given up the struggle against the Dutch, though in his lifetime their formal independence was not recognised. In France,

despite the Philip-Guise friendship, Henry of Navarre, a Huguenot leader, was accepted as king, but only after he had turned Catholic. Yet, by the Edict of Nantes, the Protestants secured not merely toleration but even privileges. Elizabeth helped the Dutch and Huguenots with men and money, while persecuting her own Catholic subjects more fiercely than before. In Scotland, King James, like the majority of his subjects, was a Calvinist, and his feeble protest at the execution of his mother had quickly been silenced by hints that he would some day wear the crown of England. Wars of religion were to plague Europe for another hundred years. But the Counter-Reformation had failed.



ELIZABETHAN BATTLESHIP, ARMADA PERIOD

There were only a few of these first-class vessels. Most of the English ships were about half the size and were not so high in the stern.

5. "THE WILDE IRESCHÉ"

If Elizabeth's reign saw the solution of several grave problems, it created one which was not solved till recent years, to wit, discontent in Ireland. England's treatment of Ireland is the least creditable chapter in her

chronicles. English moderation and statesmanship, which were to build an enduring empire, seemed to vanish whenever Irish questions raised their ugly heads.

Ireland had made very little progress during the Middle Ages. No chief was ever clever and strong enough to wield the septs into a nation, though many could lead their followers against the English at any time. The descendants of Henry II's Anglo-Norman barons had



become "more Irish than the Irish themselves." The English government was quite satisfied if it could hold, from Dublin Castle, the flat strip between the Wicklow hills and the Mourne mountains, known as the Pale. The only time when attention was given to Ireland was when there was any danger of its ports being used for the invasion of England. At such times, too poor to enforce law and order permanently, the English officials met sedition with savage ferocity.

The Reformation made little progress in Ireland. A

few monasteries were dissolved under Henry VIII, but Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity could not possibly be enforced. The Pope and Philip II were quick to see their opportunity. The Jesuits triumphed in Ireland as conspicuously as they failed in England, and the Irish became devoted adherents of the Pope just when the majority of Englishmen were beginning to think of him as a dangerous enemy. West Munster is the part of Ireland nearest to Spain, and it was held by the Desmonds and their kinsmen the Fitzmaurices, who hated the English. Backed by the Jesuits, a serious revolt broke out in 1579, centred round Smerwick. Philip sent soldiers there, and it was only after repeated efforts that the revolt was crushed, when the garrison, which had surrendered, was massacred in cold blood. The Killarney fairyland was left a smoking desert, haunted by a half-ghostly peasantry. In 1586 Elizabeth decided to establish there groups of English landowners on the vast estates or "plantations," confiscated after the rebellion. Englishmen of the time saw little difference between taking up such an estate in Munster or in Virginia. There was the same system in both of holding land by the sword against barbarous natives, the same wide fields of potatoes, tobacco and Indian corn.

Among those who went were Edmund Spenser who, in Desmond's own castle, began the "Faerie Queene," and Sir Walter Raleigh, courtier, poet and explorer, who there advised him to publish it. Another insurrection broke out in 1598, which was not finally crushed until a week after Elizabeth had died. This was headed by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, in Ulster, a clever and ambitious man who had been brought up in England and for a long time was believed to be loyal. He was finally suspected of plotting with Philip. An expedition was sent to arrest him, and he crushed it, and killed its leader. Then the queen's new favourite, the Earl of Essex, who hotly criticised the breakdown in Ireland, was invited to try for himself. He was given a large army and supreme authority. By this time Munster had been encouraged to break out again. Essex failed miserably against both rebel armies. He held a conference with Tyrone, and promised him pardon and restoration. Then in his impulsive way, fearing that his enemies were turning the queen against him, he hurried home and rushed, travel-stained and unannounced, into the queen's boudoir, full of excuses.

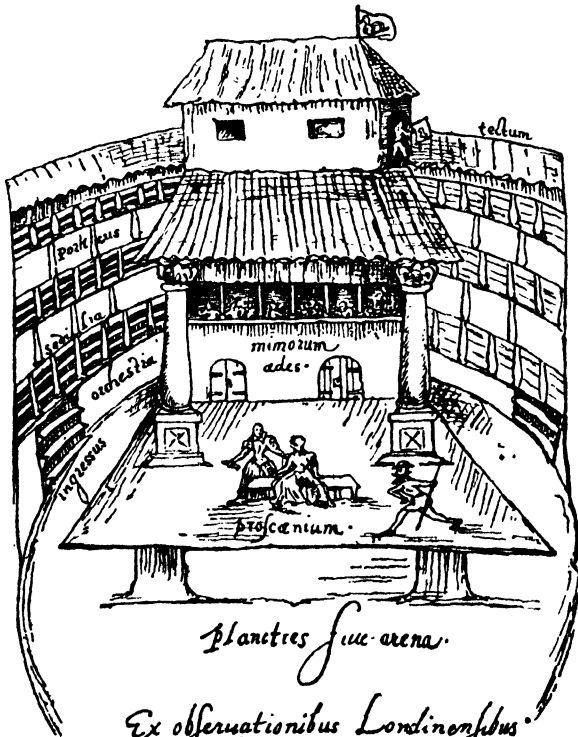
She had him arrested for a short time to teach him manners, and in 1600 sent out Lord Mountjoy, a skilled general, whose cruel re-conquest is fittingly immortalised by Dublin's gaol. Tyrone hurried south to join the Spaniards, who had landed at Kinsale (south Munster). But Mountjoy managed to drive him off, and capture Kinsale and the Spaniards (1602). Tyrone did not submit till a week after Elizabeth had died, and the problem still remained. No doubt Shakespeare was voicing the attitude of most Englishmen when he made Richard II say, "We must supplant these rude, rug-headed kernes, that live like venom, where no venom else but they have power to live." England and Ireland were like two prisoners, who hate one another, but are bound together, hand and foot.

6. AFTERGLOW

Elizabeth's last years were cheerless. Walsingham, Burghley, Leicester ("Sweet Robin") were dead. There were new men round her, who flattered the old queen with her red wig and black teeth, but were thinking hard about her successor. Essex, whose relations with Elizabeth were those of a charming but sadly spoiled boy with a doting mother, out of pique at his arrest, entered into a stupid conspiracy with some Catholic lords. They attempted to raise London against the queen, and failed completely. But Elizabeth felt it her painful duty to allow his execution. And then certain Calvinists were beginning to say boldly that the Crown had no authority to decide religious matters. Parliament too was showing something less than the fervent loyalty of earlier years. Yet, to the very end, she could win it round with gracious dignity. Never a really lovable woman, coarse and treacherous, with a mannish taste for hunting, strong ale and strong language, she was, beyond all doubt, a great, patriotic queen, sincerely anxious for her country's welfare. "If there have been wiser kings," she said in one of her last speeches, "none has ever loved you more than I have."

Whatever cares saddened Elizabeth's last years, her subjects were in a mood of cheerful confidence. For a long time there had been thunder in the air, and men had felt depressed and stifled. Then, with the Armada, the storm had broken. And when it had passed harmlessly away beyond the horizon, there came a feeling of relief and exhilaration. It is a curious fact that the twenty

years after the Armada saw a wonderful literary outburst. During these crowded years there appeared Spenser's "Faerie Queene," Shakespeare's plays, Marlowe's tragedies and Ben Jonson's comedies, Hakluyt's Voyages, and Bacon's Essays. And in the Elizabethan drama, whatever age or clime the play portrays, we catch the spirit of these times—the high patriotism, the thirst for knowledge and for riches, the violence, all the travellers' tales and boisterous scenes of low life—we feel the quick pulse of an age of laughing and singing, of dreaming and daring.



Planities sive arena.
Ex observationibus Londinensibus.
Johannis De Witt

THE SWAN THEATRE, LONDON, 1596

From the drawing in the University Library, Utrecht.

CHIEF DATES FOR ELIZABETH'S REIGN (1558-1603)

1559. Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.
1560. The English in Leith. Improved coinage.
1562. Hawkins' first voyage to Guinea.
1563. Statute of Artificers.
1568. Flight of Mary Stuart to England.
- 1569-70. Revolt of northern Earls.
1570. The Pope excommunicates Elizabeth.
1571. Ridolfi's Plot.
- 1577-80. Voyage of the Golden Hind.
- 1579-80. Rebellion in Munster.
1583. Gilbert annexes Newfoundland (see p. 359).
Throgmorton's Plot.
1584. Raleigh's first expedition to Virginia (see p. 360).
- ✓ 1585. English army in the Netherlands.
1586. Babington's Plot.
1587. Death of Mary Stuart. Drake at Cadiz.
- ✓ 1588. The Spanish Armada.
1598. Rebellion of O'Neill.
- ✓ 1600. English East India Company chartered.
1601. Poor Law Act. Death of Essex.
1602. Kinsale re-captured.



ELIZABETHAN COSTUME

SECTION IV

CHAPTER XIX

JAMES I (1603-1625)

I. "THE BRITISH SOLOMON"

IN the April of 1603, King James began a leisurely drive from Edinburgh, to take up residence in his new capital, London. Every town on the route was thronged with citizens and visitors anxious to catch a glimpse of their future sovereign. The crowds saw lolling in the royal carriage, a plump, middle-size man of thirty-seven, with a scraggy beard, dark and rather shrewd eyes and a chatty, condescending manner, while the first Stuart saw a swarming and enthusiastically loyal populace. At Newark (Notts) a rather unpleasant incident occurred. A pickpocket was caught in the act, and James, accustomed to the summary justice necessary in turbulent Scotland, had him hanged at once, and he was rather astonished at the reluctance of the magistrates to hang a man without a trial. Soon afterwards he was presented with the Millenary petition, which was supposed to express the desire of a thousand "Puritan" or Calvinist clergymen for a simplification of church ritual. He graciously promised to consider the matter.

There had been several claimants to the throne at the time of Elizabeth's death. One was that very romantic lady, Arabella Stuart, Darnley's English niece and a descendant of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII (see table, p. 282). She had been kept imprisoned by Elizabeth, and Robert Cecil, who had succeeded his father, Lord Burghley, as chief minister, would not release her in 1603, for she proposed to strengthen her claim by marrying William Seymour, who represented the line of Margaret Tudor's younger sister, Mary, favoured for the succession in Henry VIII's will (see table, p. 282). But there were two other good reasons why James succeeded without serious opposition. The first was that Cecil had been steadily working

in his favour for some time. And the other was that each religious party looked to him for favour. The Catholics expected to be allowed to worship in their own way, without the risk of crushing penalties, for James according to some authorities had a Catholic wife, and was on friendly terms with the Pope. The moderate members of the official Church noted that he had appointed and supported bishops in Scotland to check the extreme Calvinists: while the various sects of English Puritans dwelt on the fact that James had been brought up as a Calvinist.

Whatever doubts any minister may have had as to whether James would, or ought to, succeed to the throne, the king himself had not the slightest. He was proud of tracing his lineage back to Egbert of Wessex and claiming to belong to the oldest royal family in Europe. He had reigned from the cradle and ruled since he was seventeen. At first rough nobles had bullied him and Calvinist preachers nagged him, but he had set them against one another, triumphed over both, and finally established himself as the most powerful king of Scotland since Robert Bruce. Moreover, he was a great scholar, learned in history and theology and a close student of foreign affairs. His claim to the English throne he based on hereditary right, for there had always been a strong tendency in England for the descendants of the senior branch of a family to succeed to titles and estates, royal or otherwise. And his great-grandmother Margaret had been Henry VII's elder daughter.

James now felt that his twenty years' apprenticeship had given him a mastery of the practical side of kingship, while his wide reading had made him an expert in its theory. He was especially fond of expounding the principle which asserted that the king who succeeded by hereditary right thereby acquired divine right, that is, that he was appointed by God, and was responsible to God alone, and that therefore his subjects could never question his conduct. The toadies who flocked round the new king at his palace in Whitehall encouraged him in this view. But if James had been interested more in facts than in theories, and in men more than in books, he would have realised that methods which might be admirable in Scotland would not necessarily apply in England, that the English were a law-abiding folk who expected their monarchs to be the same, that the English Parliament, unlike the Scottish, enjoyed real power and

privileges, that the Tudors, though they seemed to be despots, had quick eyes and ears to detect popular discontent. Courtiers were delighted with the profound utterances of "the British Solomon." But posterity has endorsed the French king's verdict that James was "the wisest fool in Christendom."

2. PLOTS, PRIESTS AND PRESBYTERS

James had hardly begun to reign when it was brought sharply to his notice that religious problems required his early attention. Two futile and rather obscure plots were brought to light. The first was the Bye Plot, a scheme to seize the king and compel him to grant toleration to those outside the official Church. The ringleaders included a minor Roman Catholic priest and a Puritan peer, and it was revealed to James by Jesuits. About the same time the Main Plot was discovered, an even more mysterious affair. Its object seems to have been to overthrow Cecil and perhaps place Arabella Stuart on the throne. There was also some idea of getting help from Spain, with whom England was still nominally at war. This makes it unlikely that Raleigh was concerned in it. But he was accused by the chief conspirator of being implicated. James and Cecil had long disliked Raleigh, as he was always clamouring for a continuance of the war, and also he had been the hated rival of Essex, of whom they had been close friends. After the fall of Essex, Raleigh had been rapidly promoted at Court by Elizabeth. On James's accession he had been dismissed from all his offices, and now his enemies seized the opportunity of ruining him. After a grossly unfair trial he was sentenced to death, led out for execution, and reprieved. He spent the next thirteen years in the Tower, writing his "History of the World," making chemical experiments and wistfully watching the boats sail down the Thames.

James now turned to listen to the pressing demands of the Puritans, as he had promised to do when presented with their Petition. In Mary's reign the advanced Protestants had fled abroad, chiefly to the Calvinist strongholds of Switzerland. They returned after 1558, and were dissatisfied with Elizabeth's settlement, which, they complained, tolerated too many Roman Catholic survivals. At first their objections were limited to details of ritual, such

as the sign of the cross in baptism, music in church, kneeling at the communion, the use of the ring in the marriage ceremony and the wearing of vestments by priests. But later they went on to demand sweeping reforms in the organisation of the Church, which brought them sharply up against Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity. The most powerful sect wanted, at first, to have committees assisting the bishops, then later pressed for a complete Presbyterian organisation similar to that established in Scotland, whereby "the elders" of a congregation elected the minister and sent delegates to a conference or "synod" which could impose rules on the whole sect. This, of course, implied the abolition of bishops and of the royal position as head of the Church. Another sect, later called the Independents, insisted that each congregation should manage its own affairs quite independently of any other religious communities. Elizabeth and her Court of High Commission had dealt sternly with the more outspoken leaders. Some were hanged, others imprisoned for long terms. But the secret meetings of Puritans continued. Though they were a small minority of the total population, they were over-represented in Parliament, and controlled the University of Cambridge. As the struggle with Spain developed, soldiers and sailors, and especially the gentlemen who led them, readily accepted the more extreme forms of Protestantism. In many cases the Puritans became intolerant fanatics who would have imposed their own harsh discipline on the whole nation and who frowned at the innocent if boisterous pastimes of the common people. To such as these the maypole was a heathen idol, and plays and merry music were snares of the Evil One. But the finer types developed a staunchness in good causes, an honesty in daily life, and a "high seriousness" of outlook which have permanently enriched English life.

James invited the Puritan spokesmen to state their views before a small committee of bishops at Hampton Court, over which he himself presided (1604). At first he made some show of neutrality; but when the Puritans began to talk of Presbyterianism they rubbed him on a raw spot. For he had painful memories of stubborn, domineering Kirk officials who had worried him so mercilessly in Scotland, while one of his most delightful experiences as king of England had been the fulsome loyalty of the bishops. At

first, in his slovenly way, he had been lolling in his chair. But now he sat up suddenly. "A Presbytery," he snapped, "agreeth as well with the King as God and the devil. Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet and at their pleasure censure me and all my proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say it may be thus. Then Dick shall reply and say, 'Marry, but I will have it thus.'" He hustled the Puritans out of the room. "If this be all they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves or I will herry them out of the land." After the Conference, the bishops drew up a careful definition of the officially recognised doctrine, ritual and discipline. About three hundred clergymen refused to abide by their ruling and lost their livings. But the Puritan deputation secured permission for a revision of the Bible, which appeared as the Authorised Version (1611), by far the most influential book ever written in English. James realised as little as Henry had done how much the Bible would promote a cause with which he did not sympathise. The wretched flattery of the preface tickled his vanity. But in London shops and East Anglian weaving sheds, in English manor-houses and American cabins, the noble prose of this Bible was to comfort and strengthen his own and his son's future enemies.

Having annoyed the Puritans, some of whom left England (see p. 361) and built new homes across the Atlantic, James next succeeded in exasperating the Catholics. He was himself inclined to relax the laws against them, and the peace negotiated with Spain in 1604 gave him an opportunity to do so. But the results were alarming, both to him and to Parliament. Attendance at churches declined at once, scores of priests crawled out of the garrets and cellars of northern and western manor-houses where they had been kept hidden, and public celebrations of the Mass were crowded. James felt his throne totter. The harsh laws against Recusants (*i.e.* Catholics who refused to attend church) were re-enforced. Their disappointment was bitter, and a small group of determined gentlemen, who were in touch with the Jesuits, formed a desperate plot. They proposed to blow up the House of Lords when the king, Henry the Prince of Wales, the Lords and the Commons were there assembled as usual for the formal opening of Parliament. As soon as the mass-assassination had been accomplished, an insurrection was to be raised in the

western Midlands by a large party of Catholic gentry, who were to assemble in Warwickshire under the pretence of a hunting meet.

The plot was formed in the summer of 1604, but it was not till November 5th, 1605, that the opening of Parliament took place. A cellar under the House of Lords had been hired, thirty-six barrels of powder were placed in it with pieces of iron on top to shatter the ceiling, and the whole concealed with faggots. The final arrangements were left to one Guy Fawkes, member of an old Yorkshire family, a soldier who had learned the art of firing mines by long experience in the Netherlands. But the head of the conspiracy was a Warwickshire gentleman, Robert Catesby, a man of unusual strength both of body and mind, whose cool courage and charming manner won ready obedience. The strain of the long wait, however, was too much for one of the conspirators, who warned his cousin, Lord Monteaule, though in the vaguest terms. The warning was passed on to Cecil, now Lord Salisbury. Though the government seems to have had no details as yet, a prominent member of the Council came down into the cellar on the afternoon of November 4th and asked Fawkes about the faggots. Fawkes answered him coolly and stayed where he was. Just before midnight other men came down. Some started pulling the faggots off, others knocked Guy down and dragged him off. A few hours later, the other conspirators in London, in spite of the failure of the first part of their programme, rode off north-west to carry out the second half. But few would join them now, and in a country house in Staffordshire they were surrounded. Some were shot down, others captured. Fawkes, from whom hitherto the Tower torturers had not been able to extract a syllable, now felt free to make a full confession. He and the other survivors, together with the* leading English Jesuits, though these had not taken any active part, were cruelly put to death. The failure of the plot was celebrated with bonfires, which were further enlivened by the recent invention of fireworks. The effect of the conspiracy was to plant in the minds of most Englishmen, for a hundred years and more, a hatred and suspicion of Roman Catholics which was usually quite unreasonable but almost instinctive.

3. THE REVENUE

Elizabeth left James difficult financial as well as religious problems to solve. Her notorious parsimony was not entirely due to a fault of character. It was forced on her by the awkward fact that the revenue was not keeping pace with the steadily growing cost of government. This fact, in its turn, can be explained by the working of economic laws which are clear to us but could hardly have been so to the people of those days. The large quantities of silver which the Spaniards shipped across from South America led to a fall in the value of that metal: so that the purchasing value of silver coinage was falling steadily. Now many of the import taxes, the rents from royal estates and the feudal fees, all of which made up the bulk of the revenue, had been permanently fixed in the Middle Ages, when the purchasing value of silver had been high. To us, therefore, it is easy to see that the Crown had to pay increased expenses out of what was really greatly reduced income. Most unfortunately Parliament would not or could not realise this serious difficulty. Elizabeth met some of her debts by the reckless method of selling royal estates. But this solution only made the problem more acute for her successor. James, and after him Charles, saw their subjects steadily growing more rich and comfortable while the Crown struggled with ever-growing debts. Can it be wondered, then, that they made a determined effort to increase the revenue?

James first turned his attention to the import duties. He found that Mary and Elizabeth had both increased them, and he saw no reason why he should not do the same. So in 1608, on Salisbury's advice, he issued the Book of Rates, a schedule of increased customs charges. Parliament challenged it, and a long and indecisive dispute followed. This gradually merged into a discussion of a business-like proposal from Salisbury, known as the Great Contract, which aimed at abolishing feudal fees and the right to increase the customs, in return for a reasonable fixed sum to be granted to the king yearly (1610). But the king and the Commons were now growing impatient with one another and the plan fell through. James dismissed Parliament in 1611, and except for a futile session in 1614, known as the Addled Parliament, it did not meet again till 1621.

4. HEIRS AND HEIRESSSES

James was now free to settle his difficulties as he pleased. His officials collected the increased customs rates, and so, freed from immediate financial pressure, James turned to face the question of the succession. Arabella Stuart, by this time, had been released from the Tower and even enjoyed the royal favour at court. But still ambitious and high-spirited, she determined to carry through the marriage with William Seymour in spite of James's express prohibition. They were secretly married and tried to escape to France, but on separate ships. Arabella's ship was driven back by gales to the English coast, and she was captured and imprisoned in the Tower, where she mysteriously died after a few years.

James now arranged to marry his elder son, Henry, to the Infanta, *i.e.* the eldest daughter of the King of Spain, for the king saw in Anglo-Spanish friendship a method of allaying the hatred between Catholics and Protestants which was soon to plunge Europe once more into a ghastly war of religion. But the prince would not entertain for a moment the idea of a Catholic bride, and in any case, he died of a fever in 1612. He was a popular young man, and had a warmer nature than his father or his brother. Had he lived, the whole course of English history might have been different. Salisbury too died the same year, and so the two most wholesome influences round the king disappeared together. It was also in 1612 that the beautiful Princess Elizabeth, "the Queen of Hearts," was betrothed to a German Protestant prince, Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate, a province on the middle course of the Rhine. Their son, Rupert, was to play a prominent part in the English Civil War, while their grandson George was to rule England as the first of the Hanoverians (table, p. 282).

5. "WHOM THE KING DELIGHTETH TO HONOUR"

The years that intervened before another Parliament was summoned passed pleasantly enough for James. Many a long day was spent chasing the deer or watching the peregrine falcon strike down his victim far up in the sky. Many a long night went in dicing and drinking or applauding a sumptuous masque, written by Ben Jonson and performed by the ladies of the Court, led by the frivolous

queen herself. And always James had round him bright young men to whom he revealed important state secrets and entrusted the actual details of administration which he was too lazy to arrange himself. Corrupt and selfish, these favourites acquired in practice more power than the highest ministers of state, and abused it to enrich themselves and their friends; while every department of government was grossly mismanaged by rascally officials and robbed by swindling contractors.

One of the most notorious of the favourites was a former page of James's in Scotland, Robert Kerr, who rose rapidly to be Earl of Somerset. But he was involved in an ugly murder trial and James dropped him. Yet Kerr's successor, George Villiers, later Duke of Buckingham, dominated the king for the remainder of the reign; and as he succeeded in fascinating Prince Charles also, he was the most influential man in England in the next reign too, down to the day of his murder in 1628. Dark, handsome and graceful, he must have made a striking figure in the long curls, lace and silk of this picturesque period. He was not a bad man and he was not altogether a fool. Yet he lacked the ability to think out or to carry out any statesmanlike scheme. The politics of his age were to him simply the material for a series of dramatic episodes, with George Villiers cast for the hero's part in each.

But there were fine intellects among James's subjects with whose help he might have built a nobler England. Raleigh had now (1616) spent thirteen years in the Tower. "None but my father," his friend Prince Henry had said, "would have kept such a bird in such a cage." He had reached that state of mind when life itself is no high price to pay for even a short period of freedom. He therefore told James of a marvellous gold mine he had heard of from the Indians, when he was exploring Guiana in 1595. James listened greedily, and finally allowed him to go and look for it, provided he did nothing to annoy the Spaniards, with whom, since 1604, the king was on friendly, perhaps too friendly, terms. Raleigh himself, none too well, waited at the mouth of the Orinoco (see map, p. 358) while his men went up the river. But since Raleigh had last been there, the Spaniards had extended their occupation, and fiercely resisted the advance of the English, who were shot down in the jungle. Raleigh's son was killed, and the expedition

returned to England. The Spaniards made a strong complaint, and the death sentence pronounced against Raleigh in 1603 was carried out in 1618.

There was one man left who might still have helped James to avoid the universal contempt he finally earned, and that was Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, lawyer, philosopher and essayist, and at this period holding the high office of Lord Chancellor, as his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, had done under Elizabeth. Nephew of Burghley and so cousin to Salisbury, he had been striving desperately since the latter part of Elizabeth's reign to acquire money and power, not entirely for selfish ends but to further his lofty designs for the whole human race. His progress up the greasy pole of ambition had been painfully slow, and even now he was not a wealthy man and not really a powerful one. James listened readily to his sound advice and as readily ignored it. The Commons disliked him for his support of the royal prerogative, and his own folly gave them the opening for a successful attack. He was found guilty, on his own admission, of receiving money presents from persons concerned in cases he was trying. He pleaded that it was the custom of the age and that the gifts had made no difference to his decisions, which seems to be true. Deserted by Buckingham, he was compelled to retire (1621), and spent his leisure in writing works of philosophy which have placed him among the world's great thinkers.

✓ 6. THE UNHAPPY WARRIOR

The Parliament which ruined Bacon had been reluctantly summoned by James to help him to deal with a crisis in foreign affairs. But first it turned fiercely on those who had abused the royal privilege of granting monopolies. And James, like Elizabeth before him, saw fit to give way graciously, especially as he hoped the Commons would generously place funds at his disposal to enable him to help his foolish son-in-law, Frederick of the Palatinate, who was now in serious trouble. For, against James's advice, he had rashly accepted in 1618 the crown of Protestant Bohemia, a province which had been stung into rebellion against its lawful ruler, the Emperor, by the threat of Jesuit persecution. An Austrian army had promptly invaded Bohemia, and worse, from Flanders, which was still under Spanish rule, an army had overrun the Rhenish Palatinate.

So that Frederick, so far from gaining a splendid new province, soon lost his old one. Thus began the horrors of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) which set the Catholics and Protestants of all northern Europe at each others' throats, and turned Germany into a shambles.

James could not stand by and see his kin homeless fugitives, and the Commons, with its large Puritan element, was anxious to help the sorely harassed Protestants of the Continent. Unfortunately King and Parliament could not



PRINCE CHARLES'S WELCOME HOME FROM SPAIN, 1623
(Broadside in the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries.)

agree as to the best method. James was unwilling to declare war on Spain, and, after Buckingham, the man who had most influence over him was the Spanish ambassador, the sinister Count Gondomar, whom the Londoners would dearly have liked to lynch. James's idea was to raise an army and by the threat of interference, persuade the king of Spain to agree to a marriage of reconciliation between Prince Charles and the Infanta, the chief conditions being that the Spanish army should be called off the Palatinate and the English admitted to South American trade. But the Commons clamoured for immediate war with the

loathed Spaniards, whereupon James told them it was not their business to discuss foreign policy. The Commons set down in the Journal of the House a solemn protest that they were entitled to discuss any matter of state, and James, like the pettifogging tyrant he was, tore the page out with his own royal hands, dismissed Parliament (1621) and sent its leaders to prison.

He still clung to the idea of the Spanish marriage, and when Buckingham and Prince Charles put before him the romantic notion that the wooing of the Infanta should be done personally, he finally agreed. The two young men hurried to Madrid in high spirits, but the mission was a complete failure. The Spaniards insisted on a very one-sided bargain, while their strong sense of decorum was outraged by the loutish behaviour of the English. "Steenie and Baby Charles" were glad to return home, and when it was known that the Spanish match was off, London went mad with joy and gave the wanderers a tremendous reception (1623).

Buckingham rather enjoyed his taste of popularity and was now quite willing to fight Spain. James, deeply disappointed, gave him a free hand, and summoned Parliament (1624). Buckingham at once began negotiations for a marriage with the French king's sister, the dainty young princess Henriette-Marie, of whom Charles had caught a glimpse on his journey to Madrid. The Commons watched suspiciously, determined to oppose any concessions to Catholics as part of the marriage settlement. But these were secretly granted, and in the next reign embittered the relations between Charles and Parliament by causing unjust suspicions of Catholic influence. As Buckingham would not agree to a direct attack on Spain, and James feared to ask the Commons for supplies lest they should ask awkward questions about the French marriage, there was little money available. And it was only with difficulty that a miserable rabble of twelve thousand raw and mutinous conscripts was shipped from Dover to Flushing, whence, without consulting our Dutch allies, they were sent up the Rhine in open boats with only a few days' rations and no money. Most of them were soon dead from cold and starvation. The expedition was not James's idea, but the disgrace hastened his death. It was not till 1648 that the Palatinate was restored to Frederick's son.

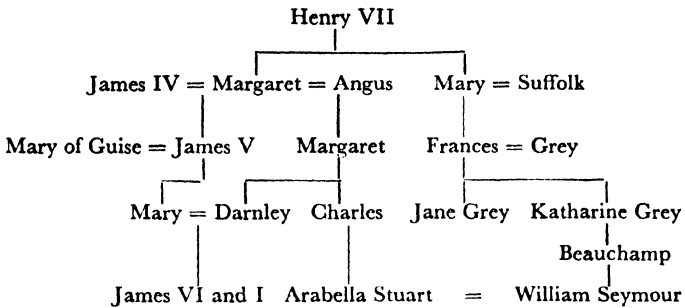
CHIEF DATES FOR JAMES I's REIGN (1603-1625)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1604. Hampton Court Conference. | 1612. Death of Robert Cecil (Salisbury). |
| 1605. Failure of Gunpowder Plot. | Death of Prince Henry. |
| 1607. Foundation of Jamestown, Virginia (see p. 360). | 1614. The Addled Parliament. |
| 1608-11. Plantation of Ulster (see p. 290). | 1618. Death of Raleigh. |
| 1611. Authorised Version of the Bible. | 1620. Sailing of the <i>Mayflower</i> (see p. 361). |
| | 1621. Bacon dismissed. |
| | 1625. English expedition on the Rhine. |

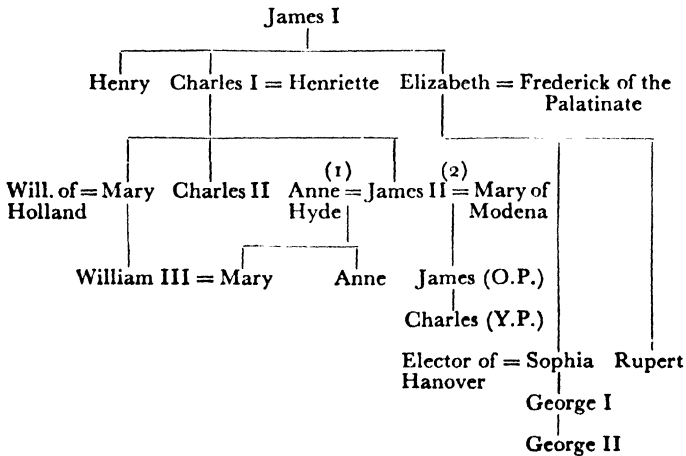


A FAMILY GROUP, PERIOD OF JAMES I

DESCENT OF JAMES I AND ARABELLA STUART



DESCENDANTS OF JAMES I



CHAPTER XX

CHARLES I (1625-1649)

I. THE PETITION OF RIGHT

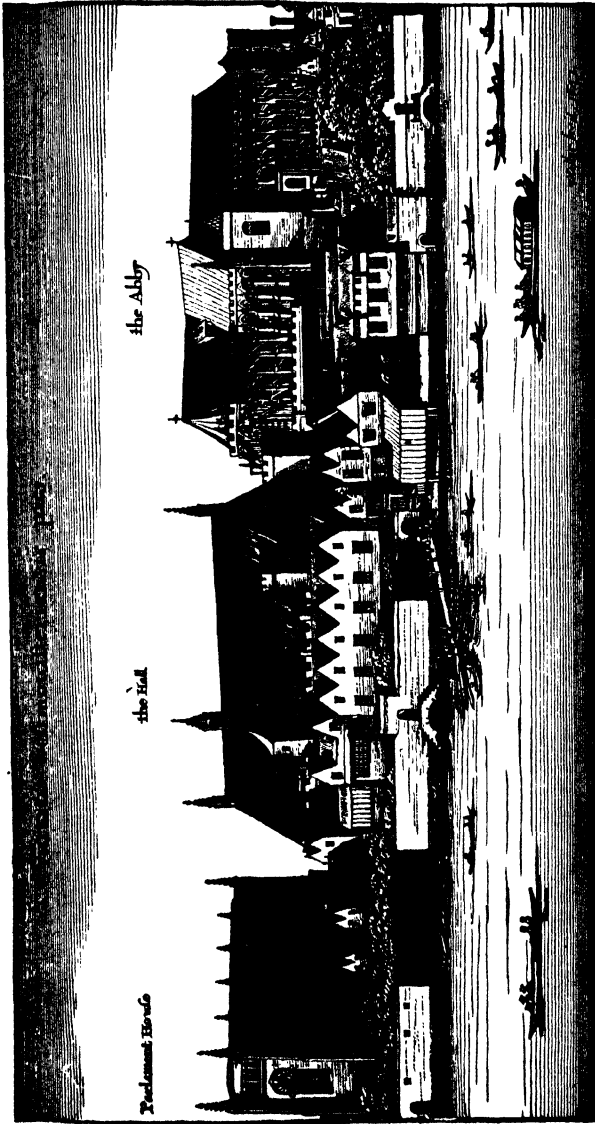
THE accession of Charles made, at first, little difference except that, if anything, the relations between the king and the Commons grew more strained. Before a fresh Parliament was summoned the French marriage took place, and Charles was tricked into lending ships to crush the rebel Huguenots (French Protestants) at La Rochelle, the port on the Bay of Biscay where English sailors had so long been welcome. When Parliament met, it answered Charles's demand for money by granting a small subsidy and voting him the customs dues for one year only, though all other kings on their accession had received them for life. This was a poor reward for Buckingham's adoption of the direct warfare on Spain itself, for which the Commons themselves had clamoured. The restriction of supplies was meant as a vote of "no confidence," but it came at an evil moment for England's reputation. The plan of campaign was once more to singe the King of Spain's beard by raiding Cadiz and waylaying the treasure fleet from America. But now there was no Drake or Raleigh. Instead of well-found ships, there were rotting hulks, some dating back to the Armada, while the seamen and soldiers were criminals or land-lubbers rounded up by the press-gang. The expedition was a tragic failure, like all the others which the favourite organised. The fault was largely his and that of the slack officials who owed their places to him. But Parliament, with its ill-timed niggardliness, is not altogether free from blame.

Buckingham now showed himself as futile a diplomat as he was a Lord High Admiral. The French, if tactfully approached, would have helped us to drive the Spanish out of the Palatinate. But because the great Cardinal Richelieu, the master-mind of France, hesitated to declare war on Spain before he had settled with the Huguenots, the vain

Duke took offence, misbehaved at the French court (as illustrated in "The Three Musketeers"), and on returning to England, declared war on France in 1627, after Charles had saved him from impeachment by dissolving Parliament. Buckingham now prepared an expedition to help the rebel Huguenots by establishing a base on the Isle of Ré, near La Rochelle. His energy and personal courage were not enough to make up for the wretched mismanagement of his subordinates; the French royalists thoroughly trounced him and sent forty English flags to be hung up in Notre Dame Cathedral (Paris), while the Duke sailed home to face an infuriated nation.

It was not merely the failure at Ré which was maddening Englishmen, but the outrageous methods by which the penniless Charles found himself compelled to support the war. Gentlemen were ordered to contribute to a war "loan," and when they refused, they were thrown into verminous prisons or conscripted. The drunken ruffians who formed the bulk of the army and navy were forcibly billeted on private houses, where they ate and drank their fill, insulted the inmates, and often broke up the home. When martial law was proclaimed in order to deal more drastically with disorderly soldiers, citizens took fright, convinced that they too might be hauled before a drum-head court-martial and sentenced to immediate death.

Parliament determined to make a stand against this monstrous régime. Led by Sir John Eliot, an eloquent and hot-tempered Cornishman, who had once been Buckingham's friend and was now his bitter enemy, they drew up in 1628 the Petition of Right, declaring that forced loans and taxation without consent of Parliament were illegal, that imprisonment without cause shown was illegal, and demanding that soldiers and sailors should not be billeted on private houses and that martial law should be abolished. If the king agreed, they offered to vote a considerable sum for war expenses. For the sake of the bribe which accompanied it, Charles most unwillingly granted the Petition with the usual formula, "*Soit droit fait comme est désiré*" (Let right be done as is wished), and it became a statute. But when Parliament went on to demand the removal of his beloved Buckingham, Charles prorogued it and sent him down to Portsmouth to take command of a fresh expedition to relieve La Rochelle, where Richelieu



VIEW OF WESTMINSTER IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I

Parliament met in the Chapel of St. Stephen (marked Parliament House) from the time of Edward IV to 1834, when it was burned down and the present Houses of Parliament were built. The crypt of the Chapel is still used. Westminster Hall and Abbey have changed little, except for the higher towers now in front of the Abbey. Note the river traffic.

had almost completed a mole to block the harbour entrance. An ex-officer and religious maniac, who had grievances against Buckingham, followed him down to Portsmouth, and as the Duke was coming out of his inn to begin his morning's duties, stabbed him dead. However, the expedition sailed to La Rochelle, where its commander was politely invited by Richelieu to take a good look at the formidable mole and then go home. He accepted both invitations, staying just long enough to see the Huguenots surrender. However, Richelieu kept his promise not to persecute them.

Sick at heart at the death of his one friend, and the indecent joy with which the nation had greeted it, Charles decided to dismiss Parliament indefinitely (1629). Fresh storms were already brewing. Once he had got the promised money, he had taken advantage of vagueness in the wording of the Petition of Right to evade it. Moreover, the Puritans were alarmed at the growing influence of the High Church clergy, whose elaborate ritual they quite wrongly suspected was thinly-veiled Roman Catholicism. And so while Charles's musketeers were hammering at the locked doors of the House, the unwilling Speaker was held down in his chair and solemn resolutions were passed, that whosoever brought about innovations in religion and whosoever advised or paid illegal customs dues was an enemy to the kingdom. Then the doors were flung open and the members, some excited, some dismayed, rode off to their scattered homes for eleven anxious years.

2. "L'ÉTAT, C'EST MOI" (1629-1640)

("I am the State"—declaration by Louis XIV)

What sort of a man was this Charles I who now took on himself the heavy burden of ruling as autocrat over a high-spirited and restive nation? His portrait by Van Dyck shows us a graceful and dignified gentleman with the long curls, moustache and pointed beard fashionable at this period. The expression on his proud face is rather cold and melancholy. If he was more refined than his father, he was less genial and impulsive. One can never imagine Charles either kicking an old servant or begging his pardon on bended knee, as James once did. His greatest failing was a chilly and obstinate pride which permitted him to descend

to mean and dishonourable practices to maintain an undisputed mastery.

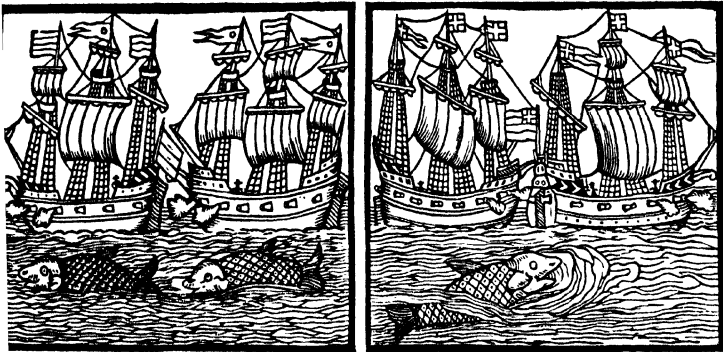
He boasted of his respect for the law, but it was the law twisted by subservient judges on those now most unpopular tribunals, which the Tudors had set up to deal with obstinate opponents of royal supremacy, civil and ecclesiastical. In the Star Chamber, the Council of the North and the Court of High Commission (see pp. 213, 231, 248) the king's interests were the supreme consideration, and punishment was swift and heavy. As soon as Parliament broke up, the leaders of the Commons were arrested for their behaviour in the House, and when they refused to recognise any court but Parliament for such a trial, they were imprisoned. In spite of the petitions of his relatives, Eliot was kept in an unhealthy cell till he died, while two other members were not released till 1640. As Charles was still faced with the eternal problem of raising money, he maintained that the ancient customs dues of tonnage and poundage did not require Parliamentary sanction, and proceeded to collect them. The merchants of London preferred to suspend business for six months rather than give the royal officials an excuse for extortion. But soon resistance died down. It seemed as if the nation were cowed.

Charles now felt emboldened to try other methods of raising revenue, and his ingenious Treasurer, Lord Weston, after diligent study of ancient law-books, suggested the revival of a statute of Edward I's reign, by which all landowners of a certain income were compelled to accept knighthood on payment of a handsome fee. This once respectable income had been fixed in the Middle Ages when the value of silver had been high. Now, there were a large number of landowners who enjoyed it only nominally. So Charles obtained a neat revenge by turning against his subjects that fall in the value of silver by which he himself suffered. Then, still sheltering behind the letter of the law, the Treasurer suddenly produced the careful survey of the royal forest boundaries which had also been made in Edward I's reign. Extensive changes had, of course, taken place since, but the unfortunate landowners whose property lay within those long-forgotten limits were treated almost as if they had recently stolen it. They were graciously allowed to keep it on payment of very heavy fines. These were in many cases remitted, so that the irritation caused

was hardly worth the money raised. Again, monopolies by individuals were now illegal, but the law-abiding monarch saw nothing wrong in selling them to courtiers disguised as companies.

The tax the resurrection of which was most resented, perhaps somewhat illogically, was ship-money. It was a recognised right of the king in early days to levy money from ports, in lieu of ships, for the upkeep of the navy, and in time of emergency it would not be unreasonable to collect the tax from the whole country, though actually this had never been done. Charles professed himself to be alarmed at the way in which the Dutch and French were over-running Flanders, and so threatening our control of the Channel. Apart from this, it was high time something was done about the Barbary pirates, who, after capturing hundreds of English ships and carrying off thousands of seamen into slavery, were now actually raiding the fair estuaries of Devon and Cornwall; while at the other end of the Channel the sea-wolves of Dunkirk grew fat on Thames shipping. In 1634 ship-money was collected from the maritime counties, and in 1635 and 1636, amid loud murmurs, from the whole country. Charles spent every penny of the money on the navy, and a number of fine vessels were launched, including the *Sovereign of the Seas*, admitted by enemies to be the most formidable battleship of its age, and perhaps the most beautiful craft that ever sailed the seas. But Charles would have done well to spend less money on decorations and more on the comfort of the miserable crews. Starved and flogged, they grew to hate Charles, and on the outbreak of the Civil War they promptly turned his fine vessels over to Parliament. In 1637, John Hampden, a squire of Buckinghamshire, decided to contest the legality of ship-money by refusing to pay. This important test case was tried before twelve judges. It is a clear proof of Englishmen's respect for the law at this period that five judges, risking the king's displeasure, decided for Hampden, while the decision of the majority, in the king's favour, was quietly accepted and the tax was thereafter paid (1638). It would be quite wrong to form a picture of the whole nation groaning under a brutal and oppressive tyranny. A few bold spirits suffered, and men held much learned and gloomy talk. But trade flourished, agriculture was successfully encouraged by the king, and

for all the pother about taxation, it was lower than in any other country. The king and his ministers were delighted with the result of the ship-money trial, and looked forward to the establishment in England of that system of royal despotism which was growing up in France, and was soon to be completed under Louis XIV. Their ideal was a docile nation, meekly obedient to hordes of skilled officials, themselves controlled by a few efficient ministers; a strong army and navy to protect them, a single well-disciplined religious faith to unite them, and high above all, an adored



BUCKINGHAM'S FLEET, 1627, DRAWING OF THE PERIOD

monarch, as the sun round which this little universe was to revolve.

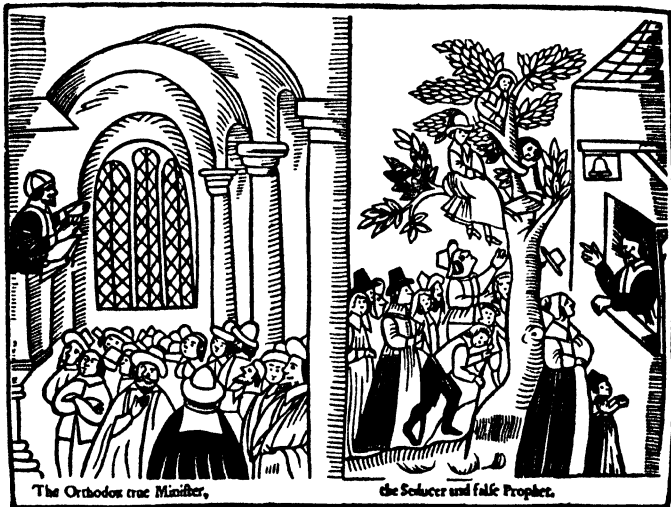
The two men who were helping the king most loyally and effectively to realise this dream were Sir Thomas Wentworth and the Archbishop, William Laud. Wentworth in his earliest days as a member of Parliament had supported the Crown, but he hated Buckingham and at the time of the Petition of Right he was considered one of the leaders of the Commons, though his proposals were rather more moderate than those which were finally adopted. Yet just before Buckingham's death he went over to the king again, when the Duke had him appointed President of the Council of the North. We cannot be certain what motives lay behind Wentworth's sudden conversion. It may be simply that he was jealous of the other leaders of the Com-

mons who had outstripped him, and being greedy for power, he saw a quicker way of rising, and took it. Or it is quite possible that he had made up his mind that the royal supremacy was essential for good government. In any case he never wavered in his loyalty after 1628. In 1633, the same year that Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury, Wentworth crossed to Ireland as Lord Deputy. There he devoted his keen mind and iron will to the heavy task of restoring order and prosperity to that unhappy island. We last read about it at the very end of Elizabeth's reign, when the rising of O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, had been checked with difficulty. Early in James's reign he was suspected of renewing his treasonable schemes and he fled to the Continent, together with other Ulster chiefs. Their estates were confiscated, and in 1611 English and Scottish settlers were encouraged to take up farms there. So many came that they have dominated Ulster down to the present day. The local Irish were promised a share, but never got it, and fresh confiscations took place in other parts of Ireland, often without the slightest excuse. Wentworth soon restored an appearance of order and prosperity in Ireland. The most turbulent chieftains and the highest officials quailed before his dark scowl and hunched shoulders. The resources of the country were fully exploited. Improved breeds of cattle soon grazed its rich meadows, forests were planted near its ports for shipbuilding, the Spaniards were persuaded to eat Irish herring and mackerel on Fridays, prospectors were sent to look for mineral deposits, and above all, Wentworth's one precious gift to the land he bullied so, the blue flower of the flax spread across northern Ireland, and good housewives all over the British Isles came to treasure their Irish linen. Even-handed justice was enforced in private disputes, but where the interests of the Crown were concerned, "Black Tom the Tyrant" never hesitated to use force or fraud. No amount of material prosperity will keep a nation quiet if its sense of fair play is outraged. By promises of definite reforms, which he never kept, he fraudulently obtained large sums of money from the Irish Parliament, he maintained the bad tradition of harassing Catholics, and by his plan for a vast new English plantation, made every landowner in Connaught feel uneasy. And all the time that Wentworth was carrying out his policy of "Thorough" in Ireland, he was thinking of his master's

difficulties in England, and forging for him a sword of gold and a sword of steel. For the first time, Ireland could show a profit on its balance sheet, and became an asset to the king instead of a heavy liability. And part of this surplus Wentworth devoted to the upkeep of a smart body of pikemen and musketeers, very different from the slack wastrels of Buckingham's armies. These might be very useful some day to a harassed king, and in his frequent letters to his friend Laud, he discussed the part that Ireland might play in helping the king.

Laud was now the most powerful and the most unpopular man in England. He had begun his career as head of an Oxford College, where the spiteful Puritans in the university had given him a good deal of trouble and made him their lifelong enemy. In 1628, when his friend Wentworth was made President of the Council of the North, and so, in effect, viceroy of the north of England, Laud became Bishop of London, and so renewed his bitter struggle with aggressive Puritanism. Finally, the king rewarded his unusual energy and fervent loyalty by making him Archbishop of Canterbury, and his closest confidant. This was a resounding triumph for the High Church party, who differed sharply from the Puritans at every turn. The Puritan claimed the right to form his own religious opinions from the Bible, and if there had to be any organised Church at all, preferred it to be as democratic as possible. The High Churchmen maintained that, for most people, the Bible required to be supplemented by the teaching and traditions of the Church, as expounded by bishops. They claimed that by the ceremony of the laying on of hands, the Popes had passed on to English Archbishops the special grace they had inherited from St. Peter, and that the apostolic succession had not been broken at the Reformation. The extreme Puritan tried to approach God by the intellect alone, and saw no objection to worshipping in a garret, a barn or the open air. The High Church party insisted that it was also necessary to awaken the right emotions by beautiful and dignified buildings, by incense and music, by solemn ritual, by "storied windows richly dight, Casting a dim, religious light." Finally, as the king staunchly supported and encouraged them, they preached that he was God's vicegerent on earth, and resistance to him was, therefore, sin.

A good deal of Laud's restless activity was justifiable, and it is largely owing to him that reverent and decorous behaviour in church became customary. Before his time churches were often dirty and dilapidated, and were put to strange worldly purposes. There once had to be a proclamation to forbid "quarrelling and shooting in churches, and the bringing of horses and mules through the same, making God's house like a stable or common inn." In the north of England the church was often a granary, bakehouse or fortress. In the southern towns it frequently



DRAWING OF 1641 CONTRASTING THE OFFICIAL SERVICE, WITH THE PURITAN PRAYER MEETING OUTSIDE A CHAPEL

served as a meeting-place for merchants. But, not content with their improvement of church discipline, Laud and his supporters went on to attack the Puritans. Clergy with Calvinist views were deprived of their livings, and private prayer-meetings were broken up. Laud would not tolerate anything but the Prayer Book service, performed in the parish church according to his detailed instructions. The Puritans were not allowed to consider themselves members of the Church of England, and yet were not left in peace

outside it. Thousands of them gave up comfortable homes to seek spiritual peace in New England (p. 362). Laud meant to enforce the Act of Uniformity impartially against all, but the queen used her influence over the king to prevent him from attacking the Roman Catholics. When the Pope offered him, to his annoyance, the red hat and robe of a Cardinal, he promptly refused them. But his enemies jumped to the quite wrong conclusion that he was in league with Rome. Nor was Laud's intolerance limited to religious matters. His position as Primate entitled him to exercise a censorship over all printed matter, and he used it drastically to stifle any criticism of his own or the king's policy. Educated men who ventured to write anything which reflected on the government, even indirectly, were treated like common criminals, as well as being heavily fined. Persons who would not pay their taxes would find, when they were brought up before the Treasury, that the Archbishop sat there as one of its chiefs; men who had obstinately disputed the royal authority in any way would tremble to see his foxy face and bishop's gown when they were summoned to the Star Chamber.

3. "NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT"

(*Motto of Scotland* :—No one provokes me unpunished).

It is quite possible Charles would have become an absolute monarch, especially if Wentworth had been recalled earlier, had he not, together with Laud, been guilty of the incredible folly of annoying the Scots. A turbulent and quarrelsome race, entirely lacking in the English respect for the Crown, and passionately attached to the Presbyterian system, they had been sullen enough about the few uneasy bishops which James had somehow imposed on them. In 1637 Laud must needs try and take a closer grip of the Thistle. He drew up a Prayer Book for Scotland similar to the English one, and insisted on having it substituted for Knox's universal Book of Common Order. Such a roar of protest burst immediately from every class that men less opinionated than Charles and Laud would have reconsidered their policy. Any attempt to use the new service was followed by a riot. Tradition says that in St. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, the immortal Jeannie Geddes, shrieking out, "Dost thou sing a Mass in my lug?"

threw her stool at the Bishop and hit the Dean. In March 1638 a National Covenant was drawn up to defend the Presbyterian system. Thousands flocked to Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh, to be amongst the first to sign it. Within two months, practically everybody, south of the Highlands, had signed. Most were humble peasants and craftsmen, but education in Scotland was more advanced and much more appreciated than in England, and they could read and think for themselves. And there was a sprinkling of trained soldiers who, a few years before, had followed the great Swedish hero, Gustavus Adolphus, and helped to save the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years' War from utter ruin. An officer named Alexander Leslie put himself at their head and seized Edinburgh. Charles tried to negotiate with the Scots, but they would not listen. So in 1639 he led the unwilling and ill-armed militia of north England against them. The two armies met near Berwick, and the sight of the well-disciplined Scottish force sobered Charles into discretion. The Scots, for their part, did not press their advantage, and a peace was patched up. So ended the first "Bishops' War." But it soon became evident that Charles meant to insist on the episcopal system, while the General Assembly of Presbyterian delegates, more representative and powerful than the Scottish Parliament, had made up its mind to abolish bishops for ever. Charles recalled Wentworth from Ireland in the September of 1639, made him Lord Strafford, and looked to him to save the situation. He advised Charles to call a Parliament, and in the meantime hurried back to Ireland to raise money from the Irish Parliament and enlarge his army there. Then he returned to London in time for the new Parliament, which he expected to be able to bully or trick by the methods he had found so successful in Dublin. The Commons were asked for money with which to fight the Scots. There was much haggling as to amounts and methods of taxation, and there were many grievances, accumulated since 1629, which required immediate attention. Hampden was there as a member for Buckinghamshire, and the House was led by the cool, daring and obstinate John Pym, who began to organise a petition against the Scottish war. Against Strafford's advice Charles dismissed the Short Parliament (April-May 1640).

The situation rapidly grew more strained. Outspoken

members of the late Parliament were imprisoned, the London apprentices rioted and their leaders were put to death, and the royal officials made furious but unsuccessful efforts to raise money quickly for Strafford's proposed English army. The Scots took advantage to rise again (second Bishops' War), and before long they invaded England. The Irish army was still too small to be of much use against them, so Strafford sent out his press-gangs to scour the south of England. They rounded up some sort of an army, but as there were many Puritans included, it soon got completely out of hand and large numbers deserted. The Scots, pushing aside, as it were, the remnants of the English army, seized Newcastle, and proceeded to occupy Northumberland and Durham. As the price of a mere armistice, they insisted on the payment of £850 a day and the right to stay where they were till an English Parliament was summoned. In utter despair, Charles summoned what came to be known as the Long Parliament, on November 3rd, 1640.

At once the whole edifice of royal despotism, which Charles and his two ministers had been raising so laboriously since 1629, collapsed. A unanimous Parliament ordered the recall of Strafford from the army in Yorkshire, and his imprisonment, together with that of Laud, pending an impeachment. Other high officials evaded certain punishment only by escaping to the Continent. The Commons may have intended to give Strafford a fair trial, but Pym got wind of a plot he was concocting with the king and queen to invite their leaders to a review of officers and there to trap them all. Both Houses thereupon passed a bill of attainder against Strafford, *i.e.* dispensing with a trial, they declared him a traitor, sentenced to death. Charles, who had promised Strafford that "not a hair of his head should be touched," was alarmed at the roar of the angry mob round the palace of Whitehall, and finally, after long distress and doubt, at Strafford's own request, added his signature to the Bill, and his devoted servant was executed in May 1641. In the meantime Parliament had been busy passing a number of Bills which should settle, once and for all, the points at issue between themselves and the king, who had no choice now but to accept them. The Triennial Act provided that a Parliament should be summoned at least once in three years. The Tonnage and Poundage

Act settled that it was illegal to collect any customs dues without Parliamentary consent, while another Act declared all that mediæval taxation which Charles had revived to be illegal. The three special Courts which had enforced the royal authority were abolished for ever. Thus Parliament asserted its control of taxation, the ordinary law of the land was recognised as supreme, while the king was still left his full executive power. He went off to Scotland to settle his quarrel there, gave way to the demands of the Presbyterians, and, by doing so, founded a royalist party there headed by the Earl of Montrose. By the summer of 1641, it would seem that there was every prospect of peace for England.

But that was not to be. The religious question was not yet settled. A proposal was put before the House for the abolition of bishops, the Root and Branch Bill. A long discussion followed, and it is probable that it would have passed both Houses, even when proposals were added to simplify ritual. Then some member attacked the Prayer Book itself. At once a fierce opposition was roused, a party of moderates was formed which finally joined the king, and the drift towards civil war began. To widen this breach came in October terrible news from Ireland. Now that Strafford had gone, the Irish Catholics had seen an opportunity of vengeance for all the injustice they had suffered, and a hideous massacre of Protestants followed, especially in Ulster. The story of the rising, alarming enough, was exaggerated in England. It was obvious that an army would have to go across to Ireland to check the frenzied Catholics. But who was to be in control of this army? The obvious answer at any other time would have been, the king. But the English Puritans were now in a state of panic. They knew the queen was intriguing against them right and left, with Catholics at home and abroad. To the fevered imaginations of the Parliamentarians, the Irish rising was the prelude to a similar massacre of Puritans by Catholics in England. They turned angrily on the king. A somewhat unreasonable and provocative document known as the Grand Remonstrance was put before the Commons on November 8th, 1641. It was in two parts—the first a statement of all the misdeeds of Charles throughout his reign and the reforms effected by Parliament. In view of Charles's complete collapse in the earlier

part of the year and the concessions he had then made, there was not much point in raking up the past again. The second part demanded that the king should appoint only such ministers as were acceptable to Parliament, and that religious matters should be decided by an assembly of clergy nominated by Parliament. These proposals may have been necessary, but they struck a heavy blow at the royal prerogative, and it was hardly to be expected that Charles would accept them. When the House went into division on the Remonstrance there were 159 Ayes and 148 Noes. The king's party was growing in strength, when Charles, instigated by his queen, made a false step. Early in 1642 he personally attempted to arrest five of the leading members for treasonable correspondence with the Scots, and there is little doubt that from the strictly legal point of view they were guilty of treason. The question of whether Charles was violating the privilege of Parliament in coming to arrest them in the House of Commons itself is a highly technical one. But he certainly succeeded in infuriating the Commons and annoying the Lords by his attempt. As he drove slowly to Westminster, four hundred officers and armed courtiers gathered round his coach. When the doors of the House were flung open, he strictly charged his followers not to enter, walked up to the Speaker's chair and asked for the five members. But they had received a warning from a lady of the court, and had fled to the City: "I see my birds have flown," said the king quietly, and walked out. Angry murmurs followed him, for the House was enraged at the sight of the professional bullies crowding the doorway, insolently shaking their swords and clicking their pistol triggers. Charles next sought the members in the City Guildhall, but the magistrates refused to help him. He went to York, where there was still some sort of an army since the Bishops' Wars. During the next few months, while he was preparing for war, the queen being abroad, he displayed such dignity and moderation that many gentlemen flocked to join him, especially as the extremists now had the upper hand in Parliament and made a series of revolutionary and unreasonable demands which aimed at depriving him completely of all executive power of any kind. So that when the fighting began, out of 475 members of the Commons, 175 were for the king, including the lawyer Edward Hyde, later Lord Clarendon (p. 332), and his friend,

the philosopher, Lord Falkland, both of whom had been against him in 1640.

CHIEF DATES FOR CHARLES I'S REIGN UP TO OUTBREAK OF CIVIL WAR (1625-1642)

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| 1625. Expedition to Cadiz. | 1639. Wentworth recalled. |
| 1627. Expedition to Ré. | 1640. Short Parliament (April-May). |
| 1628. Petition of Right.
Death of Buckingham. | Second Bishops' War (August-October). |
| 1629. Parliament dismissed. | Long Parliament summoned (November). |
| 1630. Foundation of Boston (see p. 362). | |
| 1633. Laud becomes Archbishop.
Wentworth goes to Ireland. | 1641. Triennial and other Acts limiting royal power.
Death of Strafford.
Root and Branch Bill.
Irish Rebellion.
Grand Remonstrance. |
| 1637. New Prayer Book in Scotland. | |
| 1637-38. Ship-money trial. | |
| 1638. Scottish National Covenant. | 1642. Attempted arrest of five Members. |
| 1639. First Bishops' War. | |



COSTUME, PERIOD OF CHARLES I

CHAPTER XXI

THE CIVIL WARS

1. "King Charles, and who'll do him right now?"
(Browning, Cavalier Tunes.)

THE FIRST CIVIL WAR (1642-1646)

WHEN the Civil War broke out, neither side had a regular army, for Parliament, as we have seen, had striven with success to prevent the king raising one. Charles had gone up north because he expected that part of England to be loyal, and finding the gates of Hull locked against him, he raised the royal standard at Nottingham on the 22nd of August. He was joined by a few hundred gentlemen who could ride, and a few hundred courtiers who could fence, together with such remnants of the army for Scotland as had not deserted or been disbanded. Parliament hurriedly raised and equipped an emergency force to watch him from Northampton, and the king decided to move towards the west, where his appeal to loyal subjects was answered more warmly. Both sides now set themselves in earnest to organise for that tragic, but by no means futile, struggle which was to decide whether the king's will alone was to regulate the government of England.

Thirty peers joined Parliament, as against eighty who rode with the king, and the deep respect which was felt for the nobility ensured that at first Parliament should entrust its cause to its most highly-born supporters, such as the Earls of Essex and Manchester. But these peers were not whole-hearted in their detestation of the king, and Parliament might easily have been defeated early in the war, in spite of its excellent resources. Perhaps the most important of these was London, a vast reservoir of manpower and money, with its thousands of high-spirited apprentices, drilled and disciplined in the regiments of the "trained bands," and its rich merchants ready to lend

or give money freely against the king, who had annoyed them both as Puritans and tax-payers. Other towns also which were big enough to have a flourishing Puritan community were Parliamentary strongholds, particularly valuable when they were ports. For they could be supplied from the sea indefinitely. At the very outset of the struggle the seamen of the royal navy had rushed cheering into the City when they heard news of the escape of the five members, and their loyalty to Parliament was clinched by the regular pay they received throughout the war. Besides its support of Parliamentary bases in royal territory, the navy protected the rapidly expanding commerce from which much Puritan wealth was drawn, it convoyed heavy imports of munitions, and it destroyed what little chance there was of Charles ever receiving the foreign help for which his wife was so frantically intriguing. The sailors were amply revenged for Charles's neglect.

Finally, Parliament possessed an enormous advantage in that control of taxation which it successfully claimed and exercised. In the stress of the war, an extended and modernised system of taxation was enforced which far exceeded anything which Charles would ever have dared to devise. There was grumbling, but revenue came pouring in, and it was freely spent on the Roundhead army and navy. Where Charles had with difficulty extorted shillings, it seemed as if Parliament could conjure pounds. The royal resources, on the other hand, were very limited. A few wealthy Catholic lords made him generous gifts. But the bulk of his followers were the lesser landed gentry, and their wealth was not in ready cash. They brought their beautiful silver plate to be melted down. They brought the rents and produce of their estates, but these dwindled after each Roundhead victory. They might cut down forests which Norman ancestors had planted, and sell their wives' jewellery, but each year the king grew poorer.

It is not easy to define exactly the districts and classes that fought on either side. Often neighbours, friends and even members of one family were on opposite sides, all equally convinced they were fighting for honour and conscience. But some rough divisions may be made. Parliament was strongest east of a line drawn from Hull to Southampton, together with a belt comprising the Midlands, Cheshire and Lancashire—*i.e.* in the wealthiest and most

densely populated part of England, whether because of industries or flourishing agriculture. And so it found its stoutest supporters in merchants, tradesmen and eastern squires. The king was joined by the high aristocracy who owned vast estates, the poorer squires of the north and west, and, of course, all devoted adherents of the established Church. The lower classes were indifferent, and when pressed, joined the masters on whom they depended for a livelihood, or the side that paid them most. In any case it was only a small proportion of the total population which took an active and continuous part in the struggle; and whichever party was predominant in any district, it had to contend with an energetic minority.

Now that the king had been strongly reinforced in the west, he decided to advance on London. The Earl of Essex, who was watching him from Worcester, moved east to intercept him, and the two armies met at Edge Hill (near Stratford-on-Avon) in the October of 1642. This was the first pitched battle of the Civil War, and it was a typical one. There was the usual long, doubtful struggle between the foot regiments in the centre of the line, the musketeers firing in relays, while the pikemen thrust and parried in strenuous duels. The victory usually went to the side whose cavalry could drive off its opponents on the wings and then crash into the rear of the enemy infantry. At Edge Hill, the Royalist cavalry on the right wing was led by Rupert of the Palatinate, a nephew of the king, and his chief military adviser, as well as head of his cavalry. He was an inspiring and successful leader in the actual charge, but he himself never learned (and so could never train his men) to wheel when the enemy horse were driven from the field, and charge their infantry from the flank or rear. The Royalist troopers regularly got out of hand, some chasing the Roundhead horse across half the county, while others raided the enemy camp and burdened themselves with plunder. And so, in this first battle, the few Roundhead cavalry who were still on the field produced enough effect to enable Parliament to claim a victory. Charles retired to Oxford for a time, making the city his headquarters for the duration of the war, and then continued his advance on London. But at Turnham Green (now a western suburb of London) his way was barred by a large army of London trained bands,

well-entrenched and well-equipped. He gave up the advance for a time till his strength should increase.

By the summer of 1643 his prospects were much improved. In the south-west, Sir Ralph Hopton, with a



PIKEMAN, 1644



MUSKETEER, 1644

(From wood-carvings at Cromwell House, Highgate.)

small but highly-trained cavalry force, defeated the Parliamentarian, Sir William Waller, his old friend, and won the whole district, except the ports, for the king. In the north-east the Marquis of Newcastle raised some splendid foot regiments, "the Whitecoats," swept through Yorkshire and drove the Roundheads into Hull. Rupert now pro-

posed the sound scheme of a triple advance on London by Newcastle, Hopton and the king. Charles was to advance straight on London, while the two other commanders, if they could not reach London itself, were to occupy, one the north, the other the south bank of the Thames and interfere with the shipping which was the life-blood of Parliament. The scheme might very well have succeeded had not Roundhead garrisons still held ports in the north-east and south-west. Newcastle's men would not march so far south while their enemies from Hull might sack their farms and drive off their cattle, while Hopton's gentlemen-troopers would not ride as far as Kent, leaving their snug manor-houses and orchards unguarded against the garrisons of Plymouth, Falmouth and Bristol. The scheme fell through, and all that the king could think of was to lay siege to Gloucester. Many of the Parliamentarians were already discouraged, and the London rabble was clamouring for peace. If Gloucester fell, Parliament would be still more seriously discredited. The London army, hitherto unwilling to do anything but defend the capital, agreed to follow Essex to raise the siege. When Rupert failed to prevent Essex from crossing the Cotswolds, the king withdrew his army from Gloucester. Essex stayed there just long enough to enable the garrison to renew supplies, and then began to hurry home, for his army was not equipped for a long campaign. To avoid further interference from Rupert in the Cotswolds, he struck south and came along the great Roman road from Bath to London. The king tried to intercept him at Newbury (near Reading). After a furious struggle, in which Falkland not unwillingly met his death, Charles withdrew, and Essex brought his trusty apprentices back to London (August 1643).

Soon afterwards the king came to terms with the Irish Catholics, and in return for a promise of tolerant rule, they agreed to send him an army, and a strong royalist party developed under the Earl of Ormond. But this access to the royal strength was more than balanced by the Solemn League and Covenant made the same week between Parliament and the Scots, by which the latter were to provide an army (for which they charged £1000 a day), while Parliament promised to support the permanent establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland and to reform the Church of England "according to the example of the

best reformed Churches and the Word of God." The Scots actually pressed for the adoption of Presbyterianism in England, but some of the English delegates wisely insisted on the vaguer formula. Not long afterwards Pym died. He had lived just long enough to guide Parliament through the critical opening stages of the war, and though the future was inscrutable, the Scots alliance must have greatly comforted him. Hampden had been killed in June during one of the frequent skirmishes in the Chilterns, where Parliamentary outposts kept watch against Rupert's raiders from Oxford.

In the January of 1644 an Irish army arrived in England to fight for the king, while David Leslie brought the Scots south for Parliament. But the Irish were soon routed in Cheshire by Sir Thomas Fairfax, Parliament's chief commander in the north, while the Scottish army helped to win a resounding triumph in the summer, which won the whole of the north for Parliament. After Fairfax joined forces with Leslie, they were strong enough to drive Newcastle into York, which they besieged. But Parliament had not yet acquired its siege artillery, and though a strong army from the eastern counties under the Earl of Manchester reinforced them at the end of June, they had failed to take York. And now Rupert, bringing a large cavalry force from the Welsh border, came flying north to help Newcastle, and on his way through Lancashire, stained his reputation by the sack of towns and a cruel massacre at Bolton. Skilfully evading the large Roundhead army outside York, he managed to get his men safely into the town, and the besiegers decided it was now useless to stay. Rupert, flushed with triumph and the high spirits of a young man of three-and-twenty, persuaded Newcastle to follow them at once, and a great battle took place on a moor near the village of Long Marston, eight miles west of York. Rupert, for once, was driven off the field by a cavalry commander of growing reputation, Colonel Oliver Cromwell, supported by Leslie. Their finely disciplined cavalry wheeled round when Rupert's men had fled, and attacked the Royalist centre, where the infantry had driven most of the Roundheads off, except for some stalwart regiments of Scottish pikemen. Time after time Cromwell's troopers charged and re-formed, till the royalist foot had been swept from the moor. Newcastle's Whitecoats died

to a man where they stood. It was a decisive battle, for not merely were the Royalists driven from the north of England, but Cromwell and his supporters now rapidly came to the front, and events in the autumn of 1644 gave him an opportunity for protest which focused Parliament's attention on him. Anxious to recover another Royalist area for Parliament, Essex had invaded the south-west and got his infantry hopelessly entangled in a narrow Cornish creek, where Charles surrounded and captured them. The king was emboldened to make another advance on London, and at the second battle of Newbury, the Earl of Manchester slackly allowed the king to escape a crushing defeat. No wonder that efficient commanders clamoured for drastic changes.

They found a vigorous spokesman in Colonel Cromwell, who was also member of Parliament for Cambridge. He was a wealthy landowner who had become well known early in Charles's reign throughout Huntingdon and Cambridgeshire for his fearless championship of his poorer neighbours who had been robbed of their land by unscrupulous enclosures. He had sat in the House of Commons since 1628, and having had a lawyer's training, he was well qualified to take part in the Commons' resistance to the king. Coming from a strongly Puritan district, he was himself a type of the Puritan spirit at its best. Naturally, he was in the war from the start, when armies had been raised by groups of counties. The East Anglian group, or Eastern Association, had raised a fine regiment of cavalry, largely through Cromwell's efforts, and he was made colonel of it. This well-equipped force soon distinguished itself by its discipline and courage, for it was carefully recruited from men who were above the average in character as well as physique, and after Marston Moor, the whole nation knew of the "Ironsides." Now Cromwell was annoyed, not merely at the half-heartedness of Parliament's nobly-born commanders, but at the intolerant spirit which the Presbyterian leaders of the Commons were beginning to display. The Presbyterian section among the Puritans was the largest, best organised and least tolerant. They had almost as little sympathy for other Puritan sects as for Anglicans or Roman Catholics. And it was beginning to be noticed that promotion in the army too often went to Presbyterians who little deserved it.

Cromwell spoke often in the House that winter and he spoke bluntly. The army would have to be reformed. The county organisations must go, there must be a central force ready to strike wherever required, and it must be regularly paid. And promotion must no longer depend on religious or political belief. Cromwell was popular



LIGHT HORSEMAN OF CROMWELL'S TIME
Note the details of the equipment.

with the best soldiers and officers, who disliked the rigid Presbyterians, and the Commons dared not refuse him. To save the faces of the army chiefs, Parliament in the spring of 1645 passed the Self-Denying Ordinance, which compelled members of both Houses to resign all commissions given them since 1641, though there was nothing to stop their being reappointed. Sir Thomas Fairfax, who took no prominent part in politics, was appointed com-

mander-in-chief, and he later insisted on Cromwell being appointed his second-in-command and chief of cavalry.

Next summer, although the "New Model" army formed only one-quarter of the Parliamentary strength, the reforms bore fruit. The Earl of Montrose, leading a royalist army in Scotland, had won a victory and Charles thought it might be worth while trying to join him. He marched north from Oxford, and Parliament, rather alarmed, gave Fairfax and Cromwell a free hand. As Charles was not advancing very quickly, they soon caught up to him near Naseby (on the Leicester-Northants border) on June 14th, 1645. Rupert drove the cavalry opposing him off the field and his men scattered in frantic pursuit. Cromwell, on the other wing, defeated his opponents but rode back to the field of battle. There the king's infantry were fighting sturdily, and they were not broken up till Cromwell and Fairfax themselves leaped into the tangle of slanting pikes. At the end of the day the king had entirely lost his main infantry army, much of his cavalry, all his ammunition and his correspondence. Leaving the Scots to watch him and send help against Montrose, Fairfax and Cromwell rode to the recovery of the south-west. At Langport, in the heart of Somerset, they routed the remaining royalist army. The rest of the summer and the following spring were spent in recovering such towns as the Cavaliers still held. As Parliament had by now acquired siege artillery, it was not a very difficult process. Oxford itself was captured in June 1646. Even after Naseby, if the king had concentrated the innumerable small garrisons which were holding country houses in his name, he might have formed a respectable army. But he would not do so. And now they were easily rounded up. Usually the mere sight of a business-like troop of Ironsides, or of a field-gun trained at their door, was sufficient to put an end to the discreet garrison's long holiday. In May 1646, discredited by the intrigues for foreign help which his captured correspondence had revealed, and dispirited by Leslie's defeat of Montrose, the king had surrendered to the Scots, and his troops were allowed to go home unmolested.

2. THE SECOND CIVIL WAR, 1648

The Scottish leaders were already feeling very dissatisfied with the English Parliament for its failure to carry out what the Scots had looked upon as a pledge to establish the Kirk system in England as soon as possible. They were also still rather nervous about Montrose. So they opened negotiations with Charles, but after months of haggling they grew weary of his obstinacy and shiftiness, and when they had received arrears of pay under the Covenant, they handed him over to Parliament, and went home in February 1647. Now a majority of the English Parliament would have been quite prepared to force the Scottish religious system on the country in all its harsh intolerance. But they were afraid of the army, which was now very much under the influence of its Independent officers, especially since most of its orthodox Presbyterian chaplains had scuttled away to comfortable rectories at the first opportunity. The splendid discipline and training which had brought Cromwell's cavalry into such prominence in 1644, had by this time been instilled into the whole army, which was now the finest armed force in Europe. But besides being first-rate soldiers, the troops were men of advanced ideas, and stood for the utmost freedom in religion and politics. Many a long evening they spent in billets and barracks discussing with great earnestness and not a little learning theories which shocked the orthodox—that every man should have a vote, that the land belonged to the people, that there was no need for parsons or tithes or organised churches. Puffing at long clay pipes, they growled that they had not faced Rupert's sabres or Newcastle's pikes to hand over the government of England to a corrupt clique at Westminster. What was the good of having thrashed "the Papists" if they were now to be imprisoned or dismissed the army because a well-paid Presbyterian minister disliked their preaching? So that when Parliament ordered them to disband, the troops asked for arrears of pay to be made good at once, and stayed where they were. Cromwell strove hard to reconcile the army and Parliament, for he realised what an evil day it is for any land when its armed forces refuse to obey the government. But finally, disgusted with Parliament's tyranny, he sided with

the soldiers. In the nick of time he got hold of the king and all the artillery, just when Parliament had sent its own agents to bring them to London.

Treating the king with far more courtesy than the officials of the Commons had done, Cromwell and his colleagues now offered him terms of peace which were sound, and, considering Charles's plight, even generous. The chief among these "Heads of Proposals" were, that the king might re-establish the Church organisation through bishops, provided that toleration were granted to all but Roman Catholics, that Cavaliers' estates should not be confiscated, that Parliament, elected henceforth by a much larger number of voters, should meet at least once every two years, and that Charles was to share his executive power with a Council of State which, for a number of years at any rate, should be nominated by Parliament. Charles refused, and in the autumn of 1647 escaped to the Isle of Wight, for he was not very strongly guarded. And while pretending to negotiate with Parliament, he made a secret treaty with the Scots, by which their army was to restore him to the English throne, while he promised to establish Presbyterianism for three years and refuse toleration to other sects. Had the Scottish army succeeded, there is no doubt whatever that Charles would have failed to honour his promise and would have restored Laud's system. But then Charles's conscience, like that of Henry VIII, was a very peculiar one. At the same time he encouraged the English royalists to rise again. Joined by a number of Presbyterians they answered the call in Kent and Essex, where Fairfax soon drove them into Colchester, and in South Wales, where Cromwell besieged Pembroke. As his artillery was delayed, the siege lasted six weeks. Then, in the August of 1648, he raced north to meet a large but ill-equipped Scottish army which had already crossed the border and picked up some northern Cavaliers. Swerving into Yorkshire to collect reinforcements under Lambert, he swept back over the Pennines, and at Preston hurled himself into the centre of the Scottish army as it splashed south in heavy rains through central Lancashire in a long, straggling line. Crumpling up its rearguard, which was chiefly composed of English Cavaliers, he rounded up the rest in the next day or two between Wigan and Warrington. All the Scottish foot was killed or captured.

Their horse scattered, but few recrossed the border. Meanwhile Fairfax had taken Colchester.

Now came the bitter reckoning, for the army was in an ugly mood at Charles's attempt to renew the war. Such captured royalists as had volunteered for this campaign were shipped over to the Barbadoes (p. 363) and practically sold into slavery. On their return the army chiefs were furious at discovering that now Parliament was negotiating with the king behind their backs. Before setting out against the royalist insurrections, after praying on their knees for divine guidance, they had passed a solemn resolution, "It is our duty, if ever the Lord bring us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood he has shed." Charles, still in the Isle of Wight, was once more seized, and this time closely imprisoned. Without Cromwell's knowledge, Colonel Pride with a party of musketeers formed up at the entrance of the House of Commons and, as the members approached, turned away all but the fifty odd who sympathised with the army (December 1648). In the new year this remnant of the Long Parliament, which came to be known as "the Rump," appointed a number of commissioners, of whom only half attended, to try Charles Stuart on a charge of high treason for levying war against his subjects. The trial took place in the old Westminster Hall which William Rufus had built and Richard II extended. The gallery was crowded with spectators. When the president of the court summoned the king to answer the charge "in the name of the people," a woman's voice came from the gallery, "It is a lie. Not half or a quarter of them." It was Lady Fairfax, and she spoke the truth. The judges felt none too sure of their position, and if her husband had spoken out as boldly, the trial would have been abandoned. After a few days, the more determined judges decided to cut the proceedings short. As long as Charles Stuart lived there could be no peace. He was sentenced to death and his head was cut off on January 30th, 1649.

3. THE THIRD CIVIL WAR (1649-1651) AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUMP (1649-1653)

A Puritan poet has borne witness to the king's dignified behaviour in his last hours, and to the ordinary man or woman, not greatly interested in politics, his death was a matter of pity and horror, though many who groaned



outside Whitehall that cold January day when the king's head was held up, had howled against him there in 1641. But the bold, stern men who had ordered his death held England in a grip of iron. They formally abolished monarchy and the House of Lords, and decided it was time to establish their authority in Ireland. In that unhappy island the genius of Ormond had succeeded in uniting English, Scottish and Irish against the Rump's authority after the king's execution. He had gained control of most

of the island and was even threatening to invade England. Cromwell was sent over to deal with this menace. He made up his mind that the kindest thing to do was to be cruel, so that the fate of his first victims should cow the whole island into submission and so save further bloodshed. Besides, there was the massacre of Puritans in 1641 to be avenged. A Parliamentary force was already in Dublin, barely holding the capital long enough to enable Cromwell to land (1649). Having cleared Dublin, he struck north, bombarded Drogheda on the Boyne (map, p. 311), and when he had captured it, hunted its English garrison through the streets like rats, and slew some of the non-combatants. Then he moved south of Dublin, captured Wexford, and slaughtered its Irish Catholic defenders and every priest that could be caught. Having thus secured the approaches to Ireland, he turned against the inland garrisons. But all the Protestants in east Ireland now readily went over to him, and before long he was able to leave the suppression of the west to his son-in-law, Ireton (the officer who had drafted the Heads of the Proposals), for his services were urgently needed elsewhere.

The Rump was seriously alarmed by a new threat from Scotland. There Montrose, one of the most romantic figures of a romantic age, with his small army of Highlanders and Catholics, had been finally crushed by the suspicious Presbyterians, and the gallant earl, heroic servant of most unworthy masters, was hanged and shamefully insulted before and after his death. The very tall and very dark young man, who after January 30th, 1649, was entitled to consider himself King Charles II, after living in the Channel Islands and in Dutch ports for a time, turned up in Scotland to see what help he could get there, for, after all, he was king of Scotland too. He never lifted a finger to save Montrose, who had gone on fighting loyally for the second Charles when the first one was dead. If the father had a peculiar conscience, the son had none at all. Having promised his Irish friends to tolerate Catholics, and his English friends to restore the Prayer Book, he now took an oath and made a covenant with the Scots to enforce Presbyterianism throughout the British Isles. Once more the Scots prepared to cross the border to put a Stuart on the English

throne, and this time David Leslie (p. 304) was in command.

Cromwell was recalled from Ireland in May 1650, and by July he was near Edinburgh. It was a critical moment, for the Rump was harassed by the hostility of foreign governments, and a quarter of the navy had declared for Charles. One false step, and the government of the English Puritans would crash in ruin. Oliver was none too happy at being sent to crush his comrades of Marston Moor (the Scottish army of 1648 had been Cavalier rather than Puritan). He wrote to them time after time in his crabbed, passionately sincere style, begging them to reconsider the position, and quoting passages of the Old Testament in his support. The Scots refused to budge, and made counter quotations. The English army was much smaller than that of the Scots, and it was further weakened by sickness. By September Cromwell was out-manceuvred and hemmed in just south of Dunbar, north-west of Berwick, between the sea and the high moors, with the Scottish army to his south, barring the road to England. Fortunately for the English, the heads of the Kirk, from whom Leslie had to take orders, in their eagerness to drive the English into the sea, insisted on the Scottish army descending prematurely from its strong position on the moor top. This was all that Cromwell asked. His batteries pounded the Scots and then his troopers chased them off the field. As the sun broke through the morning mist, the English saw that they had escaped from the trap. Soaked with rain and spattered with mud, the Ironsides sang the hundred and seventeenth Psalm with joyous hearts, while their gasping horses recovered.

Oliver now resumed his invasion of Scotland. Dunbar had greatly discredited the Presbyterians, but Charles was not broken-hearted, for they had kept too close an eye on him and forbidden him any amusement but an occasional round of golf, and he was now very glad to be able to appeal to his other Scottish friends. Cromwell took Edinburgh, but was delayed from further advance by sickness, for the strain of the soldiering career he had taken up so late in life was bound to tell on a man of his age. It was not till the summer of 1651 that he was ready to take the offensive again. By this time Charles and Leslie had collected a considerable force which was strongly entrenched near

Stirling. Oliver decided not to make a frontal attack, but work round behind it and so cut Leslie off from his sources of supply in east Scotland. He crossed the Forth and captured Perth. Charles took advantage, as he was probably meant to, and hurried south to England, fondly hoping that English royalists would join in large numbers. But Charles's covenant now told against him and he received little support. Meanwhile Cromwell had sent a large cavalry force under Lambert to harass the king, and after making arrangements with another of his chief

CHART FOR THE CIVIL WARS

Date.	Battle.	Result.	Effect.
1642	Edge Hill, p. 301.	Victory of Essex over Charles I.	Charles headed off from London.
1643	Newbury (1), p. 303.	Victory of Essex over Charles I.	Essex returns to London from Gloucester.
1644	Marston Moor, p. 304.	Victory of Fairfax over Rupert.	The North won for Parliament.
	Newbury (2), p. 305.	Victory of Manchester over Charles I.	Charles's advance on London checked.
1645	Naseby, p. 307.	Victory of Fairfax over Charles I.	Charles's main field army destroyed.
	Langport, p. 307.	Victory of Fairfax over south-western Royalists.	Charles's second field army destroyed.
1648	Preston, p. 309.	Victory of Cromwell over Scots.	Second Civil War ended.
1650	Dunbar, p. 313.	Victory of Cromwell over Scots.	Cromwell proceeds with invasion of Scotland.
1651	Worcester, p. 315.	Victory of Cromwell over Charles II.	Final defeat of Royalists.

officers, George Monk, to keep control of Scotland, he hurried south with his main army. While Charles from Stirling had come down the west side of the Pennines, with a considerable start, it was easier for Oliver to come down the east side. Charles's pace slackened as he began to meet resistance. Cromwell swung over through Warwick and barred Charles's road to London at Worcester. A fierce battle took place on the banks of the Severn, and the royalists, outnumbered, were at last driven into the town and trapped. Most of them were killed or captured, including half the nobility of Scotland. The Cathedral was turned into a temporary prison from which many of the wretched captives emerged only to join their unhappy predecessors in the Barbadoes. Charles himself managed to escape, in spite of all the pickets at the cross-roads and the price set on his head. After hair-raising adventures, including those unpleasant moments in the oak tree, which country boys still commemorate, and after anxious days in Catholic manors, the "tall man, above two yards high" as the notices described him, got aboard a fishing smack at Brighton and finally reached France.

4. "CROMWELL, OUR CHIEF OF MEN" (Milton)
(1651-1658)

"The crowning mercy" of Worcester, fought on September 3rd, 1651, exactly a year after Dunbar, on Cromwell's fateful day (see p. 324), was the last battle in which he himself took part. Still officially a servant of the Rump, he received a tremendous reception on his return to London, and was already recognised as the first man in the English republic. Fairfax was fading into the background. He had not approved of the execution of the king, he had definitely disapproved of the expedition to Scotland, and he now took little part in public affairs. Ireton and Monk fulfilled the tasks deputed to them by Cromwell, and at the end of May 1652, Ireland and Scotland, as well as England, were in the Commonwealth's iron grip. The conquest of western Ireland had been a long and dreary business. And when the last of the starving "rebels" had been shot on a purple hill-side or speared into some treacherous bog, there still remained the problem

of holding the Irish down. The solution was a drastic one, and since that time "the curse of Crummul" has been an Irish oath. The upper-class Catholics in town and country lost all their property and practically ceased to exist as a class at all. Their land was distributed to thousands of new English and Scottish Puritan settlers, many of them disbanded soldiers. The land had been won by the sword, and, if necessary, it was to be held by the sword. Cromwell would have liked to sweep the whole native population of the peasant class into Connaught, had not the settlers resisted because they needed labourers. Englishmen and Scotsmen owned three-quarters of Ireland and monopolised political power, electing the thirty members for Ireland who sat in the Protectorate parliaments. But, except in Ulster, the Anglo-Scottish element was too small and too scattered to keep itself permanently aloof. Most of the settlers, or their descendants, sooner or later succumbed to the charms of Irish ladies, and Puritan grandfathers often had to resign themselves to Catholic grandchildren.

In Scotland, the settlement, though based on force, was far more generous. Free trade with England was granted, the common people were freed from many feudal burdens, and thirty Scottish members sat at Westminster. The first attempt was made to bring order into the Highlands by the construction of roads. All these arrangements were upset at the Restoration, and many a year was to pass before the benefits were renewed.

It still remained to establish the new republic's authority on the seas and over the seas. That section of the fleet which had declared for Charles was organised by Rupert in Dutch ports to prey on English shipping. Against him, the Rump in 1650 sent Robert Blake, like Rupert, an ex-soldier who was to prove himself a splendid sailor. Just as Cromwell had reformed the army, so, about the same time, Sir Henry Vane had thoroughly re-organised the navy and the dockyards. The results were just as striking. Rupert was driven from his base at Kinsale (south Ireland), then blockaded for months in Lisbon, where the Portuguese had allowed him to take refuge. When he got out, Blake drove him into the Mediterranean and scattered his fleet (1650). This was the first time a large English naval force had passed Gibraltar, and its

success helped to impress the hostile powers of Europe. Rupert fled across the Atlantic to the West Indies and the southern plantations (see p. 361), which were royalist in sentiment. A Commonwealth squadron, flying the now respected St. George's cross, followed him there, and compelled the colonists to recognise the republic's authority, while Rupert's fleet dwindled to a single ship (1652).

The possession of a magnificent fighting navy filled the government with tremendous self-confidence and they now readily undertook a war against the Dutch. It seems, at first, rather surprising that the first enemy to be struck should be another Puritan republic. But for many years now the Dutch had been using violent and unscrupulous methods to gain control of the long-distance shipping trade. They had driven English traders, not without bloodshed, from the East Indies (p. 364). In our American harbours, half a dozen Dutch craft could always be seen for one English vessel. London merchants, who had great influence with the Rump, were anxious for England to win its share of the carrying trade. In 1651 the famous Navigation Act was passed. It declared that all merchantmen plying between England and African, Asiatic, or American ports must have been built in England or the colonies, belong to Englishmen, have English skippers and a crew three-quarter English (which term included Scottish and colonials). Goods coming from Europe had to come in English vessels or those belonging to the country which produced the goods. The Dutch were naturally furious, but the Navigation Act itself would not have caused the war. They themselves had used far more unpleasant methods of encouraging their own shipping. But the Rump proceeded to make the challenge more sharp. They claimed that in time of war (and, at sea, we were more or less at war with France owing to its bitter hostility to the republic), English naval officers had the right to search any ship they met for enemy goods. More likely than not, such a ship would be flying the red, white and blue bands of the Dutch. And finally, they insisted on Dutch vessels dipping their flag and striking topsails if they sighted the cross of St. George in the Narrow Seas, the time-honoured procedure in recognition of England's right to levy toll on vessels sailing the Channel. It was

actually the refusal of the famous commander, Tromp, to strike when passing a squadron of Blake's that started the war then and there in 1652. During the next two years, the well-matched navies pounded each other savagely in the North Sea and Channel. The Dutch were the more skilful seamen, while the English had rather better discipline and their ships were more stoutly built. Tromp hoisted at his masthead the broom which he boasted was to sweep the English off the seas, while Blake ran up the whiplash to flog the Dutch. Towards the end of the war the English were strong enough to blockade the Dutch ports and prey on such of their great bulging freighters as still tried to steal along through Channel mists. As the great majority of the Dutch depended directly on shipping for a livelihood, they were faced with utter ruin. In the once crowded streets of Amsterdam, grass began to sprout, whole rows of houses stood empty, and on the Zuyder Zee and the creeks of the Rhine thousands of idle and deserted vessels rocked and rotted at their moorings, while in the Channel no less than fourteen hundred were captured by the English. By 1654, Cromwell's authority had increased (p. 322), and as he had never approved of the war, he brought it to an end. The Dutch agreed to salute the flag in British waters, to expel royalists and, in practice, they accepted the Navigation Act.

Having stopped one war, Cromwell soon dragged his impoverished country into another. The peace-time cost of the increased army and navy was so high that he thought he might as well use them to further a pet scheme of his. That "England over the seas" which Gilbert and Raleigh had begun (p. 359), Oliver was always anxious to enlarge, and his eagerness made him slipshod and not overscrupulous in his methods. Just before the end of the Dutch war (1654) Cromwell had sent an expedition to capture the Dutch colonies which lay between Maryland and New England, and so to make the whole stretch of coast English (map, p. 358). Peace was made before the attack started, but the expedition was promptly sent further north to attack the French settlements in Acadia (later Nova Scotia). Cromwell probably justified this by the constant attacks of French privateers on English merchantmen. The Acadian forts were captured and actually occupied till 1668. Cromwell did not think it worth while to make a

formal declaration of war against France itself, where, strangely enough, the loss of Acadia does not seem to have been greatly resented. But when he tried to play the same game with the Spaniards, they promptly declared war. As in the days of Elizabeth, they still tolerated no foreigners in their colonial harbours, and when they captured English sailors, they still handed them over to the Inquisition, to suffer the doom of heretics. Cromwell tried to persuade the Spanish government to drop these restrictions, but the Spanish ambassador assured Oliver that he might as well ask for the king of Spain's two eyes. In the meantime, while negotiations were still in progress, Cromwell sent an expedition to attack Hispaniola (now San Domingo) as the beginning of a challenge to the Spanish empire in the West Indies. The wretched mismanagement of this attack was worthy of the worst days of Buckingham. The whole army fled back to the sea when a handful of half-negro cattle-men rushed out at them from the jungle. The fleet took the soldiers on board again and landed them at Jamaica (map, p. 358), which the Spaniards hardly bothered to hold, and from that day the splendid island was British (1655), while the buccaneers were cleared from their haunts in the neighbouring islets.

When Spain declared war in 1656, Cromwell drew closer to the French, who were glad enough to have him as their ally. They had already given clear proof of this and of the tremendous prestige which the republic now enjoyed, when, in the previous year, at Cromwell's request, they compelled the Duke of Savoy to cease a savage persecution of his Protestant subjects. They also agreed to expel Charles from France. In 1657, therefore, Oliver made a close offensive alliance with the French against Spain. The obvious plan was a joint attack on the Spanish Netherlands. The most famous incident of this campaign was the battle of the Dunes, 1658. The allied army under the great French marshal, Turenne, was besieging Dunkirk. A relieving Spanish force was shattered by a magnificent charge of English infantry. Allies and enemies alike were thrilled by the disciplined rush of the steel-capped, red-coated Ironsides across the sand dunes. Dunkirk, too long a swarming nest of pirates, was taken, and Charles's plans for an invasion

of England, with the assistance of the Spaniards, were ruined.

At sea, the war gave Blake the opportunity of ending his career with his most brilliant victory. Before this, in 1655, he had completed a second cruise in the Mediterranean by shattering the fleet of the pirate ruler of Tunis, even though the vessels were also protected by shore batteries: with the result that hundreds of English prisoners were released after years of agony in galleys or stifling hovels in



SKETCH PORTRAIT OF ADMIRAL BLAKE, SHOWING OFFICER'S UNIFORM, COMMONWEALTH PERIOD

north African towns. Now, in 1657, Blake chased a Spanish treasure fleet into the strongly fortified harbour of Santa Cruz in the island of Teneriffe (Canaries). Once more he not only sank the fleet, but silenced the harbour batteries. But as his flag-ship entered Plymouth Sound again, the great republican admiral died. The Spanish war provided an impressive display of England's armed might, which put an end to the contempt in which the English had been held by the European powers under the first Stuarts. Cromwell has been criticised for the French alliance, since France was growing rapidly stronger and in the next generation was to be a menace to European

liberty. He thought of Spain as the chief enemy of the British Empire as well as of Protestantism in Europe, but he was mistaken. Moreover, the war was felt as a tremendous burden by the tax-payers and merchants, and so it helped to swell the widespread dissatisfaction felt against the Commonwealth government, who ever since the king's execution, had been striving, without success, to work out a permanent constitution.

Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, Englishmen had been striving, clumsily perhaps, but earnestly, after the principle that the government shall not defy the wishes of the nation. For practical purposes it was assumed that Parliament expressed those wishes. But once the Civil War broke out, how could the wishes of the nation be gauged? For a considerable part of Parliament was fighting on the king's side. Now even if it were right to assume that the body called the Long Parliament could speak and act for the nation, after Pride's Purge, it was quite clear that this remnant of a House of Commons elected in 1641 represented only a minority of the nation, and depended for its authority on the army. Its government had been vigorous and the leading members of the Rump (including Sir Henry Vane), together with the chief army officers, had comprised the Council of State, a very able committee which had successfully faced the many dangers of the years 1649 to 1652. But the ordinary members were not proof against the temptations of irresponsible power. Many of them were grossly corrupt, and when Cromwell suggested it was time for another election, to discover the wishes of the nation, they coolly brought in a Bill for their own re-election. When Cromwell heard that, after promising him to drop this Bill, they were just about to pass it, he hurried down to the House with a squad of musketeers. Leaving them outside, he went in and sat down quietly for a time. Then his righteous anger got the better of him. He rose to his feet to protest, and lashed himself into a fury. Finally he called out, "You are no Parliament. I say you are no Parliament. I will put an end to your sitting." He called the soldiers in and they hustled the members out. Oliver's eye fell on the ponderous silver mace, the symbol of Parliament's authority. "What shall we do with this bauble?" he cried. "Here," he said to a soldier, "Take it away." Then he locked the

doors of the House behind him, and that afternoon he dismissed the Council of State (April 20th, 1653).

It was now obviously Cromwell's duty, if he wished the government to be based on the national consent, to order a free election. But when he discussed it with his army colleagues, they realised they dared not risk it. A freely elected House of Commons would be hostile to them and would have persecuted Independents. In a mood of religious exaltation, Oliver accepted the suggestion of Major Harrison that the Puritan clergy should nominate godly men to form the new House. This assembly was derisively named, after one of its members, the Barebone's Parliament. It was a curious mixture of men with intelligent, if advanced ideas, and sheer cranks. Fantastic proposals were mixed with very sensible schemes of reform which England adopted two hundred years after. Soon, however, the cranks began to get the upper hand, and Cromwell was greatly relieved when, early one morning, the saner element met and hurriedly declared the assembly dissolved (December 1653).

Cromwell was now more ready to accept Colonel Lambert's scheme for a regular republican constitution, known as the Instrument of Government, which was in force till 1657. Under the Instrument, Oliver, with the title of Lord Protector, was to be the head of the executive, and was to have a fixed revenue, out of which to pay the army, navy and ordinary government expenses. But he was to take no important step without consulting a Council of State, and we must remember that this Council did, till the very end, exercise considerable control over the Protector's policy. Parliament, containing representatives of England, Scotland and Ireland, was to meet at least once in three years, and when*it did meet, it had to remain in session for at least five months. It had the sole right of passing laws and voting taxes for all extraordinary purposes. No high official could be appointed without its approval. And there was to be toleration for all Puritan sects and for no others. When this careful division of power had been agreed upon by the army commanders, Oliver, having taken off his uniform and donned a black civilian coat, was installed as Protector (December 1653), and a carefully controlled election took place. When the new Parliament met in September 1654, it was not at all

anxious to help the Protector. Ignoring the Instrument, it proposed to persecute the sects and take the control of the armed forces away from Oliver. He dismissed Parliament when the five months were up, and soon found himself threatened by Cavalier plots to assassinate him and reopen the Civil War.

To meet this danger, he divided England into eleven districts, and put in charge of each a Major-General with a strong force (1655). The purpose of the Protector was not merely "to preserve the peace of the Commonwealth and break the designs of the enemies thereof," but also "to discourage and discountenance all profaneness and ungodliness." So that even when the threat of rebellion had passed, the Major-Generals, exercising a strict control over local government, interfered in the social life of the country. Race-meetings, cock-fighting and bear-baiting were stopped, many taverns closed, minstrels, "strolling players" and all sorts of vagabonds were clapped into gaol; but among them were many desperate criminals who had been at large too long. Cavalier gentlemen were arrested on suspicion, and their estates heavily taxed. Oliver's next Parliament, which he called in 1656 to provide funds for the Spanish war, was naturally very troublesome, and although the Major-Generals had controlled the elections, he found it necessary to exclude a hundred members. Acknowledging the failure of the Major-Generals, he recalled them, but they had already made him unpopular throughout the country.

Yet the Commons realised that Oliver was superior to the other army chiefs, and they were prepared to give him greater powers if he would extricate himself and the country from military dictatorship. In March 1657, a Bill was passed, the Humble Petition and Advice, re-establishing the House of Lords and asking Oliver to become king. He refused the title, chiefly because of the army's displeasure, but consented to exercise the power. In the summer of 1657, with something like royal state, he was once more installed as Lord Protector, wearing a mantle of ermine and purple velvet and holding a sceptre, while heralds proclaimed him with flourish of trumpets. But when he had nominated his House of Lords from his supporters in the Commons, he found his enemies were over-strong in the lower House, for the sterner sort of re-

publicans were offended at his semi-royal position and pomp, and joined the Cavalier members in attacking him. He had to dismiss Parliament in February 1658, when he discovered a plot for the violent suppression of the upper House.

He had recently lost dear relatives, and coming after the hardships of his campaigning, the strain of the Protectorate had worn him out. His brilliant success abroad did not console him for his failure at home. He took to his bed, a very sick and very disappointed man, "willing to live and toil, but also willing to die and be at rest." He passed away on "his day," September 3rd, 1658, after a night of terrible storm, when, said spiteful Cavaliers, the devil had come to claim his own.

Cromwell's character and exploits have been bitterly criticised in the past. But it is now generally agreed that he is one of the greatest and noblest figures in English history. But for his military genius, England might have been subjected to a royal despotism or the equally odious tyranny of a Parliamentary clique, aggravated in either case by religious intolerance. The United Kingdom might have split up, and the growing Empire would have dissolved. He protected sects like the Quakers, which have greatly enriched England's spiritual life, just when they were struggling to take root. Had he become Protector sooner, the Cavaliers would have been more fairly treated, and the Commonwealth might have been established permanently, resting firmly on a wider basis. But he never had an entirely free hand, even after 1657. The army officers, or the Council of State, or desperate emergencies sometimes forced him to adopt policies with which he did not altogether agree. He is sometimes accused of being an opportunist. It is said that he often had no policy of his own, but waited on events and sometimes adopted schemes which he had previously opposed. To his enemies it might well appear so, for he had the Puritan conviction that God watched events closely and showed His approval by success. It is also easy to argue that he was a greater tyrant than ever Charles was; that he taxed much more heavily and imprisoned even more readily and treated Parliament with greater contempt and disrespect. It can even be said, with some truth, that he was a man of blood and iron. Yet, strange paradox, it is even

more true to say that the real Oliver Cromwell was kindly, tolerant, willing to compromise; one who respected his country's laws and wished sincerely to arrange government by consent. "But where," he once asked despairingly, "shall we find that consent?"

5. ANARCHY (1658-1660)

If Oliver's government ended in a tyranny, it was, at any rate, a tyranny which gave the ordinary man peace and security, and saved him from the far worse tyranny of the army chiefs which England was now to undergo. Oliver had nominated his son Richard as his successor, a sport-loving country gentleman without any training for so responsible a post. When a quarrel broke out between the officers and Parliament, the new Protector could not control them. In May 1659 the officers recalled the Rump, which promptly declared the Protectorate at an end. "Tumbledown Dick" readily accepted their decision, retired and lived happily with his dogs and horses till well into the reign of Queen Anne. Next, the Rump and the army began to quarrel among themselves, and even the army chiefs could not agree with one another. An ugly and bewildering state of chaos followed, no man knowing whither to look for authority. Cavaliers began to settle old scores with Puritan neighbours, regiments fought among themselves, while desperate adventurers and criminals of every kind made the most of their opportunities.

In the midst of this welter, General George Monk, appointed by Oliver to govern Scotland, determined to save England from the ambition, or the religious mania, of the officers. Supported by his army, he moved south in January 1660, declaring that he stood for a perfectly free Parliament. He was joined by Fairfax, who once more saw a chance to serve his country. Lambert, true to the memory and ideals of Oliver, was at first inclined to resist them, but gave way when he found his men rapidly deserting him. Monk reached London in February and recalled the survivors of the original Long Parliament. That body soon dissolved itself, after arranging for an election. In the meantime, Monk was getting secret letters and messages from Breda in Holland, in which Charles

declared that if he were allowed to return he would be willing to leave the settlement of outstanding problems to Parliament. Monk hesitated until the City of London made it clear to him that they would be willing to have "the king" back, provided that Parliament was allowed to settle the problems arising out of the Civil War. The new Parliament met in April, not merely the Commons,



' THE LAMENTABLE COMPLAINT OF NICK FROTH AND RULEROST ' ' AGAINST
THE PURITAN OBSERVANCE OF SUNDAY

but the old House of Lords, though no one had invited their lordships. A letter from Charles was read to the assembled Houses, who thereupon unanimously resolved that "by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the government of the country is, and ought to be, vested in the King, Lords and Commons." Charles was proclaimed king, and amid wild enthusiasm he returned to London on the 29th of May, 1660.

CHIEF DATES FOR THE CIVIL WARS AND THE
COMMONWEALTH, 1642-1660

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1642. Battle of Edge Hill. | 1653, April. Rump dissolved. |
| 1643. Siege of Gloucester.
Solemn League and Covenant. | July. Barebone's Parliament. |
| 1644. Battle of Marston Moor. | Dec. Instrument of Government. |
| 1645. The Self-Denying Ordinance. | ↳ Cromwell, Protector. |
| Battle of Naseby. | 1655. Capture of Jamaica. |
| Battle of Langport. | The Major-Generals. |
| 1646. Surrender of Oxford. | 1656-59. War with Spain. |
| 1647. Charles escapes to Isle of Wight. | 1657. Humble Petition and Advice. |
| 1648. Battle of Preston.
Pride's Purge. | 1658. Battle of the Dunes.
Death of Cromwell.
Richard, Protector. |
| 1649. Death of Charles I.
Cromwell in Ireland. | 1660, Jan. Monk marches south. |
| 1650. Battle of Dunbar.
Rupert defeated at sea. | ↳ April. Long Parliament re-assembles. |
| 1651. Battle of Worcester.
Navigation Act. | ✓ Declaration of Breda. |
| 1652-54. Dutch War. | ✓ May. The Restoration. |



BOYS AT PLAY, 1659

CHAPTER XXII

CHARLES II (1660-1685)

I. THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT

It was Presbyterians, and especially London Presbyterians, rather than Cavaliers, who had enabled Charles to return, and their influence was strong in the 1660 Parliament (or Convention, for it had not been summoned by the king). They proceeded to settle outstanding difficulties, according to the promises made by the king in the Declaration of Breda. First came an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, which granted a pardon to all who had fought against the king in the civil wars, with the exception of the regicides, the bold men who had signed Charles the First's death-warrant. Some of these fled, others were cruelly executed, while the bodies of those who had died, including that of Cromwell, were dug up and hanged. Next came the difficult problem of deciding the ownership of land, which had frequently changed hands during the wars. All estates which had originally belonged to the Crown or the Church, or which had been confiscated by the Commonwealth, were restored, but land which had been sold was kept by its new owners, even in cases where devoted Royalists had sold out to help the king.

The army quietly disbanded when it received its considerable arrears of pay, which were settled in full. And the

veterans were pleased enough to be able to settle down again and buy a farm or open a shop. But an armed rising by a fanatical sect gave Charles an excuse for keeping a first-rate New Model regiment as part of his Guard. It was one which had marched south in 1660 with George Monk through a snow-clad Britain; and now, on Tower Hill under the eyes of its original commander, who was henceforth George, Duke of Albemarle, it grounded arms to symbolise its last parade as a Commonwealth regiment, and immediately resumed them as His Majesty's Guard. It was the regiment we know as the Coldstream Guards. A few other regiments were kept to garrison Dunkirk (p. 319), Tangier and Bombay (p. 336). These were the nucleus which grew into England's standing or permanent army. It was just as well that the Cavalier party, which was soon to show itself otherwise fulsomely loyal, so feared and detested these old Cromwellians, even in their new rôle of royalist troops, that they jealously opposed the king's attempt to enlarge the army, and so prevented him from building up a military despotism.

The question of taxation was settled by a nominal annual grant of one million two hundred thousand pounds for all ordinary purposes (compare this with the two hundred thousand pounds to which the Commons had refused to agree under James the First's Great Contract—p. 275), while all feudal taxation of land, which had caused so much friction under Charles I, was abolished. Most of this fixed taxation was to be raised by a new method which Parliament had been able to enforce during the Civil War, the excise, that is, a tax on commodities produced in England, chiefly beer; whereas, hitherto, the customs duties had been the chief source of revenue. Even the sum now agreed upon was insufficient to meet Charles's expenses, especially as he had huge debts of his own and his father's to repay, and perhaps Parliament deliberately intended it to be insufficient.

As the Presbyterians included the large majority of the merchant class, they were anxious to maintain the control of trade through shipping, which had been established by the Navigation Act of 1651. So another Act was passed in 1660 restricting colonial commerce by insisting that certain types of goods from "the plantations" had to be sent to England first, before being passed on to the Continent.

Growing interest in the colonies is shown by the formation of a special committee of the Privy Council known as the Council for Foreign Plantations, "to adopt means for rendering these dominions and England mutually helpful" and to see to the administration of the Navigation Acts. One of its chief members was Ashley Cooper, later Lord Shaftesbury, and soon to be the leading political figure in the country. He had been with Charles I when the royal standard was first unfurled at Nottingham, but had changed



MUSKETEER, PERIOD OF CHARLES II

sides on becoming suspicious of the king's friendliness with Catholic powers, for he had a deep fear and loathing of the political influence of Roman Catholics. He had been a member of the Council of State under the Commonwealth, but had helped in the arrangements to restore Charles II, who respected him and looked on him as one of the most important members of the Privy Council.

But the Presbyterians were not allowed to settle the most difficult problem of all, the religious question, to their own satisfaction. Charles, by the Declaration of Breda, had promised liberty of conscience, and that easy-going monarch would have been quite ready to keep his promise,

if only to remove the restrictions on Roman Catholics, with whom he sympathised. A conference was arranged between the Presbyterians and the Anglicans, to see if it were possible so to modify the service of the official Church that the Presbyterians could be included. This conference was arranged by Hyde (see p. 297), who had followed Charles into exile and was now to be chief minister till 1667, with the title of Lord Clarendon. But before any compromise could be arranged, a fresh election was held and a new Parliament assembled in 1661, not only devoted to Charles but fiercely hostile to all Puritans, in the natural reaction against Oliver's strict régime.

This Parliament, which sat for eighteen years, proceeded at once to complete the Restoration. The king was once more given control of the armed forces. Ireland and Scotland were separated from England, and Scotland lost heavily by that separation. The king promptly set up there a despotism resting on a large standing army, restored the bishops, and allowed his cruel brother, James, Duke of York, to start a savage persecution of Presbyterians, who were hanged or tortured if they were obstinate, while the prosperity of the country was gravely impeded by the abolition of free trade with England.

To Ireland the Restoration brought a certain amount of peace and prosperity, the result of Ormond's moderation and the king's sympathy with Catholics. About a third of the confiscated land was restored, and though jealous English squires prevented Irish cattle being imported into England (though Ireland is perhaps the finest grazing country in the world), beef, hides and wool were exported in large quantities, and though the Irish were not allowed to trade with the colonies, they did brisk business with the Continent.

The new Parliament now began a systematic attack on the Presbyterians and all other Puritan sects. The Corporation Act of 1661 declared that all members of the governing bodies of cities had to declare their loyalty to the king and take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England once a year. As the Corporations in most cases elected the borough members of Parliament, this was a heavy blow at the political power of the Presbyterians, who had been strong in the towns. The Elizabethan Prayer Book was revised in such a manner as to make it less accept-

able to Puritans, and in this form it has been the basis of the Church of England till the present day. By the Act of Uniformity, 1662, every clergyman had to be ordained by an Anglican bishop, and was compelled to use the revised Prayer Book, while the restrictions of the Corporation Act were now applied not merely to clergymen and University professors, but to all schoolmasters and even private tutors. Two thousand Puritan clergymen resigned, and many of them spent the next thirty years in poverty, their intolerance of the Anglicans in the Commonwealth period recoiling on their own heads. But the Puritans, or Dissenters as they now came to be called, still continued to meet for worship after their own fashion. So in 1664 the Conventicle Act was passed, forbidding all meetings of more than four people for any religious service but that of the official Church; and it was rigorously enforced. Whether they were gathered over a shop, in a barn, or a lonely glade of the wood, some spy would track them down, a jealous sheriff or magistrate would make a sudden raid, and they would be haled off to prison or transportation. Samuel Pepys, whose famous diary tells us so much about the life of this period, describes how he watched some Quakers being dragged off. "They go like lambs without any resistance. I would to God they would conform, or be more wise and not be caught." While the great plague was raging, many dissenting ex-ministers were conspicuous by their devotion to their old parishioners. The Anglican clergy took alarm at their growing influence, and in 1665 the Five Mile Act was passed, making it impossible for any Nonconformist ministers to teach in schools, or live within five miles of a chartered town or their previous livings.

This series of laws is usually referred to as the Clarendon Code, though it is very doubtful whether Clarendon himself was responsible for their severity. It pressed just as heavily on the Presbyterians who had welcomed Charles back, as on the sects they had despised and tried to persecute themselves—the pacifist Quakers, led by George Fox, who abolished all ritual and doctrine and relied on "the inner light," the stern and joyless Baptists, and the Independents, who later developed into Congregationalists. In fever-ridden gaols and in the verminous holds of convict ships bound for "the plantations" the Presbyterians learned to be more tolerant of their fellow-martyrs. For twenty-five

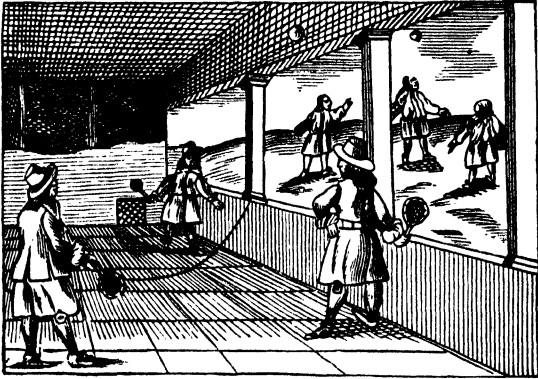
years the Code put an end to organised Puritanism, although, quaintly enough, Charles helped it to survive in some cases by cancelling the charters of towns which had staunchly supported the Commonwealth; for the Code, in some respects, applied only to chartered boroughs. Many Dissenters bowed before the storm and waited patiently "till the Lord should turn again the captivity of Zion." Some went to the American colonies, where the



A DISSENTING MINISTER

Code did not apply. The upper classes, especially in the country, soon became completely Anglican, for to be otherwise was to lose all political and social power. But those who had once been associated with Puritanism never ceased to demand toleration for Dissenters. The final and permanent exclusion of Puritans from the official Church left a deep mark on English life, and the Church of England won uniformity, as is often the case, by a considerable loss of vitality. And in this age, when the taste and manners of the fashionable world sank so low, it was two of the despised Puritans who enriched their country's literature.

The blind Milton, dejected by the triumph of "the sons of Belial," wrote "Paradise Lost," and John Bunyan, the irrepressible tinker who spent twelve and a half years in gaol for preaching to Dissenters, told that quaint, immortal story of Christian's pilgrimage.



A GAME OF TENNIS, 1659

2. THE PLAGUE, THE FIRE AND THE DUTCH

The triumph of the Cavalier party and the persecution of the Dissenters must not, however, lead us to suppose that the Civil War had been fought in vain. Religious freedom for all Protestants was to be won within a generation. And the attempts of the early Stuarts to stretch and abuse the prerogatives of the Crown against the wishes of Parliament were not renewed by their astute descendant. The special courts, such as the Star Chamber, where the king's authority had been exercised most freely, had been abolished by the Commonwealth, and were not renewed in 1660. Moreover, Parliament had vindicated its claim to control taxation, and when the first flush of loyalty had cooled down, the Commons even began to ask awkward questions as to how the money was being spent. The king was still head of the army and navy and could declare war, but these privileges were not of much value if Parliament were not generous with supplies. The king could still appoint and dismiss ministers, but Parliament could make them very

uncomfortable if they were unpopular, and ruin them by impeachment as soon as the king withdrew his favour. And as it was Parliament which henceforth controlled the Church, Dissenters could console themselves with the thought that what one Parliament established another could repeal.

In the meantime, it seemed as if Charles would be content to leave the government entirely to Clarendon, and wipe out the bitter memory of his dreary years of exile by a ceaseless round of sport and revelry. He would rise early in the morning to play a number of hard sets of tennis, walk as briskly through Hyde Park as his spaniels would let him, spend days in hunting and rowdy nights in riotous supper parties, card-play and occasional visits to Drury Lane Theatre to see the witty if vulgar plays of the period. His companions were dissipated young men whom the war had prevented from growing up in the pleasant and honourable manor life which their parents had enjoyed. During the Commonwealth they had followed Charles round from one low foreign haunt to another, too often dependent on quick wits for their living and quick wrists for their lives. And now London citizens, brought up in the sober ways of Puritanism, were frequently shocked by wild and brutal behaviour in fashionable circles. Milton was thinking of Restoration London when he wrote in "Paradise Lost" of one of Satan's chief followers :

" In courts and palaces he also reigns,
And in luxurious cities, where the noise
Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
And injury and outrage : and when night
Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
Of Belial flown with insolence and wine."

In 1662 the king married Catharine of Braganza, a young Portuguese princess who came straight from a convent. He soon neglected her for the more sprightly if less honourable company of various bright ladies about the court. And as the marriage was not blessed with children, its chief interest lies in the "dowry" that Catharine brought with her. Portuguese harbours all over the world were henceforth to admit English vessels, while Portugal, once more free from Spain, proved herself a faithful and useful ally for a hundred and fifty years. The two ports of Tangier and Bombay

were made over to Charles. Tangier, the high, white town opposite Gibraltar, was a useful naval base at the entrance of the Mediterranean, while Bombay, "the good bay" which the early Portuguese navigators had noticed, gave the English a town and harbour of their own in India, whereas hitherto they had only held "factories" by the good-will of native princes.

Meanwhile, the Puritans, who had looked for a clear manifestation of God's displeasure at the enthronement of a wicked king, seemed to be justified by two great calamities which now befell the capital, the Plague and the Great Fire of London. The deadly germs which had swept across Europe and reached England as the Black Death in 1348 had never died out completely, but awoke from time to time to awful activity. They lurked, no doubt, in the fly- and rat-infested rubbish heaps that fouled the London gutters and contaminated the water supply. There had been very bad epidemics on the accession of both James I and Charles I, and one of the reasons why the outbreak that occurred in the hot summer of 1665 caused so much terror, was that many were beginning to forget the ravages of the disease in the past. The victims collapsed suddenly, often in the street, with giddiness and severe pains in the head. Swellings arose in their necks and armpits, boils broke out all over their skin, and they died within four days. The disease was highly infectious, and so wiped out whole families. Many a house was occupied by corpses only, when the squalid and greedy hags, who were the only nurses available, had robbed the dead and hurried away. So many died that they had to be buried by heaps in huge pits. Carts came round to the stricken houses, which were marked with a long red cross and the words "Lord, have mercy on us." A bell was rung and the doleful cry was heard, "Bring out your dead." At first the streets were deserted, but later, people felt they could not stay indoors. The sick and the hale, quack-doctors, thieves and madmen crowded round the bonfires lit in the streets with the idea of purifying the air. In December, with colder weather, the plague abated and the court, which had scattered to various towns west of London, returned to the capital, a sure sign that danger was over. "Lord!" writes Pepys, "what staring to see a nobleman's coach come to town. And porters everywhere bow to us, and such begging of beggars!"

During the plague, crazy fanatics had foretold the early doom of London, which was to perish like Sodom and Gomorrah for its sinful ways. And next year the prophecy seemed to come true. Early in the morning of September 2nd, 1666, Pepys' cook, busy in the kitchen in preparation for a party, saw a strange glow through the window and



SKETCH OF A LONDON STREET DURING THE GREAT FIRE,
SHOWING THE COSTUME, ETC., OF THE PERIOD

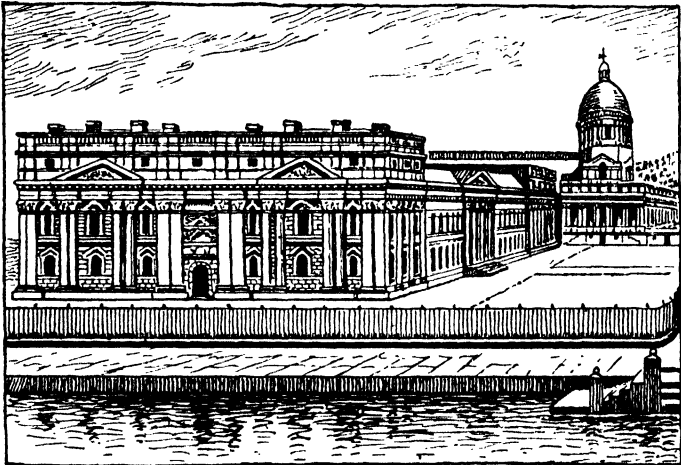
called her mistress down. And later in the day they heard how a terrible fire had broken out, which had already destroyed some hundreds of houses. The Fire raged for five days, completely consumed all the inner City from the Temple law courts eastward to the Tower, and swept half the population of London, in frantic hordes, to the north bank of the Thames. A gale fanned the monstrous flames, and at night the city was "one entire arch of fire, a

most horrid, malicious, bloody flame, not like the fine flame of an ordinary fire," and it could be seen by wondering villagers fifty miles away. The old Cathedral of St. Paul, with eighty-eight other churches, was completely destroyed. Evelyn, another diarist of the period, tells how "the stones of Paul's flew like grenades, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery redness so as no horse or man was able to tread on them." The only way in which the capital was saved from complete destruction was by the soldiers, led by Charles himself, blowing up streets which the fire had not yet reached, and so making broad gaps which the flames could not cross.

At the time the Fire seemed a dreadful calamity, and the loss of property was enormous, though only eight lives were lost. Much of mediæval London disappeared, with its timber and plaster "magpie" houses, its narrow alleys and its churches with their dark, richly-carved stone and lofty steeples. From the ashes rose a new and different city. The rebuilding was all done in the Renaissance style. The old, soaring, massive Gothic was abandoned. The new fashion of architecture demanded elegant simplicity, and only moderate height. This latter feature was further emphasised by strongly-marked horizontal divisions, while the rectangular and well-proportioned doorways and windows were often surmounted by triangular pediments. Sir Christopher Wren, the most distinguished architect of this period, designed and began the modern St. Paul's with its mighty dome, and he was also responsible for scores of other churches which we can easily pick out in London to-day, by the delicate white pinnacles of slender columns, which rise from their graceful towers.

But Londoners were to have their nerves tried yet a third time, when in the following year, 1667, the Dutch sailed up the mouth of the Thames and bombarded the dockyards at Chatham on the Medway, threatening to come up the Thames to London itself. They had been sulky enough at the extensions of the Navigation Act in 1660 (p. 330), for they had been the chief carriers for the American colonies. They were still further displeased when the English had planted themselves at Tangier and Bombay. The final provocation had come in 1664, when the English annexed the Dutch-American colony of New Amsterdam at the mouth of the Hudson River, and also

occupied Dutch settlements on the Gulf of Guinea (West Africa, see p. 365). War had been declared in 1665. As in the war of 1652-54, there was a furious struggle between large and well-matched fleets. The Dutch, under Ruyter and the younger Van Tromp, were rather the more skilful sailors, while the English fleet, led by the Duke of York, Rupert and Monk, manœuvred with better discipline. And as before, the Dutch suffered chiefly from the destruction of their merchant shipping. For a short time (1666-67)



GREENWICH HOSPITAL FOR DISABLED SEAMEN—DESIGNED BY WREN

they were helped by the French, who made a desperate attempt to drive the English from the West Indies, where the two nations were to be bitter rivals for the next hundred and fifty years. Yet soon afterwards the French successfully attacked the Spanish Netherlands, which brought them dangerously near the Dutch frontier. Both England and Holland were now alarmed at the way France took advantage of their quarrel, and they began to discuss peace. There was much haggling over terms. Charles, who had spent on his pleasures a good deal of the money Parliament had voted for the navy, brought many battleships back to the dockyards and sent the crews home without any pay.

It was at this inconvenient moment that the Dutch had made their raid on the Medway, in order to jolt Charles out of his obstinacy. Pepys, who was one of the chief clerks at the Admiralty, was very worried at the corruption and slackness he saw around him, as his diary shows. And he complains that when the thunder of the Dutch guns could be heard in London, messengers found the king very busy with his jolly friends, chasing a moth round the dining-room. There were many English deserters on the raiding vessels and they called to their old messmates on shore to come and join the Dutch navy and fight for dollars, instead of worthless bits of paper that only promised pay. A few weeks after the raid, peace was concluded by the Treaty of Breda (1667). The Dutch allowed the English to keep their conquests in America, which were soon afterwards organised into the states of New York, New Jersey and Delaware, and so closed the gap between the northern and southern plantations (see p. 366). The English, in return, relaxed the Navigation Act so as to allow the Dutch to bring to England Flemish and German goods as well as their own. The French gave back to England the islands they had seized in the West Indies, while they received back in exchange the Acadian forts which Cromwell's expedition had captured in 1654 (p. 318).

Public opinion in England was dissatisfied with the Treaty of Breda, especially as the insult of the raid was deeply felt. The mob broke the windows of Clarendon's fine new house in Piccadilly, built, so scandal whispered, from the proceeds of a bribe from the French for selling them Dunkirk (p. 319). Charles was glad enough of the chance to make a scapegoat of the Lord Chancellor, who had often bored him with long lectures on his sinful ways. He dismissed Clarendon, and Parliament promptly impeached him, for he had obstinately upheld the royal prerogative when the Commons had, not unreasonably, tried to impose conditions for the lawful spending of the moneys they had voted for war purposes. The Dissenters hated him, for they believed him to be responsible for the persecution. The courtiers disliked him, for he often rebuked them sternly to their faces for their vicious lives. And so, regretted by none, save, perhaps, the Duke of York, who had married his daughter, Anne Hyde, the portly, pompous little gentleman in the auburn wig descended

Whitehall palace steps for the last time (1667). He spent the remainder of his life in exile in France, writing his famous "History of the Great Rebellion." Perhaps sometimes he envied his friend Falkland, who had died in the heart of England when English life was still clean and honourable.

3. ROYAL CONSPIRATORS

On the fall of the stubborn and watchful Clarendon, a courtier had assured Charles that now for the first time he was really king. Little did any of his subjects realise how very wide-awake Charles was to that fact. To most of them he still appeared to be a hopelessly frivolous and unbusiness-like "man about town," too lazy to sign, let alone study, the most important documents, robbed and often insulted to his face by low companions, and vastly amused alike by the schoolboy antics and the dastardly outrages of his impudent friends. No one dreamed that he was far more subtle than any of his ministers, or that he hated the criticism of his careless extravagance which was now frequently to be heard in the House of Commons, or that his crafty mind was now busy with the most daring, callous and unscrupulous plot that any monarch of England ever hatched against his subjects.

During his exile he had spent some time at the court of his brilliant cousin, Louis XIV, and he had been dazzled by what seemed to be the overwhelming success of despotic monarchy. Louis had succeeded to the throne as a small boy, and before he grew up, two great statesmen, Richelieu and Mazarin, had governed France with such skill that she was by this time acknowledged to be the foremost country in Europe in every way. The power of the king had been made supreme over all possible rivals. The feudal independence of the nobles had been completely destroyed, and they were now quite proud to hang about the vast palace of Versailles, acting as lackeys to the king, helping him to wash and dress or tucking him in bed. There was nothing at all corresponding to the English Parliament to check the power of the Crown. There was no religious strife, since most French people belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, which taught that it was sin to disobey the king. It is significant that both Richelieu and Mazarin were Cardinals. In return, the king protected the Catholic Church and expected all his subjects to belong to it, though, as yet, he

respected the Edict of 1629 (p. 286) by which the Huguenots were left unmolested. When the king took over the government himself, on the death of Mazarin in 1661, this despotic system, allied with the Catholic Church, reached its climax. Louis often worked sixteen hours a day in order to keep direct control over every department in his own hands. He made and unmade laws at his pleasure, levied whatever taxes he thought necessary, and so could freely exercise his prerogative of declaring war; and he could appoint and dismiss any official, from a chief minister down to a local tax-collector. Colbert, who succeeded Mazarin, developed the resources of France to the utmost. Agriculture was assisted, industry reorganised, splendid roads and canals were built, French merchant ships were encouraged to claim a full share of the world's commerce, and a fighting navy was built up to protect them and the French colonies in Canada, the West Indies and India. Art, literature and science basked in the sunshine of royal patronage. It was the age of Molière's comedies, Corneille and Racine's classic tragedies. The most impressive assembly of wit, beauty and learning in all Europe thronged the vast *salons* of Versailles, paced its stately avenues and posed gracefully round its cool lakes and fountains. And in this glittering little universe Le Grand Monarque, le Roi Soleil, was the Sun round which so many flashing stars revolved.

If Louis had been content with a policy of peaceful development, all would have been well. But unfortunately for France, he had got the idea into his head that the natural boundary of France was the Rhine. And he was tempted by the weakness of his neighbours to seize such provinces as lay between the French boundaries and the left bank of that mighty river (map, p. 387). German dukes and archbishops held the middle reaches. But the Germans had exhausted one another in the Thirty Years' War. Spain held the Netherlands to the north, and provinces on the eastern frontier, but the Spanish empire was rapidly decaying. Beyond the Spanish Netherlands he would have to take southern Holland, but he was relying on feuds among the Dutch themselves to help him there, as well as the jealousy between the Dutch and the English. He had a hundred thousand trained soldiers at his command, a force such as Europe had never seen since the days

of the Roman Empire. They were led by Marshals who were a match for any general in Europe, and they were supported by highly-skilled military engineers. Mazarin had already wrested from the Spanish Netherlands the province of Artois, for which Dunkirk was the port (map, p. 387). In 1665 Louis raked up a claim to Flanders, and his blue-coated regiments swarmed up to the walls of the strong fortress-towns which the Spaniards had garrisoned on its frontier. They took Lille and other strongholds. The Dutch were thoroughly alarmed. They realised that once Louis took "the barrier forts," there was little to stop him reaching the Rhine mouth. So in 1668 they asked Sweden and England to help them against the French.

Charles envied his French cousin's immense power, free from the annoying opposition and criticism which he himself had to face. And he had made up his mind to set up in England a similar despotism in alliance with the Roman Catholic Church. We know that he was writing to the Pope about it as early as 1662. On solemn occasions, it is true, Charles attended Anglican services. But in his heart he preferred the Catholic ritual and discipline, though he dared not, as yet, give any hint of this. For his scheme he would need a greatly increased army, as there was sure to be opposition of a strenuous kind. And he would need a good deal of money to maintain such an army and to be able to do without a Parliament indefinitely. He knew very well he could not get either his money or his army from England. So he had made up his mind to get them from Louis. He knew that what Louis now wanted most of all was a free hand to crush the Dutch who had so promptly rung the alarm. Charles's game was first to threaten to support the Dutch until Louis bought him off, and to declare religious toleration throughout the British Isles so that he could promote Catholics to all important offices. Then, quite suddenly, he meant to dismiss Parliament for ever and set up as an autocrat, bringing French regiments over to terrorise his subjects if they showed any resistance. Such was the pretty scheme that Charles hoped to spring on his unsuspecting people.

They, for their part, did not share their monarch's admiration for the French. In fact, they were developing a very hearty dislike of them. That was why they were so angry at the sale of Dunkirk (p. 341) and the French attack

on the West Indies (p. 340) which had ruined many planters. They were not impressed with the glories of Versailles when they heard that when it was being built peasants had been forced to labour and carry stones in their own carts without a farthing's pay. They heard ugly stories of men who had annoyed the king disappearing into prison and never being heard of again. And now that Louis had started his expensive wars, taxes, heavy enough before, now became crushing. His subjects groaned under the triple burden of king, noble and priest; and to the Englishman of that age, the wooden *sabot* stuffed with straw was the symbol of a system which he hated and despised. His phrase for a Catholic despotism was "Popery and wooden shoes." The turbulent London rabble made no secret of its feelings. If a Frenchman strolled about the City streets at this time, he would have his toes trodden on with suspicious frequency, while shoulders and elbows made no effort to avoid him. If he grew tired of his unpleasant promenade and called a coach, he would find himself surrounded by a jeering mob of boys and apprentices shouting "a Mounzeer, a frog-eater, a French dog." And as his coach rattled off, his farewell greeting might be showers of refuse from the gutter.

Now when the Dutch asked Charles to help them against Louis in 1668, he saw a chance of regaining his popularity and showing Louis at the same time how awkward a neighbour England could be. He joined the Dutch and Swedes in the Triple Alliance, the first of a series of Protestant leagues, which were destined finally to humble Louis' arrogance. Louis was in a cautious mood now, and he hastened to make peace with Spain, but kept the border towns he had captured. He was henceforth the bitter enemy of the Dutch, and was quite ready to bribe Charles handsomely to help the French against them. Charles's first move in the plot had succeeded.

After Clarendon's fall, five ministers attended to the details of government for Charles till 1673. Sir Thomas Clifford, the Treasurer, was a prominent member of the Commons. He was secretly a Roman Catholic, as was also the Earl of Arlington, who had travelled a good deal on the Continent and was an admirer of Louis XIV. The Duke of Buckingham was the son of the favourite murdered in 1628. His sole aim in life was to amuse the king and him-

self, and as he was a very versatile gentleman with a multitude of hobbies and accomplishments, he succeeded very well. For some obscure reason he was a patron of Dissenters, and in this he resembled the fourth member, Ashley (p. 331), who had changed sides more than once and was to end up as the king's fiercest enemy, but who could claim, not without truth, that he had always been true to the causes of civil liberty and religious toleration. The fifth minister was the Earl of Lauderdale, a coarse, rowdy fellow, who was chiefly occupied in governing Scotland. He had been one of Leslie's men, and even now in his heart there was a strange secret allegiance to Presbyterianism. Yet it was by his orders that Charles's Scottish cavalry were ever scouring the lonely glens of Galloway, trapping Scottish Dissenters, or Covenanters at their secret prayer-meetings, trampling them down beneath their horses' hoofs and slashing at them with their heavy sabres.

The word "cabal" was used at this time for a secret committee that hatched dark plots. Somebody noticed the curious coincidence that the initials of the ministers could be arranged to form that word, and ever since they have been *the* Cabal. But it was something more than a coincidence that not one of them was devoted to the Church of England or anxious to maintain the supremacy it had lately won. They were just the sort of men Charles wanted about him, for the plot was thickening. In 1670 Charles's clever and charming sister, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, a great favourite both at Whitehall and Versailles, had arranged a definite agreement between Charles and Louis, being assured by her Catholic confessor that she was performing a great service to humanity. A secret treaty was signed at Dover. Charles was to receive a large sum cash down, and still bigger sums annually, in return for which he was to declare war on Holland along with Louis, and at a convenient time declare himself a Catholic. Clifford and Arlington knew of this secret treaty, but the others did not. Then Charles called all his ministers together and told them that Louis had offered him very generous expenses if he would join in a war against Holland. At the same time he told Ashley that he was very sorry at the way in which the Dissenters were being persecuted and that he proposed by a Declaration of Indulgence to grant liberty of worship to all sects. The sly Catholic ministers

pretended to hesitate. But, anxious to help the Dissenters, and thinking the defeat of Holland would help English trade, Ashley leapt eagerly into the trap, agreed to the war, and was made Earl of Shaftesbury and Lord Chancellor. Buckingham thought a Dutch war would be amusing, while Lauderdale was ready to agree with anything the king wanted at any time.

War was declared against the Dutch in 1672; and there is a story that the excuse given by England was that a Dutch admiral had refused to salute an English yacht. What was left of the money voted by Parliament for the Triple Alliance was now actually being used against the Dutch. Charles had recently alarmed the bankers of London by suddenly halving the rate of interest he had pledged himself to pay and by refusing for a time to refund instalments of the principal, as had been arranged. They naturally refused to lend him any more and the king soon found that his money had run out, in spite of Louis' doles. He had to call Parliament in 1673 to ask for funds. The House of Commons was in a very hostile mood, partly because it did not approve of the war, which was not going too well. Louis had bribed poor and greedy princes to allow his army a passage along the Meuse and Rhine into Holland (map, p. 387), while a large Anglo-French fleet advanced to the Dutch coast. The Dutch fought magnificently at sea, and held their own, especially as the French navy slacked. But Louis' army advanced irresistibly till its camp fires could be seen from the towers of Amsterdam. There was a revolution among the panic-stricken Dutch, and they revived the almost royal office of Stadtholder, appointing William, Prince of Orange, Charles's own nephew (table, p. 282). Despite his feeble and sickly physique and cold manner, he was a born leader of men, and under his inspiring influence the Dutch renewed the struggle and put a sudden end to the French invasion. They broke gaps in the dykes which held back the sea and the network of canals where the water flowed several feet above the level of the fields. Many of the Dutch were ruined and many were drowned, but the invaders fled in terror from the swirling torrents that raced through once pleasant streets and blotted out smiling farms.

The English Parliament of 1673 was angry enough about the war, but it was even more angry about the

Declaration of Indulgence which Charles had put into practice in 1672. At first the Dissenters were pleased enough to see their friends come out of gaol again, and their old chapels open and crowded once more. But soon Dissenters and Anglicans alike were disgusted to see how bold the Catholics were becoming at court, for they too benefited by the Indulgence. Protestants of every kind noticed with alarm how many Catholic officers there were now in the army, and how little trouble the head of the navy, the Duke of York, Charles's brother, took to conceal his devotion to the Roman Catholic Church. Charles was dismayed to see how swiftly his subjects had realised that his true motive in issuing the Declaration, which appeared to be so generous, was simply to strengthen the Catholics. In fear and anger Parliament passed the Test Act of 1673, which remained on the Statute Book till 1828. It declared that no person could hold any sort of office under the Crown, civil or military, without taking the Sacrament according to the Anglican rite. Charles had no choice but to accept this collapse of his scheme, for the country was thoroughly roused and he had no wish "to go on his travels again." Even Shaftesbury supported the Test Act, on the merest hint about the secret treaty of Dover which Arlington dropped out of sheer jealousy of Clifford. The Duke of York had to resign from the navy, and Clifford also, unlike Arlington, was too sincere a Catholic to take the Test. Shaftesbury resigned his post as Lord Chancellor and henceforth devoted his life to building up a party to resist the king. The Cabal broke up, and in 1674 Parliament insisted on peace being made with Holland, by the simple process of refusing a penny more for the war.

4. THE FIRST WHIGS AND TORIES

Charles took his sharp lesson to heart, and though he did not give up his hope of autocracy, he no longer looked for Catholic support. In 1674 he chose for his chief minister a Yorkshire squire who had made himself prominent in Parliament, raising him to the peerage as the Earl of Danby. He was hostile to France and arranged in 1677 a marriage between William of Orange and the Duke of York's daughter, Mary, and sent English troops out to Holland, where they did splendid service. It was the quaintest game that Danby, Charles and Louis played till

1679. Danby needed money to build up by bribery a strong Parliamentary party to meet the active opposition which Shaftesbury was now organising. Charles could only get this money from Louis, and Danby had no objection, provided that England did nothing whatever to help Louis. So Charles drew large sums from Louis on the pretext that if he had to face the Commons and ask them for money, they would insist on helping the Dutch far more vigorously. Meanwhile Shaftesbury and Buckingham were growing desperate at Danby's success in building up a royalist party in Parliament and at the same time completely hiding all traces of the fact that Charles was receiving enormous sums from Louis. The latter seemed to be moving steadily towards the completion of his designs. France and Holland concluded peace in 1678, and the Dutch, without losing anything themselves, gained trading privileges from the French. But Louis had thrashed the Spaniards and extorted from them another strip of the Flanders frontier and the large province of Franche Comté (Burgundy) on the east of France, which made a splendid stepping-stone towards the German stretch of the Rhine (map, p. 387).

Shaftesbury was soon to have his revenge on the king and Danby. His temper had not been sweetened by the fact that he had had to spend a year in the Tower because of an insult to Parliament. And he was now ready to stoop to dishonourable methods if he could only discredit the government. Just at this time a shady character named Titus Oates came forward with a most alarming story of a "Popish Plot" to kill Charles, put his brother James, Duke of York, on the throne, and with the aid of French and Irish soldiers to compel everyone to become Catholic under threat of death. Oates was a thorough rascal and we know now that there was absolutely no truth in his story. He had been an Anglican clergyman but had gone over to the Roman Catholic Church. He had been sent to train as a Jesuit at a French college, and before he was expelled from it for disgraceful behaviour, had heard much gossip about James. Since Charles had had his knuckles rapped in 1673, James had been the hope of the English Catholics and an open friend of France. Oates wrote out an elaborate story of the Plot, with serious accusations against James's Catholic friends, and handed it to a London magistrate.

Inquiries were made at once, and it was discovered, quite by accident, that James's secretary actually had been writing treasonable letters to agents of the Pope and of Louis XIV. A few days later the magistrate's body was found in a ditch, and it was clear that he had been murdered. London simply went mad with panic, swallowed all Oates's monstrous stories and turned in savage anger against perfectly innocent Catholics who, at the most, might be blamed for indiscreet remarks. They were brought up for treason, found guilty by ignorant and prejudiced juries, and sentenced to barbarous executions (1678).

Shaftesbury, to his eternal disgrace, fanned the roaring flame of hatred. His coach was often to be seen in the slums, and he was the darling of the rabble, who howled and waved their cudgels and pocket-whips in greeting, at a glimpse of his pale, long face peering through the window. As if to complete Shaftesbury's revenge, Louis chose this very moment to give Charles and Danby a sharp reminder who was master. His dislike for Danby had been increased by the Dutch marriage (p. 348), and he thought that Charles had lately not been doing anything to earn his keep. So he let Shaftesbury have a letter which Charles had bullied Danby into writing a few years before, offering, in return for a huge bribe, to keep England neutral while Louis thrashed the Dutch. Danby at the time had been very unhappy about that letter and had insisted on Charles writing on it. "I approve of this letter, C.R." It was read out in the Commons and produced such a sensation that even the king's friends and Danby's hirelings turned against the minister. Parliament decided to impeach him, and would have condemned him to death had he not hurriedly persuaded Charles, in January 1679, to dismiss altogether the Parliament which had met amid such transports of loyalty in 1661. The wild election which followed was a triumph for Shaftesbury and his friends. By an elaborate organisation which was a new thing in English politics, they made the most of the recent scare. An army of agitators and agents was sent out to the constituencies, and where the electors could not be stampeded into a "Popery and wooden shoes" panic, they were freely bribed. The headquarters of this organisation were a tavern in the heart of the City, and as the Dissenter colour was green, its habitués were known as the Green Ribbon

Club. Here Shaftesbury and his clique of reckless nobles laid their plans and studied the reports brought in by shady lawyers, spies, and ruffians of every kind. Sure of victory, they had made up their minds to restrict Charles's powers, to insist on toleration for Dissenters, and above all, by fair means or foul, to exclude James from the succession. For, long before their countrymen, they realised that James, when king, would set up a Catholic despotism as soon as he could.

The new Parliament met in 1679, and from this time till 1681 England was in a high fever of the fiercest political strife. Shaftesbury and the most extreme of his followers would discuss and consider nothing else but the exclusion of James from the succession. Charles often strolled into the House of Lords unofficially and, warming his long legs at their fireplace, would listen with a smile of keen enjoyment to the frank but witty criticism of himself in which the bold peers fearlessly indulged. He was willing to meet their objections to James in various ways, but he was just as obstinately determined that James should succeed, and for a time he held back the attack by adjourning Parliament. Shaftesbury's party, led by Prince Rupert himself, petitioned him to recall Parliament, and so they were nicknamed "Petitioners." The king's friends were shocked at this attempt to force Charles to exercise his prerogative against his will, and so were dubbed "Abhorrrers." The "Petitioners" party soon acquired a more permanent label, "Whigs," from the popular name of the stubborn Covenanters of south-west Scotland, while the Whigs, using a favourite insult of Oates's, called their opponents "Tories," after the wild outlaws of Ireland.

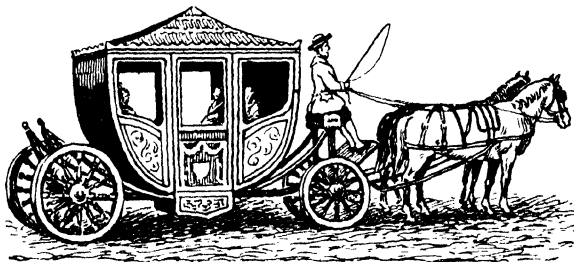
The Whig leaders quarrelled among themselves as to the best method of keeping James from succeeding, and most of them finally supported Shaftesbury in pressing the claims of the Duke of Monmouth as the rightful heir to the throne. The Duke was an illegitimate son of Charles, born in the days of his exile. A charming and handsome young man, he was a great favourite of the king, who showered titles, offices and estates on him, but would never agree to recognise him as his heir. The Whigs, for their part, so obstinately pressed his claims that it brought them to utter ruin within the next two years. Charles kept on adjourning and dismissing Parliament, but had to recall it as he

was short of money. He even offered to join a strong Protestant alliance which would have checked Louis for ever. But the Whigs were obsessed with the one idea of Exclusion, and would discuss nothing else. The rivalry between James and Monmouth convulsed the whole nation, and Charles sent them both out of the country, Monmouth to Holland, and James to Scotland, where he amused himself watching Lauderdale's victims being tortured, while in England, Tory journalists wrote sentimental pamphlets to persuade ignorant squires and parsons what a mild and well-meaning gentleman the Duke of York was. In defiance of Charles's orders, Monmouth soon returned, and under Shaftesbury's influence, set himself out to win popularity, mixing with the crowd at race-meetings and hunts. It was during these stirring times that the courtier poet, Dryden, wrote "Absalom and Achitophel." In neat and vigorous rhyming couplets the poem professes to tell the Bible story of another vain, handsome, beloved son of a king, who was stirred to dangerous ambition by a clever but evil counsellor. It was really a biting attack on the Whigs. Its smooth verses stuck in the memory, and it did a good deal to discredit them. The Whigs got an Exclusion Bill through the Commons in 1680, and Charles was so heartily sick of the whole business that he was prepared to give way if the Lords also passed the Bill. He went to listen to the thrilling debate, and the moderate Earl of Halifax, who, till 1679, had been a friend of Shaftesbury's, spoke so ably against it that the Bill was rejected.

5. CHARLES LAUGHS LAST

Charles promptly dismissed Parliament, and when it reassembled in 1681, after the election, Charles insisted on its meeting in the loyal city of Oxford, where Shaftesbury would not have the support of the London rabble. The Whigs were still in the majority, and rode in armed to the teeth, threatening a civil war if their wishes were once more flouted. Charles offered them anything short of depriving James of the royal title. He even proposed that William of Orange, James's son-in-law, of whom moderate Whigs were already thinking, should inherit the royal powers, while James kept the empty title during his lifetime. As James had not, at this time, a son, this was a sensible suggestion. But the extreme Whigs were infatuated with

the idea of Monmouth's succession, and they felt sure that the king would soon have to give way. For quite a time he had not been able to pay any of his officers or servants, and he was beginning to wonder whether he could even pay for his dinners. Then one day, quite suddenly, he called both Houses together. They hurriedly assembled, in feverish expectation of the king's surrender. Then the Life Guards arrived, escorting two sedan chairs. In one of them sat the king. The two chairs disappeared for a time. And when Charles appeared before Parliament, the Whigs



COACH, PERIOD OF CHARLES II

were astounded to see him fully robed and crowned for the ceremony of dismissing Parliament. So completely were they taken by surprise that they made no attempt to defy their dismissal. In fact, they fled helter-skelter, expecting any moment to hear the Guards galloping after them. What was the secret of Charles's bold and risky stroke? It was simply that his cousin had saved him in the nick of time. Though Louis had lately been bribing the Whigs to defy the king, now that Charles had been taught a sharp lesson, Louis was ready to help him again, for he had no desire to see the Whigs, who detested France, triumphant in England. And he had promised Charles ample funds for three years if he would do without Parliament and give the French a free hand on the Continent.

When the Whigs recovered from their first panic, they discussed the possibilities of a civil war. But the more level-headed among them realised that the risk was now too great. The country was recovering from the scare of the Popish Plot. The last of Oates's victims had been the most

innocent, the aged and venerable Lord Stafford, executed in 1680. Fulsome loyalty to Charles and James became the fashion, and went to such grotesque extremes that the impudence of the Whigs seems healthy by comparison. The latter now had to meet such a storm as the Catholics had just weathered. The ultra-loyal Tories hunted them out of public life throughout the British Isles. No Whig was allowed to sit on the magistrates' bench or to command the militia. Though he foiled the first attempts to arrest him for treason, Shaftesbury fled to Holland in 1682, knowing that his doom was certain if he stayed, and in 1683, "after having cast some very deep sighs," the restless spirit fled from the tortured body it had worn out. The same year brought ruin to the Whig leaders who had not escaped with Shaftesbury. The more desperate of them formed a plot to waylay the royal coach which was taking Charles and James to the Newmarket races. One of them, who had fought under Cromwell himself, had a brewery on the main road to Newmarket, called the Rye House. It was arranged to have a gang of armed men waiting here, who would drive off the Life Guards while the royal brothers were assassinated. As was only to be expected, one of the hirelings concerned in the scheme revealed it to the government. The organisers were executed, and Charles, together with his brother, was idolised. They seized the opportunity of completing their vengeance. The Whig leaders still left were charged with treason for their share in the scheme for civil war which they had undoubtedly planned in 1681. They died proudly, like the bold gentlemen they were; and when a dispute rose between the City of London and the government, it lost its charter of liberties, as did many other towns which had shown Whig sympathies. Anyone criticising the king or the government in speech or writing was liable to severe penalties. The Green Ribbon Club was deserted. The Clarendon Code was once more rigidly enforced. Monmouth retired to Holland, where he taught the ladies English country dances and learned to skate. Parliament never met, and James was entrusted with the supervision of the government.

And so Charles, like the Compleat Angler that he was in the hours of his more wholesome recreation, had let the line go spinning free and far with the frantic quarry, had

checked it sharply just at the right moment, and had neatly landed his catch. England was now under a close despotism, not Catholic, it is true, but all the stronger for resting on the consent of most of his subjects. For the rest of his reign Charles lived the life he had always longed for, free from all cares of State, and with ample funds from Louis to spend exactly as he pleased. And as a last gesture of his complete independence, when the surgeon's knives had done their worst and he lay dying, he partook of the Sacrament according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, administered by a priest who had helped him after Worcester fight.

Long after Charles the rake and Charles the autocrat have been forgotten, men may perhaps feel a little interest in the monarch who encouraged the beginnings of modern scientific research in England. Charles had a private laboratory in Whitehall, Rupert dabbled in chemistry, and the really fashionable courtier had to be well up in the latest experiments. But apart from providing amusement for smart society, science was now to find an honoured and permanent place in national life. The Royal Society was founded, with Charles's active patronage, to study every branch of exact knowledge. It was the first society of its kind in the world, and it still numbers among its members the most distinguished English scientists of the day. Boyle was making discoveries in physics and chemistry, and the study of anatomy and medicine was progressing rapidly ever since Harvey had demonstrated the circulation of the blood. The first attempts were made to classify birds, animals and plants. Rocks and their fossils were carefully examined. Microscopes and telescopes were improved and the study of astronomy freed itself from mediæval astrology. The Observatory was built at Greenwich, and the first Astronomer Royal appointed. Halley, who is immortalised by the name of the comet that visits us every seventy-six years, exiled himself to St. Helena to chart the stars below the Equator. And the titanic intellect of Isaac Newton, trying to understand why an apple fell off a tree to the ground, arrived at his theory of gravitation, and helped man to glimpse the ordered majesty of the universe. Slowly the darkness of barbarous superstition was illumined. Country people, no doubt, still believed in magic brews and powerful spells, but the Justices of 1680

were rather less ready than those of forty years before to burn as a witch any eccentric old lady who lived alone with a black cat.

CHIEF DATES FOR CHARLES II'S REIGN (1660-1685)

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| 1660. Council for Foreign Plantations. | 1672. Declaration of Indulgence. |
| Army disbanded. | 1672-74. Second Dutch War. |
| 1661. Corporation Act. | 1673. The Test Act. |
| ✓1662. Act of Uniformity. | Break-up of the Cabal. |
| 1664. Conventicle Act. | 1677. Marriage of William and Mary. |
| Capture of New Amsterdam. | 1678. The "Popish Plot." Danby impeached. |
| 1665. The Plague. | 1680. Exclusion Bill. |
| The Five Mile Act. | 1681. Oxford Parliament. |
| 1665-67: First Dutch War. | 1682. William Penn founds Pennsylvania (see p. 367). |
| ✓1666. The Fire of London. | 1683. Death of Shaftesbury. |
| 1667. Dutch enter Medway. | Rye House Plot. |
| Treaty of Breda. | |
| Fall of Clarendon. | |
| 1668. The Triple Alliance. | |
| 1670. Secret Treaty of Dover. | |



The English and French in
AMERICA

Anglo-French boundaries, 1714

Emery Walker Ltd. &c

CHAPTER XXIII

ENGLAND OVERSEAS (1583-1682)

1. "You shall one day see an English nation over the seas."—Sir W. Raleigh.

ON a lagoon of the romantic river Dart in south Devon there stood an old grey house (since rebuilt), which might well be called the cradle of the Empire. For in it lived two men, half-brothers, who shared a noble dream and helped its earliest fulfilment, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh. Both men wrote with eager eloquence to urge the establishment of colonies across the Atlantic, both men pressed schemes on Elizabeth, and in spite of heart-breaking delays and obstacles, supervised the small beginnings of Greater Britain.

In 1578 Elizabeth gave Gilbert a charter permitting him to discover, claim and rule "heathen and barbarous lands not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people." His first voyage resulted in a nominal annexation of the Bahamas the same year. Difficulties arose, and it was not till 1583 that he sailed again with a small fleet, taking with him some two hundred and fifty artisans. After weeks of buffeting by storms, he was glad to put in at St. John's, Newfoundland. On the hill above the harbour he planted St. George's banner, summoned the crews of the fishing boats off the coast, who belonged to every nation in western Europe, and informed them that he was master of the island, which was henceforth to adopt the faith of the Church of England and obey the authority of Queen Elizabeth. The foreign crews readily accepted this authority and as readily ignored it. But from about 1638 an English community and English officials became permanent.

Gilbert departed for further exploration, but storms swept the little flotilla. Gilbert insisted on staying in the *Squirrel*, a mere cockle-shell of ten tons. He was last seen aloft with a book in his hand, probably More's

“Utopia.” They heard him cry above the storm, to cheer his companions, “We are as near Heaven by sea as by land.” And then the *Squirrel* foundered with all hands.

2. VIRGINIA

Raleigh had owned and named after himself the largest vessel that had sailed with Sir Humphrey, and now Raleigh took over his charter and his schemes. The queen would not let her handsome courtier leave her, but in 1584 he organised an expedition to explore the American coast, with a view to a “plantation,” or colony.

After reaching the West Indies, the explorers sailed north and made land near Cape Hatteras (North Carolina) in early July. Cruising the calm, deep-blue seas between the islands and the mainland, they thought they had found an earthly paradise. “We smelt so sweet and strong a smell as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding in all kinds of odoriferous flowers.” The natives were, at first, most friendly and hospitable (1585).

The glowing accounts given by the explorers on their return encouraged a hundred gentlemen with their servants to go out. This expedition and several others sent out by Raleigh failed completely, because the colonists were quite unsuited for pioneering, and they looked for gold-mines so zealously that they expected to be fed from England. Yet in 1602 Raleigh once more sent out a ship to explore Virginia, as the new land had been named, in honour of the virgin queen. Once more a glowing report was given. And a few years later, when Sir Walter was languishing in the Tower, some London merchants fitted out an expedition which was destined to be the first permanent English colony in America. In 1607 a log fortress (later Jamestown) was built on the mud flats at the mouth of the James river (Virginia). The settlers, the usual mixture of gentlemen and artisans, behaved with the usual stupidity, giving away their muskets to the Indians for corn, and chopping down the fortress palisade for fuel. They would have been wiped out in their turn had not a certain Captain John Smith, a born pioneer who had led an adventurous life from boyhood, enforced some discipline on the helpless rabble, setting them to wood-cutting, fishing and corn-growing. Gradually the colony began to flourish and it

soon concentrated on raising in large quantities "a herb called by the natives uppowoc and by the Spaniards tobacco, the leaves whereof being dried and brought into powder, the Indians used to take the smoke thereof into their stomach or head, whence it purgeth superfluous phlegm or other gross humours." The habit of smoking quickly spread in England, as we can judge by King James's furious "Counterblast against Tobacco."

The colony rapidly grew prosperous and aristocratic as the tobacco trade expanded, and by 1645 there were 15,000 white men and some hundreds of negro slaves, who were now being imported in growing numbers to work the huge plantations. After some years, an executive council with a governor, appointed by the king, governed the colony; but laws were passed by a local Assembly, "the first daughter of the Mother of Parliaments." This system of Council and Assembly was adopted by the later colonies. And so the English principle of control of royal officials by the community's elected representatives passed overseas.

3. NEW ENGLAND

As the colonists settled down, Captain Smith sought new adventures by going off whaling up north. He found time to make careful maps of the coast, and there was one district which interested him, where the coast made a great right angle, at the foot of the horseshoe promontory of Cape Cod (map, p. 358). He called it New England, and his maps of it were soon to prove an immense boon.

Early in James's reign, when the Puritans were being "harried out of the land," several groups whose homes lay between the Trent and the Ouse, thought they might live more comfortably in Calvinistic Holland, and emigrated there. But they found they were not very happy in a foreign land, and they wished their children to grow up English. And so they decided to go to America, where the king would not vex them, but where they would still be on English soil. They borrowed money from London merchants, chartered the *Speedwell* in Holland, and sailed to Southampton to join the *Mayflower* with another batch of emigrants. Three hundred miles west of Land's End, the *Speedwell* sprang a leak, and the two boats returned to Plymouth.

The *Mayflower* then set out alone, with one hundred and two young men, women and children. It was an ill-assorted company, for while forty belonged to the dignified, self-restrained middle class of Puritan, the rest were chiefly roughs from the London slums, who had been urged to leave their country for their country's good. They meant to settle fairly near the Virginian colony, but after ten weeks of bad weather they were glad enough to reach Cape Cod. They then decided to cruise round, looking for a suitable site. On December 11th, 1620, in such bitterly cold weather that the spray froze on their coats, they proceeded with infinite toil to land their stores on the rocks of New Plymouth harbour. On Christmas Day they completed the big general meeting-house.

The more responsible colonists, before they left the *Mayflower*, had agreed on a system of government, and they somehow enforced it on the lower elements. Everybody worked hard, from the governor to the smallest child. A plague had swept off the local Indians, so at first they had not this menace to think of, as the Virginians had. And when the pioneers recovered from a terrible epidemic which killed many of them during the first winter, they made steady if slow progress, and paid off their debts to the London merchants.

The most important and successful colony of New England was founded in 1630, on Massachusetts Bay, and it rapidly grew into the flourishing port of Boston. It was thoroughly well-organised and supported from the start, and in ten years it attracted sixteen thousand people.

Communities soon multiplied north and west of Cape Cod, and along the river Connecticut, jealously guarding their religious and social peculiarities, but all stamped with the vigorous, independent and austere pattern of Puritanism. Large families wrestled with and conquered the stubborn soil, and pored over the Bible when they were snowed up in the long, bleak winter. They got into touch with Indian trappers, and developed a fur trade. Abundant timber and an indented coast encouraged shipbuilding, and the New England seaman appeared, as hardy and skilful as any in the world, a fisherman, whaler, slaver, trader, and often, thanks to stupid English restrictions, a smuggler.

Meanwhile, the English had also obtained a foothold among the palms and violet seas of the West Indies. A

group of English tobacco planters had been driven out of Guiana, owing to James's anxiety to keep on good terms with the Spaniards. They settled on the island of Saint Christopher, usually known as St. Kitt's, in 1623, and continued their tobacco planting in spite of hurricanes, French rivals, and raids of the ferocious Carribs. Soon afterwards Barbados was occupied, and from these two centres the English spread rapidly among the smaller islands (map, p. 358). As in the case of all the southern plantations gentlemen went out and bought the land, working it at first by means of English labourers who hoped to save a little money and buy a plot themselves after a few years. When most of the land had been bought up, it was difficult to get emigrants, and convicts and political prisoners were shipped over. But the strain of toiling under the lash of pitiless overseers in steaming heat killed them off rapidly, and planters eventually began to use the more expensive but more durable negro slave.

Every one of the early plantations was started by private enterprise, and benefited by the bitter experiences of the early Virginians. It is curious to find that Jamaica, the first State colony, planted in 1656, was a failure, till experienced settlers from the smaller islands were introduced. Cromwell, usually so thorough and efficient, and so keen on colonial development, does not seem to have realised the difficulties. His arrangements were quite inadequate, and his colonists (soldiers and prisoners) were unsuitable. But twenty years later it had become an important possession. Like the other islands, it gave up tobacco in favour of sugar. Kegs of molasses and potent rum were shipped "home" annually by the thousand, planters and Bristol merchants grew fabulously rich, while negroes suffered, sang their sad songs, and died.

4. "JOHN COMPANY"

When Philip II annexed Portugal in 1580, he involved the Portuguese Empire in his disasters. For the Dutch rebels (p. 255), who had developed a magnificent fighting navy, no sooner established their independence than they flung themselves on the Portuguese strongholds from West Africa to the Moluccas, and won the stepping-stones to the far East. This is the golden age of Dutch history, when fearless skippers, like the legendary "Flying Dutchman,"

cursed their way through Cape gales to the riches of the Spice lands. From those beautiful, far-off islands, where death lurked in a hundred ugly shapes, the burly Dutch, efficient and cruel, drove out the Portuguese, and soon held the native rajahs and tribes in their heavy grip.

At first the Dutch were inclined to allow the English, their late allies, a share in the lucrative trade. Many English seamen and pilots were employed by the Netherlands East India Company. Among them were Henry Hudson, who explored the American river and the Canadian bay named after him, in the search for the North-West Passage, and Will Adams, the first Englishman in Japan, who was kept there for the rest of his life in honourable captivity, building ships for the local governor. But the Dutch soon decided to establish a complete monopoly. They turned savagely on the English in 1623, expelling and even murdering them. From that day to this the Dutch have dominated the East Indies.

The English East India Company, chartered in 1600, was now glad enough to concentrate on its Indian depôts, for the Dutch had never valued India as highly as the archipelago, and were not prepared to enforce a monopoly in that vast peninsula. They could not expel either the Portuguese or the English, especially as there was still a native emperor ruling north-west India. At Surat (about one hundred and fifty miles north of Bombay) the Company established its first permanent depôt in 1612, leasing a large house, of which the upper storey was used as an office, while the ground floor was the warehouse, in which (guarded by guns and musketeers) jewels, silks and spices accumulated, awaiting the annual visit of the Company's ships. In 1622 a second factory was established at Masulipatam, at the centre of the east coast, to tap the jewel traffic from the mines of Golconda, and in 1639 a third, on an island off Madras. From this Fort of St. George the Company controlled a strip of land on the coast, which we may think of as the beginning of that impressive empire which was to grow so rapidly a hundred years later. In 1640, amid the swarming Bengalis of Calcutta, a depôt was set up for the export of saltpetre, huge quantities of which were to be used in the next twenty years by the English, to slaughter one another in the Civil Wars.

5. CHARTS AND CHARTERS

The Civil Wars naturally checked overseas expansion, and it was not till after the Restoration that further progress was made with the establishment of a Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations. Charles II leased to the East India Company in 1669 Bombay, which he received as part of the dowry with his Portuguese wife. It had a better harbour than Surat, which it soon replaced as the English centre on the west coast.

It was a long voyage to India round Africa, and if scurvy and starvation were not to wipe out the crews completely, a station had to be organised where fresh meat, vegetables and water could be obtained. At first the Dutch and the English had both called at Table Bay (South Africa) and the English actually annexed it in 1620, but there was no effective occupation. The Dutch made a permanent settlement there in 1652, and excluded the English. The Company then occupied St. Helena (off the west coast) in 1659, and made it their revictualling station.

Meanwhile, the English were getting a foothold on the west coast of Africa. The East India Company had obtained rights here too from Cromwell, but these were disregarded after the Restoration and a fresh Charter issued to the "Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa." The heavy expenses of fighting other nations on this coast ruined them, and a fresh company succeeded them under the able guidance of the Duke of York, who was responsible for much of the colonial activity of this period. Gold, ivory, and above all, negro slaves, were the chief commodities of the West African trade, as even modern maps remind us. Fort James was established in 1664, at the mouth of the River Gambia, while the strong fortress of Cape Coast Castle (on the Gold Coast) was captured from the Dutch in the same year.

The gap left between Virginia and New England was rapidly filled under the later Stuarts. The originally vague "Virginia" had already split up. In 1629 Carolina was founded, including the whole south-western area together with the Bahamas, but it was not till after 1663 that it was developed, when Charles II granted it to a group of lords proprietors. To the north of this reduced

Virginia, above Chesapeake Bay, Lord Baltimore established (1632) his Roman Catholic colony of Maryland. Strangely enough, its toleration attracted the New England Puritans, who for a time dominated it and began religious persecution. They were expelled, however, and after the Restoration, Presbyterians, Quakers and other hunted Dissenters from England were glad to take refuge there.

The strip still left between the Delaware and the Hudson (map, p. 358) had been occupied by Dutch traders and settlers. But Charles II and the Duke of York soon made up their minds to acquire it. Even before the Dutch and English governments were officially at war, English soldiers and Connecticut volunteers took New Amsterdam (on the mouth of the Hudson) without firing a shot (1664), and it became New York. Soon after, the Delaware River settlements were annexed and formed the states of New Jersey, and Delaware. The conquests were recognised (p. 341) by the Treaty of Breda (1667), and the Dutch settlers phlegmatically accepted the change and stayed where they were. Hence "Rip Van Winkle," and the Dutch names of many of the oldest New York families. Within a few years, Protestants from France and Germany came in large numbers to the Delaware to find a refuge from despotism and religious intolerance.

Further north, Nova Scotia, Acadia, and "Canada" (which at first simply meant the St. Lawrence basin and the lakes) were being slowly occupied by the French, thanks to the fine exploration feats of Cartier (p. 202) and Champlain, and the pioneer work of Jesuit missions. A few strong fortresses were held by royal troops, Quebec being the chief, while the civilians were mainly scattered trappers and fishermen. A Scottish expedition had challenged the French occupation at the time of the La Rochelle expeditions, and captured Quebec and other forts (1628), but Charles I had sold them back to the French, who were now left undisturbed till Cromwell's expedition of 1654, which seized Acadian forts and retained them till 1668 (p. 319).

But further north still, the voyages of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson and Baffin had given England a claim to the lonely haunt of seal, whale and Eskimo. The map today tells clearly who first dared those frozen wastes, and in what age the white man's law was introduced. Prince

Rupert was interested in the unsolved riddle of the North-West Passage, and he formed a company in 1670 to look for it. Agents were sent out to explore Hudson's Bay, and in their spare time to collect furs, hides, oils and minerals. Before long a series of forts dotted the south-western shores of that mighty bay which have sprung into a new importance in recent years.

The story of the first hundred years overseas closes with the foundation of Pennsylvania in 1682. It was a curious but staunch friendship that bound the Quaker William Penn to the royal brothers Charles and James. He had lent them sums of money, and in return they encouraged his design of forming another American state. On the upper Delaware he bought a piece of land from the Indians. He tricked them in measuring it, but it was uncommonly honest of him to offer any payment at all. This was the nucleus of his "Woodland" state, and there he built Philadelphia, "the city of brotherly love." He brought over English, Irish and Welsh Quakers, and members of similar sects from the Continent. Brotherly love sometimes grew cold, but on the whole the colony was a great success from the start.

Such was the origin of the Empire. The motives behind the first settlements were severely practical. Merchants and royal favourites wanted dividends; discontented and seemingly superfluous elements in the nation wanted a fresh start in life. The original organisation and development were entirely due to private enterprise, whether it was a company building forts, or a lord proprietor, with semi-regal powers, starting an American state. But the power of the Crown was in the background from the very first, because no enterprise was started without a royal charter of permission. And when the "plantations" grew into populous states, the Crown appointed governors. But the laws were made by local assemblies, and they maintained the English traditions of personal liberty and local self-government, which thus spread over the Seven Seas.

With the years the Empire rose to a vast, impressive edifice. But we may not forget its dark foundation of suffering, patiently or sullenly endured by unknown men and women—Elizabeth's seamen, harassed Puritans, broken royalist squires, Cromwell's Scots and Irish prisoners,

Monmouth's west-country men; the thirst and hunger, frostbite, scurvy and malaria, Indian tortures, the agony of slaves black and white, the lonely, grinding toil of the free. So was the price paid in full for that wide "dominion over palm and pine."

CHIEF DATES FOR THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE

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| 1583. Annexation of Newfoundland. | 1623. Settlement of St. Kitt's. |
| 1585. First survey of "Virginia." | 1630. Foundation of Boston. |
| 1600. East India Company Chartered. | 1656. Settlement of Jamaica. |
| 1607. Foundation of Jamestown, Virginia. | 1660. Council for Trade and Plantations (see p. 331). |
| 1612. East India Company's depôt at Surat. | 1664. New Amsterdam captured. |
| 1620. Voyage of the <i>Mayflower</i> . | 1670. Hudson's Bay Company formed. |
| Foundation of New Plymouth. | 1682. Foundation of Pennsylvania. |

CHAPTER XXIV

JAMES II (1685-1688)

I. REDCOATS AND REBELS (1685)

THE two sons of Charles I who ruled after him were strikingly contrasted in character, and something of this contrast came out in their physical appearance. While both were tall, well-built men, Charles was as dark as James was fair, and the difference was heightened by the large wigs then in fashion. Charles had shrewd, dark, roving, friendly eyes, and the thick lips under the black moustache were ready to part in a laugh. James's bleak blue eyes, tight mouth, and prominent nose and chin usually faced the world with a cold, insolent stare. James strutted where Charles sauntered. The brothers were alike in the viciousness of their private lives and their desire to be autocrats. But while Charles was sly, cautious, and sensitive to public opinion, James was proud and obstinate. Charles had been quick to realise the strength of feeling against Catholicism, and so he reigned for twenty-five years and finished as an autocrat by consent of the nation. James, inheriting a far stronger position than Charles had done in 1660, lost his throne in less than four years, being more honest, perhaps, than Charles, but certainly more stupid and wilful.

No previous king of England ever had a better start than James. Even before 1685 he had already been acting as Charles's deputy. And earlier on in his brother's reign he had shown the better side of his character. He had done good work in the Council for Plantations (p. 331), and as head of the navy had both organised the fleet as well as the corruption of the times allowed, and had led it into the hottest engagements with the Dutch. Men knew he was a Roman Catholic, but, as he worshipped privately, no objections were raised. The new Parliament contained a large royalist majority, for since the confiscation of the city charters, his agents throughout

the country controlled the elections. This Parliament promptly voted James a generous revenue for life. The bishops, followed by their clergy, had been preaching for years that the hereditary succession in the monarchy was a divinely ordained custom, and that it was therefore sin to resist the Lord's anointed. The English army had been growing steadily during the wars or threatened wars of the previous reign, and there was a large force in Scotland too, as well as a smaller one in Ireland. Scotland appeared to have been cowed into submission, while Ireland rejoiced at the accession of a Catholic sovereign. Two risings took place in 1685, and their failure showed how strong James's position was, and gave him an excuse for making it stronger still. The Earl of Argyll, head of the anti-Stuart Campbell clan, returned from Holland to the south-western Highlands, and sent the fiery cross round to summon all his followers. In concert with him, Monmouth also returned soon after to raise the south-west of England, where he had become a figure of romance to peasants, miners and weavers. Argyll's followers quarrelled among themselves, and in any case they were not strong enough to face the large Scottish Royalist army. The Highlanders deserted, and Argyll was captured and executed.

Monmouth was well supported in Somerset, but here again, poorly-armed peasants, however loyal and sturdy, were hardly a match for trained regulars, supported by cavalry and artillery. Monmouth himself could not work out any definite plan of campaign, and he was greatly depressed to see that few of the upper classes joined him. After advancing through Taunton, where he was proclaimed king, almost as far as Bristol, he was driven away from it by a few royalists, and after aimlessly retreating south again, he heard that reinforcements were awaiting him at Bridgwater (Somerset). Soon after he had returned there he heard that the Royalist forces were approaching. The two armies met at Sedgemoor, a desolate, marshy waste drained by deep wide ditches. The royalists, commanded by an idle wastrel, were half drunk on Somerset cider, and Monmouth planned to surprise them at night. The rebels had advanced within a few hundred yards of the royalist camp in a thick mist, when they found themselves on the wrong side of a large ditch which the guide had forgotten. As they were beginning to cross it

in some disorder, a rebel's pistol went off. The alarm was sounded in the royal camp, and soon the two armies were blazing away at each other across the ditch. The Somerset men fought with a dogged heroism which will for ever rouse pitying admiration. Such cavalry as they had was easily driven away, and their ammunition wagons deserted. But the rebel foot fought like madmen with scythes, pikes and the butt-ends of their now useless muskets. The royalist cavalry crashed into them on either flank time after time, and at last the artillery began to bombard them, and all was over. At dawn the fugitives were pouring back into Bridgwater, with the bloodthirsty troopers after them. Monmouth, who had fought manfully enough at the first, deserted before the end, and was captured a few days later in the New Forest, Hampshire. After vain and shameful appeals for mercy he was executed.

The battle of Sedgemoor itself was painful enough, but the sequel was still more terrible. The royalists had been led by the second-in-command, a clever young officer named John Churchill. When the fight was nearly over, the commander-in-chief rose from his drunken sleep, carefully adjusted his uniform, and went out to see what all the trouble was about. But he was prominent enough in the wholesale hangings of prisoners captured under arms, and in his mocking cruelty he was supported by Colonel Kirke, commander of the notorious "Lambs," once the garrison of Tangier. There they had learned some very ugly tricks, fighting the wild Moors of the Atlas mountains, and these tricks they now played on Monmouth's poor dupes. The Englishman's dislike of the regular army had begun with the Commonwealth, even though its troops had been kept in restraint. The type of ruffian from which James's army was recruited justified that dislike. In the September of 1685 James sent down to hold the assizes of the southwest, Chief Justice Jeffreys. It was perhaps to be expected that all the survivors of Sedgemoor and those who had in any way helped the rebellion should be brought up for trial. But men were shocked at the spiteful cruelty Jeffreys showed, not merely to actual rebels, but to any who had performed the most natural acts of human kindness and pity for the hunted fugitives. He laughed and swore at his victims, would not listen to their defence, and sentenced them to brutal punishments. To take some

specimens of his sense of justice, a little barber's boy who could read and had been asked to read out what was on one of Monmouth's proclamations was sentenced to be flogged in every market town of Somerset. Some little girls of Taunton, who had helped their teachers to sew a flag for Monmouth, were sent to prison, where some died of fright. Two women were sentenced to be burned alive for harbouring fugitives, and one of them, after strenuous efforts by influential friends, secured from James



OFFICER'S UNIFORM LATE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

the privilege of being beheaded instead. Every cross-road in Somerset was hideous with the tar-smear'd limbs of those sentenced to be hanged and quartered. Hundreds were sent practically as slaves to the West Indies. Jeffreys later defended himself on the ground that these atrocities were committed at James's request, and to that extent he was right.

2. AN OPEN CONSPIRACY (1685-1687)

Men were still so terrified at the thought of another civil war that outside Somerset, Monmouth's insurrection

won little sympathy and no support. James now set himself to complete his despotism by giving it a Catholic administration. The rebellion gave him an excuse for increasing the army, whose numbers were raised to thirty thousand. A huge camp was established on Hounslow Heath, north of London, to cow its Whig hordes. In spite of the Test Act, Catholic officers were appointed, and Jesuits were sent among the troops to convert them. Parliament, for all its loyalty, protested against this, and was adjourned in November 1685. James dismissed all his ministers and officials who were High Churchmen, and appointed Roman Catholics or men like Jeffreys who really had no religion at all. He tried to carry out the same policy in local government, but he could not find enough Catholics to fill the posts, especially as many of them were unwilling to face unpopularity. James thereupon decided to copy Charles's scheme for winning the support of the Dissenters, calmly ignoring the failure of his brother's attempt and the awkward fact that since 1685 the persecution had increased in fury, especially in Scotland, where Covenanters had been burned and drowned. He published a Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, and under the influence of the Quaker William Penn, he allowed it to cover all sects; besides permitting them to worship without interference, it admitted them to all offices without the Test. The Dissenters felt some gratitude at first, and the curious thing is that since 1687 there has been no official religious persecution in England. But the Anglican clergy were alarmed, and the Tories grew uneasy to see, on the one hand, chapels once more crowded with Nonconformists, and on the other, priests and monks openly going about in their unfamiliar garb. As if to make a declaration of war on those who had been his firmest friends, James interfered with the University of Oxford, a stronghold of the Church of England, and then actually still under the Archbishop's direct control. The heads of two colleges were dismissed, and Catholics were appointed to train priests there. And at the beginning of his reign, James had revived the Court of High Commission, the abolition of which had been confirmed in 1661, and he had all the time been exerting pressure on the bishops to bring the Church of England more in line with that of Rome.

3. 1688. "Whom the gods wish to destroy, they first drive crazy" (Latin proverb).

It is doubtful whether James could finally have succeeded in forcibly converting the Anglicans and Dissenters alike. But his schemes collapsed earlier than they need have done, owing to his over-eagerness. In April 1688 he published a second version of the Declaration of Indulgence, in which he boasted of the appointment of Catholics to high office. As if this were not foolhardy enough, he insisted on every clergyman reading it from the pulpit. Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, supported by six other bishops, presented a petition against the Declaration. It contained a sentence which seemed to dispute the king's power to ignore the Test Act, and on the strength of this he had them prosecuted for seditious libel. Even Dissenters were alarmed and uneasy, and London crowds cheered the bishops on their way to the Tower. During this anxious time James's second wife, an Italian princess whom he had married in 1673, gave birth to a boy. James was delighted, but his subjects were downcast. Hitherto they had submitted to his tyranny hoping that he would die without a son and leave only his grown-up Protestant daughters by his first wife, Anne Hyde (table, p. 282). But this baby boy was sure to grow up a devout Catholic, and carry on his father's system. The seven bishops were acquitted, and even the redcoats on Hounslow Heath cheered, in spite of all the efforts of the Jesuit missionaries.

But the menace of Catholic despotism now loomed all too clear. Englishmen had been learning lately what might be the fate of Protestants under such a system. Though he was by no means on friendly terms with the Pope, Louis XIV had made up his mind that every subject of his was going to be a Catholic. He first ignored the Edict of Nantes (p. 343) and then repealed it in 1685. A furious persecution of Huguenots was organised. To bully them into submission, Louis quartered his Dragoons on them, and so added words of evil import to the English and French language (to "dragoon," and "dragonnade"). They were big, burly fellows, in long blue coats and tall brass helmets, and they were deliberately encouraged to commit every vile outrage on the Huguenots which their low instincts suggested. To complete the horror

of the persecution, emigration, which had solved the problem for many English Dissenters, was forbidden to the French Protestants. And if the Dragoons failed to "convert" a family, it was often split up by the father being taken off to be a galley-slave, while the mother and children were distributed among convents, never to meet again. But in spite of Louis' frontier guards, many Huguenots did succeed in escaping to neighbouring Protestant countries, where they made a living by their fine craftsmanship. Many reached London, where their descendants to this day weave the most delicate of silks on old-fashioned looms. Their blood-curdling tales put cold fear into the hearts of their English neighbours. It was very unlikely that James could repeat such a persecution in a population which was largely Protestant. But Englishmen did not stop to think of this, and there was an exaggerated idea of the number of English Catholics. The Tory leaders and Anglican bishops, who had till lately been so emphatic about a subject's duty to the king, now realised that they would have to make the painful choice between their lawful sovereign and the Church of England. Most of them felt that the Church had the greater claim, and they joined the Whigs in writing to William of Holland, and asking him to help them in saving England's liberty. That letter, smuggled across by an admiral disguised as a common sailor, settled the destiny of England and Europe.

William had been watching English politics carefully for some time, and he was in close touch with Whig leaders on both sides of the North Sea. He cared little for the liberties of England, and the prospect of becoming, perhaps, king of England did not greatly excite him. But what did attract him strongly was the opportunity of using the resources of England in another desperate struggle with the French, which he clearly saw was due very shortly. Louis' ambition by now seemed to be as boundless as his strength was irresistible. The king of Spain was a half-witted invalid, and had no children to succeed him. His nearest relatives were two sisters, and one of them was Louis' wife. Louis had made claims to various parts of the Spanish dominions before, and now he boldly claimed everything. As if this were not enough, his threatening movements towards the middle Rhine had shown him how weak the German princes were, especially as their natural protector,

the Emperor, was busy fighting the Turks. Louis annexed large tracts of Lorraine, and the whole of Alsace, which brought him actually to the Rhine (map, p. 387). He persuaded the Archbishop-Prince of Cologne to give him a free hand on that section of the Rhine too. Louis even hoped to be elected Emperor, for the Rhine princes were among the electors. As king of France and Spain, and Emperor as well, he would be a Francis I and Emperor Charles V rolled into one (Part II, p. 222). Meanwhile, he turned savagely on the lower Palatinate, a Protestant state on the remaining section of the middle Rhine, which refused to fall in with his plans. The wanton cruelty shown by the French in this attack, their lootings, burnings, and massacres, which repeated the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, struck rage and terror into the hearts of all the Protestants of north-west Europe. William saw that the time had come to strike.

The Dutch had for some time been drilling regiments and fitting out vessels, to be used in any way that suited Holland's interests. Louis knew from his spies by the summer of 1688, that these forces might be used to help a revolution in England. Hoping to have James as his ally, he forbade William to invade England, and warned James. Instead of being grateful, James, in his pride, took offence, and told Louis he did not need his assistance and would not be his ally. Louis went off to the Palatinate. William, remembering Monmouth's fate, had refused to interfere in England, unless the nation as a whole invited him and he could also bring an army with him. The letter from the English leaders fulfilled one condition, and for the other, the Dutch, usually unwilling to let a single soldier go out of Holland, now let William take five thousand troops. For a long time the wind blew steadily from the west, and James anxiously watched the new weather vane he had put up at Whitehall. Then it swung round to the east, and William set sail, avoided the east coast because of James's fleet in the Thames, and sailed far along the south coast. He landed at Brixham in Torbay, where his statue now watches the trawlers come and go. He was warmly received, but there was no national rising in his favour, such as he had been led to expect. Meanwhile James was marching west from London. The two armies had already exchanged shots, when after a council of war, in which his

advice was rejected, Churchill deserted in the night. Soon afterwards news came that Kirke too had gone over to William. James in his younger days had shown the utmost coolness and pluck alike on the bridge of hotly bombarded flagships and in the thick of cavalry mêlées. But his one thought now was to get back to London and from there out of England. His hasty retreat lost him many friends who had been prepared to do their utmost for him. William, who shrewdly realised that his own position was not yet over-strong, offered James very reasonable terms. These James pretended to consider, and meanwhile sent off his wife and the all-important baby in a yacht to France in charge of a French officer, as if he could trust none of his subjects now at court or in the navy. From excessive confidence he had now swung to excessive suspicion. He tried to escape himself, but was recognised and roughly handled by fishermen, who turned him back to London. William was already at Windsor, and Dutch soldiers, with James's permission, replaced the Life Guards round Whitehall. James was in an agony of indecision, and Dutch regiments were actually tramping through the western suburbs of London when he took a strong hint from William's messenger and crossed to France. Louis, who had just cause to be angry with him, treated him and his family as highly honoured guests, put the palace of St. Germain's at their disposal and provided them with ample funds.

Meanwhile, as the eventful year drew to an end, William was busy putting a stop to the anarchy which James had deliberately fostered before his departure. He was not yet sure of his position, for many of the Tories already half regretted his success, and were unwilling to recognise him as full sovereign, suggesting that he should act as regent for his wife. William brought them to heel by the threat of returning to Holland. The conditions on which he was offered the throne were carefully defined in the Declaration of Right. And in February 1689, with the usual rattle of drums and flourish of trumpets, the Prince and Princess of Orange were declared joint and equal monarchs of the British Isles. The Glorious and Bloodless Revolution was complete. So Cromwell had not fought in vain.

CHIEF DATES FOR JAMES II'S REIGN (1685-1688)

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| 1685. Defeat of Argyll.
Battle of Sedgemoor.
Death of Monmouth.
"Bloody Assize" of
Judge Jeffreys. | 1688. Petition of the Seven
Bishops.
April. Birth of Prince
James.
Nov. William lands at
Torbay.
Dec. Flight of James. |
| 1687. First Declaration of
Indulgence. | |
| 1688. Second Declaration of
Indulgence. | |



SAILOR, LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

SECTION V

CHAPTER XXV

WILLIAM III (1689-1702)

MARY II (1689-1694)

I. ORANGEMEN AND RAPPAREES

IT was hardly to be expected that William should succeed to the three crowns without a sharp challenge from France. Southern Scotland accepted him readily on terms similar to the Declaration of Right. But, true to their tradition of loyalty to the Stuarts, the Highlanders rose against the new Government. In the Pass of Killiecrankie (central Scotland) they defeated the regulars sent up to watch the Highlands. But in the hour of victory their leader was shot, and they dispersed (1689). Fort William was built at the western entrance to the Highlands, and by New Year's Day, 1692, the appointed date, all the Highland chiefs but one had taken the oath of allegiance to William. Macdonald of Glencoe (south of Ben Nevis) delayed a week longer in his pride, and his enemies misled William, who consented to the punishment of the clan. Scottish soldiers were billeted on them, and repaid the hospitality of the Macdonalds by turning on them suddenly and murdering them in the night. Those who escaped were hunted through the glen till the blood of one after another reddened the snow. William was to blame to some extent, but the chief cause was the bitter hatred of the Highlanders among themselves. After the Massacre of Glencoe, peace descended on the Highlands, but the clansmen did not forget.

The settlement of Ireland was naturally a far more difficult task. Throughout his reign James had consolidated his power there through his Catholic Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Tyrconnel. The Catholics had readily assisted him in expelling Protestants from positions of authority, and there was a Catholic army at his disposal, now swollen by hordes of "Rapparees," who were little

more than brigands. It was obvious that Ireland was the best stepping-stone for a return to England. James, with French troops and officers, crossed over to Cork as early as March 1689, with every prospect of success. Only in Ulster had the Protestants any hope of resisting him, for elsewhere they were in a hopeless minority. They decided to make a stand in Londonderry and Enniskillen (map, p. 328*a*). James's army closely besieged Derry on the land side, while, seawards, a strong barricade was erected across the river Foyle with batteries to protect it. Kirke was sent out from England in June with reinforcements and supplies for the hard-pressed garrison. But he decided, without very good reason, that it would be rash to attempt to reach the town either by land or by sea. For weeks his flotilla lay idle in Lough Foyle, tantalising the exhausted and starving defenders. At length a definite command was sent to Kirke by William to break through the boom. The first ship rebounded from it and stuck in a sandbank. But the next crashed through, and the town was relieved. At the same time, at Newtown Butler the garrison of Enniskillen routed the other section of James's army, which now fled south.

In the meantime England had declared war on France and joined the league of Louis' enemies. The Protestants of Europe realised that England was the keystone of their arch. Stories of French cruelty in the Palatinate brought Huguenots, Germans, Dutchmen, Danes and Swedes pouring over to Ireland to help William, who now crossed in person. James was supported by the Tories who had gone into exile with him, now beginning to be known as the Jacobites, and by a number of French troops, though the bulk of his army consisted of the undisciplined Rapparees. He advanced north from Dublin, and William came south to meet him from Belfast. The armies met at the river Boyne, July 1st, 1690. The Catholic forces, under the command of a Frenchman, were strongly entrenched on a steep part of the southern bank. William rashly decided to ford the river and storm their position. Luckily for Protestant Europe, the Rapparees ran away, and only the bravery of the French foot and the Irish horse saved James from a crushing defeat. He fled back to France soon after, leaving his Irish friends in the lurch just as he had deserted his English friends in 1688. Louis was now

shown to be as big a fool as James was a coward, for the situation in Ireland might easily have been saved. The day before the Battle of the Boyne, the French had defeated an Anglo-Dutch fleet, and the Channel was theirs for a time. Louis could easily have sent five thousand blue-coats to Ireland, and they would certainly have turned the scale. As it was, the Irish Catholics fought splendidly in the west during 1691, but they were finally driven into Limerick, which they defended as heroically as the Ulstermen had held Derry. They surrendered finally on favourable terms. All soldiers and officers who wished to leave Ireland were taken to France, where they were formed into some of Louis' finest regiments. All Irish Catholics were promised such religious freedom as they enjoyed under Charles II. They were to be allowed to carry arms and enter the professions, and were to receive a pardon for fighting against William.

No doubt William honestly meant to keep these conditions. But public opinion in England was inflamed against the Irish. The Dublin Parliament, once more Protestant, was later allowed to pass a cruel and monstrous Penal Code which reversed the terms of the Capitulation of Limerick, drove the Catholics out of public life and took their land from them. The Irish have long memories for grievances, and ever after, Limerick was the "city of the violated treaty." As if racial and religious hatred were not enough, commercial greed seized the opportunity of crippling the growing cloth industry of Ulster by banning export, to prevent competition with English manufactures. Protestants were hit by this just as much as Catholics. And to fill Ulster's cup of misery to the brim, the Toleration Act of 1689 (p. 384), which protected Dissenters in England, did not apply to Ireland. The Presbyterians of northern Ireland were still, therefore, on the wrong side of the law. The result was that twenty thousand Ulstermen, many of whom had fought at Derry and the Boyne water, crossed the Atlantic, transferring to America their dogged courage and energy, and a hatred of England.

James and Louis now decided on a direct invasion of England, and even the Tories rallied round William. A large army was collected at Cape La Hogue (the promontory which juts out towards the Channel Islands). A fleet of transports was waiting to convey them across,

and it only remained for the battleships to clear the Channel. But this time the Anglo-Dutch fleet was definitely superior. It defeated the French fleet in the open Channel, chased it through the dangerous seas round Alderney, then sank battleships and transports alike in La Hogue harbour, under the eyes of James and the would-be invaders (1692). Louis was now too busy fighting on every frontier of France to help James any further, or renew his fleet. And so the new régime in the British Isles was secure.

2. "A DECLARATION OF THE TRUE ANCIENT AND INDUBITABLE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS REALM"

The settlement of the constitution arranged by William and Parliament was as permanent as such arrangements can ever be, and it was never challenged by any subsequent monarch. The Declaration of Right which William had promised to accept before becoming king, was registered as law in the Bill of Rights, 1689. It did not aim at any complete or theoretical statement of Englishmen's rights. That is not the English way. Like Magna Carta and the Petition of Right, it simply made a list of definite abuses committed by an offending monarch, and insisted that these were illegal because they were contrary to ancient custom. The Bill of Rights declared that the king was not to cancel a law generally, or in favour of particular persons (the suspending and dispensing powers). Special courts were illegal. Excessive, cruel and unusual punishments were not to be imposed. Subjects had the right to petition the king. A standing army in time of peace was illegal. It is easy to see the connection of these provisions with the events of James's reign. As a final protest against the most serious offences of all the Stuarts, it was declared that Parliaments should be held frequently, that the election of members and debates in the House should be free, and that the levying of money without consent of Parliament was illegal. To clear up the question of succession, it was decided that James, by his flight, had abdicated the throne, that William and Mary were therefore the lawful sovereigns, and that their children were to succeed them. If there were no children, the Princess Anne (table, p. 282) and her children after her were to succeed. In any case, no Roman Catholic was to rule.

By this time Parliament had realised that it was not enough to pass laws against royal tyranny. The Houses would need to have some further control over the king, who was still head of the executive and appointed the ministers and officers whose duty it was to administer the laws. The House of Commons already had considerable influence over the king's policy in its control of taxation. A fixed sum was now paid annually to the king to cover all ordinary peace expenses. But each part of this revenue was allotted to a definite part of the costs of government, and the accounts were carefully examined by Parliament to see that these arrangements were respected. In addition to this, Parliament had a further check on the king. Everybody knew quite well that in spite of the clause in the Bill of Rights, it would be necessary to maintain a standing army, in view of Louis' threats. Parliament gave permission for this, but only for one year at a time. So that henceforth Parliament had to be called every year, if only to vote taxes for immediate needs and to legalise the army. And the king could not and, in fact, did not defy it. In 1701 the arrangements made in 1689 were confirmed and extended by the Act of Settlement, or Succession Act. Some of its provisions were only temporary, being inspired by the increased jealousy of William felt by the Tories after his wife died. But two important clauses became a permanent part of the English constitution. Judges were to hold their office permanently. This was to protect them against what had been the Stuart practice of dismissing judges who would not give a verdict for the Crown in important cases. And ministers when impeached by Parliament could not defend themselves by obtaining a pardon from the king. It was once more necessary to arrange for the succession to the throne now that Mary was dead and Anne's numerous children had died young. It was therefore arranged that if Anne died childless, the throne should go to Sophia, Electress of Hanover, a direct descendant of James I, or to her children (table, p. 448). Once more it was declared that the sovereign must be a member of the Church of England.

The difficult religious question was even now left only half settled. When William first came over, the Whigs had insisted on a Toleration Act to allow Dissenters to worship unmolested, while the Tories had insisted that

the Test Act must be maintained, and none but Anglicans admitted to office. This compromise was accepted. By the Toleration Act of 1689, anyone who took an oath of loyalty was excused from that regular attendance at parish church required by Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, confirmed by the Act of 1662. Furthermore, any clergyman who would subscribe to thirty-four out of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church (p. 246) could open a chapel. This meant that moderate Nonconformists were now free from molestation and the Clarendon Code would not be enforced. In practice even the more extreme sects were left alone, for William himself, though he occasionally went to an Anglican service, was a Calvinist and sympathised with Dissenters, especially with the Quakers, so they could count on his personal protection.

In this matter William was helped by the fact that many of the intolerant High Churchmen, the extreme Anglicans, could not take the oath of loyalty to him, in view of all that they had preached and written in the past about the solemn duty of obeying James whatever he did. These Non-Jurors, as they were called, naturally had to resign, and William replaced them with bishops and clergymen of more moderate views, who were prepared to encourage Dissenters to come into the Church of England, while they refused to harass even the extreme Puritans. The Roman Catholics were still liable to persecution, but, after 1692, they were hardly ever interfered with, especially as Spain and Austria, William's Catholic allies, made a point of this. So that William's reign saw the foundation of religious freedom in England, but not religious equality. It was not till the early nineteenth century that all Englishmen, of whatever creed, had equal status as citizens.

Once the new government had settled down, it was possible to improve financial arrangements still further. In time of war it was essential for the government to lay its hands on money quickly. To get special grants from Parliament was a long and clumsy business. In Charles II's reign the absurd spectacle had been seen of ministers vainly going round to moneylenders in the City, borrowing small sums to keep the navy going. The long and expensive wars now to be waged made it essential for ministers to be able to borrow large sums quickly. And so we see the

beginning of the National Debt in 1693. The government then borrowed money without fixing any date for the repayment. People who had spare money were quite willing to lend in return for regular payment of interest, which was guaranteed out of the taxes. And if they wanted their money back suddenly they could sell the government certificates which they received as evidence of their loan. The government, on the other hand, was restrained from reckless borrowing by the necessity of paying interest promptly and regularly. The next year the Bank of England was established. A number of wealthy capitalists lent the government a large sum, in return for which they were allowed to form themselves into the official bank, with certain privileges and monopolies. Down to this day it remains in the hands of private individuals, but its relations with the Treasury are close, and it still manages government loans. In 1695 the coinage, which had become badly debased and clipped, was once more overhauled and renewed at great expense and risk, but with great benefit to trade, and so to revenue. These new arrangements, due to the Whigs, who had made a speciality of high finance, were of the greatest assistance to England in the long struggle with France which was to go on for a good deal of the eighteenth century. They were perhaps the chief cause of the English success, for time after time the French made peace because they could not afford to go on.

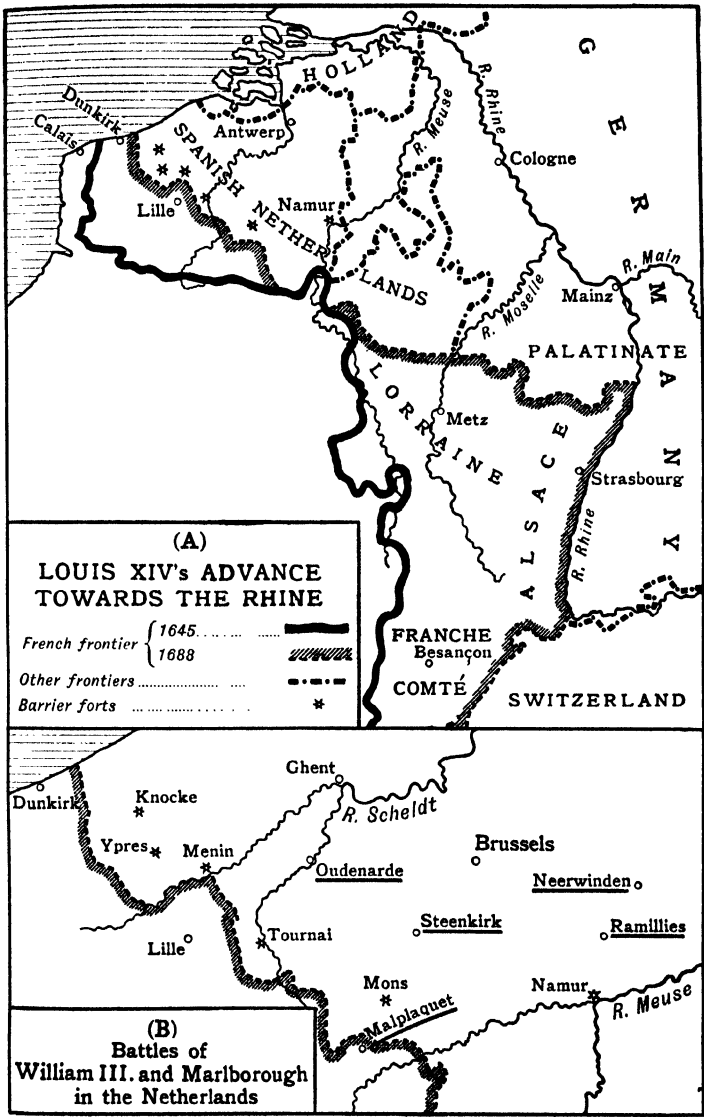
This reign also saw the permanent establishment of party politics. Earlier on, the Whigs and Tories had been engaged in a life-and-death struggle. Whichever side had won thirsted for sharp revenge, and wanted to drive the others out of politics altogether. They had finally agreed to accept William, but their politics still differed. William compelled both sides to be reasonable, but he found it advisable to choose his ministers from the party which had the majority in the Commons. Otherwise, the members would spend all their time in furious attacks on ministers of whom they did not approve, and hold up his work by hostile majorities. The keenness of party strife was increased by the growing number of pamphlets and newspapers which resulted from the termination of the censorship of the Press in 1695. Hitherto, permission had to be obtained beforehand from high

officials before printed work of any kind could be published. Ministers and bishops had kept a sharp look-out for criticism, and were quick to suppress it. Even after the abolition of the censorship the Press was still liable to be prosecuted for seditious libel, involving heavy penalties. But writers were willing to take the risk, and henceforth there was a good deal of frank criticism of Church and State. Political writing was fierce and scurrilous. But it was better that Whigs and Tories should snarl at each other in print than plot mutual extermination.

A long war is a searching test of any form of government. England's success in the wars against Louis from 1689 to 1697, and from 1702 to 1713, was a clear demonstration to Europe that a country could combine freedom with efficiency; that it was not necessary for the monarch to enslave his nation in order to protect it. But the rest of Europe, admiring even while hating Le Grand Monarque, was very slow to learn that lesson. So slow, indeed, that it is a matter of thankfulness and pride that England mastered the art so soon.

3. THE ENGLISH AND SPANISH SUCCESSIONS

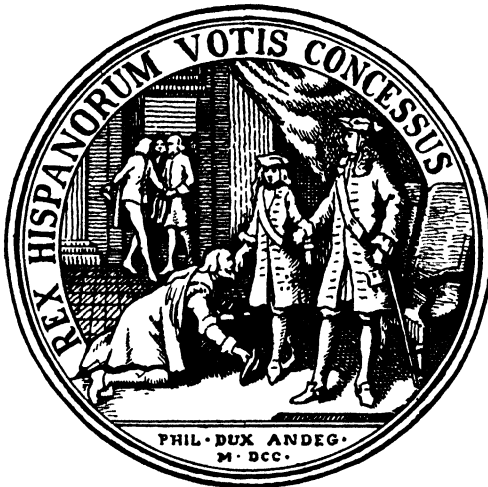
Two years before he came to England, William had organised a league of Protestant powers against Louis, known as the League of Augsburg. If Louis had attacked the League at once, he might have broken it up. But all that happened between 1686 and 1688 told in favour of the League, which England had joined when James landed in Ireland with French support. Spain naturally supported it, because of her losses in the Netherlands, and the Emperor, having now checked the Turks, was eager to drive the French back from the Rhine again (p. 376). It was 1692 before William felt it safe to cross to the Continent with the largest English army that had ever fought overseas. The battles fought in the next few years in Brabant (*e.g.* Steenkirk, Neerwinden) are the first on many a regiment's colours. The French had captured Namur, and poured through the big gap thus left in the line of barrier forts (map, p. 387). William was hardly a match for Louis' best marshals, and he was defeated more than once. But his obstinacy wore them down, especially as the allies were attacking France on every side. And after William recaptured Namur, the French could make little further



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progress in the Netherlands. Peace was made in 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswick. Louis recognised William as the ruler of the British Isles, and promised not to support the Jacobites (followers of James), while, so far from gaining any fresh territory, he experienced the unpleasant novelty of disgorging some already annexed.

For a few years Louis was in a reasonable mood, sobered by the enormous cost of the fighting, which had



MEDAL SHOWING NOMINATION OF PHILIP OF ANJOU AS KING OF SPAIN

The messenger from Spain is kissing Philip's hand. Louis XIV is standing by his grandson. The inscription means "A King of Spain vouchsafed to prayers. Philip, Duke of Anjou, 1700."

completely destroyed the prosperity built up by Colbert. He actually condescended to come to an agreement with William as to what should happen to the Spanish dominions when the imbecile king of Spain died, as he was liable to do at any moment. We have already seen that he had no children and that his nearest relatives were his two sisters, one of whom had married Louis, and the other the Emperor. The powers of Europe would not tolerate the idea of either of these monarchs succeeding to the whole of the Spanish Empire. William and Louis therefore

agreed, by the First Partition Treaty, 1698, that the bulk of the Spanish dominions should go to a grandson of the Emperor, and the rest to the younger grandson of Louis. The Emperor's grandson died next year, however, and a Second Partition Treaty was made in 1700, appointing the younger son of the Emperor as chief heir. Soon afterwards the king of Spain died, and it was found that he had left a will, by which the whole of the Spanish Empire was to go to Louis' grandson. If he would not accept it undivided, the whole inheritance was to go to the Emperor's son. We can hardly blame Louis for throwing over the Partition Treaty and accepting the inheritance for his grandson. The Treaty had been entirely an arrangement between William and Louis alone. Neither Spain nor the Emperor would agree to it. Without any general protest, French troops promptly occupied the Spanish possessions in their new master's name, as the will permitted.

Though William himself clearly foresaw that Louis would take advantage of the situation, his Dutch and English ministers refused to see any danger, and Louis was delighted to hear that England and Holland had recognised his grandson as King Philip V of Spain, the Netherlands, South Italy, and South America. There was now a Tory government in office, and as the monarchy had now lost the glamour of divine right, especially since Mary was dead, they enjoyed themselves by being as insolent to William as the Whigs had been to Charles. His heart was full of bitter despair, and he actually proposed to abdicate, when the whole situation suddenly changed. Louis' mood of unnatural moderation passed. It became quite obvious that the French troops on Spanish soil were acting for Louis XIV, not for Philip V. They drove out from the barrier forts in the Netherlands those Dutch garrisons which the Spanish had long permitted there to assist them in defending the common bulwark of Flanders and Holland. Louis also went back on the solemn promise he had made that Philip should never be recognised as a possible heir to France. And he declared that while other nations would still be excluded from the highly profitable Spanish-American trade, France alone would be given a share in it. In spite of his obstinate Tory ministers, William joined the Emperor, who was

already at war with France. One thing more was necessary to win the whole nation over to William's side, and Louis obliged. As James II lay dying at St. Germain (late in 1701), his patron, in one of those spasms of sentimental generosity to individuals which were a poor substitute for justice to nations, promised to recognise James's son as king of England. The anti-French Whigs obtained a majority in the elections, and in any case the Tories, who had themselves passed the Act of Succession excluding



GENTLEMAN'S COSTUME
EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

LADY'S COSTUME
ABOUT 1700

James's son, were now quite willing to assist. William was eagerly pushing on arrangements for the war, when, as he was riding, his horse stumbled over a molehill and threw him heavily. He was already in such poor health, that in a few days the shock proved fatal (March 1702).

Jacobites across the water might toast "the little gentleman in black velvet" whose burrowings caused William's death. And Englishmen at home never warmed to the bent, little, wizened man with the hooked nose, sunken cheeks and hollow eyes, who so obviously pined for Holland and lavished his affection on his Dutch friends.

But England cannot but honour the memory of the monarch who established and respected the supremacy of Parliament and extended the liberties of Englishmen while fighting a deadly foe. If he seemed cold and cynical, we must remember that he had traitors all round him, who, to safeguard their necks in the highly doubtful future, wrote regularly to Versailles, St. Germain, and Hanover. But if you read his letters to his friends, you will glimpse a very different William, a person full of affection and good humour, who wanted to be a farmer and would gladly have seen the last of crowns, Parliaments, treaties, and forts, to rest his aching limbs and weary heart among the tulips and trim box trees of a Dutch garden.

CHIEF DATES FOR WILLIAM III's REIGN (1689-1702)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1689. Bill of Rights. | 1692. Battle of Steenkirk. |
| Battle of Killiecrankie. | 1693. National Debt begins. |
| Battle of Newtown | Battle of Neerwinden. |
| Butler. | 1694. Bank of England. |
| Relief of Derry. | Death of Queen Mary. |
| 1689-97. War of the English | 1695. End of Censorship. |
| Succession or War | William takes Namur. |
| of the League of | 1697. Treaty of Ryswick. |
| Augsburg. | 1700. Second Partition |
| 1690. Battle of the Boyne. | Treaty. |
| 1691. Surrender of Limer- | 1701. Act of Settlement or |
| ick. | Succession Act. |
| 1692. Massacre of Glencoe. | Death of James II. |
| Battle of La Hogue. | |

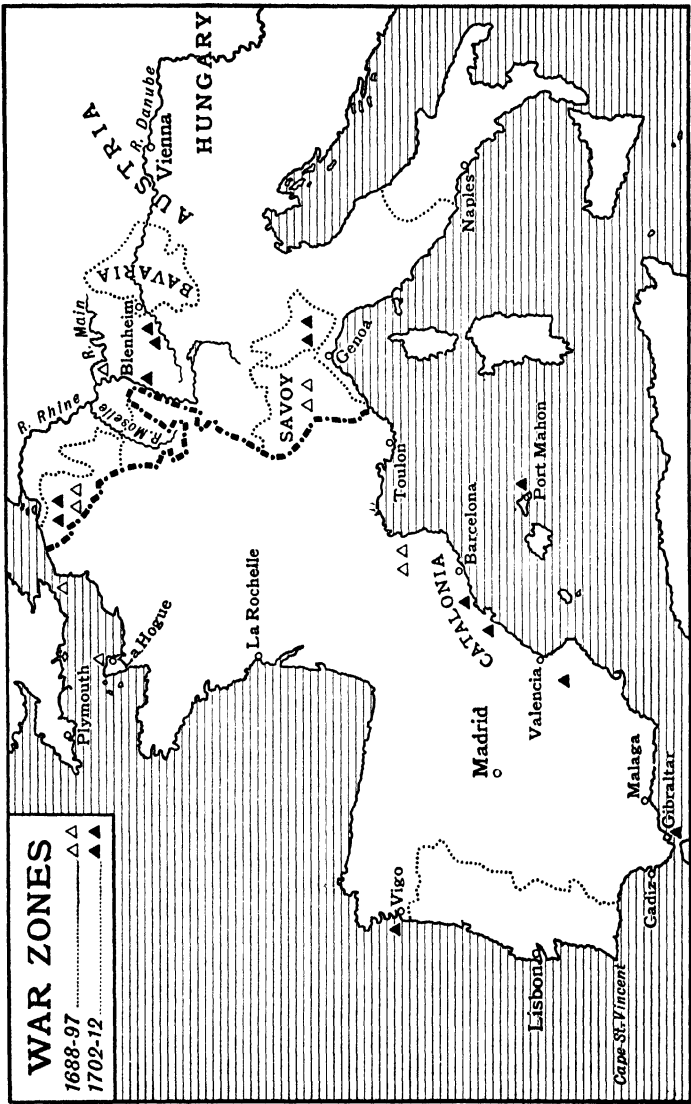
CHAPTER XXVI

ANNE (1702-1714)

1. "Malbrouck s'en va t'en guerre" (Old French folk-song)

At the beginning of the war of the Spanish Succession it seemed as if the odds were greatly in favour of Louis. In the previous war the fighting had never been very far from the French frontiers, but now, thanks to Louis' swift occupation of the disputed territory, the battle fronts were much further out, and Louis' troops were in strong and favourable positions (see map, p. 394). Moreover, as the Spaniards themselves were in favour of Philip, Louis now had Spain on his side, with free passages through Spanish territory. Furthermore, William had been in complete control of both the English and Dutch armies on the spot. But after 1702 the Dutch were not very helpful as allies, unwilling to risk a decisive battle or let any troops out of Holland, while the English army was ultimately under the orders of ministers at home. But the Grand Alliance possessed one great asset which outweighed all Louis' advantages and that was the brilliant genius of John Churchill, now Earl and soon to be Duke of Marlborough.

He had started his career as a page to James II, when the latter was still Duke of York. The Duke got him a commission, and he went out to Tangier for a time. On his return he served in the French army against the Dutch, and so gained an experience of both armies' methods, which was invaluable now he was fighting in the reverse position. We have read how he won Sedgemoor and later deserted James at the critical moment. It would be very easy to make Marlborough out to be a slippery traitor, especially as he was in touch with James during William's reign and with Louis during Anne's reign. But, in this, he was no worse than most of the leading Englishmen of the period. And he claimed with justice that he had never betrayed his country or the Protestant faith. William had fully realised



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Churchill's ability as well as his treachery. He kept him busy first in south Ireland, then in Holland, and finally clapped him in the Tower, when he found him on too friendly terms with James. But after his defeats in the Netherlands, William felt he could not dispense with Churchill's genius, whether as a soldier, politician, or diplomat. He was restored to office again, and as William lay dying, he asked that Marlborough should be put in charge of the new war.

Nobody was better fitted for such a task. Marlborough had carefully trained the veteran army now put in his sole charge, and it had a good sprinkling of first-rate soldiers like Corporal Trim in "Tristram Shandy," and officers like Addison's Captain Sentry. They adored handsome Jack Churchill, not only as the brilliant leader who always led them to victory, but as the thoughtful commander who saw to it that they had comfortable billets and abundant food and beer. He is beyond doubt England's greatest general, and would be included in even the shortest list of the world's greatest military geniuses. Whether it was necessary to work out a vast, complicated scheme of strategy from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, or to pick out the enemy's weak spot from a glimpse of blue uniforms slipping from entrenchments behind clouds of smoke, it was all the same to Marlborough. His unerring judgment, tact and charming manners made him the prince of diplomats, too. If some greedy German Duke or a suspicious Dutch committee threatened to wreck the Grand Alliance at an awkward moment, it was Marlborough who was sent off to coax or bluff them round. But all his ability would not have secured his appointment as commander-in-chief, had not his ambitious wife, Sarah Churchill, once Anne's school friend, still dominated the queen's imagination and held high offices at court, while the ministers were influenced in his favour by his close friend the Treasurer, Godolphin.

The first task was to drive the French out of south Holland, which they had now easily reached through the Spanish Netherlands. Marlborough soon effected this, but they fell back on a strong line of defence, curving from Antwerp to Namur, roughly parallel to the Rhine (map A, p. 387). While he was held up here for a time, he was called upon to save the Emperor from a serious menace. Among the latter's many titles was that of king of Hungary, which

lay immediately to the east of his home territory, Austria. The Hungarians now rose in rebellion, and while he was distracted on that side, a strong French army, assisted by the Bavarians, who were always jealous of Austria, poured down the valley of the Danube, making for Vienna from the west. Marlborough made up his mind to save Vienna. It was an amazing proposal, which nobody but he could have thought of or carried out. The Dutch would never have agreed to it, had they known, but he bluffed them and the French into thinking that he intended to advance up the Rhine and then the Moselle, to attack the French from the rear. But instead of wheeling to the right at the junction of the Rhine and Moselle, he kept on till he reached Mainz, at the junction of the Rhine and the Main (see maps, A, p. 387, and p. 394) then wheeled left, and struck across Germany to the valley of the Danube, getting between the Franco-Bavarian army and Vienna. He was joined by Eugene of Savoy, the Emperor's best general, falling back before a large French army from the upper Rhine which had got on Marlborough's track. The combined forces of both sides met at Blenheim, where the little river Nebel runs into the young Danube. The French were strongly posted in Blenheim itself, and also extended in rather too long a line up one bank of the Nebel. On the other bank was Marlborough near Blenheim and Eugene further up the Nebel. Marlborough made several attempts to storm Blenheim itself and failed. Then he suddenly sent his men across the river through the marshes where the French did not expect them. They broke through the enemy centre and drove the French and Bavarians in rout from the line of the river. The strong army in Blenheim itself was next surrounded and bluffed into surrender (1704).

Marlborough's great victory was like a blow in the face of Le Grand Monarque, who had never yet suffered a serious defeat. French pride was humbled by the news that eleven thousand "invincible" troops had surrendered, and that a Marshal of France had sat in Marlborough's coach as his prisoner. The Emperor was saved, and Bavaria could take no further part in the war.

It was a clear sign of Marlborough's genius that he made the fullest use of England's sea-power. The French navy had hardly as yet recovered from La Hogue (p. 382),

so there was no serious danger of invasion. Marlborough therefore kept a fleet off the Spanish coast, which began by destroying a Spanish treasure fleet in Vigo Bay (1702). This encouraged the Portuguese to renew their old alliance with England. One of the results was that Englishmen began to drink port instead of the heavily-taxed light French wines, so gout became a fashionable complaint in the eighteenth century. The Spaniards were soon given good reason to dread the sight of the grey jackets and red bonnets of English seamen. A few days before the battle of Blenheim, a handful of them took possession of the Rock of Gibraltar while the pious Spanish garrison was at church, and so won a permanent English naval base at the entrance of the Mediterranean. The fleet moved on, and meeting a French fleet off Malaga, drove it back to Toulon for the rest of the war. In 1708 the splendid harbour of Port Mahon, in the island of Minorca, was captured. It was excellently situated for attacks on the Mediterranean coasts of France and Spain (map, p. 394). It remained in English hands for a considerable part of the eighteenth century, and even to-day there are a number of English houses left from that period, and the inhabitants still use a number of English words.

These naval successes were used to help a double attack on Spain. With Lisbon as his base, Galway invaded Spain from the west, and at one time (1706) actually held Madrid. In the east, the Earl of Peterborough took advantage of the fact that the Catalonians have never considered themselves as really Spaniards. With Barcelona as his base (1705), and later Valencia, he harassed the Spaniards for years. But there was never a complete conquest of Spain, because the natives supported the French; just as, a hundred years later, they resisted them and helped the British.

On his return to the Netherlands, Marlborough set himself to pierce the strong French line running from Antwerp to Namur, and he succeeded in doing so by the brilliant victory of Ramillies (1706) which threw the French back to their own frontier (map B, p. 387). So that this year the Allies seemed to be on the verge of final victory, for Galway was in Madrid, Marlborough had won back a good deal of the Netherlands, and Eugene had driven the French out of north Italy. Louis offered to make peace, but the

Allies were flushed with triumph and wanted his complete surrender. The French therefore made a strong counter-attack, and as Marlborough was absent on diplomatic work they won back a good deal of lost ground. But in 1708, after the battle of Oudenarde, they were driven right over the frontier again, and Marlborough captured Lille, the great border stronghold of northern France (map B, p. 387). Again Louis offered good terms, in 1709, and the Allies should have accepted them, as Marlborough advised. But they insisted that French armies should help to drive Philip out of Spain. Louis naturally refused, and the war went on, chiefly because the English government wanted it to. To understand this we must go back and see what was happening in England all this time.

2. WHIG JOBBERY AND TORY SNOBBERY

Anne was a dark, plump, red-faced woman of thirty-seven when she came to the throne. Her drunken boor of a husband, Prince George of Denmark, simply did not count in politics. Anne herself had all the Stuart impatience of control by Parliament. She was inclined to favour the Tories, who were once more the ultra-loyal party, now that there was an English sovereign again. But she would not allow even the Tories to obtain a monopoly of the government. Her aim was to have ministers from both parties, though more Tories than Whigs. But owing to the election just before William died, the Whigs were in the majority, and Anne had to accept their policy throughout the earlier part of her reign. That policy was very clearly defined. First, war to the knife with Louis, the tyrant and persecutor, who now, since James's death, supported the claim of his son, James, the baby of 1688, usually known as the Old Pretender. In so far as it was a struggle to save the settlement of 1688, this obstinate hostility to Louis was justifiable. But when we notice who were the friends of the Whigs—wealthy bankers, delighted to lend the government any amount of money for the war at 12 per cent. interest per annum, contractors who made fortunes in keeping thousands of men and horses supplied with food, and selling the government guns, wagons and naval stores at a handsome profit, shippers and traders who wanted to force their way into the Spanish colonies and drive their French competitors from the markets—we

become suspicious of the way the war dragged on. The Whigs were broad-minded in religious matters, and though very limited toleration had been granted by the Act of 1689, the Tories never ceased, throughout the whole reign, to try and get it repealed. So the small group of aristocrats who led the Whigs could still count on the steady support of the Dissenters, comprising tradesmen and their numerous apprentices in the towns, and the yeomen or owner-farmers



SOLDIER, EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

in the country. Above all, the Whig leaders stood for the subjection of the monarch to Parliament, which often, in effect, meant themselves, for their huge estates and wealthy supporters gave them control over the election of the House of Commons, while, with the support of William's Whig bishops (p. 384), they could hold their own in the Lords.

The Tories raged in furious opposition against this very successful combination of clever, polished and insolent grandees with "lax" bishops, shopkeepers and farmers. If they had to have a war to keep the French and young James out of England, the Tories preferred to use the navy

only. They complained that while the huge fortunes of the "war profiteers" went untaxed, most of the revenue for the war came from the tax on land, which hit them most heavily, for the party consisted chiefly of country squires. The idea of religious toleration was positively hateful to them. They tried to stop Protestant refugees from the Continent coming into England, As for the new industries they brought with them, "trade would be the ruin of the English nation," argued your fox-hunting squire. Each time they failed to repeal the Toleration Act, the Tories sacked the chapels and broke the Whig bishops' windows, while the squire made one more attempt to put the yeoman in his place by showing that he was not legally entitled to shoot game. Throughout most of the eighteenth century the influence of Whig lords over the central government was balanced by the control of the Tory squire over local government. The latter owned most of the land in his village, and so the labourer depended on his good-will for work and cottage. The squire was often Justice of the Peace, and so, besides sitting on the magistrates' bench to try poachers and gypsies, he kept an eye on tramps and otherwise administered Elizabeth's Poor Law, and also fixed the prices of bread and ale. If he were the captain of the militia, he would try once a month to get his awkward squad of yokels to stand still in a straight line, inspect their old-fashioned weapons, then march them round the village green, almost in step. Apart from his public duties, the squire was a gentleman farmer. To prove he was a gentleman and entitled to fight a duel in defence of his jealously-guarded honour, he could show you his coat-of-arms and a chart of his ancestors that went back, perhaps, to the Conqueror. When the year's farming was over, and he had sold his produce at the market town, he loved to chase the fox over miles of open fields and heath, shoot his pheasants in the woods or partridges in the stubble. His nights were often spent in hard drinking, after an enormous dinner. On Sunday he went to the parish church to see if all his tenants and labourers were there, and heard a good Tory sermon by his firm supporter, the High Church village parson, who was often his dependent, taught his young children, and kept his accounts. Between them, the squire and the parson dominated the village, except for the yeomen, who would not go to the village church, steadily

voted Whig at the elections, and, worst offences of all, shot the game on their own little estates and would not let the hunt gallop over their fields.

But in town and country alike there were a number of electors not pledged to either party, and then, as now, their votes turned the scale. To influence them, both parties took full advantage of the Press. The best-known writers of that age of clear, smooth prose used or abused their literary powers in the service of politicians. Steele and Addison were Whigs. Addison was sent on a European tour by the Whigs as a preparation for journalism, and the success of his poem celebrating Blenheim was rewarded by his appointment as Under-Secretary of State. But neither of them helped the Whigs as much as Swift's biting satire helped the Tories. He never actually received a state appointment, but he often attended meetings of the Cabinet, the inner circle of leading ministers who really formed the government. His pamphlet "The Conduct of the Allies" turned most people against the war. And when the Tory ministry began secret negotiations with the French for peace, it was the poet Prior who acted as their agent. Defoe, creator of the immortal "Robinson Crusoe," was a spy and scribbler for both parties. Essays, pamphlets and newspapers were eagerly read and hotly discussed in coffee-house and tavern, and abusive songs and poems enjoyed a wide circulation.

As the war proceeded, it embittered party strife in England, and affected relations with Scotland and Ireland. In 1708 the Whigs had driven Tory ministers from the government, and since then Cabinet ministers have usually belonged to one party only. The same year saw the establishment of the Penal Code against Irish Catholics (p. 381), which may be explained but hardly excused by the fear of Ireland as a possible enemy base. A similar fear with regard to Scotland led to a very different solution, in 1707. The Scots would not accept the Act of Succession (p. 383), and threatened to choose a sovereign of their own when Anne died, especially as they felt that English jealousy was hampering their attempts to establish overseas trade. The bare possibility of James being recognised as king of Scotland terrified the Whigs, who hastened to arrange a Parliamentary union of the two kingdoms. It was, of course, necessary to persuade the Scottish Parliament to

agree to dissolve itself, and the intense national feeling aroused was overcome only by generous bribes. Scotland was to retain its Presbyterian Church and its legal system, but the customs barrier on the Border ceased to exist, and all English trading organisations at home and abroad were now open to Scotsmen also. Scotland was not to shoulder any of the burdens of war, and was to receive a sum in relief of her own debts. Forty-five Scottish members were to sit in the House of Commons and sixteen Scottish peers in the House of Lords. To symbolise the Union, both nations were to have the same flag, a combination of the red cross of St. George with the white cross of St. Andrew.

3. FALL OF THE MARLBOROUGHS, 1711

But after 1708, Whig influence declined. Men wondered why Louis' offer of peace was rejected, and grew suspicious. Now that France itself was threatened, Louis appealed to his people to make still more sacrifices, and they responded. In 1709 Marlborough won the battle of Malplaquet at the cost of twenty thousand casualties, but the hungry, ragged, yet undaunted French army still barred the way to Paris. And six months later Marlborough knew that he could no longer count on support from home, for the Whig ministry was doomed. Yet it was not the war directly which caused their downfall, but a strange outburst of High Church feeling in London itself, the stronghold of Dissent. The rector of a south London church, Dr. Sacheverell, whom the sharp-tongued Duchess of Marlborough described with some truth as "an ignorant and impudent incendiary," became notorious for violent Tory sermons, which not merely attacked the Whig government but the whole Revolution settlement. He published these sermons, and the Whigs, influenced by Godolphin, decided to impeach him. It was a false step, for it seemed to violate the Englishmen's new but highly cherished privileges of free speech and a free Press. Moreover, it enabled the silly doctor to pose as a martyr, and raise the cry "the Church in danger," an alarm sure to excite thousands who were normally anything but pious. The trial before the House of Lords roused intense excitement, and was attended by all the fashionable world, including the queen. The Lords were afraid to sentence him heavily, and simply

forbade him to preach for three years. Anne seized the opportunity to dismiss the Whig ministers, appoint Tories, and dismiss Parliament. The elections were a triumph for the Tories (1710).

The new ministry was in office for the rest of the reign. It was first headed by Harley, soon to be Earl of Oxford, a shifty, unreliable intriguer, by no means an enthusiastic Tory, since he was an ex-Whig and ex-Dissenter, but tolerated by the party because of his great skill in Parliamentary management. Later, perhaps too late, the Tories turned for more vigorous leadership to St. John, usually known by his title, Viscount Bolingbroke. A brilliant speaker and writer, he was full of advanced ideas, but he had to bow to the ignorant prejudices of the rest of his party. Though neither Harley nor St. John were sound Anglicans, they had to satisfy their followers by beginning a fierce campaign against Dissenters. At the same time the war had to be stopped as soon as possible. This could only be done by getting rid of the Marlboroughs, who had started as Tories, but had come to be on friendly terms with the Whigs as the war progressed. Now, though the Duke was still as fond of his Duchess as when she had been young and pretty Sarah Jennings, everybody else, including her own family and the queen, was thoroughly tired of her violent temper and tyrannous ways. Harley had little difficulty in substituting his cousin, Mrs. Masham, as the court favourite. Early in 1711 the Duchess was dismissed from her various offices in the queen's household, and secret negotiations with France were begun. Peace, if not secrecy, seemed to be more justified, as the Archduke Charles, the Allies' candidate for the Spanish throne, was now elected Emperor on his father's death. To make him ruler of all the Spanish dominions as well would threaten the balance of power in Europe as much as Philip had done. Swift's vigorous pamphlet was now published, and it was felt safe to recall Marlborough in disgrace, as a filcher of public money. The charges against him could not be proved, but the mob who had idolised him after Blenheim now hooted "Stop thief!" and pelted him. In deep disgust, the Duke and Duchess left England, to be recalled later by George I. But the Duke had rapidly sunk to be a physical and mental wreck, and died soon after, while the Duchess lived on many years, arguing, writing and quarrelling.

CHART FOR THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

	The Netherlands Campaign.	The Spanish Campaign.	At Sea.
1702			Spanish fleet sunk in Vigo Bay, p. 397.
1703			
1704	Battle of Blenheim (Bavaria), p. 396.		Capture of Gibraltar, p. 397. Battle off Malaga, p. 397.
1705		Capture of Barcelona, p. 397.	
1706	Battle of Ramillies, p. 397.	Capture of Madrid, p. 397.	
1707			
1708	Battle of Oudenarde, p. 398.		Capture of Minorca, p. 397.
1709	Battle of Malplaquet, p. 402.		

In 1712 an armistice was declared between England and France, and commissioners met at Utrecht (Holland) to sign the Treaty of that name next year. England recognised Philip as king of Spain and the Indies (South America), on receiving a pledge, which was kept, that he should never be king of France. France recognised the Hanoverian succession which had been arranged for England, and allowed her claims to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Hudson's Bay and Straits, and the West Indian island of St. Christopher (see Chap. XXIII), but the French were allowed to fish off Newfoundland, which privilege was to cause friction right down to modern times. Spain allowed England to keep Gibraltar and Minorca, continue the slave trade with South America for thirty years (The Assiento Treaty), and send one merchant ship annually to Porto Bello on the Isthmus of Panama (map, p. 358). The

Dutch were still allowed to hold barrier forts in the Netherlands, and the next year the Emperor received the Netherlands, and what had been the large Spanish dominions in Italy. The terms of peace were reasonable, and Europe now enjoyed an unusually long spell of peace. But there is nothing to be proud of in the underhand methods by which the Tory government prepared for peace, and the abandonment of the Catalonians to Louis' cruel vengeance, though we had promised them protection.

4. "Haste over, Hanover, fast as you can over,
Put in your claims before 'tis too late."

(Song of the period.)

The Tories were now so busy hunting Dissenters and flattering the queen that they did not pay enough attention to the question of the succession, though it was obvious that Anne had not long to live. The Whigs were determined that the Act of Succession should be upheld, cultivated friendly relations with the Court of Hanover, and used every method of propaganda to prepare the public mind for German rulers. The Tories hesitated because their leaders disagreed. The Earl of Oxford was undecided because he could not get a promise from the Pretender, who was, of course, a Catholic, to change his religion, or even to guarantee the Anglican Church, in return for the crown. Bolingbroke was ready to proclaim the Pretender without any promise. He worked furiously to win the queen's favour and rally the whole Tory party round him. He had Oxford dismissed on the 27th July (1714). The Jacobite Duke of Ormond, who had succeeded Marlborough as head of the army, was also made Warden of the Channel ports. The Whigs grew desperate. If Bolingbroke's plot succeeded, there would be an end of Toleration, the Bank of England, and constitutional monarchy. Two days before the queen died, when she was already helpless, a Cabinet meeting was held at the palace to complete the arrangements for a Stuart restoration. As yet, the Cabinet was not officially recognised, and the government in theory was still under control of the Privy Council. A number of Whigs still retained their status as Privy Councillors, and they now made full use of it. They pushed their way into the meeting, cancelled all Bolingbroke's arrangements, and ordered the fleet to prevent James landing. They sent for

Prince George to come over from Hanover at once, Sophia having died two months before. Anne died on the 1st of August, King George was immediately proclaimed, and he landed in September. The Tories were too astounded to resist. Bolingbroke had asked for six weeks to complete his arrangements. Fate gave him only six days.

CHIEF DATES FOR ANNE'S REIGN (1702-1714)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1702-13. War of Spanish Succession. | 1710. Tory Ministry appointed. |
| 1704. Capture of Gibraltar. Battle of Blenheim. | 1711. Duchess of Marlborough dismissed. Swift's "Conduct of the Allies." Duke of Marlborough recalled. |
| 1705. Capture of Barcelona. Battle of Ramillies. Capture of Madrid. | 1713. Treaty of Utrecht. |
| 1707. Act of Union of England and Scotland. | 1714. May. Death of Electress Sophia. |
| 1708. Battle of Oudenarde. Capture of Minorca. | July 27. Dismissal of Harley. |
| 1709. Battle of Malplaquet. | Aug. 1. Death of Anne. |
| 1710. Trial of Doctor Sacheverell. | |



SEDAN CHAIR, EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XXVII

GEORGE I (1714-1727)

I. WHIGS, TORIES AND JACOBITES

THE new king was a thick-set, hard-faced and hard-hearted tyrant. He was fifty-four years old, could not speak English, and did not particularly want to, because his heart was always in Hanover, just as William's had been in Holland. And like William, whom he had helped in the wars, he only valued England because it gave him greatly increased strength on the Continent. As often as he could, he slipped away to Hanover to the palace of Herrenhausen, which had long been the home of the Electors. The result was that his Whig ministers had a free hand in deciding policy. The Whigs had kept in close touch with him before 1714, and they had succeeded in convincing him that all Tories were Jacobites. Bolingbroke's plot had made this deliberate exaggeration seem plausible. As a final confirmation came the Jacobite insurrection of 1715 usually known as "the 'Fifteen," which resulted in a Whig monopoly of government till 1760, and even then it took George III another ten years to oust them entirely.

The "'Fifteen" might have succeeded, had not James made it perfectly clear that he was first and foremost a Catholic, and discussed his restoration with the Pope. Here we have the sharp dividing line between the Tories and the Jacobites. The former would have nothing to do with James unless he pledged himself to maintain the Church of England. The latter were prepared to support him whatever he did. After the death of Anne, the triumphant Whigs turned on Oxford and Bolingbroke. Against Oxford they could not make out a very strong case, but they were prepared to impeach Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond for treason. The two fled separately to the Pretender after hurried adieus. "Farewell, Duke without a Dukedom," cried Bolingbroke. "Farewell, Earl

without a head," was the just retort. James thought the Tories would be so annoyed at George's cold and suspicious attitude to them that they would be sure to rise in his support. Bolingbroke knew better, and advised James to wait a while, especially as no help was forthcoming from the French. Louis XIV had just died, and was succeeded by his great-grandson, a small boy. The regent knew that France was bankrupt, and he was so anxious to keep on good terms with England that the Whig government was kept fully informed of James's plans.

Though he himself was not ready to start, the Pretender gave the order for the insurrection in August, and then cancelled it. The result has been well summed up, "Order, counter-order, disorder." Ormond was to have landed in the south of England. He was not ready, but the English navy was, and there was no rising in the south. There was more hope in Scotland which was dissatisfied with the Union. The Highlanders were always ready for a raid to help a Stuart, and a few Lowlanders came south to join the rebel Catholic gentry of the north of England who scarcely realised how completely they were out of touch with the rest of the country. The Highlanders were very badly led by the stupid and unreliable Earl of Mar, "Bobbing John." If he had hurried south from the Highlands and joined Forster, the English rebel leader, in a swift march on London, they might have succeeded. For the English army had been much reduced after the Treaty of Utrecht, and was kept on the south coast for a time in case Ormond appeared. But both Jacobite armies wasted precious time. On the same day that Forster's army, after fierce street fighting, surrendered at Preston, as Marlborough had prophesied, the inevitable Campbells, led by their Whig Duke of Argyll, barred the way to Mar's clansmen at Sheriffmuir, north of Stirling (Nov. 13) (map, p. 268). The fighting was indecisive, but the Highlanders soon after began to melt away. James now landed in the Highlands and stayed just long enough to show he was a perfect gentleman, if an imperfect leader. He left Scotland with Mar in February 1716, quarrelled with Bolingbroke, and spent the rest of his life in uneasy exile.

A number of the rebels were executed, while about a thousand of the Preston prisoners, like their predecessors of 1648, were shipped to the "plantations." Fort William

had been very useful in checking the western Highlanders (p. 379), and so two more outposts were built to the north-east of it, Fort Augustus and Fort George. Roads were built to make the frowning ranges of the Grampians more accessible. But nothing was done to break up the clan system with its adoration of the chieftain, which was the main cause of Highland loyalty to the Stuarts. And more than once after 1716, the lonely hills echoed bugles that called out the garrisons of the Highland forts to face another threatened rising for "Jamie the Rover."

2. THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE

In 1711, when it was expected that Spain would be compelled to admit English traders to her American ports, Harley had formed the South Sea Company, in expectation of enormous profits. The Treaty of Utrecht had allowed only a single vessel to visit Porto Bello annually. But as a whole fleet of English merchantmen lay out to sea, the process of unloading that single vessel was a remarkably long one, owing to mysterious transfers that took place at night. And so the South Sea Company flourished. And in 1720, in return for a complete monopoly of the South Sea trade with England, it made an ambitious arrangement with the government. The Company actually bought up the National Debt, those who had lent the nation money being repaid either in cash or (much more frequently) in shares of the South Sea Company. The Company thus became the sole creditor of the government (as far as the Debt was concerned) and agreed to accept a reduced rate of interest. The public did not realise what a risk the Company was taking in suddenly increasing the number of its shareholders, and thought only of the enormous profits the directors must be making and expecting, to justify such a transaction. Everybody rushed to buy South Sea Stock, and the price rose to £1000 for a £100 share. A fever of speculation swept over the country, and bogus companies were floated to relieve the gullible public of its superfluous cash. A thousand people were found even to subscribe for "a company for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is." South Sea shares had risen to £1060 when the Company decided to prosecute some of the sham companies, which were absorbing much capital that might have found its way to the South

Sea offices. A number of bogus firms were exposed, and the public began to grow more critical even of the South Sea Company, though it was still in quite a flourishing condition. In a few months their stock sank back to £135, and thousands of the most recent shareholders were ruined.

Although the disaster was essentially due to the greed and stupidity of the investing public, the South Sea Company and the government were blamed. Three ministers died as a result of the scandal, including the honest and able Stanhope, who had begun his career by the capture of Minorca in 1708 (p. 397), and who had been steadily coming to the front since 1714. Addison too lost his position as Secretary of State. But the crisis was a golden opportunity for Robert Walpole, a fat, brown-faced Norfolk landowner, who from 1721 to 1742 was to be Chancellor of the Exchequer and, in effect, though not in title, England's first Prime Minister. He had already made his mark as head of the War Department under Anne, up to 1710, as the fiercest foe of the Jacobites, and as a master of finance. Although privately he had made a large fortune by selling out his South Sea stock before the "slump," in the House he had strongly opposed the transfer of the Debt to the South Sea Company. He now took the situation in hand and straightened out the complicated financial tangle. The shareholders received a third of the face value of their shares, and the government took back the Debt from the Company. Gradually Walpole managed to lighten the heavy burden of the Debt by halving the rate of interest. In this he was greatly assisted by the rapid expansion of trade, due perhaps to his simplification and alteration of commercial taxation. Hitherto taxes had been levied indiscriminately on every kind of export or import. Walpole decided to stimulate industry by removing the duties on imported raw material and exported manufactures. He also encouraged colonial trade, and allowed some of the products of the plantations to be exported direct to Europe instead of restricting the traffic to England, as the Navigation Acts required. To protect English manufacturers, he increased the duties on imported manufactures, so we can hardly describe him as the first "Free Trade" Chancellor, as is sometimes claimed. The most we could say in this connection is that his general simplification of commercial taxes, and his reduction of some of them, helped future

Chancellors to move towards Free Trade. Walpole began the system of "bonded warehouses," *i.e.* government storehouses where cargoes of tea and coffee could be stored, and merchants paid import taxes by instalments only, as they withdrew parts of the consignment. When he tried to extend the scheme to tobacco and liquor (Excise Bill, 1733) there were riots, and the Bill had to be dropped.

CHIEF DATES FOR THE REIGN OF GEORGE I (1714-1727)

Nov. 13, 1715. Battles of Preston and Sheriffmuir.

1720. South Sea Company crisis.

1721. Walpole Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury.

CHAPTER XXVIII

GEORGE II (1727-1760)

I. SIR ROBERT WALPOLE

ON the death of George I it seemed certain that Walpole would be dismissed. For the new monarch, as Prince of Wales, had hated his father and all who enjoyed his confidence. But the new queen, Caroline of Anspach, was a clever and tactful woman who managed her pig-headed, bad-tempered husband extremely well. She realised Walpole's ability, and used her influence to keep him in office. A staunch friendship sprang up between the two shrewd and practical people who governed England by humouring George. Although the new king had had time to familiarise himself with English institutions, he was as little interested in England and as fond of Hanover as his father had been. And so the tendency for the king to leave important decisions to the Cabinet, which had been inevitable in 1714, was gradually becoming part of the constitution, Anne being the last sovereign to attend meetings of the Cabinet, or veto a Bill which had passed both Houses. It was also during Walpole's tenure of office that the status of Prime Minister became more clearly defined though he himself disclaimed the title, which was, as yet, distinctly unpopular, and is not even to-day formally recognised. But, none the less, he paved the way for the modern arrangement by which the other members of the Cabinet are considered the subordinates of the Premier, and must resign if they do not agree with his policy. (The latter part of this principle held good till 1932.) Such a system was quite unknown before Walpole's time, and the principal "Secretaries of State" were all, officially, independent servants of the Crown. But Walpole insisted on his colleagues agreeing with him or resigning. One after another, they fell out and joined the Opposition. This was finally composed of several ill-assorted groups who had little in common but a hatred of Walpole.

First, there were the hopelessly discredited Jacobites and equally impotent Tories, led by Bolingbroke, who had been allowed to return, but not to sit in the House of Lords. His literary ability found scope in a political weekly magazine, "The Craftsman," the chief purpose of which was to satirise Walpole and preach lofty and sentimental ideals of government which the Tory party would never have dreamt of putting into practice. Bolingbroke's eloquence and personal brilliance won over most of the leading literary men of the period, and Walpole was attacked in Swift's savage pamphlets, Pope's smooth and venomous couplets, Fielding's novels, and in Gay's still popular "Beggar's Opera," which the government banned for a time; though, as a rule, Walpole prided himself on ignoring such stings. The other wing of the Opposition was led by ex-colleagues of Walpole who had differed from him perhaps in only one department of policy, and could not seriously ally themselves with the Tories. His brother-in-law, Townshend, retired altogether from politics in 1730 and devoted himself to farming (see p. 490). The chief of the active malcontents was Carteret, the expert in foreign affairs, who totally disagreed with Walpole's policy of peace at any price. Moreover, Carteret was as greedy for power as Walpole, and the two had been certain to quarrel. The third section of the Opposition was nicknamed "The Boy Patriots," and consisted of a group of young men who professed disgust at Walpole's monopoly of power, at the corrupt methods by which he was supposed to maintain it, and the decline of England's prestige resulting from his peace policy and reduction of the army and navy. The group was led by a junior officer in the King's Dragoon Guards, William Pitt, of whom we shall hear a great deal. He was untiring in his eloquent and bitter attacks on Walpole, who was stung into declaring, "We must muzzle this terrible cornet of horse." Pitt was deprived of his commission as a result of a speech in which he attacked the king, but as he was still a member of Parliament, he could still bite.

The grounds on which Walpole was attacked were, first, that he was aiming at a monopoly of power, and secondly that he was bribing a large part of the Commons to secure it. He certainly aimed at a supremacy over his colleagues, which was a novel and, in the opinion of many,

a dangerous feature in English politics. But such a supremacy was in time to be recognised by the constitution, if not the law, and was never afterwards seriously challenged. The methods by which he kept his majority in the House are often condemned as corrupt, but the accusations of his enemies on this account were far too sweeping, and give the wrong impression that Walpole greatly extended this system of maintaining political power. It neither began with him nor ended with him, and it certainly did not depend on gifts of hard cash. But "patronage" was now rather in the hands of the Prime Minister than the king, that is to say, Walpole enjoyed the privilege of appointing all judges, bishops, deans, officers in the army and navy, and clerks in the Civil Service. Members of both Houses were very keen on securing these honourable and lucrative positions for their friends. And besides these appointments, there were numerous sinecures which meant handsome salaries in return for quite nominal duties, such as, for instance, the post of Auditor of the Exchequer, who received £800 a year in peace and £20,000 in war, without ever looking into the accounts. Whether Walpole abused the patronage more than other ministers is doubtful. (His son Horace, who managed to acquire three-quarters of a million pounds from sinecures, grumbled that his father had done so little for him.) A committee of his enemies could find no evidence against him. But he certainly used it very skilfully and successfully to secure support for a definite policy which, on the whole, was to England's interest. Other ministers, without any policy, used it simply to enrich their followers and silence their critics.

Walpole's foreign policy, which also came in for fierce criticism, was the counterpart of his policy at home. He firmly believed that the settlement of 1688, confirmed by the Hanoverian succession of 1714, ought to be maintained at all costs. He was intensely suspicious of Jacobite activity and was therefore determined to have no sort of disturbance, at home or abroad, which might give them an opportunity for another attempt at restoring a Stuart. He had therefore devoted himself, with considerable success, to building up England's commercial prosperity and the reduction of taxation. But any scheme (such as his Excise Bill) which roused strong popular disapproval, however ignorant and unjustified, he promptly dropped. And so, in foreign

affairs, he aimed at peace with France, for war meant heavy taxation, an increase in the National Debt, and the probability of Jacobite invasions. After the death of Louis XIV in 1715, the French had domestic problems of their own, for his successor was a young boy. The French minister, Fleury, was as anxious for peace as Walpole, and between them they resisted the efforts of Spain to upset the Treaty of Utrecht. The Spaniards resented the concessions they had had to make to England and Austria in 1713. They wanted to take Gibraltar and Minorca back again, and to cancel the trading concessions in America which they had grudgingly made and which English traders had abused (p. 409). Whenever they caught English smugglers they handled them very roughly. The smugglers complained at home and received much sympathy. About 1733 the war party among the French began to grow in influence, just when the Boy Patriots in England were lamenting their country's loss of prestige. The Spaniards were annoyed at the foundation of the new English colony of Georgia (p. 424) close to their province of Florida. The French and the Spaniards began to grow dangerously friendly and English traders to complain more loudly of the cruelty of Spanish-American coast-guards. In 1739 Captain Jenkins at the bar of the House of Commons told a harrowing story of how his ship, the *Rebecca*, homeward bound from Jamaica, had been boarded off Havana by Spanish coast-guards, who had treated him and his men with great cruelty. He showed the horrified members his own ear, slashed off by a Spanish cutlass. The suspiciously virtuous captain was perhaps an impostor who had been primed by the Opposition, but his tale caused an outburst of popular fury which overcame Walpole's better judgment. Very unwillingly he declared war on Spain, and squadrons were sent out to the Isthmus of Panama to attack the Spanish settlements on both the Atlantic and Pacific side. On the whole, the campaign was a failure, and Walpole's power rapidly declined. Early in 1742 he was beaten in the Commons by one vote, and resigned. The king regretted his fall, and promptly created him Earl of Orford, and, it was said, still consulted him privately. Walpole had been a member of the Commons for forty years. Though he now made occasional speeches in the Lords, he was out of his element there, and he died in 1745, after warning the

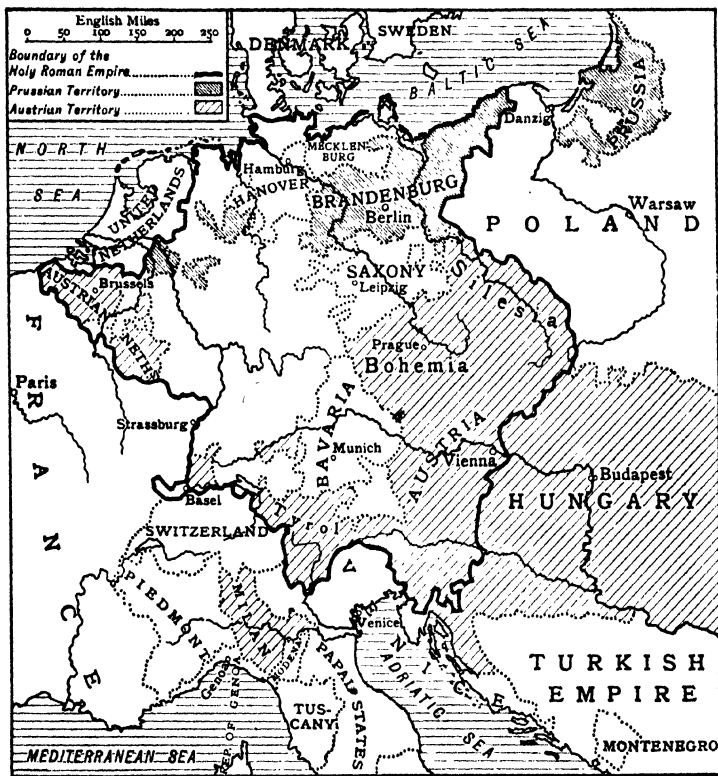
Government that the new war would mean a Jacobite rising.

2. THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION (1740-1748)

After the fall of Walpole in 1742, the "War of Jenkins' Ear" was merged in a general European war in which he had refused, to the last, to be involved. In 1740, the Emperor had died, that Austrian Archduke, Charles, whom England had supported in 1702. His daughter, Maria Theresa, was his heiress, and she hoped that her husband would be elected Emperor in her father's place, so that all the Austrian dominions, which had been greatly increased by the Treaty of Utrecht (p. 404), would be kept intact. But the rest of Europe was envious of these gains, and the other German states did not see why the Austrian Hapsburg family should for ever monopolise the imperial throne. France, long jealous of Austria, encouraged them to oppose Maria's claims, though her father had persuaded most of Europe in 1731 to agree solemnly to guarantee her succession to all his provinces. George II's nephew, Frederick, king of Prussia, was determined to extend his rule beyond its sandy, barren plains. He now claimed from Maria the rich province of Silesia, lying immediately to the south-east of Prussia (map, p. 418), and his efficient army promptly occupied it (1740). A second blow was dealt at Maria when not her husband but the Elector of Bavaria, France's constant ally, was elected Emperor in 1742 and a French army backed him in occupying Bohemia, an imperial province near Austria itself. In despair Maria appealed to England.

On Walpole's fall there had been a reaction against the idea of a Prime Minister, and power was shared by the Pelham brothers in home affairs and Carteret (p. 414), Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He hated France, and thoroughly understood German politics. He wanted England to play a prominent part in the Continental war by supporting Maria vigorously, trouncing the French, and keeping a sharp eye on the Spanish navy. But the Pelhams were very cautious, and George was nervous about annoying Frederick, who could so easily overrun Hanover. Carteret, with great skill, persuaded Maria to let Frederick have Silesia, and the latter dropped out of the war for a time. An Anglo-Hanoverian force dawdled from the Netherlands

up the Rhine and Main, uncertain whether to invade France or face the French army retreating from Bohemia through Bavaria. At Dettingen, on the Main, George II



MAP OF CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1740

led his army into a trap, and it was only by the most desperate fighting that he cut his way out (1743).

Spain now decided to take a more vigorous part in the war, in close alliance with the French, who henceforth looked on England as the chief enemy. Frederick of Prussia saw new opportunities of plunder, and again

attacked Maria. The Pelhams began to feel sorry they had let Carteret drag them into the war, and he was dismissed (1744). A large army was sent to the Austrian Netherlands under the Duke of Cumberland, the king's younger son, (table, p. 448), a severe disciplinarian, who made British officers take their duties more seriously. But though energetic, he was not a first-rate general, and as soon as the French invaded the Netherlands he rushed to meet them and was badly defeated at Fontenoy, where, as at Dettingen, the British infantry once more proved they were "lions led by donkeys." This disaster encouraged the Jacobite rising of 1745 (p. 420), and the Netherlands army had to be hurried home. Cumberland returned to the Netherlands in 1747, to make fresh blunders which his troops redeemed.

Fighting was also going on in Canada and India, where the French realised much sooner than the English that ultimately one of the two powers must be supreme. William Pitt was already trying to draw attention to the colonies, but the government was not greatly interested. The French had been threatening Nova Scotia and the New England colonies, but the brilliant capture by the colonials of the strong fort of Louisburg, built on the rocks of Cape Breton Island (p. 439), was a great blow to French power across the Atlantic. In India, however, the French took Madras from the English. By 1748 everybody was heartily tired of the war, and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was arranged. England gave back Louisburg and got back Madras. Frederick kept Silesia, but Maria did not lose the Netherlands, and on the death of the Emperor her husband was elected. England had gained nothing in return for a huge expenditure of life and money, and the outlook for the future was not promising. Austria blamed her for the loss of Silesia and soon became an ally of France. In America and India the French were strongly established, and obviously meant to be aggressive. No trade concessions had been wrung from the Spaniards, and two years later the South Sea Company had to give up its claims in return for moderate compensation. So Walpole had been right after all.

3. THE 'FORTY-FIVE

When the French became more directly hostile to England in 1744, they had planned an invasion of England.

But storms and the vigilance of the British navy had ruined their plans. The preparations, however, had lured to Paris from Italy Charles Edward Stuart, son of "Jamie the Rover" who was still alive and warned his son against rash adventures. But the heavy British loss at Fontenoy in 1745 encouraged the high-spirited young prince to make a bid for the throne of his ancestors. The French were in favour of the scheme, but would not give him any real help. With a few Irish and Scottish exiles he fitted out a brig and loaded it with a number of muskets and swords and a few pieces of artillery. Sailing from Nantes, he landed at Moidart (on the west coast of Inverness), and appealed to the Highland chiefs. They hesitated at first, for no plans had been made for an insurrection. But their romantic natures were at last won over by the gallant bearing of the prince, who was of the ancient Scottish line, who wore their costume and was ready to share every hardship of their primitive life. He struck east into the heart of the Highlands, slipped between the forts (p. 409), then hurried south through Perth and Stirling, reaching Edinburgh a month after starting his march. There, too, his handsome appearance and the romantic daring of his arrival swept away more sober counsels, and the ladies of the Scottish capital were soon busy sewing white cockades and cutting the last white roses in honour of "Bonnie Prince Charlie."

Meanwhile Sir John Cope, the English commander who had failed to check Charles in the Highlands, brought his men down by sea to Dunbar to close the east coast route into England. Charles marched out of Edinburgh and thoroughly defeated him in a ten minutes' battle at Prestonpans. Sir John, who has been immortalised in a Scottish tune, ran away faster than any of the few of his men who escaped, and was the first to bring the news of his own defeat to Berwick. Charles, after chivalrously attending to the English wounded, returned to Edinburgh to enjoy a short-lived glory.

But in spite of Prestonpans the Jacobite cause was not making any real progress. Even in Scotland and in Edinburgh itself there was considerable opposition, and Charles realised that unless he won support in England his position was insecure. Marching at the head of his adoring Highlanders and wearing the green and white of the Stuarts, he struck south to claim the more important part

of his heritage. There was an English force at Newcastle, so he decided to take the western route, through Carlisle, especially as this would bring him into the district which had supported his father in 1715. But here bitter disappointment awaited him. England was by now completely reconciled to the Hanoverian régime, which, on the whole, had brought peace and prosperity. There was no strong inducement to join the rebels. Two hundred recruits joined him at Manchester, and no others. The English regiments from Newcastle were hurrying south, while the Duke of Cumberland was bringing a large force across to the west and had already reached Staffordshire. Charles swerved into the bleak, misty hills of Derbyshire, and halted at Derby for a fateful council of war. He had several experienced officers with him who had seen service with the French army. They considered the situation from a purely military point of view. As Charles had received so little support in England, they thought it was madness to advance further, with two armies closing in on them from the north to cut off their retreat, whilst in front the Guards regiments were waiting for them at Finchley (north of London). But Charles himself took a more hopeful view. Within a few days, if he pressed on, he could be in London. He insisted that the Highlanders were a match for the Guards, and as Hogarth's cartoon of the Guards at Finchley shows them as a disorderly rabble, Charles was probably right. Moreover, if the Jacobites got to London, it was quite certain that some of the ministers would go over to them. But Charles's officers unanimously and firmly refused to advance. They insisted on an immediate retreat to Scotland to raise more troops. Deeply disappointed, Charles gave the order to retreat.

On the way back Charles no longer led his men. They got out of hand, straggled and looted, and people stoned them. But once back in Glasgow they were strengthened by reinforcements, and in January 1746, at Falkirk, they swung round and thrashed the Newcastle army, showing again that they were a match for regulars. But Cumberland, who had gone south for a time owing to a French invasion scare, was now coming up with a force specially trained to meet Highlanders. In spite of Charles's protests his officers decided to continue the retreat into the snow-clad Highlands, as far as Inverness. Cumberland

followed them. Charles attempted to surprise him by marching out of Inverness at night. At Culloden Moor (east of Inverness) the armies met. The surprise had failed, and as Charles drew up his tired and hungry men, the sleet driving in their faces, Cumberland's artillery



SOLDIERS OF AN EARLY HIGHLAND REGIMENT

played on them. The Highlanders charged, and broke the first English line, but the second line stood fast and drove them back. Then the dragoons chased them off the moor (April 1746). Tradition says that the Duke gave orders for merciless slaughter, and so earned his title "Butcher Cumberland." For months fugitives were hunted through the glens. The lands of the rebel clans were ravaged, their

houses burned and their cattle slaughtered. The Highland tribal system was deliberately and permanently broken up. Highland dress and customs were forbidden. The chiefs were made sole owners of the tribal estates, but lost their legal authority over the tribe, and so became simply landlords, and often selfish ones at that. Many Highlanders emigrated and many joined the army against which their fathers had fought.

After the battle, Bonnie Prince Charlie escaped to the Western Highlands and thence to the Hebrides, although a prize of £3000 was offered for his capture. For five months he wandered in misery and danger till a French ship took him away, and eventually he returned to Italy. That great gossip, Horace Walpole, youngest son of Sir Robert, asserts that one night, in Florence, he stumbled over a drunken man lying in the gutter. He picked him up and had a look at him. It was the no longer bonnie Prince Charlie. Culloden Moor is still dotted with worn tombstones, each marked with the name of a clan whose dead sleep together in a common grave. Both Charles and his younger brother died without heirs. Such was the end of an "auld sang."

4. JOHN WESLEY

The eighteenth century was a period of great prosperity for merchants and landowners. But no age was ever so prosperous that it was free from dark shadows, where its lowest classes lived their wretched lives. The canvases of Reynolds and Gainsborough, the fashionable painters of the age, show us dignified gentlemen and elegant ladies in powdered wigs and expensive clothes of silk and velvet. But, for another impression of the eighteenth century, we must examine the caricatures which William Hogarth drew of the sickly, tattered slum-dwellers. "Gin Lane," for example, illustrates the terrible effects of the craze for cheap gin which was one of the curses of the period. No doubt Hogarth exaggerated, but the truth was unpleasant enough. The upper classes ignored the crime and poverty which lurked so close to their London mansions, or blandly reasoned, like Dr. Johnson, that it was inevitable and incurable. But a few men felt their conscience stirred, and the first modern charitable organisations arose. One man devoted himself with great success to the difficult task of

restoring self-respect and joy to the poor by preaching the Gospel.

John Wesley was born in 1703, the son of a High Church clergyman and a clever, hard-working mother who brought up her large family with unusual care and discipline. After taking his degree at Oxford, he stayed on as a Fellow, and with his brother and a few friends formed a group whose members lived very strictly regulated lives. They spent many hours every day in study, prayer and meditation, and visited the sick and the wretched inmates of prisons. John Wesley was the most earnest of this very serious society, and, like some zealous monk of the Middle Ages, he was constantly setting himself a stricter standard of piety and duty, and calling himself to account for every moment of the day. The group had to endure a good deal of derision and sharp criticism. Among their many nicknames was that of Methodists. But though this later came to be the name of the new and powerful sect which he founded, there was a complete revolution in Wesley's inner life before he took up the work which made him one of the greatest figures of the eighteenth century.

As yet he was simply a fully ordained clergyman, unusually energetic and conscientious, with High Church tendencies, like his father, and likely to succeed him at the rectory. Yet there was a vague but troublesome disquiet in his mind. He had not found the spiritual peace which his piety should have secured for him. In 1736 he decided to go out to Georgia, the new American colony which had been founded by General James Oglethorpe. The general, after a creditable military career, had sat on a Parliamentary committee dealing with debtors, and had been so deeply impressed with the misery he had seen in the debtors' gaols that he decided to do something for them and other broken men, who would be glad of a fresh start in life. As long as the general was governor of Georgia no rum and no negro slaves were permitted. John Wesley came out with the intention of converting the Indians, and his brother Charles was appointed secretary to Oglethorpe. But Wesley had little success with the Indians and even less with the white colonists, especially as his High Church training, together with his own character, made him uncomfortably strict over matters of ritual. Among the colonists were a body of German Moravians, a sect which aimed at recovering the

spirit of early Christianity by the brotherhood of simple, humble people and a vivid belief in the joyous message of the Gospel. Wesley was impressed by the tranquil confidence of the Moravians. On his return to London in 1738 he attended the meetings of the Moravians there. One day he suddenly felt an immense relief from the consciousness of sin which had haunted him, and a sense of close communion with higher influences.

Soon after this he received an invitation from George Whitefield, one of the Oxford "Methodists," to come and preach to crowds in the open air at Bristol. Whitefield had been doing this for some time, and Wesley, still clinging to his official point of view, had his doubts whether it was correct to preach except in a consecrated building. However, he was persuaded to preach, and the experiment was a success. Wesley had found his life-work. He spent the next fifty years, without a break, preaching in England, Scotland, Ireland and America, very often delivering three sermons a day, usually in the open air, irrespective of the season or the weather. Whitefield was a great preacher, greater perhaps than Wesley. But Wesley had immense physical and mental energy, a strong and masterful character, and great powers of organisation. His appeal was mainly to the lower classes of the industrial areas, who in their squalor and wretchedness had lost all faith and hope. Many of these he won back to self-respect, filling their lives with the joy and consolation of the Gospel message. He kept to the same route year after year. From his headquarters in London, through the Somerset weaving district, he worked westwards to Bristol with its dockers, then to the rough miners of South Wales and up to the nail-makers of Birmingham. From there he rode on to the miserably poor potters of Staffordshire, through the cotton district of Lancashire, then across the Pennines to the wool towns of the West Riding. The last industrial town in his itinerary was Newcastle, with its coal-mines and hideous foundries where anchors and cannon were cast. He returned to London through the eastern market towns. Large crowds turned out as early as five o'clock in the morning to hear the dapper little clergyman with the bright face and ringing voice. Gusts of hysterical emotion sometimes swept over his audiences, and converts would scream and weep aloud. Sometimes there was violent opposition, and Wesley was

stoned and almost lynched. But he went on bravely and obstinately with his task, and the number of Methodists steadily grew. He had no wish to leave or to quarrel with the Church of England, and it was not his intention to found a new sect. But the Church made no secret of its dislike of him and discouraged his preachers. And so little chapels sprang up, where Methodists could hear the preaching, and sing the hymns Charles Wesley composed.

It was 1743 when Wesley drew up a set of rules for the



POOR CHILDREN SELLING LACES, EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

“ United Societies ” of Methodists, and most of these rules are still in force. At the time of his death in 1791 he had sixty thousand followers in Great Britain, and had already ordained a number of Methodist ministers. To-day there are millions of Methodists, and the name of Wesley is honoured wherever English is spoken. So strongly did the wandering life of the founder impress itself on the movement that Wesleyan ministers to-day must change their district every three years, and overseas, Wesleyan ministers are to be found in the loneliest parts of the world. But the burning eagerness to help outcasts by joyous preaching of

the Gospel, as well as by practical sympathy, has become more the feature of that powerful modern offshoot of Wesleyanism, the Salvation Army.

5. A STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

We have already noted (p. 419) that by the end of the War of the Austrian Succession the French were planning to strengthen their position in North America and in India. But a series of dramatic events in the next fifteen years shattered their dreams of empires west and east, and decided that the great colonial power should be the British, though they had no particular desire to increase their overseas dominions.

In a previous chapter on the foundation of the British Empire (Chap. XXIII) we saw how a number of English communities developed on the east coast of the present United States during the seventeenth century. Now just about the same time French colonists further north were settling along the shores of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. From the first, the French and English settlements in North America were sharply contrasted. The English colonies had been founded separately by private individuals, and though by this time there was a Crown official in each as head of the government, every colony had an assembly of its own, which passed local laws, decided local taxes and often defied the governor. The ministers in England took next to no notice of the American colonists, who were thus practically independent, except for control of their manufactures and commerce by the Navigation and similar Acts. But the French-Canadian colonies were carefully organised on a definite plan from Versailles, through royal officials who enforced strict discipline and were supported by regiments of regular troops. Otherwise the French would never have been in a position to threaten the English colonists, who greatly outnumbered them. From the first, a steady stream of English emigrants had poured across the Atlantic every year, including many women and children, so that by 1750, including slaves, there were a million and a half inhabitants, and Boston, New York and Philadelphia were large towns. The settlers, especially in the north, were of a hardy, energetic type who lived by farming, fishing and shipping. The French, on the other hand, did not readily go out to Canada, and French women hardly

ever went at all, so that there were only about fifty thousand settlers altogether. Quebec and Montreal were hardly more than fortresses. There were a few farms in the St. Lawrence valley, but the favourite occupation of the French Canadians was trapping and fur trading. The "coureurs du bois" roamed vast forests of fir and maple,



A FRENCH-CANADIAN

the "voyageurs" made immense journeys by canoe, trapping fox and beaver, mink and otter, or buying pelts from the Indians.

But the French made up in bold enterprise what they lacked in numbers. One of the early settlers on the St. Lawrence, La Salle, had carried out a magnificent feat of exploration. Striking south from Lake Erie, he had reached the head-waters of the Ohio, sailed down that river

till its junction with the Mississippi and finally reached the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682, after years of toil and adventure. The French had thereupon claimed the basin of the Lower Mississippi, which they named Louisiana (after Louis XIV), and built New Orleans near the mouth of the river (map, p. 358). They had already built fortresses at strategic points of the St. Lawrence, the Lakes and the Lower Mississippi. But from about 1749 they began to carry out the bold idea of linking the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi by building a chain of forts along the river



NORTH AMERICAN TRADERS AND INDIANS

Ohio, claiming all the continent north and west of the Ohio-Mississippi line (by nailing leaden plates to trees), and so threatening to pen the English communities in the strip between the sea and the Allegheny mountains.

The French deserve credit for their exploration, enterprise and bold imagination. But it was hardly to be expected that the rapidly expanding British communities should meekly allow themselves to be cooped up in the coastal plain, while a handful of French soldiers held the rest of the continent for the benefit of a few thousand trappers. British traders were already finding their way across the narrowest part of the Alleghenies (the Fort

Cumberland gap), and were alarmed to discover a French fort being built where the River Allegheny joined the River Monongahela to form the Ohio (map, p. 440). On this very spot British settlers had previously tried to build a fort, but the French garrison at Fort le Bœuf (Lake Erie), had driven them away, threatened to punish any "poaching" English traders who trespassed that way, and then completed the stronghold, which was to be known as Fort Duquesne (1753).

The colonists were quite alive to the French menace, but were unwilling to make any serious united effort themselves. The Virginians (1754) sent a young officer named George Washington with four hundred militiamen to take the fort. He failed, and the colonists asked the home government to help them. In 1755 General Braddock was sent with fourteen hundred regulars. The colonists declined to help him, and he set out for the fort with no idea of the task before him. His troops, conspicuous targets in their scarlet and white uniforms, struggled through a hundred miles of dense forest in a close-packed mass until, as they approached the fort, musket-fire and showers of arrows suddenly mowed them down. The garrison of the fort, helped by Indians, had ambushed them. Braddock and two-thirds of his force never returned. Washington brought the survivors back.

India too by the middle of the eighteenth century was the scene of rivalry between the English and French. When the first East India Companies had begun to trade there at the end of the sixteenth century, they had to apply for permission to powerful rulers who were vassals of a Mohammedan emperor whose capital was at Delhi. By the middle of the eighteenth century that empire had collapsed and there was no paramount authority recognised in India. The former vassals, or Nawabs (Nabobs), of the south and north-east were trying to set up independent kingdoms and were intensely jealous of one another. The whole of central India was occupied by the states of the Mahrattas. These were Hindu fighting tribes of light horsemen organised under five princes, each with his own capital. Whenever a serious war arose they formed a close and formidable alliance. Their hordes of turbaned lancers mounted on sturdy ponies were the scourge of India, and many princes paid them regular blackmail. But for a time

the Mahratta power was weakened by fierce fighting with Afghans and Persians for the remnants of the old Mogul Empire in the north-west.

All these fierce dissensions were an obvious temptation for any strong and ambitious European power, and the French were quick to see the opportunities. They won great influence over the new rulers by sending officers to train their native troops in European methods of fighting. And they were using this influence to weaken the position



MOGUL EMPEROR REVIEWING THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TROOPS

of their English competitors. In 1741 Dupleix, a governor of great ability, went up to Pondicherry, the French headquarters in India, determined to oust the English and establish French supremacy. It was his subordinates who had captured Madras in the War of the Austrian Succession. When the succession to two of the chief provinces of south India was being fiercely disputed among native princes, the candidates supported by Dupleix triumphed, and became respectively the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Nawab of the Carnatic. The candidate whom the English had supported for the latter title had been driven south as far as Trichino-

poli, where he was closely besieged. His capture seemed inevitable, and that would have meant the doom of the English connection in south India (map, p. 444).

The situation was saved by the military genius of Robert Clive. His boyhood had been so wild that his relatives had heaved sighs of relief when they had him packed off to India as a clerk of the Company. But he was a born fighter and after a hairbreadth escape when Madras was captured, he transferred to the Company's army. The critical situation in the Carnatic was Captain Clive's great opportunity. He suggested that the best way to relieve Trichinopoli was to attack Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, which had been left almost defenceless in order to bring a large force against Trichinopoli. The young officer of twenty-five, together with five hundred English and native troops under junior officers who had never been in a battle, was sent to see what he could do at Arcot. A violent storm helped him to capture the citadel. The Nawab, still held up at Trichinopoli, sent back his son with ten thousand men to wipe out the bold intruders. Arcot was closely besieged for fifty days, but Clive's skill and personality filled the garrison with enthusiasm. The sepoys offered to let the white soldiers have all the rice as long as they could drink the water in which it had been boiled. The siege ended in a wild attack by the Nawab's forces, inflamed by drugs and religious fanaticism. The steady firing of the garrison's muskets and guns checked it, and the elephants carrying battering-rams ran amok. By the next morning the besiegers had disappeared. They had heard the dreaded war-drums of the Mahrattas throbbing in the hills. Trichinopoli was soon relieved, Clive swept the Carnatic, and the English candidate became Nawab (1751). Though he did his best to rally the French and their native allies, Dupleix was recalled in disgrace and died a beggar, while Clive returned to Madras in glory (1753). (For later career of Clive see pp. 442, 471.)

6. THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756-1763)

In spite of these sharp contests in America and India, the English and French governments at home, trying to ignore what they imagined to be local squabbles of their American colonists and their East Indian Companies,

remained nominally at peace. But events in Europe soon plunged them into a fierce struggle.

Since the fall of Carteret in 1744 (p. 419), the chief ministers had been the Pelham brothers; first Henry, until his death in 1754, and then Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle. The latter was an old-fashioned Whig of the school of Walpole. His large estates and close study of Parliamentary methods gave him great political influence. He believed in keeping peace in Europe by an elaborate scheme of treaties, and in bribing German princes to protect Hanover. The colonies he always ignored, even when it was his special task to watch over them. He had to be told that Cape Breton was an island, and rushed out of his office to impart this astounding piece of information to the king. He was fussy and hurried, without ever getting very much done. A few useful social reforms were effected in his ministry, and he could manage ordinary Cabinet routine work quite well. But he was unfitted to be the head of the government in a time of grave emergency.

After the War of the Austrian Succession, England and Prussia were unpopular among the states of Europe. France and Russia were jealous of Frederick's success in Silesia, and Austria, thinking England had not helped her sufficiently, joined them in a secret union against Frederick. That wily monarch had sensed his danger beforehand, and knowing Newcastle's weakness, had offered to protect Hanover (which he was in an excellent geographical position to do), provided England helped him when he was in trouble. Newcastle swallowed the bait, whereupon Frederick proceeded to create trouble by invading Saxony (south of Prussia), a wealthy province which Austria hastened to defend. In the meantime the French, from their great Mediterranean base at Toulon, though there had been no declaration of war with England, launched a surprise attack on Port Mahon in Minorca, the chief English base in the Mediterranean since 1708. All the chief officers were away on leave when the French army landed, but the fort held out for a time. Admiral Byng was sent out to Minorca with a small force to strengthen the garrison, and when he reached the island the French navy barred his way. After an indecisive action Byng withdrew, and the French took the fort. On his return to England Byng was sentenced to death for negligence, in accordance with a

recent rule which had been established to check the gross neglect of duty too common among officers of this period. He was shot on his own quarter-deck in Portsmouth harbour. The nation was howling for a scapegoat, and Newcastle readily sacrificed Byng to cover up the real cause of the disaster, which was stupidity and laziness at Whitehall. The French also took over Corsica from the Genoese, and so obtained complete control of the Mediterranean (1756).

After this bad start at sea, fresh disasters followed on land in three continents. In America the new French general, Montcalm, captured Oswego (Lake Ontario), the only British fort on the Lakes, and so was in a position to strike swiftly at New England, down the Mohawk valley. Soon afterwards he was making a determined attack down the only other easy route between Canada and the present United States, namely, the long deep valley which contains the River Hudson, Lake Champlain and the River Richelieu (map, p. 440). In India, the new Nawab of Bengal was a vicious young man, Siraj-ud-Daula (Surajah Dowlah) anxious to display his authority. The English were busy strengthening the ramparts of Fort William at Calcutta, in anticipation of a French attack. The Nawab ordered them to desist, and when they ignored him, he suddenly swept down on them and captured all the English inhabitants, including traders and their wives. While awaiting ransom, some were left to starve on an island in the Ganges, and some were packed tightly into a small room where most of them died during the hot summer night. In Europe things were going just as badly for us. The Austrians severely defeated Frederick, and this encouraged the French to advance on him from the west and the Swedes from the north. The Austrians also allowed the French to use the roads of the Austrian Netherlands (modern Belgium) for an attack on Hanover. They crushed the Duke of Cumberland at Hastenbeck and he actually agreed to take his army out of Hanover (Convention of Klosterseven, 1757). As the French had the use of the Austrian Channel ports as well as her own, there was an invasion scare in England, and German troops had to be hired by the panic-stricken government.

By December 1756, the Duke of Newcastle had found the strain too much, and he resigned. The hour had struck for William Pitt (1708-1778). We have already heard of

him as a young man making himself known in the Commons by the rather easy method of fiercely criticising successive governments, whatever their policy. One suspects that his chief motive was to bully them into giving him a post. But as he did not belong to any of the powerful Whig cliques, promotion came slowly. From 1746 to 1755 he was Paymaster of the Forces in the Pelham ministries. Previous holders of this office had made fortunes, and Pitt astonished his colleagues by refusing to take a penny more than his official salary. Such rigid honesty was rare among eighteenth-century officials. But the post involved little political influence, and Pitt, conscious of great powers, was naturally dissatisfied. He fiercely criticised Newcastle for the disaster at Fort Duquesne, and was dismissed. The events of 1756 enabled him to denounce the government still more bitterly, for he had always urged that England should develop her naval and colonial power and should avoid European entanglements, especially when their only object was to protect Hanover. On Newcastle's resignation Pitt became one of "the principal Secretaries of State" in the Duke of Devonshire's ministry, and at once threw all his energy and imagination into the conduct of the war.

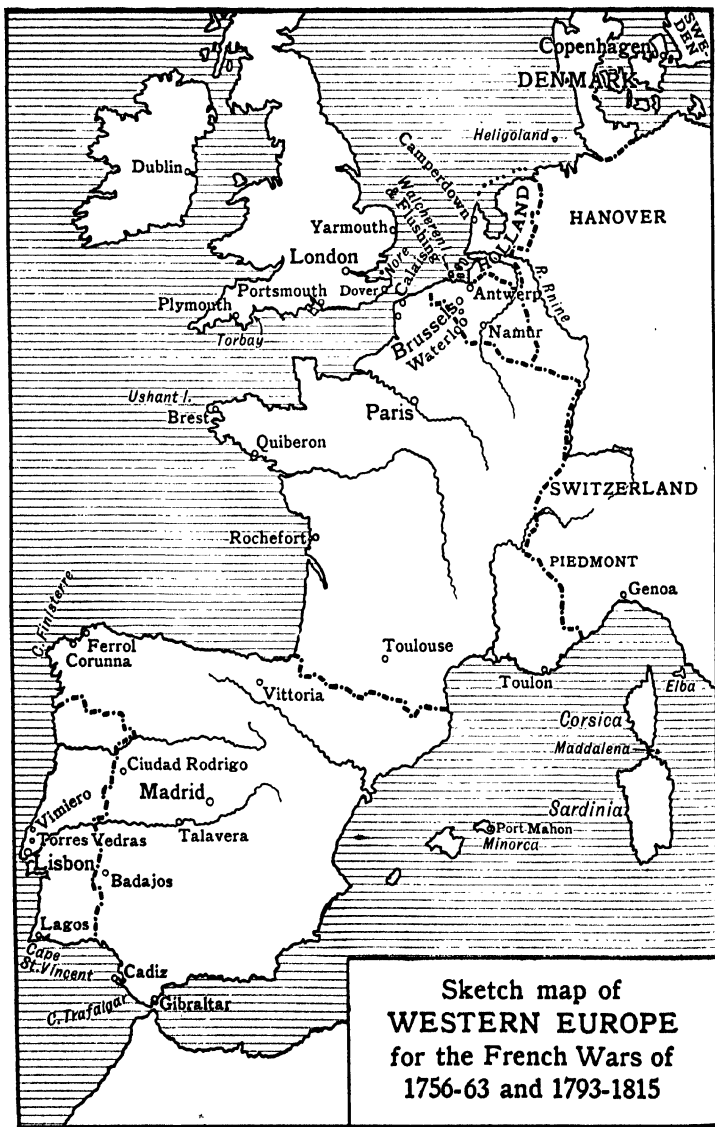
But at first his political enemies were too strong for him. On the one hand, Newcastle rallied his hirelings in the House of Commons to vote against Pitt. On the other, the king and his friends disliked him for his indifference to Hanover. In April 1757, the King dismissed him. At once a new force in English politics developed a sudden and overwhelming strength, namely, public opinion. A storm of indignation swept the country at Pitt's dismissal, and the king and Newcastle bowed before it. In June it was arranged that while Newcastle should be Prime Minister again and play his sordid game of party intrigue, Pitt was to have a free hand to carry on the war as he wished. He gloriously justified the nation's confidence. Up to now he had been noted as a sharp critic, an honest official, and above all, a wonderful orator. His enemies laughed at his exaggerated gestures and his theatrical effects, but even they were sometimes swept away by the torrent of his eloquence. One moment his voice made the rafters ring, the next it had sunk to a thrilling whisper. But now he also displayed superb organising ability in his management of the war. He conceived bold, imaginative plans and

carried them out successfully by virtue of his tremendous energy, indomitable will-power and amazing grasp of details. If his Cabinet colleagues disagreed, he stormed at them till they grew to hate and fear his great commanding nose and tight mouth. When the head of the Admiralty told him he could not get a fleet ready within a certain time, Pitt threatened to arrest him; and it was ready in four days. He had little faith in the older generals like Cumberland, whose rank was due to political influence. Whenever Pitt heard of a bright young officer, he sent for him, raised his rank, and put on him great responsibility. And they seldom failed him. It was Pitt who chose Hawke, Wolfe, Amherst and Ferdinand of Brunswick, the heroes of some of the greatest victories in English history.

As we might have expected, Pitt's policy was to concentrate on naval and colonial warfare. For the defence of England against invasion he organised a militia (and so freed large numbers of regulars for overseas service), and the French navy was to be bottled up in its harbours by a close blockade. A strong naval and military force was to be sent to America to drive the French forces out of Canada altogether. As for Hanover, British troops were sent to support the Hanoverian army, and large sums of money were sent to Frederick and to any German prince who could be bribed to make a nuisance of himself to the enemy. But Pitt's influence could not have its full effect at once, especially in view of his temporary dismissal, and the summer of 1757 was as gloomy as the preceding one. We have already seen how Cumberland surrendered Hanover and so exposed Frederick to a flank attack from the French, a few weeks after he had been severely defeated by the Austrians. At about the same time in America Montcalm had pressed down the Montreal-New York valley and captured Fort William Henry on Lake George (map, p. 440). In "The Last of the Mohicans" you can read how the garrison was scalped by his Indian allies. Only heavy reinforcements from England prevented him from advancing on New York. But, as the poet Browning says, "sudden the worst turns the best to the brave," and that very winter saw the turn of the tide. From this point it would be more convenient to deal with each theatre of the war separately.

First of all, Frederick broke the net that was closing

round him, by two amazing victories. In November he crushed the French in west Saxony, and a month later, having raced eastwards, he drove the Austrians out of Silesia, which they had attempted to recover. There were still hard knocks in store for Frederick and his weary veterans in their shabby green greatcoats. But he had escaped the ruin which at first had seemed inevitable, and the "King of Prussia" became a popular sign for English inns. The French broke the agreement of Klosterseven and gave Pitt an excuse for renewing the war in Hanover. He borrowed a clever officer from Frederick's staff, Ferdinand of Brunswick, and sent him an English army. In 1758 Ferdinand drove the French out of Hanover, and in 1759 by the victory of Minden (West Prussia) drove them out of north-west Germany altogether. There are British regiments to this day who wear roses in their caps every August 1st because their predecessors at Minden, waiting for the last charge, decorated themselves with the spoils of the local rose gardens. At sea the British navy recovered its superiority after the disgrace of Minorca. By great skill and endurance on the part of the crews, a close and continuous blockade was maintained on all French harbours summer and winter alike, so that there was no serious danger of invasion or possibility of French reinforcements in America or India. Two naval victories in 1759 put this beyond doubt. If ever the French wished to make any vigorous attempt in the Channel, they were always faced with the preliminary task of strengthening their Atlantic fleet by bringing their Mediterranean squadron round through the Straits of Gibraltar from Toulon. But when they attempted to do this, their squadron was caught off Lagos on the south coast of Portugal (map, p. 438) and destroyed by our Gibraltar detachment. Still the French minister Choiseul was making busy preparations for the invasion of England, having a large army ready and hundreds of barges to ferry it across the Channel. As in the case of Napoleon's scheme later, all that the French required was the control of the Channel for a day or two. That, Admiral Hawke, who was watching the main French fleet at Brest, was determined they should never have. But a gale drove Hawke back into Torbay in November, and the French, under Admiral Conflans, slipped out of Brest, and made south at first to pick up small detachments, and



Sketch map of
WESTERN EUROPE
 for the French Wars of
 1756-63 and 1793-1815

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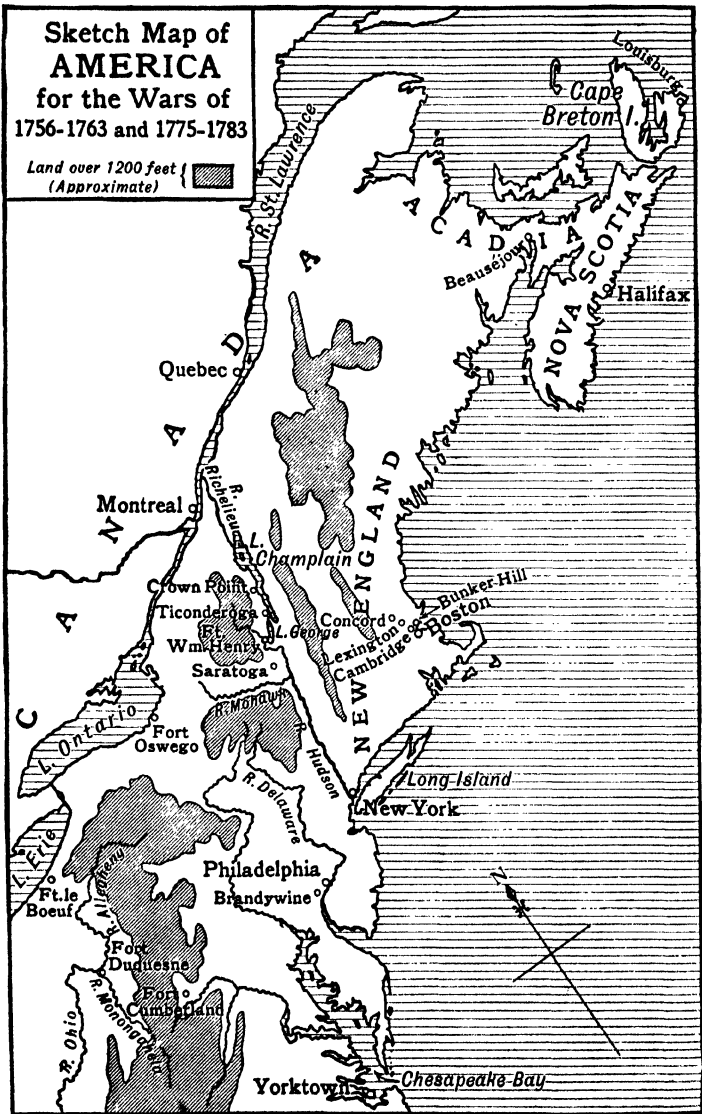
then proceed to the west coast of Scotland. Hawke promptly got on his track, and Conflans tried to take refuge in Quiberon Bay (south Brittany; map, p. 438). It was a wild, dark night, and heavy seas were pounding the rocky coast, lashed by a westerly gale. With amazing skill and daring Hawke actually slipped in between Conflans and the treacherous shore, and simply annihilated the French fleet. It was the end of the invasion scare. For years to come Britain was mistress of the seas. And it is worth noting that Pitt the same year had a Bill passed to prevent English sea-power from being abused. Over-zealous naval officers were apt to interfere drastically with neutral shipping, and Pitt, unlike his son (see p. 513), was wise enough to see that this would multiply the number of England's enemies.

It was in his American plan of campaign that Pitt showed himself most clearly as "an organiser of victory." He was determined to drive the French forces out of the western continent entirely, and he did it. There were to be four expeditions (map, p. 440). One was to take Fort Duquesne and clear the Ohio valley. A second was to sweep the French off the Great Lakes. The third was to work up the New York-Montreal valley, which Montcalm had threatened, capture the strong French fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and take Montreal. When their work was done, these three divisions were to move north-east and help the fourth expedition, which had to take Louisburg (p. 419), then advance up the St. Lawrence and approach Quebec from the east, helped by the advance of the other forces from the west. The success of this last expedition depended on skilful co-operation between soldiers and sailors. In the early summer of 1758 Louisburg was duly captured, by August the French were beginning to retreat from the Lakes, and in November Fort Duquesne fell at last, when its garrison retreated. But at Ticonderoga Montcalm drove the British back with heavy loss.

In 1759, therefore, Pitt decided to send Amherst, the commander who had captured Louisburg, to Lake Champlain, and the Quebec expedition was entrusted to James Wolfe, a young officer who had been his second-in-command. Amherst expected to drive the French from Lake Champlain, capture Montreal, and then advance on Quebec from the west in good time to help Wolfe. Actually

**Sketch Map of
AMERICA
for the Wars of
1756-1763 and 1775-1783**

Land over 1200 feet
(Approximate)



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he was held up so long that the very difficult task of taking Quebec was effected by Wolfe alone. When the latter reached Quebec, he saw a strong fortress perched on a steep cliff on the north bank of the river, which here runs from west to east. The cliffs continued westwards from the town in a long line known as the Heights of Abraham, and there did not appear to be the slightest chance of attacking Quebec from this side. Eastwards the river bank was flat, but it had been strongly fortified with a system of trenches. Full advantage had been taken of two tributaries of the St. Lawrence to protect the flanks of the French forces, which outnumbered the British and were now commanded by the great Montcalm. Spring and summer went by while Wolfe waited for news from Amherst, but none came. A desperate and costly assault supported by battleships was then made on the French lines. It failed. Wolfe was in despair. September came, and soon the river would begin to freeze. But some of the battleships had forced their way above (west of) the town, and the sailors found that there was a gully cutting into the cliff face, by which it was possible to scramble up. Wolfe decided on a last venture. One starry night in September he brought five thousand men up the river to this gully. Montcalm knew of this way up the cliffs, and there were sentries on top, but not as many as he had ordered. They heard the splash of oars, but as they were expecting some provision boats, they did not take alarm. Suddenly they found themselves overpowered. In a few moments hundreds of Highlanders were struggling up the gully through a wood, and after them sailors hauled two guns to the top. When dawn broke the British were drawn up ready for battle on the Heights of Abraham. Montcalm hurried over and attacked. When the French line was within forty yards of the British, three successive volleys from the latter crumpled it. Montcalm and Wolfe were mortally wounded in the battle. The French retreated from Quebec, and on September 18th the British entered it.

But Canada was not yet won. The French rallied in the spring of 1760 and hotly attacked Quebec in turn. But when they heard that a fresh British fleet was coming up the river, and that Amherst had taken the Lake Champlain forts, they took refuge in Montreal. In September Amherst captured that too, and French soldiers disappeared from Canada for ever.

In India equally resounding victories had been won, and although they were not planned by Pitt, they helped to make his triumph more dazzling still. Clive had returned to India in 1756 as Governor of Fort St. David (south of Madras), a few weeks before the "Black Hole" tragedy at Calcutta. Early in 1757 he reached Calcutta, drove the Nawab's garrison out of Fort William, and captured Chandernagar, the French depôt. Surajah Dowlah, in his gorgeous palace at Murshidabad, two hundred miles up the Ganges, grew alarmed and offered to come to terms with Clive, while secretly asking the French for help. Clive, who sincerely believed that he was fully entitled to use the same underhand methods as the Nawab, pretended to accept his offer, while intriguing with his courtiers. When the plot was complete Clive sent a defiant message to the Nawab and advanced up the river towards Murshidabad. Near the village of Plassey, encamped in a forest of flowering trees, the Nawab's army of sixty thousand men and fifty big guns barred the way. Clive had only three thousand men, of whom less than a thousand were white. His officers advised him not to risk a battle, and the Nawab's general, Mir Jafar, who had agreed to desert, made no sign. But Clive decided to take the tremendous risk, and the battle opened with a long artillery duel. The English guns wrought havoc in the dense ranks of the Bengal army, which began to waver, and the British line advanced. Within an hour, terrified hordes of men and beasts were streaming across the plain. Mir Jafar, who deserted when it was clear that the English would win, was put on the throne in place of Surajah Dowlah, who was captured and executed. Clive was taken down to the palace treasures and invited to help himself from the heaps of gold and jewels. And after repelling one invasion by the Mogul Emperor from Delhi and another by the Dutch, he sailed home in 1760.

But in the meantime a French expedition which had sailed at the beginning of the war arrived at Pondicherry, the old French head-quarters in southern India, in 1758. The commander drew the French forces away from Hyderabad in order to make a strong attack on the British in the Carnatic, and he almost took Madras. But a British squadron sailed into the harbour and he withdrew. Clive at this time was still busy in Bengal, but he sent a force

south to deal with this new threat. On its way down it captured Masulipatam (map, p. 444), the chief town of the Circars, where the French had been influential, and thus a long strip of the east coast of India came under British control (1759). The Nizam of Hyderabad, the most powerful sovereign in the south, began to favour the English, and the French cause was doomed. In 1760 a hard battle was fought at Wandiwash, and the French were finally defeated by Eyre Coote, the only one of Clive's officers who had urged him to fight before Plassey. Pondicherry itself was captured in 1761, and the French dream of an oriental empire was over. There, as in America, their failure was largely due to the pressure of the British navy. (For later history of India see pp. 470-472.)

The year 1760 saw the climax of the war and of Pitt's reputation. Then, quite suddenly, the situation changed and all seemed to tell against him. The most serious blow was the accession of George III, grandson of George II (table, p. 448), a wilful and obstinate young monarch, who was eager to shatter the Whigs' forty-five-year monopoly of power, and appoint ministers who would be simply his servants. As a first step in this direction he decided to stop the war as soon as possible, for the Whigs had gained from it an enhanced prestige. He appointed his Scottish favourite and ex-guardian, the Earl of Bute, an elegant trifler, to a place in the Cabinet, with the idea of rallying an opposition to Pitt, and Bute did not find his task difficult. Some were smarting under the lash of Pitt's tongue, some thought he had played the dictator long enough, while others were alarmed at the enormous expense of the war. It would not be fair to Pitt to imagine he was playing the old Whig game of prolonging warfare for party reasons. Actually peace negotiations had been going on for years. But Choiseul insisted on Frederick of Prussia being left out of the peace, and Pitt insisted on his being included. And now Choiseul suddenly grew more obstinate. For he had persuaded the new king of Spain to come into the war on the side of the French the minute the Spanish treasure fleet arrived safely, its holds stuffed with a year's products of the Peruvian mines. Pitt suspected this, from captured letters, and was alarmed, for Spanish gold and the Spanish navy would enable the French, as it were, to get their second wind. He proposed to declare war on Spain immediately,



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CHART FOR THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Date.	The Continent.	America.	India	At Sea.	Treaties, etc.	Ministries.
1756	Frederick invades Saxony, p. 433.		"Black Hole of Calcutta," p. 434.	Loss of Minorca, p. 433.	French-Austrian-Russian Treaty, Anglo-Prussian Treaty, p. 433.	Newcastle resigns, p. 434. Pitt-Devonshire, p. 435.
1757	Battle of Hastenbeck, p. 434.		Battle of Plassey, p. 442.		Convention of Klosterseven, p. 434.	Pitt resigns (April), p. 435. Pitt-Newcastle (June), p. 435.
1758		Louisburg and Fort Duquesne captured by British, p. 439.				
1759	Battle of Minden, p. 437.	Capture of Quebec, p. 441.	Capture of Masulipatam, p. 443.	Battle of Lagos, p. 437. Battle of Quiberon Bay, p. 439.		
1760		Capture of Montreal, p. 441.	Battle of Wandiwash, p. 443.			Bute in Cabinet, p. 443. Pitt resigns, p. 446.
1761			Pondicherry captured, p. 443.			Newcastle resigns, p. 446. Bute Prime Minister, p. 446.
1762				English capture Havana and Manila, p. 446.	Spain declares war on England, p. 446.	
1763					Treaty of Paris between England, France and Spain, p. 447. Frederick comes to terms with Austria and Russia, p. 447.	Bute resigns, p. 447.

while the treasure fleet was still far out in the Atlantic. Egged on by Bute, the rest of the Cabinet flatly refused. The Commons, heavily bribed, supported them, and Pitt resigned (Oct. 1761). (For later career of Pitt see p. 451.) Newcastle soon followed him and Bute now became Prime Minister. As Pitt foresaw, Spain declared war on England as soon as the treasure fleet returned. The Cabinet found itself compelled to adopt the arrangements Pitt had made for such an emergency, and they reaped the last of the harvest that he had sown. The navy under Admiral Rodney swept the West Indies like a hurricane. The French had already lost Guadeloupe in



MEDAL COMMEMORATING SUCCESSES OF 1759

1759. They now lost their head-quarters Martinique, as well as Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, so that the whole of the lesser Antilles were in British hands (map, p. 358). Because of their luxuriant fertility and fine harbours, these islands enjoyed an importance out of all proportion to their size. The Spaniards lost Havana, the capital of Cuba, and with it a fleet and vast treasure, while an expedition from Madras deprived them of Manila and the whole of the Philippine archipelago (1762). These blows brought the Bourbon monarchs into a humbler state of mind, and Bute was ready to let them off lightly, and ignore Frederick.

By the Treaty of Paris (1763), Britain, perhaps wisely, surrendered some of her conquests. France lost Canada

(*i.e.* the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes), and finally confirmed England's claims to Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia and Acadia, but was allowed to keep New Orleans and that part of Louisiana which lay to the west of the Mississippi. The French were allowed to fish off the coast of Newfoundland and use the little neighbouring islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon as depôts. Their most valuable islands in the Lesser Antilles, Martinique and Guadeloupe, were restored, and one of two West African settlements they had lost, Goree, England retaining Senegal. Chandernagar and Pondicherry became French "factories" again, but no military garrison was permitted. Spain gave up Minorca and Florida (France soon giving her Louisiana as compensation), but received back Havana and Manila with the Philippines. Frederick (still retaining Silesia) soon afterwards made peace with his enemies, helped by the fact that the new Tsar of Russia was inclined to be friendly, and Austria was threatened by the Turks. Britain's moderation was wise, and helps to explain the moderation of France and Spain twenty years later. But at the moment Englishmen were furiously disappointed at the small total of their gains after such intoxicating victories. They would willingly have exchanged the whole of "Canada" for a single West Indian island. Kilts and jack-boots were burned in the streets of London in mockery of Bute, and that highly-strung nobleman, tired of having to skulk round town with a body-guard of "bruisers," retired from politics as hurriedly as he had entered.

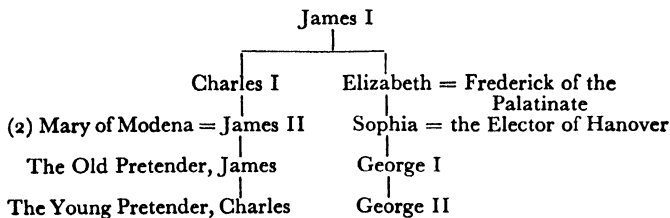
CHIEF DATES FOR GEORGE II'S REIGN (1727-1760)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1730. Townshend resigns and takes up new farming (see p. 490). | 1745. Battle of Fontenoy.
Capture of Louisburg.
Battle of Prestonpans. |
| 1733. Foundation of Georgia. | 1746. Battle of Culloden.
Loss of Madras. |
| 1739. War of Jenkins' ear. | 1748. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. |
| 1740-48. War of Austrian Succession. | 1751. Clive at Arcot. |
| 1742. Fall of Walpole. | 1755. Braddock repulsed from Fort Duquesne. |
| 1743. Rules for Methodists.
Battle of Dettingen. | |

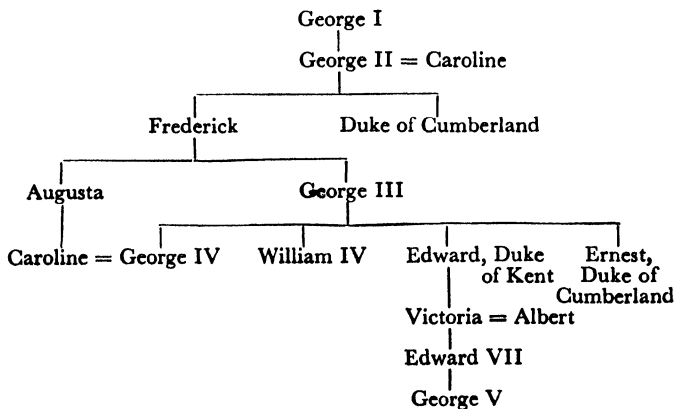
CHIEF DATES FOR GEORGE II'S REIGN (1727-1760)

1756-63. Seven Years' War.	August. Battle of Minden.
1756. Loss of Minorca. Pitt takes office.	Battle of Lagos. Sept. Capture of Quebec.
1757. Battle of Plassey.	Nov. Battle of Quiberon Bay.
1759. The "Year of Victories."	1760. Battle of Wandiwash. Capture of Montreal.
April. Capture of Masulipatam.	

DESCENT OF GEORGE I AND II AND THE PRETENDERS



DESCENDANTS OF GEORGE I



CHAPTER XXIX

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III (1760-1820) UP TO 1793

I. "GEORGE, BE KING"

THE new king who had insisted on such sudden and drastic changes was an ignorant and rather stupid young man of twenty-two. His father, Frederick, Prince of Wales, had died in 1751. Young George had been brought up by his mother, a harsh, narrow-minded woman, in the strictest seclusion. He rarely left the palace or saw anybody but pages and ladies-in-waiting, and from their chatter he gathered nothing but an exaggerated idea of his own importance. He had no chance to learn anything from the busy world outside, and he was too dull to learn much from his books. Yet his mother and the Earl of Bute took care to impress on him the belief that the Whig ministers for selfish purposes had usurped the powers which rightly belonged to the king, and that when he came to the throne it would be his duty to play the part that Bolingbroke had described in his "Patriot King," to ignore the Cabinet system, and govern benevolently but personally for the benefit of his subjects.

In theory this sounded plausible. He had been born and brought up in England, and took such little interest in Hanover that it was said that he could not find it on the map. He was full of energy, rose early in the morning and devoted many hours of every day to business. He had a prodigious memory, and strove to maintain personal control of every official and every detail of government. Among our State papers are thousands of his letters, each running to many large sheets completely covered with close writing. He was kinder than the other Hanoverians, and his family life was much happier. Yet his schemes ended in failure and humiliation for himself and disaster for his country. During his reign England lost America, nearly lost Ireland and only kept it by cruelty and fraud, and was finally involved in a long

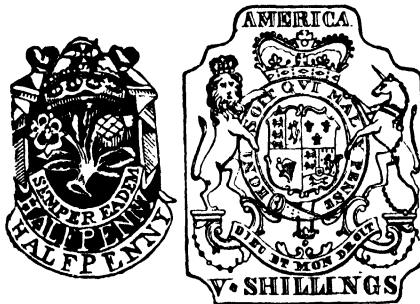
war against France which stopped all progress in England for nearly forty years. One cannot blame George for wishing to break up the long Whig monopoly of power based on various forms of bribery. But he used equally doubtful methods himself to gather round him a group of toadies who abetted him in carrying out any ruinous policy which his ignorance and conceit might suggest. He disliked almost every able Englishman of the period, while many of those whom the king delighted to honour have become the scorn of posterity. Even George realised that he could not do without a Parliament and a ministry. His scheme was to choose ministers and control elections so that he could seem to have the support of the nation. But the Whigs were strongly entrenched and well-disciplined, and it took him ten years of intrigue to shake them off (1760-1770). By that time Newcastle and Pitt had each lost his peculiar influence, and after a series of stop-gap ministers the king found a Premier of slavish loyalty, and controlled a majority in the House of Commons.

On Bute's resignation in 1763, the king appointed his chief colleague, George Grenville to succeed him. In his short ministry two events occurred which, in their different ways, were to plague the king sorely within the next few years. One was the arrest of John Wilkes, M.P. and editor of the "North Briton." In No. 45 of that vigorous periodical he had delivered a savage attack on the king and the ministers when peace was made. He was now arrested for seditious libel, but as he was an M.P. he was released by the judge. The House of Commons, however, expelled and outlawed him. The government thought they had heard the last of Wilkes when he was shot in a duel and retired to France. But like some tire-some and indestructible wasp, he was to return buzzing and stinging again. The second event was the passing of the Stamp Act in 1765. In view of the serious raids of Indians in 1763 and the threat of a rising among the French Canadians, the government proposed to keep a standing army in America for which the colonists were to help to pay; for about a quarter of the cost was to be raised by a new tax in the form of special stamps which would have to be affixed to every legal document. Serious riots at once broke out in America. Angry mobs sacked government offices and burned the revenue cutters which,

by Grenville's orders, had recently been more zealous in chasing smugglers. Looking back now we can see some connection between the Wilkes case and the American riots. They were two shoots springing from the sapling of Democracy. The same year the king fell ill, and it was necessary to appoint a council of Regency. Because Grenville would not include the queen-mother, George dismissed him as soon as he was well, especially as Grenville had already annoyed him by long, nagging lectures. He was succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham. This young nobleman had hitherto been well known at race-meetings and other fashionable haunts. But he now showed that he could be serious and high-minded, and he brought with him into Parliament his bespectacled secretary, Edmund Burke, who, in connection with the chief events of George's reign, wrote some of the finest political philosophy in the English language. Rockingham would have liked Pitt to join the ministry, and it would have been well for England had he done so. But during these years it must be admitted that Pitt's personal likes and dislikes interfered with his sense of duty. Without good reason he detested Rockingham, and refused to enter any ministry without Temple, his wife's brother. As Temple was also Grenville's brother and naturally was reluctant to succeed him, Pitt held aloof. Rockingham repealed the Stamp Act, but under pressure from his colleagues passed an Act which declared the right of England to tax the Americans. The Commons also admitted that there had been a technical mistake in the arrest of Wilkes. The warrant had not mentioned any names, and the House now declared that such "general" warrants were illegal. George, who was beginning to dislike Americans and John Wilkes, was annoyed with Rockingham, and he was dismissed, generously asking his colleagues to support Pitt (1766).

Pitt now consented to take office and accepted a peerage as the Earl of Chatham, a step which lost him many admirers and removed him from the House of Commons. Most unfortunately his health gave way. Crippled by gout, he went for a long stay at Bath, where he came out only to take the waters in the Pump Room. He seemed to recover and was on his way back to London when a complete nervous breakdown took place. He

would do nothing and say nothing, and refused to see Cabinet ministers and even the king. In his absence his dissipated colleague the Duke of Grafton acted for him, an ambitious rake who deserted one friend after another the moment they ceased to be useful. Grafton and Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, drew up for the American colonies a series of new import duties on glass, tea, and other commodities, and fresh riots broke out there (1767). But we must not imagine that the attempts to tax colonists were acts of tyranny on the part of England, as the Americans so hotly asserted. Colonial commerce had been controlled by England from the very start by a series of Navigation Acts. English ministers were



BRITISH STAMPS FOR AMERICA, ACCORDING TO STAMP ACT

striving desperately to pay for the Seven Years' War, which had cost eighty million pounds. A good deal of this money had been spent to protect the Americans from French aggression. It was not unreasonable to ask the colonists to pay a share of the bill, and Americans nowadays admit this.

In 1768 there was a General Election and Wilkes was returned for Middlesex. Although a learned judge declared that Wilkes should not have been outlawed, he was imprisoned for his original offence. He became a national hero, and one clergyman extended the Litany in his favour, praying for "All Prisoners and Captives, especially the patriotic John Wilkes, Esquire." Chatham, still helpless, resigned, and Grafton became Prime Minister, with Lord North as his Chancellor of the Exchequer. A

second, third and fourth election took place in Middlesex, and each time the Commons refused to admit "that devil Wilkes," as George now called him. After two and a half years' absence Chatham suddenly reappeared in public life, and everyone stared at him as if he were a ghost. With something like his old form, he delivered a devastating attack on Grafton, and the king, incensed by the Duke's gross discourtesy at a public function, dismissed him (1770). Lord North, who had steadily sided with the king since 1768, now became Prime Minister for twelve years, and George's victory over the Whigs was complete. North was a ridiculous little figure of a man with big, round, rolling eyes and a slovenly mouth, and the Whigs poked fun at him. But he had considerable business ability and had risen steadily in each of the previous governments. He was cool, good-tempered and extremely reasonable. But his great failing was an absolute subservience to the king's wishes, even when his own shrewdness told him that the king was quite wrong. And by this time the king had also acquired a regular following in Parliament, that came to be known as "the King's Friends," as if, someone rightly grumbled, the others were his enemies. He had taken the "patronage" out of ministers' hands and used it effectively himself. There was scarcely a person in his service from the Lord Chancellor down to the caretaker of a government office or a gamekeeper at Windsor who was not appointed with a view to votes. The new party may, for convenience, be described as Tory, though it had little claim to that ancient label except a blind loyalty to the Crown. And its members were so disreputable that the king himself had nothing to do with them directly.

The next five years (1770-1775) are shadowed by the gathering storm clouds on the other side of the Atlantic. The new taxes on American imports had been cancelled, for the good reason that it had been found impossible to collect them. But George insisted that one of them, the tea tax, should be kept. "I am clear," he wrote to North, "there must always be one tax to keep up the right, and as such I approve of the tea duty." Just as before, Rockingham's "declaratory" Act had annoyed the Americans more than his repeal of the Stamp Act had pleased them, so now they were more annoyed by the retention of the

tea duty than pleased by the abolition of the others. One day as a company of soldiers was marching through the streets of Boston, they were greeted with a shower of snow-balls and other, harder, missiles. The troops, already goaded by unceasing insults, fired on the mob, though without orders from their officer, and five Bostonians were killed (1770). This was a splendid opportunity for anti-English agitators, and hand-bills soon appeared—"Americans! Bear in Remembrance the horrid Massacre! . . . When five of your fellow-countrymen lay wallowing in their gore, being basely and most inhumanly Murdered!" The Americans steadily refused to buy English tea, and the East India Company suffered heavy losses from the boycott. The Company therefore persuaded the government to let them export tea direct to the colonies instead of bringing it to England first, as hitherto, where a heavy tax had been put on it. Under the new system the Americans would have to pay only Grafton's duty of threepence on every twenty shillings'-worth, and their tea would be much cheaper. But the irate Americans saw in this simply a trick to entice them into admitting they could be taxed. One December evening in 1773, when the first cargo arrived in Boston harbour under the new arrangement, a large crowd, including many disguised in Mohawk war paint, came down to the wharf, boarded the ships, and threw the tea chests overboard "to see if tea could be made with salt water."

The consequences of the Boston "Tea Party" were serious enough. A few far-sighted men like Chatham and Burke solemnly warned the government not to press the Americans. But George was now in a mood of obstinate fury. Early in 1774 North closed Boston harbour and altered the charter of the State of Massachusetts so that its governing council was henceforth appointed by the Crown and not elected by the colonials. Now hitherto the American states had never united for common action, whatever emergencies had arisen. It was very significant, therefore, that all the states except Georgia now sent delegates to a congress held at Philadelphia, jointly made a declaration of rights, and refused to carry on any further trading with England till all idea of new taxation was dropped. In the meantime warlike preparation was made. Apart from the militia, "minute men," or special

volunteers, were enrolled in thousands. North was already thoroughly frightened and ready to climb down, when a skirmish took place which started the war. General Gage, the new governor of Massachusetts and commander of the British forces in America, heard that a quantity of ammunition and food had been collected at Concord, sixty-five miles north of Boston. He sent a force to confiscate it. As they passed through the village of Lexington (map, p. 440), a handful of minute men lined up across the road and challenged them. The British forced their way through, and marched on to Concord. After destroying the stores there, they were returning to Boston through Lexington again when they were stopped, this time by the firing of hundreds of minute men, and only with heavy loss did they reach Boston after reinforcements had joined them. This encounter is usually taken as the beginning of the War of American Independence (April 1775).

2. THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE (1775-1783)

It may seem at first sight that the Americans were ungrateful and unreasonable in their attitude to taxation. Their slogan, "no taxation without representation," has little real meaning when it is remembered that there had always been taxation of imports, and that the government had recently offered to allow them to send members to the House of Commons and they had refused. The real secret of their resentment, however, lay in the code of laws beginning from the time of Cromwell and Charles II, by which their flourishing commerce was severely restricted for the benefit of English merchants. The Navigation Act of 1651 (p. 317) had driven away the cheap Dutch carriers by insisting that all colonial produce should be exported in colonial or English ships only. Soon after, came laws to the effect that the staple colonial products such as sugar, tobacco, indigo and cotton must not be exported anywhere but to England. Conversely, goods from Europe had to be imported via England, and only in colonial or English vessels. In the eighteenth century certain exports were forbidden altogether. No wool or woollen goods could be shipped from the colonies. The large three-cornered hats of the period were often covered with fur. America produced excellent furs in abundance,

but not a single hat could legally be exported from the colonies. There were rich iron mines in Pennsylvania, but the production of iron goods was restricted, and the manufacture of steel completely prohibited. These laws had not been very strictly enforced since Walpole's time, and, especially in New England, they were defied. Smuggling was an obvious industry for hardy seamen living on a long and broken coast-line. Grenville's effort to stamp it out was looked on as a cruel attempt to rob hard-working men of an honest living. Also the Navigation Laws were not altogether one-sided, for the colonists were given preferential treatment as compared with foreigners, *i.e.* there were restrictions in England against European products to encourage colonial industry. Now as long as the French might some day swoop down from behind the Alleghenies on to the Atlantic plain, the colonists were more or less ready to accept these restrictions on their commerce and industry as the price of English protection. But after 1763 the French menace had vanished, and with it the patience of the colonials.

The New England states, and Massachusetts in particular, felt and displayed a more bitter resentment than the southern colonies. We have already noticed (p. 362) the physically hardy, self-reliant type which the conditions of life in the north produced. Puritan training developed a similar toughness of mind and spirit. The descendants of the Cape Cod pioneers were well fitted to assert the claims of infant democracy. Every village in New England had its school (about one hundred years before the rest of the world) and the boys, and the girls too, of that hardy and intelligent stock early learned to read and write, as well as to shoot, or sail a boat. Your New Englander could argue for his rights as stubbornly as he fought for them. There were newspapers to inflame public opinion, and three universities produced ambitious men with trained minds, fitted to lead and organise. The northern settlers, now half a million strong, had never felt very sentimental about England, and the last few years had provided the "Sons and Daughters of Liberty" with grievances which they were all too ready to exploit.

The southern colonies, with their softer air, produced a more gracious, aristocratic and leisurely society, though it rested on the ugly foundation of negro slavery. The

profits from vast estates enabled the planters of Virginia and the Carolinas to live in a certain elegance. Their spacious mansions with white-columned porches were set in large parks and surrounded with rose gardens. They liked to keep up their connection with England, which they still referred to as "home." But though the southerners were less quarrelsome and prejudiced, they were just as quick to resent any infringement of their rights. And the Virginians had shown in their brushes with the French that they were capable of a vigorous offensive against trained soldiers. They sympathised with the resistance of Massachusetts, and one of them in particular, George Washington, whom we heard of before as a young officer of militia in 1754 (p. 430), was watching very closely what happened at Boston.

There, after Lexington, General Gage was waiting for reinforcements from England which were slow in coming. In the meantime volunteers were pouring into the rebel camp at Cambridge (just outside Boston), to be drilled by American veterans of the Seven Years' War and adventurous French officers. At length Gage felt strong enough to attempt to strengthen the position in Boston. The town itself lay on one peninsula, and on the other side of the bay was another peninsula on which were heights commanding Boston. Gage decided that he ought to occupy those heights, but, like those of every other British general in America, his movements were lethargic, and the Americans got Bunker Hill first. It took three charges and the loss of a thousand men to drive the Americans from the hill. George's red face went a shade redder when he heard of the heavy casualties. Gage was recalled from Boston and Howe sent to replace him. The latter, to the intense satisfaction of the colonials, withdrew all British forces from Boston to Halifax (Nova Scotia), to await reinforcements. Since the end of the Seven Years' War both the army and navy had deteriorated. George hired thousands of wretched German conscripts, and in America itself the British authorities enlisted numbers of Indians who had been too often cheated by the colonials, and runaway negro slaves who had been too often flogged. This greatly embittered the feeling against the mother country, and while Howe was waiting at Halifax, a large American army, in blue and buff uniforms

and little plumed caps, came into being. George Washington was appointed by the Congress of State delegates to be its commander-in-chief. This Congress, which henceforth was to act for all the rebel states, now sharply debated a very grave proposal, namely, complete and permanent



AMERICAN SOLDIER

BRITISH SOLDIER, LATE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

separation from England. Many of the colonials were not yet ready for this, and at first seven of the thirteen states voted against it. But two of the seven states later voted in favour of separation, and Congress declared, "The united colonies are, and by right ought to be, free and independent states; they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought

to be, dissolved." This Declaration of Independence was made in 1776, on the fourth of July, a date which is still annually celebrated throughout America with revelry. An equestrian statue of George III, which loyalists of New York had erected in 1770, was pulled down and melted for bullets. And for their new flag, the Americans, quaintly enough, took the ensign of the East India Company boats, with its red and white stripes, and altered the crosses in the corner to white stars for each of the thirteen states.

When Howe completed his new Anglo-German army, he advanced to Long Island, which Washington had fortified to protect New York (map, p. 440). Helped by the navy, Howe completely defeated Washington, and with a little more energy could have captured the whole American army, which managed to escape during a thick fog. Howe proceeded to take things comfortably in New York, while Washington retreated south through New Jersey. In due course Howe followed him and reached the bank of the Delaware just as the last load of Americans left. As Washington had broken down every bridge and commandeered every boat for seventy miles along the river, Howe, in no hurry, decided to wait, presumably till the river froze! Eventually he crossed, and when Washington tried to bar his way to Philadelphia, the Americans received a thorough trouncing at Brandywine Creek. Once more Howe let Washington's army escape (1777), while he and his officers enjoyed themselves as thoroughly at Philadelphia as they had done the previous year in New York.

Howe's victory was more than counterbalanced by a disaster in the north. George had recalled the governor of Canada, Carleton, one of Wolfe's officers, who had done splendid work in settling the new colony (p. 497), because, although he had foiled an attempted invasion of Canada by the New Englanders, they had occupied Ticonderoga. The new commander, Burgoyne, was ordered to retake it, clear the Hudson valley and link up with the British commander in New York, and so separate the New England states from the south, whence they drew supplies. Burgoyne took the fort and moved south down the valley, but no support came from New York. It seems clear that the Colonial Secretary, Lord Germaine, one of George's most objectionable favourites, failed either to instruct

Howe to return from Philadelphia or to warn Clinton, the British commander who was in New York. A large American force began to harass Burgoyne's column. His Indian guides deserted, and left him to stumble through endless forests as best he could. Finally, at Saratoga, he found himself completely surrounded by an army four times as big as his own, and had to surrender every man and gun (October 1777).

The importance of Saratoga lies not so much in the loss of a British army, as in the encouragement it gave to England's enemies. The French, from the start, had helped the colonists unofficially with men and money. The American agents, and particularly that practical philosopher, Benjamin Franklin, persuaded them to join in the war officially, early in 1778. Next year Spain joined in, and as both countries had efficient fleets, the position was serious. The French devoted themselves to recovering their lost islands in the West Indies (p. 446), the Spaniards attacked Gibraltar, and both countries had fleets in the Channel threatening invasion. The countries with Baltic coasts strongly resented the British navy's attempts to stop their shipping supplies to the Americans, and formed a league of Armed Neutrality to protect their trade by force (1780). The Dutch joined them and swept the North Sea (1781). In Ireland the existence of a volunteer army frightened North into concessions which ended in an independent Irish Parliament (see index). In India, French intrigues were stirring up powerful native princes. It looked as if the doom of the British Empire were at hand. Soon after Saratoga, North in despair offered the Americans terms, which were rejected. He then begged the king to send for Chatham. As long as the quarrel had been confined to England and the Colonies, Chatham had urged reconciliation. But now that the whole Empire was threatened, and the fabric he had helped to build up seemed likely to topple into the dust, his attitude changed. In April 1778, he tottered into the House of Lords, supported by his younger son, William Pitt, and scarcely able to speak above a whisper, he delivered his last speech, protesting against "the dismemberment of this most ancient and noble monarchy." Soon afterwards he died.

After Burgoyne's surrender Howe was recalled, and

Clinton, now commander-in-chief, brought the army away from Philadelphia back to New York in 1778. Little happened during 1779, as the Americans had run short of stores and money, while Clinton continued to manifest a fatal fondness for New York. In 1780 it was decided to renew the struggle, this time in the southern states, where there was a large proportion of loyalists. Clinton bestirred himself sufficiently to acquire a base on the coast of South Carolina, by capturing Charleston. Then back he went to New York, leaving an able general, Lord Cornwallis, to continue the campaign. The British recovered Georgia and South Carolina, but there was stubborn fighting in North Carolina, and Cornwallis decided to retire northwards into Virginia. Clinton was now alarmed at the possibility of a strong attack on New York by the French and Americans, especially as it was known that a large French fleet was on its way to America. He therefore ordered Cornwallis to retire to the coast of Virginia and await the arrival of a fleet to take his army north. Cornwallis camped his army on the narrow-necked peninsula of Yorktown, at the southern end of Chesapeake Bay. Washington got to know of this, slipped away from New York without letting Clinton suspect anything, and hurried south to join the French, who had already entrenched themselves across the neck of the peninsula, while the French navy lay round it. Cornwallis was hopelessly trapped. No real help came from New York by land or sea. In October 1781, with the Americans on one side of the road and seven thousand French on the other, the British forces marched slowly out of their camp into captivity. There was no further fighting in the colonies before the end of the war.

Although the colonials had had the advantage of fighting in their own territory with superior numbers, their victory was by no means inevitable, and reflects the greatest discredit on George and his government. The Americans were not at all unanimous in their attitude to England, and an attempt should have been made to help and organise the loyalists. The discipline in the rebel army was poor, and they suffered severely from shortage of stores, partly owing to the restrictions placed on their manufacture by the Navigation and similar Acts, partly owing to the blockade of their coast by the British

navy. Only the faith and sublime courage of Washington kept them going. The energy and careful organisation that Pitt had displayed in the Seven Years' War would have crushed the rebellion in a year. Instead of that, there was muddle at the War Office and Admiralty, and gross slackness on the part of the generals at the front. Even more disastrous than this was the fatal loss of sea-power. The navy had many tasks to perform, but it should have concentrated on blockading the French coast, so that there would never have been a French army and navy in America. However, the loss of the colonies, in itself, was not a tragedy. If George had cowed them into submission again, he might have been encouraged to become more arbitrary still in England, and many Englishmen foresaw that. Besides, sooner or later, those vigorous communities in the New World were bound to achieve independence, composed as they were of an adventurous stock, accustomed to think and act for itself. The pity is that the separation should have taken such an unpleasant form, creditable to neither side.

Further blows to British pride soon followed. In 1782 the French and Spaniards captured Minorca. The French fleet in the West Indies recovered other islands, and off the coast of India a series of fierce naval battles took place (1782-3), threatening English control of those seas too. North was censured by Parliament for his failure, and resigned. Rockingham succeeded him, only to die soon after. But two signal defeats warned the French and Spaniards that Britain was not yet cowed. In the West Indies, off Dominica (map, p. 358), Rodney succeeded in breaking up the fleet of De Grasse (the admiral who had cut off Cornwallis at Yorktown), in the "Battle of the Saints"; and later in the year the French and Spaniards at last raised the siege of Gibraltar, which General Elliott had defended for over three and a half years. The genius of Warren Hastings saved the situation in India (p. 471). When, late in the year, George finally resigned himself to the loss of the American colonies, arrangements for a general peace began, but were not completed until September 1783. By the Peace of Versailles, England formally acknowledged the independence of the United States. France restored her conquests in the West Indies and received back her West African settle-

CHART FOR WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

Date.	America.	At Sea.	India.	Treaties, etc.
1775	Battle of Lexington, p. 455. Battle of Bunker Hill, p. 457. Failure of attack on Canada, p. 459			Declaration of Independence, p. 458.
1776	Boston evacuated, p. 457, and New York occupied by British, p. 459.			
1777	Washington defeated at Brandywine Creek, p. 459. Philadelphia occupied by British, p. 459. Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga, p. 460.		Mahrattas attack Bombay, p. 471.	France declares war on England, p. 460. Spain declares war on England, p. 460.
1778		Siege of Gibraltar begins, p. 460 French attack in West Indies, p. 460.		
1779		French and Spanish fleets in the Channel p. 460.		Armed Neutrality, p. 460. England declares war on Holland, p. 460.
1780	English success in Southern States p. 461.	Dutch attack in North Sea, p. 460. French fleet off Virginia, p. 461.	Hyder Ali defeated at Porto Novo, p. 471.	
1781	Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown, p. 461.	Battle of the Saints, p. 462. Siege of Gibraltar raised, p. 462. French fleets off the coast of India, p. 462. English lose Minorca and West Indian Islands, p. 462	Death of Hyder Ali, p. 472.	
1782				Treaty of Versailles, p. 462.

ments, Senegal and Goree. Spain recovered Florida and Minorca (lost in 1763), and confirmed to England the right to cut timber in Honduras (map, p. 358), which eventually became a British colony. In America the loyalists, dreading now a worse fate than the tarring and feathering they had often suffered recently, emigrated in thousands to Canada (p. 497). When John Adams modestly presented himself before King George at St. James's Palace, as the first accepted representative of the United States of America, George, though it cost him a great effort, received him with quiet courtesy.

SECTION VI

CHAPTER XXX

PEACE MINISTRY OF PITT

I. WILLIAM PITT

“ A sight to make surrounding nations stare,
A kingdom trusted to a schoolboy’s care.”

THE catastrophe in America and the resignation of North were a severe check to the king’s plans for a Parliamentary despotism. The Whigs took heart again, and in this connection we may note the later career of John Wilkes. On the eve of the American War he triumphed completely. Apart from becoming Lord Mayor of London, he was at last admitted to the House as member for Middlesex, and he had the record of his expulsion erased. It was once the fashion to look on Wilkes as something between a joke and a nuisance. We now realise that he represented the emergence of new forces in English politics. During the excitement over his imprisonment, Englishmen acquired a novel right, that of public meetings for agitation, and societies sprang up for drastic political reforms, which were to develop into the Radicalism of the early nineteenth century. Wilkes still thrusts himself on the notice of Londoners, for his memorial divides the traffic on Ludgate Hill.

In 1782, then, George was obliged to invite Rockingham to form a ministry. We have just read that Rockingham died soon after, but his chief colleagues in that short-lived government, Shelburne, Fox and Burke, were prepared to “deal the royal prerogative a good stout blow.” Of these Shelburne, one of the last of the old Whigs, next took office, but he was so treacherous and unpopular that Fox and Burke would not work with him, and William Pitt, who acted as his Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave up in disgust before a year had passed.

Charles James Fox was the son of Lord Holland, a clever Whig who had been in several ministries after the Seven Years' War. Charles Fox, while still a boy, was introduced by his father to every form of dissipation, and the wild life he led as a result told heavily against his political career. He was a reckless gambler, sometimes losing several thousand pounds in the course of a long night's gaming. But early the next morning he might be completely absorbed in the pure and tranquil enjoyment of some ancient author. He could keep the House in shrieks of laughter by his wit, or fire it with his generous enthusiasm for the oppressed, whether Hindus, French peasants, or negroes. But midnight would always find him hiccuping over the wine and cards again. George detested him, and no man of the period roused such bitter hatred or warm affection. By far the ablest of the Whigs, he ruined, by gross Parliamentary blunders, such opportunities as he found. He enjoyed in his long political career only four short spells of high office, in none of which he was Premier (1770-1774, 1782, 1783, 1806). Yet in the second, with Rockingham, he gave Ireland independence, and in the last he stopped the slave trade, though both measures roused the fiercest opposition. But Fox was never afraid to do the generous thing, whether it was popular or not. He openly sympathised with the Americans during the Revolutionary War, wearing a buff and blue coat, and with the French in the earlier years of the Revolution, and even with Napoleon. His bloated figure, fat dark jowl and thick eyebrows were the delight of the caricaturists, who loved to contrast him with the lean and lanky Burke. Edmund Burke had a long political career, like Fox, with even less success, for he never became a Secretary of State. He was not a good speaker and relied for his influence on the splendid prose in which he immortalised his views on every crisis of the later eighteenth century. Although he was for long a friend of Fox and they often supported each other in the House, their views were based on quite different principles. Fox thundered against injustice of every kind, but the philosophy of Burke demanded that there should never be any sudden change in political systems. To him, the constitution was not a machine which could be tinkered with and adjusted to new demands, but a living plant which ought to be left to adapt itself

to changed conditions with the minimum of human interference. Fox criticised George's despotism and the taxation of America on the grounds that they were oppressive, Burke because they were novel and inexpedient.

When Shelburne early in 1783 put the proposed peace terms of the treaty of Versailles before the House, Fox so fiercely attacked him that he resigned. In this attack Fox found himself supported by North, and the



CARICATURE OF FOX, BURKE AND NORTH, 1783

two drew together again. Fox had been in North's ministry till 1774, when the king had insisted on his dismissal. After that, Fox had spoken mockingly of North, but that good-natured mannikin bore him no malice, and now that the king loathed the pair of them, North set himself to win back Fox's support, and succeeded. The king was compelled to admit them to office, and Burke obtained a minor post. Fox devoted himself to a Bill for the better administration of India. It was obviously time for the government to take political power in India out

of the hands of the East India Company, which, after all, was simply a private concern, greedy for profits, and North's act for the government of India (1773) had not worked very well (p. 472). Fox, at Burke's suggestion, proposed to take away from the Company's directors all political power over India and vest it in seven commissioners, to be appointed by Parliament at first, later by the king. It was a perfectly sound scheme on the whole, but Fox made the bad mistake of choosing all the commissioners from among his friends. As many lucrative posts would be filled at their discretion, the cry was raised that the Bill was nothing but a gigantic scheme of bribery. The king and William Pitt did their utmost to discredit the Bill, but it passed the House of Commons by a large majority, and it might have passed the Lords, had not the king, grossly abusing his position, sent a written message to the effect that any peer who voted for the Bill would be considered his enemy (Dec. 1783). The Bill was therefore defeated by nineteen votes, and Fox was dismissed, to languish in opposition for twenty-three years (p. 524).

For most of that period his rival, William Pitt, was Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer (from 1783 to 1801 and again from 1804 to 1806). Trained for politics from his earliest years, he is said to have remarked solemnly at the ripe age of seven, that "he was glad he was the younger son so that he could go into the Commons like Papa." Pitt of course owed a great deal to the fact that his father was Chatham. But he had qualities of his own which marked him out for eminence. He thoroughly understood the House of Commons, and commanded its respect from the very first speech he ever made. His calm and convincing logic played like a jet of water on the fires kindled by Fox's eloquence. He was a master of finance and was gifted with boundless self-confidence. He also resembled his father in being rigidly honest himself, while tolerating colleagues of doubtful political morality. At first his position was hardly enviable. Fox and Burke actually commanded a majority in the Commons, and used all their eloquence and experience to discredit him. We must remember that he was only twenty-five. Day after day Pitt's tall, elegant figure was to be seen in the House, the haughty nose tilted in the air, the calm narrow eyes gazing in cool scorn

at the furious and balked Whigs, as he parried the thrusts of one antagonist after another. The hostile majorities dwindled, in admiration of a plucky defence. At precisely the right moment when his (and the king's) election plans were complete, Pitt asked the king to dissolve Parliament (1784). Fox's supporters were routed, and Fox himself was almost defeated in his old constituency of Westminster. Pitt's majority was secure for a time, and he began rather meanly by doing his best to exclude Fox from the Commons on a technical point.

His first task was to pass an Act for the better government of India. To remedy the weakness of North's Act, the Governor-General was to be supreme over the Council. A Board of Control, composed of high government officials, was to supervise the military and governmental functions of the East India Company. But the directors, in actual practice, still carried out their own policy, and, subject to a royal veto, filled all appointments except a few of the highest. After all the clamour Pitt had encouraged against Fox's Bill, under his own scheme there was enough scope for political bribery, which was fully exploited by his corrupt friend Dundas, later Viscount Melville. In his capacity as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Pitt did some very useful work during the next few years. The whole system of taxation had become over-complicated and encouraged smuggling. Methods of collecting and registering the taxes were wasteful and gave far too much opportunity for evasion on the part of the taxpayers and embezzlement on the part of officials. Pitt greatly simplified the tax accounts, abolished or reduced a number of import duties, as befitted a good disciple of Adam Smith (p. 507), extended the "bonded warehouse" system to tobacco and liquor (p. 411), and made arrangements for a steady reduction of the National Debt by putting aside yearly a part of the revenue for the repayment of loans. Pitt made three attempts to reform Parliamentary elections, then dropped the idea completely. The towns sending members to Parliament and the qualification of electors were pretty much the same as they had been in the fourteenth century, and sweeping alterations were now urgently needed. But Pitt would not risk his position by pressing the matter when he saw that the House was not enthusiastic for reform. England had to wait till after the long war

with France, and the black period of reaction which followed it, before Parliamentary reform was achieved. Pitt also professed himself an enemy of the slave trade and brought forward resolutions for its abolition. But his closest colleagues were interested in the foul traffic, and he quietly let that reform drop, too, in the end. In spite of his denunciations in the House, the appalling fact remains that during Pitt's tenure of office the slave trade doubled. With a little more courage he might have solved the Irish problem and avoided untold misery (p. 515). But Pitt was too greedy for power to strike at injustice with Fox's splendid indifference to consequences.

The main interest of the years just before the outbreak of the French Revolution was the trial of Warren Hastings for misconduct as Governor-General of India (pp. 471-472). The proceedings began in 1786, and the actual impeachment took place in 1788 and dragged on till 1795. Burke led the prosecution, and his eloquence at the time, and the genius of the historian Macaulay later, combined to give an impression of Hastings as a tyrant and oppressor. We now know that this view is exaggerated. It is true that he lent the Nawab of Oudh the Company's army for a war of extermination against the Rohillas. But they were a race of murderous brigands. It is also true that he confiscated large sums of money from the Rajah of Benares and the Begums (or Princesses) of Oudh, and then deposed them. But in both cases the money was owing and these rulers had behaved treacherously. It was impossible for those at home to appreciate the enormous difficulties and temptations that a man in Hastings' position had to face. At first the trial roused tremendous interest, and all the fashionable world flocked to the House of Lords as to a show. But as the proceedings dragged on year after year the public forgot about it. Hastings spent the whole of his fortune in connection with the trial and was finally acquitted. Years afterwards, when he visited the House to give information about Indian affairs, everybody stood up spontaneously, and posterity has endorsed that tribute of respect. But the trial had the salutary effect of warning his successors that their conduct would be watched by jealous eyes.

2. INDIA (1761-1786)

We have already noticed the difficult problem that the government of India provided for English statesmen of the period. The political influence of the East India Company was strong enough to delay the direct administration of India by government officials till 1858. Till then the Company had much of its own way, even with governors who were in theory appointed by the Crown. When Clive left India in 1761, in spite of all the victories since the defence of Arcot, the English did not as yet directly govern any large district in the country. The Nawab of the Carnatic and, even more so, the Nawab of Bengal, knew that they owed their position to the Company's soldiers, while the petty rajahs of the Circars were left alone on the understanding that they were not to let enemies of England land on their coasts, or intrigue with the powerful Nizam of Hyderabad. But in Bengal the officials of the Company took full advantage of their position to bully the Nawab and his ministers and extort large sums from them, and to carry on extensive trading on their own account, with the result that millions of Bengali peasants had to work harder than ever in the rice swamps and millet fields, while men who had gone out to India simply as Company's clerks came back almost millionaires, and yet the Company itself could barely pay a dividend. Clive was sent out again (1765-67) as Governor of Bengal, to remedy these evils. He forbade officials to trade on their own account or receive money from natives, and he increased their salaries, which indeed had been wretched enough to tempt them to dishonesty. He also persuaded "the Great Mogul" of Delhi, still nominal Emperor of India, to allow the Company to administer the taxation of Bengal. So that though there was still a Nawab on the throne, he became even more of a puppet. On Clive's departure all the old abuses returned. In addition, a terrible famine followed the failure of the monsoon in Bengal. Hyder Ali, the ambitious soldier prince of Mysore, invaded the Carnatic with fire and slaughter. The Company asked the government for help, but Lord North insisted on an inquiry first, in the course of which Clive's conduct was scrutinised. He was criticised for accepting large presents after Plassey, but it was finally resolved "that Robert Clive did at the same time

render great and meritorious services to his country." But Clive took the criticism to heart and killed himself (1774).

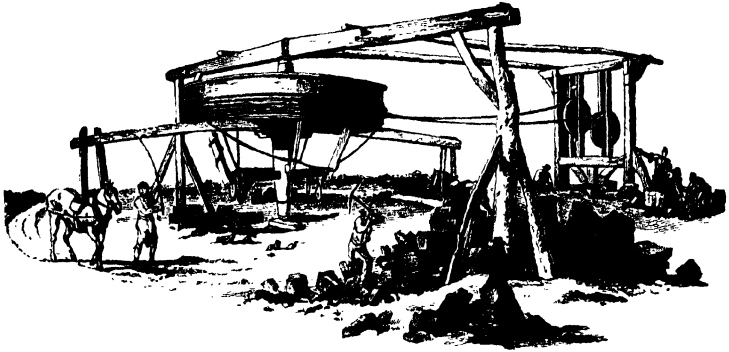
The Regulating Act of 1773 (North's) arranged that a Governor-General should be appointed, resident in Bengal and also controlling the districts of Bombay and Madras. There was to be a council of four to act with him, or, as it unfortunately turned out, to veto his actions. A Supreme Court of Justice (English) was also appointed, to act quite independently of the Governor and Council. What was to happen when the Governor disagreed with his Council and the Chief Justice refused to back the decisions of either, the Act did not say. The first Governor-General under the Act was Warren Hastings (1774-85). He had gone out early to India as a junior clerk. The East fascinated him and he made a lifelong study of its races and languages. He had been a prisoner of Dowlah's, and Clive had noted him as an honest and able man. At first Hastings was occupied in quarrelling with a spiteful member of the Council, Sir Philip Francis, who could usually get two other members to vote with him and so thwart the Governor. Luckily the head of the Supreme Court was a friend of Hastings and backed him. So bad was the feeling between the two men that Hastings wounded his tormentor in a duel, and Francis at last returned to England and did his best to stir up feeling against Hastings there. But for the time being the Governor had a free hand, and he needed it, for soon afterwards came the attack on the British Empire which the French and Spanish launched after Saratoga (p. 460). First the Mahrattas rose, provoked by the Governor of Bombay and encouraged by the French (1778). Hastings sent one army across the whole breadth of India to save Bombay, while another stormed the rock fortress of Gwalior, one of the Mahratta capitals by which the robber hordes used to stream down on to the Ganges plain (map, p. 474). And further to protect Bengal, he formed a close alliance with the neighbouring province of Oudh. Next, Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore, again swept through the Carnatic with his horsemen in 1780 and turned it into a smoking desert. Eyre Coote, the veteran of Plassey and Wandiwash hurried south, and after a fierce battle routed Hyder Ali at Porto Novo (1781) in time to save Madras (map, p. 474).

The prince of Mysore died soon after, a treaty of friendship was made with the Mahrattas, and the determined efforts of the French to get a foothold were foiled at sea as we have already seen (p. 462).

In the early days of his governorship Hastings made vigorous efforts to improve the government of Bengal by splitting it up into districts for better local government, by setting up in Calcutta a court for natives where Hindu law was recognised, and by organising a police force. He also appointed English officials to supervise the collection of taxes, and "Collector" is still to-day the name for an important class of administrators. But after the war period he could think of little else but methods of raising money. The Company directors clamoured for dividends, and the fighting had been very expensive. It was at this time that he adopted those high-handed methods of compelling native rulers to pay their debts which resulted in his trial in 1786. (For later history of India see p. 532.)



Emery Walker Ltd. 11



AN EARLY COLLIERY

CHAPTER XXXI

MASS PRODUCTION

I. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

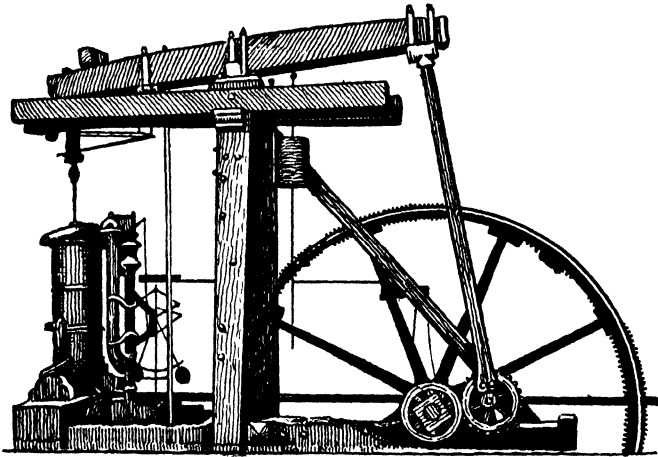
LOOKING back on the first thirty years of George III's reign, we can see very little progress in politics. The king has tried to re-establish the power of the Crown and has failed. The finest colonies have been lost, and little done to develop the others. The problem of Ireland has been only half settled. We are no nearer to modern democracy. The great wars with France and their dreary aftermath are yet to bring an even longer period of sterility. The fact is that we have to turn away from politics to industry if we wish to measure the nation's advance. In that field we shall find activity and progress enough to astonish us, for we have reached the age of machinery, steam power and mass production. So striking and sudden was the increase in the nation's manufacturing power that the new methods are summed up as "the Industrial Revolution."

The essence of the change was not merely the invention of a few machines, but the application of steam power to drive those machines. And so coal came to be the basis of modern British industry. From the time of the Romans, north-country people had used such coal as could easily be collected from outcrops. As the mediæval forests vanished, the demand for coal increased, but difficulties of transport by land restricted its use, except in places where it could be

brought by boat, and a steady traffic grew up between Newcastle and London. In Charles II's days people in the capital were already complaining of the smoke nuisance due to the growing use of "sea coals." On George III's accession a witty lady asked whether the new king was going to burn "Newcastle coal, Pitt coal or Scots coal" (Bute). A great increase in the demand came with the decline of the Sussex iron works (p. 249). For many centuries the Weald district had been the centre of a flourishing iron trade. There was a good deal of iron ore in Sussex, and to free it from sulphur and other impurities it was smelted down with charcoal made in the Weald forests. But these forests were disappearing after centuries of reckless felling without replanting, and the enormous demands of the royal navy in the eighteenth century completed their destruction. There was iron ore in Warwick and Northumberland too, and the industry began to expand there, especially when methods of smelting with coke were discovered, and powerful blasts of air could be passed through the furnace. To meet the increased demand for coal, deeper shafts were sunk in the collieries to tap the lower seams. But there the miners found it almost impossible to work because of the water which poured in, and many explosions resulted from candles coming into contact with accumulated coal-gas. Hand-pumps could not drain the galleries fast enough, and in the reign of Anne a mechanic named Newcomen invented a pump worked by steam, the first practical application of that mighty force. Its hissing and loud thudding were most impressive, but it was not a very efficient machine and it used up an immense amount of coal, and in the year that James Watt improved it (1769) there were only a hundred Newcomen engines in use. Watt was a maker of scientific instruments. One day a model of Newcomen's engine was brought to him for repair. It interested him, and he discovered the reason for its wastefulness. Besides using the power of expanding steam to thrust the piston along the cylinder, it also took advantage of the vacuum which could be created by quickly condensing the steam, to push the piston back by atmospheric pressure. But this meant that the cylinder had to be cooled and then heated again alternately. Hence the enormous consumption of coal. So he made a separate condenser, and the steam pump became a much more

economical and so practical machine. Mine-owners now adopted it as quickly as the indolent and careless Watt could be persuaded to supply his partner Boulton with the designs. Before long the steam engine was adapted for raising trucks of coal from the shaft bottom.

Despite these improvements and the invention of the safety lamp by Davy in 1815, work in the mine was for a long time cruelly hard. Though there were gradually fewer girls carrying baskets of coal all day long up the shaft on ladders, or toiling at the windlass on top, conditions

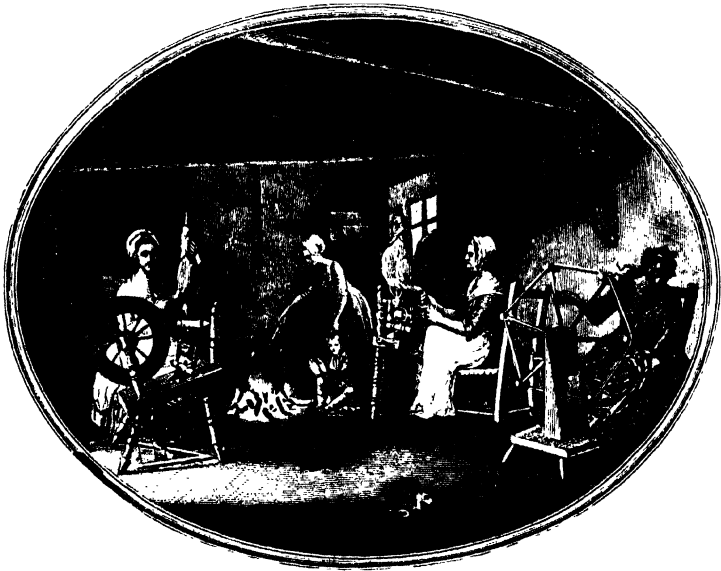


WATT'S STEAM ENGINE

in the galleries were horrible enough. Men hewed the coal, but women and young children dragged the heavy baskets or trucks to the shaft bottom, stumbling along through the stifling heat and dust of the low galleries for as long as twelve hours a day. In Scotland up to the very end of the eighteenth century there were colliers who were slaves of the mine-owners.

In the textile industries, one generation saw the change from mediæval to modern methods. After the decline of the gild system under the Tudors, the wool industry became domestic, *i.e.* a large proportion of the wool produced in England was manufactured in countless homes.

The children cleaned the wool and prepared it for spinning. The women fixed this prepared wool on the spinning frame, drew out a thread and fastened it on to the spindle. Then they pressed the treadle, the big wheel turned and rapidly revolved the spindle, which pulled and twisted a thread out of the wool and wrapped it neatly round. The men then wove the thread into cloth on big wooden



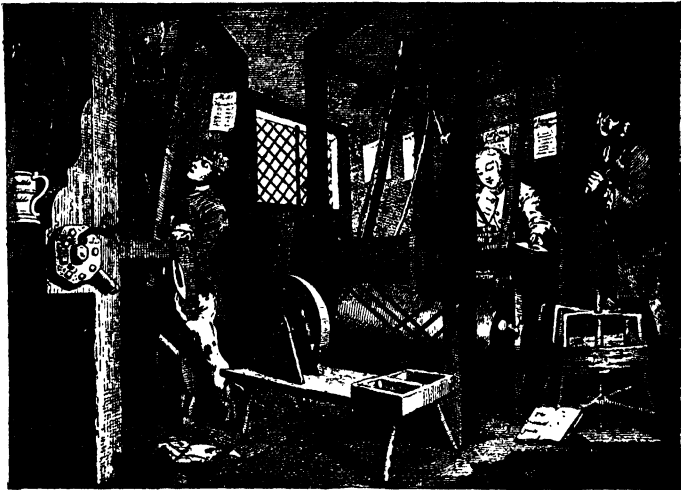
CLEANING AND SPINNING YARN IN A COTTAGE

The woman on the right is winding thread from the spindle on to the clock-reel, ready for the weaver.

looms. Two sets of long vertical threads were stretched on two frames, arranged close to each other so that they could be made to interlace regularly and trap the horizontal thread. This was unwound from the shuttle which the weaver held in his hand and passed from side to side. The cloth was collected by travelling merchants who took it away on packhorses. It was not only town folk who were engaged in domestic industry. In most country cottages too the purr of the wheel and the click-clack of the loom

went on through long winter nights with every hand, foot and eye busily at work. Yorkshire people in particular were engaged in the wool industry, while on the other side of the Pennines, Lancashire wove less wool but a good deal of linen and some cotton, now finding its way across, in spite of restrictions, from India and America.

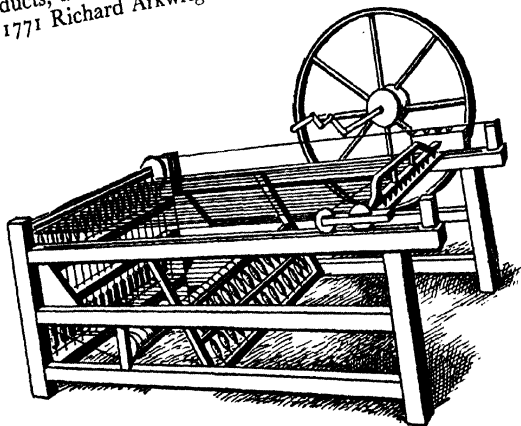
In 1733 a "flying shuttle" which could be jerked very rapidly from side to side by pulling strings was invented



HOGARTH'S "INDUSTRY AND IDLENESS"
Showing hand-looms and a clock-reel

by Kay of Bolton, so that weavers could now work much more quickly and produce a wider cloth, the previous limit being roughly the length of the arm. Even before this the weavers had grumbled that the spinners could not keep them constantly supplied, and now they used up the yarn more quickly still. The proverb says that necessity is the mother of invention. It struck James Hargreaves of Blackburn, when his wife's wheel went on spinning merrily for quite a long time after it had overturned, that it did not take a person's entire strength to work one spindle, and in 1764 he produced a machine which consisted of a sturdy

wooden frame in which were arranged sixteen spindles which one man could keep in motion by turning a wheel at the side. The cotton workers quickly adopted the flying shuttle and the Spinning Jenny (named after Mrs. Hargreaves) in their homes, but they were not satisfied with the mixture of linen and cotton and the coarse calico which was all they could make yet. Fine ladies scorned their products, and still preferred the dainty muslins of India. In 1771 Richard Arkwright of Preston perfected a system

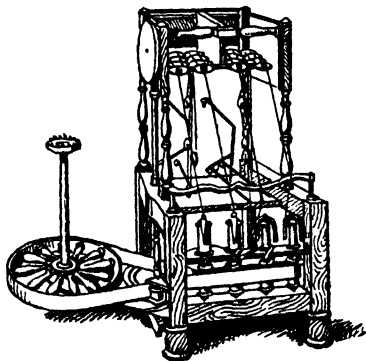


HARGREAVES' SPINNING JENNY

of spinning cotton by means of pairs of rollers revolving at increasing speeds, and thus stretching the cotton wool finally into a thread. The rollers were turned by a great paddle-wheel driven round by a swift stream which had not long left the hills, and his invention was often called the "water frame." In 1779 Samuel Crompton of Bolton combined the inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright and produced the "mule," from which modern cotton-spinning machines do not differ essentially. The water-driven rollers pulled out a coarse thread, which was then passed through the jenny and spun so thin that cotton fabrics rivalling those of the East were eventually produced, and

linen warp was abandoned. The spinners were now ahead of the weavers. Even the flying shuttle could not use up the thread fast enough now. A Kentish clergyman-poet, Edmund Cartwright, while on a visit to the north, heard some Manchester men declare it was impossible to construct an automatic loom. In three years he constructed one which was driven by water-power (1785) (though it was not till 1803 that it was sufficiently improved to be widely adopted), and by 1833 there were 100,000 power looms working.

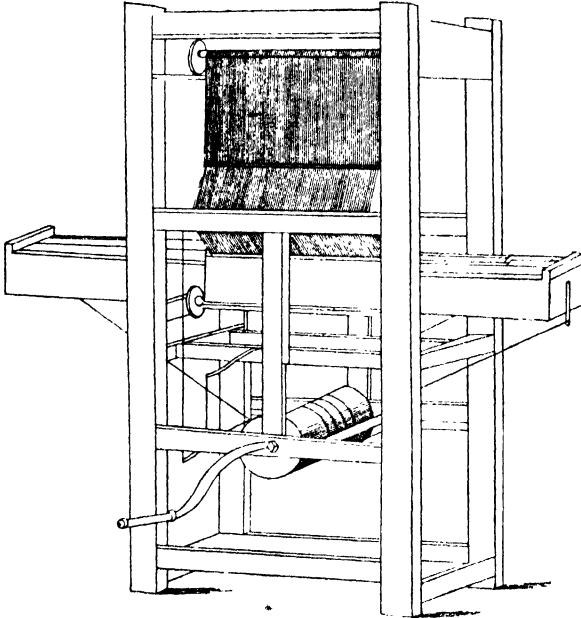
The first rollers and "mules," after man and horse



ARKWRIGHT'S WATER FRAME

power were found to be unsatisfactory, were driven by water-power, and so the first mills were built in valleys opening off the Pennines on the Lancashire side. But the rate at which the machinery worked was constantly altering according to the water supply, and enterprising mill-owners wanted to have the steam engine adapted to suit their purposes. Watt, who, as we have hinted already, was not particularly enterprising, was very slow to admit the possibility of applying steam to mills, just as he failed to apply it to locomotion. However, in 1785 his engines were first applied to spinning machinery and were soon in great demand, so that domestic spinning declined. It was found that the vibration caused by steam-power strained the wooden framework of the spinning machines, and so metal parts were introduced. All this gave a

tremendous impetus to the coal and iron industries. The great foundries at Merthyr Tydfil in South Wales, Coalbrookdale in Shropshire and Carron near Stirling began to use steam-power to produce the smelting furnace blast, and to wield the mighty hammer which pounded some elasticity into glowing masses of brittle pig iron, turning it into "wrought" iron. Ore was now imported in growing

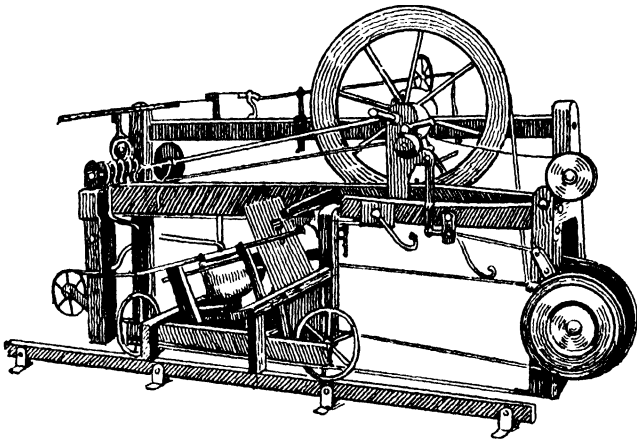


CARTWRIGHT'S AUTOMATIC LOOM

quantities from Sweden and the north of Spain. Steel was cast by mixing carbon with refined iron, and the first ship with an iron hull was launched in 1790.

There was a strong tendency for the modernised industries to be localised near the great coal-fields of the Midlands and the North. This was partly due to the fact that the raw materials were to be found there in reasonable quantities—iron ore near Birmingham, Sheffield and Newcastle, clay and lead in Staffordshire. There were great

herds of sheep in Yorkshire, and American cotton came to Liverpool in rapidly growing quantities after the invention of the "gin" (1793), which quickly cleaned the cotton fibre of husks and seed. But there was also the more obvious reason that coal is not an easy commodity to transport, even nowadays, with all our facilities. Remembering the appalling condition of English roads in the eighteenth century, "pot-holes" alternating with quagmires, we can readily understand that those who wished to use steam could not afford to be too far away from the coal-mines.



CROMPTON'S MULE

To bring the coal even the few miles between the mine and the mill or foundry was a problem. And so we have discovered the reason why this is the age when most English canals were dug.

The Duke of Bridgewater was an enterprising nobleman who owned a large estate a few miles north-west of Manchester. It was found to be rich in coal, which found a ready sale in the growing town, to which it was conveyed by trains of mules and horses, each loaded with a pair of pannier baskets. But this was an expensive method. He bethought himself of the many canals he had seen during his travels abroad. And this suggested the solution of his problem. He summoned James Brindley, a Derbyshire

engineer, uneducated but very clever, who had gained a wide reputation for solving every kind of mechanical problem. He had helped to improve Newcomen's steam engine and had worked for Josiah Wedgwood, the famous potter. The Duke's collieries were near the village of Worsley, seven miles from Manchester. Without using any accurate instrument, Brindley constructed a canal (1759-61) which ran from Worsley to the River Irwell, which it crossed on three high arches, then over the bogs of Trafford Moss between strong embankments, and so into Manchester. The price of coal in Manchester was halved, and the Duke was so pleased that he began another canal, leaving the



HAMMERING WROUGHT IRON

first at Trafford Moss and crossing northern Cheshire to Runcorn on the Mersey estuary, so linking Manchester with Liverpool (1772). The merchants of Northwich were quick to realise the advantages of transporting their cheeses and their salt easily to Manchester and Liverpool. And the potters of North Staffordshire (where Josiah Wedgwood, besides making delicate china, was also turning out enormous quantities of cheap earthenware) readily joined them in getting another canal constructed south-east from Runcorn through Northwich and Stoke—the Grand Trunk Canal (1777). Three important extensions followed—one south through Birmingham to the Severn, one north by Nottingham to the Trent and so to the Humber, and one to London. Three canals were taken

across the Pennines, linking Liverpool with Hull. Towards the end of the century an almost excessive number of feeders were constructed, so that the whole central mass of England was covered with a complete network of waterways. Before they were hit by the competition of the new roads and then the railways, they carried a brisk traffic, and brightly painted barges hauled by men or horses, or driven by a broad orange sail, became an ever-present feature of the Midland landscape. Many passengers travelled by them. The first steam-boats in the world were used on the English canals, but as the wash from the paddles damaged the banks, experiments were dropped for a time (p. 560).

But while canals and deepened rivers might be suitable



PACK-HORSES

for the transport of bulky goods and passengers who were in no hurry, the roads were greatly improved between 1765 and 1830 for the benefit of swifter traffic. In the middle of the eighteenth century English roads were notoriously bad. Not only were there far too few of them, but they were in an abominable condition. There is a chorus of complaints from travellers of deep holes, ruts and quagmires and of the dangers from clumsy "repairs." The agent of a Duke's country seat is instructed "that keepers and persons who knew the holes and sloughs must come to meet his Grace with lanthorns and long poles to help him on his way." In December 1703 the coach conveying two such distinguished travellers as Prince George (Queen Anne's husband) and the Archduke Charles to Windsor was overturned and sank deep into the mire so often that it took six hours to cover the last

nine miles. In spite of the steep slope from the crown of the road to the edge, after heavy rain, the highways would be flooded waist-deep. Bridges were scarce, fords and ferries being the normal ways of crossing rivers. A long journey in the clumsy coach of the period was torture. Highway robbers were so bold that a Lord Mayor of London and his retinue were held up a few miles from the City. Fatal accidents were quite common, and cautious people made their wills before setting out. A quicker and safer way to travel was to ride on horseback, and it was in this way that the "postboys" carried the mails, up to 1784.

The first improved roads were made from 1765 onwards



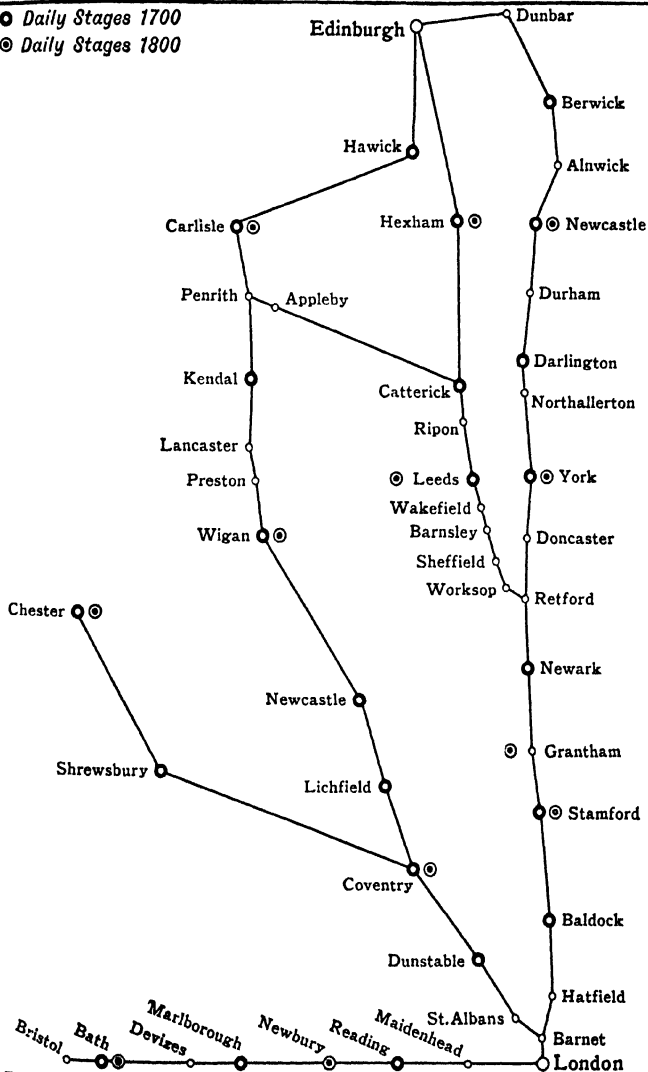
STAGE COACH, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

to connect the industrial areas of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Derbyshire. Hitherto there had been only a single main road for carts across the Pennines. It was a blind carter, John Metcalfe, who planned these new roads, and his stick told him all he needed to know as he wandered alone over the bleak moors. After him, Thomas Telford was employed by the government to improve the roads of his native Scotland and to bridge its innumerable streams. When this long task was over he resumed his earlier work on the roads running into North Wales, and crowned it by completing the London-Holyhead road with the towering suspension bridge that crosses Menai Strait (1826). At the same time another Scot, John Macadam, discovered a method of getting a hard smooth surface on roads with stones broken small, and he was commissioned to improve roads

DIAGRAM SHOWING IMPROVEMENT IN COACH TRANSPORT BETWEEN 1700 AND 1800

● Daily Stages 1700

⊙ Daily Stages 1800



in various parts of the country. There was only a slight curve on the surface of his roads, so that the whole width could be used. The Macadam type of road was common till the motor-car made the modern tarred surface necessary. By 1830 good roads connected London with all the chief towns of Britain. Most of these were constructed or improved by Turnpike Trusts, that is, committees who built urgently-needed new roads or improved the old ones, and were allowed by the government to collect tolls from the traffic using "the turnpike." The improvement of the roads was reflected in the vehicles. Lighter coaches with better springs were built. The average mileage per hour



EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WAGON

rose from six to twelve or even fifteen. After 1823 it became possible for the first time to get from London, say, to Manchester or Exeter within a day. By the time the first railways were built, an elaborate organisation had been perfected on the roads. The fastest and most punctual coaches were those which carried the mails. The turnpike toll-bars were flung open on their approach, the exchange of horses and mail-bags at each stage was carried out smartly, and most large towns now enjoyed a post each day. People were more ready to travel, now that the danger and discomfort had been reduced, and from some of the London inns as many as fifty coaches left daily. Heavy goods were now transported by road too in wagons, and as a horse can haul far more in a cart than it can carry on its back, the pack-horse trains disappeared from the road.

2. THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

“ Those fenceless fields the sons of wealth divide,
And e'en the bare, worn common is denied.”
(Goldsmith, “ The Deserted Village.”)

During the same period, the second half of the eighteenth century, the greatest of all industries, farming, was also modernised, and the result was an increase of productive power as important as that which was taking place in manufactures. The experiments on which the new methods were based were carried out in the first half of the century, but as news then travelled slowly and as farmers are usually conservative in their practices, it was not until an increase in food prices occurred, especially during the great French war at the end of the century, that the new and rather expensive methods were at all widely adopted.

We have already had a glimpse of the old English agricultural system (Part II or III, p. 234), which was worked largely on a communal and co-operative basis. The village land suitable for growing crops consisted of a few enormous “ open fields,” *i.e.* uninterrupted by hedges or fences. In each field many owners possessed scattered strips. These “ champions” (champaign, campus) were ploughed, sown, and reaped by the village working as a unit, while the individual owners took the produce of their own strips. Anyone who lived in the parish could graze cattle on the village meadows when the hay had been made or on one of the big fields which was “ resting ” (fallow) for the year. And the woods and rough heath also were open to all the villagers, so that they could easily keep pigs, goats and poultry, and cut peat and timber. This system had its advantages in earlier times, but it was wasteful, and barely produced enough to feed the village. A good deal of arable land was wasted in the “ open fields ” by the “ balks ” (or grassy strips left to mark off the patches belonging to different owners) and the “ headlands,” wide margins left round the field for the ploughman to turn his team of four to eight horses or oxen and the large clumsy wooden plough. Much time too was wasted at the harvest in carting the crops from the widely scattered patches of any particular owner. Little was done to drain or improve

the soil. The variety of crops was surprisingly small, as many of our familiar vegetables were not generally grown in England till the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a rule a field would be used for wheat or rye one year, barley or oats the next, and would have to rest "fallow" the third year, as the soil was exhausted. Cattle and sheep were so small and bony that if we could see them to-day we should think they were freaks. As they all grazed on the same meadows, diseases spread rapidly. No cheap method was known of feeding them in winter, so that when the first frosts spoiled the grass, most of them were slaughtered and there was no fresh meat during the winter.

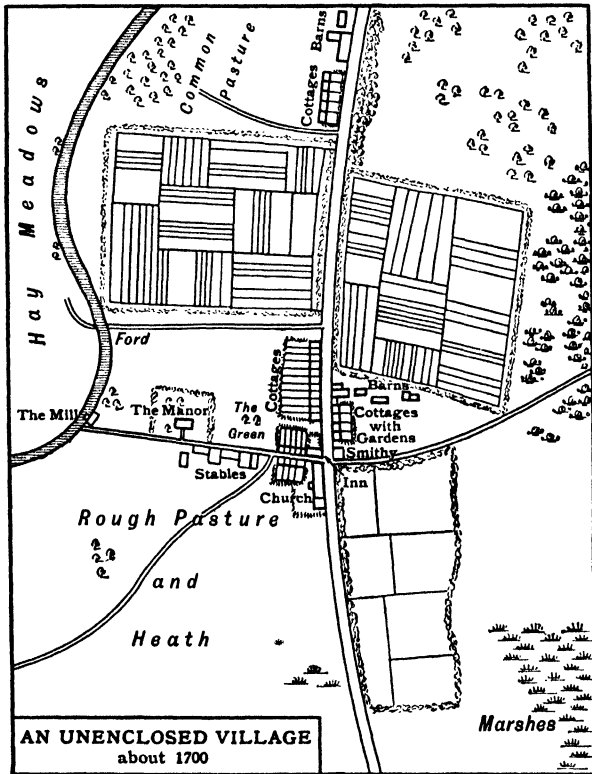
The men who revolutionised English farming were Jethro Tull, Lord Townshend, Robert Bakewell, and Arthur Young who, besides making experiments on his own farm, toured England, to explain the new methods. Tull had a farm on the bare downs of Berkshire. He thought that the old system of sowing seed by handfuls was irregular and wasteful. It was better to scratch a long groove in the ground and sprinkle a thin line of seed in it, and before long there were machines to do this. He insisted on the importance of hoeing, that is, breaking up the surface of the soil thoroughly. He grew clover (which, besides providing a good food for cattle in autumn, enriches the soil of an exhausted field) and also turnips, which, in their coarser form of wurzels, helped to solve the problem of a cheap winter food for cattle, and could be grown on a field that would otherwise have to lie fallow. Meanwhile, on the edge of the lonely salt marshes of west Norfolk, Lord Townshend, Walpole's brother-in-law and sometime colleague, had, on his retirement (p. 414), devoted himself to the management of his estate. Where the coast marshes left off, there stretched inland vast sandy plains which could grow only patches of coarse grass. But Townshend discovered that marl, a greasy clay which could be obtained from the marshes, supplied his sandy soil with just those elements necessary to make it productive. In time he had thousands of acres growing rich, nourishing grasses and turnips. His sheep and cows grew fat. The plains were divided up into fields by hedges so that the feeding of the cattle could be regulated. On the arable land a smaller and better plough of iron was used requiring only two horses. A "rotation of crops" was worked out, so that

different elements of the soil should be drawn on each year. In the same district Thomas Coke carried on the tradition of progressive farming right into the nineteenth century. In addition, miles of marshland were drained, improved and made productive. And all the neighbouring farmers were invited to inspect and copy the new methods. In Leicestershire Robert Bakewell concentrated, with wonderful results, on improving the breed of cattle, sheep and horses, and as a result of his work, English stock is bought for breeding purposes in all the chief pastoral areas of the world. There is a story that one of his bulls was sold by mistake at the market by a neighbouring farmer for eight pounds, but he discovered later to his cost that it was worth two hundred guineas. Besides demonstrating Bakewell's success, this incident also serves to illustrate the ignorance of the ordinary farmer at the time.

The improvements in English farming attracted attention all over Europe, and the pioneers had distinguished visitors and correspondents. But the new methods would have spread but slowly had it not been for the travels and writings of Arthur Young. About 1763 he took over the management of his family's farm in Suffolk, for want of anything better to do, and found it interesting work. He visited the model farms of west Norfolk, and then, in the course of a number of extensive tours, he spoke to farmers and landlords in every part of England and published accounts of what he had seen and heard. He urged the adoption of the new methods on land already under cultivation, and drew attention to the enormous area of waste land, moor and marsh which could be made fertile. He also suggested that as the time-honoured "open field" system did not favour experiments, there ought to be redistribution and enclosure. Young's propaganda was successful. He convinced many great landowners, including influential noblemen. The new farming caught the fancy of the fashionable world. George III took it up at Windsor. A literature of farming arose, and George contributed to it. In 1793 the first cattle show was organised at Smithfield Market, and a committee of gentlemen, presided over by Arthur Young, was recognised by the government as the authority on agriculture, and so was the forerunner of the Board of Agriculture. As iron-workers became more skilful, farming was more and

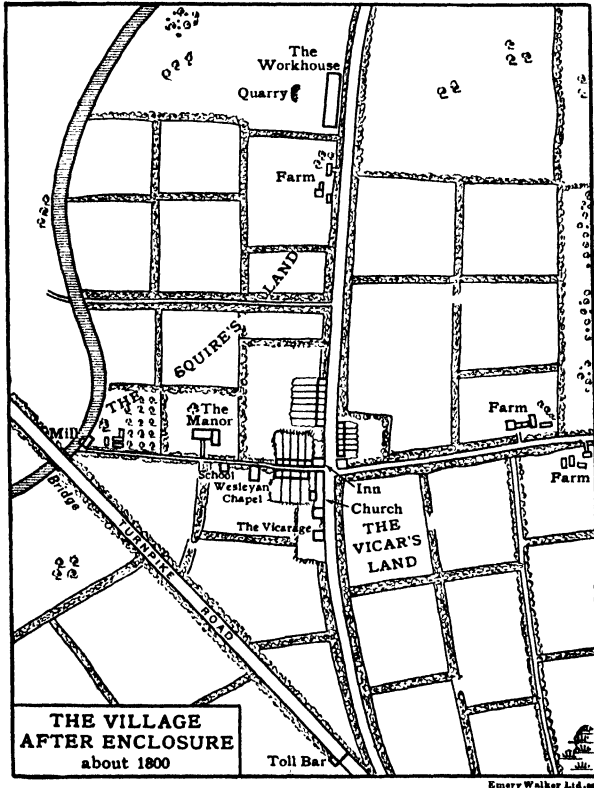
more mechanised. By the end of the century catalogues of agricultural machinery were being published, and steam threshers were at work.

Once the work of the pioneers was appreciated, we can readily understand that the more enterprising



and prosperous farmers in each parish were grimly determined to get the village lands rearranged in compact lots, separated by ditches and hedges, so that they might enjoy the full benefit of improved methods. Thus began the (second) Enclosure Movement which was most vigorous from 1795-1815, though we must remember that there

was no complete cessation of enclosure ever since the time of the first (Tudor) enclosures (Part II or III, p. 235). The earlier enclosures had been perpetrated in defiance of the law. But in the eighteenth century Parliament sympathised with the wealthier and more progressive farmer-land-



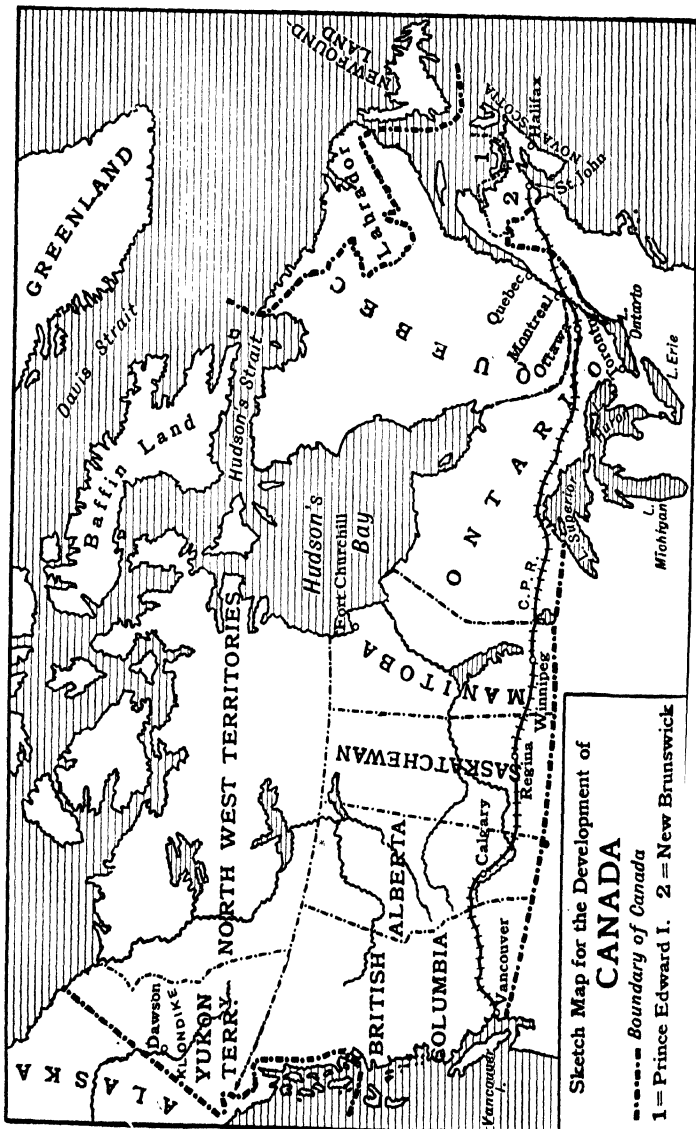
owners, and readily passed the private Acts which compelled the other landowners to submit to a rearrangement. The procedure was as follows:—

If the owner(s) of four-fifths of the parish agreed on enclosure, the government usually sanctioned it, however often the angry opponents tore down the notice from the

parish church door. Commissioners and solicitors were then sent down to the village, who closely investigated the claims of each landowner and often rejected them if clear legal proofs were not forthcoming. They then redistributed every foot of land in the village that might be of any use, not merely the arable land but also wood, meadow and heath. So that when they published their map of the new holdings, practically every part of the village land became absolutely private property. All this was ruinous to the smaller owners and to those who had not owned any land but enjoyed access to "the commons." The commissioners and lawyers charged heavy fees running into hundreds, sometimes thousands of pounds, payable by the village. Then each holding had to be surrounded with a ditch and a stout wooden fence till a hawthorn hedge could grow thick enough, and the other owners had to pay for the parson's ditch, fence and hedge, which often put a further large sum on the bill. The penalty for failure to enclose was forfeiture of the holding to the richer owners. Those who fulfilled the conditions, adopted advanced methods on their new farms and grew prosperous, but thousands of owners of modest holdings had to sell them to pay their share of the expenses, or forfeited them because they could not legally prove ownership or afford to put up the fence. And together with their land, they usually lost also their hope and self-respect. Tenant-farmers whose landlords were anxious to regain their farms were charged stiff rents and otherwise encouraged to leave. Labourers also were badly hit by the enclosure of the commons, coming at a time when it was growing more difficult to eke out their livelihood by spinning and weaving. Those who were young and energetic went off to the towns and found work in the factories, or joined the army or navy, where brisk lads were needed after 1793. The others struggled along somehow, helped by doles from the parish poor rates. Arthur Young, who made another tour in 1800, was dismayed at the unforeseen results of his teaching. An old labourer complained to him, "All I know is, I once had a cow, and an Act of Parliament has taken it from me." The busy life of the old English country-side had received a fatal blow. We have reached the age of "The Deserted Village."

CHIEF DATES FOR GEORGE III'S REIGN (1760-1820)
UP TO 1793

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1761. Resignation of Pitt.
Worsley-Manchester canal completed. | 1778. France declares war on England.
Death of Chatham. |
| 1763. Treaty of Paris.
Resignation of Bute.
Arthur Young takes up farming. | 1779. Crompton's "mule."
1780. The Armed Neutrality. |
| 1764. Hargreaves' "jenny." | 1781. Battle of Porto Novo.
Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. |
| 1765. Stamp Tax. | 1782. Loss of Minorca.
Resignation of North.
Rockingham-Fox Ministry. |
| 1767. Taxes on American imports. | Battle of the Saints.
Independence of Irish Parliament. |
| 1769. Watt's steam engine. | 1783. Treaty of Versailles.
April. Fox-North Coalition.
Dec. Pitt's Ministry. |
| 1770. North's ministry.
Boston "Massacre."
Captain Cook at Botany Bay (see p. 499). | 1784. Second Regulating Act for India.
U.E. Loyalists settle in Canada. |
| 1771. Arkwright's water frame. | 1785. First steam engines in mills.
Cartwright's automatic loom. |
| 1773. Regulating Act for India.
Warren Hastings Gov.-General.
Boston "Tea Party." | 1788. Convict settlement at Sydney (see p. 497). |
| 1774. Dismissal of Fox.
Wilkes admitted to Parliament, and elected Lord Mayor of London. | 1790. Burke's "Reflections" (see p. 507).
First iron ship. |
| 1775. Battle of Lexington.
Battle of Bunker Hill. | 1791. Formation of "United Irishmen." |
| 1776. July 4th. Declaration of American Independence.
Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." | 1793. France declares war on England (see p. 508).
Franchise restored to Roman Catholics. |
| 1777. Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga. | |



Sketch Map for the Development of
CANADA
 - - - - - Boundary of Canada
 1 = Prince Edward I. 2 = New Brunswick

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CHAPTER XXXII

PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE

I. CANADA AFTER 1783

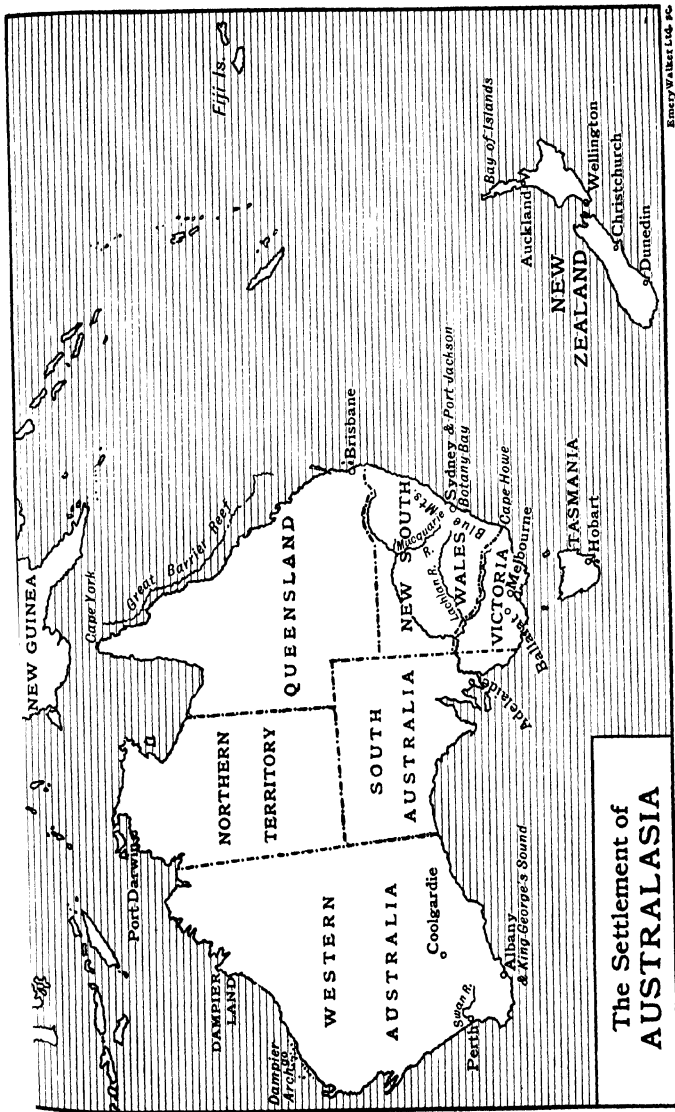
THE twenty years that followed the Treaty of Paris (1763) seemed to prove that it is far easier to win an empire than to keep it. We have seen how the oldest, most flourishing and most English part of England overseas was lost. The organisation of Canada and India in this period gave ministers much to think about; a settlement was made in Australia, and the condition of Ireland was improved. It was obvious that Canada would provide problems. The bulk of the settlers were French, hardy, adventurous and only recently conquered. Fortunately, the first governor, Sir Guy Carleton, was a man of enlightened views, and he advised the home government to leave the French Canadians in undisturbed enjoyment of their traditional ways of life. His tolerant attitude was justified by the fact that Canada did not display the slightest inclination to revolt when the Americans did, and an American invasion of Canada was defeated. In 1784 there was a great immigration of loyalists from the south (p. 464). These United Empire Loyalists, previously neglected by the home government, now received some compensation for the homes they had lost, and were granted land and stores to start again. Many settled in Nova Scotia, which hitherto had attracted few pioneers. Thousands were attracted by the pleasant valley of St. John, and enlarged the province of New Brunswick. The most important settlement was that made on the great wedge of land that lies between Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario. This was a vast maze of forests wherein the loyalists at first toiled bitterly, and starved. But at last the ground was cleared, orchards bloomed and bore fruit, and the prairie turned gold with grain. In view of this large influx of English settlers it was thought advisable to divide the St. Lawrence valley into two provinces, Lower (French) Canada and

Upper (English) Canada (1791), so that either race could enjoy the system of government and religion which suited it. The sharp debate on this Canadian Act brought to a head the quarrel between Burke and Fox which their different attitudes to the French Revolution made inevitable. There was already an English settlement on the Pacific coast of Canada, for the Hudson's Bay Company (p. 447) had sent its agents across the vast lonely plains of the interior, and over the snow-clad giants of the Cascade Range, to establish a station at Victoria, among the forests of the huge island of Vancouver. In 1778 the province of British Columbia was formed, and the future expansion of the United States towards the north-west was thus limited. (For later history of Canada see p. 609.)

2. THE FIRST AUSTRALIAN SETTLEMENTS

As if to set off the loss in America, the possibilities in other continents were now examined. In 1788 the Association for the Exploration of the Niger was formed. In 1795 a Scots doctor, Mungo Park, made his first survey of the mysterious river and "The Voyages of Mungo Park" became the favourite travel book of nineteenth-century England.

The year 1788 also saw the first settlement in Australia, when seven hundred convict men and women were brought with five hundred soldiers and officials to what is now Sydney Harbour. The Dutch with their East Indian base at Batavia in Java were the first to get accurate information about Australia and New Zealand. In 1642 Tasman sighted the island now named after him, which at first was called Van Dieman's land after the then Governor of the Dutch East Indies. Sailing on eastwards he reached what is now called New Zealand. After striking north and passing through the Fiji islands, he returned to Java, later exploring the north coast of Australia. The first Englishman to set foot in Australia was that romantic character, William Dampier. He first became notorious as a successful pirate. After a profitable cruise in the East Indies it became necessary to "careen" his vessel, that is, to scrape the barnacles off the hull and otherwise repair the damage of a long voyage. As a pirate ship was obviously most vulnerable during this process, it was



The Settlement of
AUSTRALIA

Emery Walker Ltd. PC

necessary to find some remote creek, secure from inquisitive frigates. He chose a spot on the north-west coast of Australia, and while his men were busy, he spent twelve days in exploration. He wrote a book about what he had seen, and it aroused the greatest interest. The government then actually put him in charge of a survey expedition, and Lieutenant Dampier, now holding His Majesty's commission, set sail in 1699 and explored a thousand miles of the north-western coast of Australia, where his name is twice recalled on the map (p. 499).

It was Captain James Cook (the pilot who took Wolfe's fleet up the St. Lawrence) who finally charted the shapes and positions of the lands beneath the Southern Cross. Returning from government survey work in the South Sea islands in 1769, he cruised round New Zealand, which he annexed with due ceremony, and tried to get into touch with its fierce natives. He then struck westward and made the east coast of what is now Victoria in April 1770. He next turned north past Cape Howe, and sailed till he reached a harbour where there was a striking profusion of strange plants. There he anchored, went on shore once more, set up the flag and took possession of "Botany Bay" in the name of King George III. Sailing north again, he was all but wrecked on the Barrier Reef, floated his ship off again, rounded Cape York at last, and so home. Besides making subsequent voyages to the Antipodes, Cook was the first Antarctic explorer, almost reaching the coast of the South Polar continent in 1774. He also freed seamen from the terrible scourge which sometimes wiped out entire crews—scurvy. This disease was due chiefly to an unrelieved diet of salt beef and sea-biscuits. Cook found that fresh vegetables and fruit were all that were needed to keep the disease at bay. He was killed in the islands while trying to settle one of the disputes between thieving natives and brutal sailors which make up most of the early history of the South Seas. His men ran off to their boat, leaving their captain on the beach among the furious islanders.

The Australian settlement expedition of 1788 had instructions to settle at Botany Bay, but the commander decided to sail a few miles farther north to an opening between bold cliffs which Captain Cook had noticed and named Port Jackson. They sailed in and "found it

perhaps as fine a Harbour as any in the World, with water for any number of the largest ships." The commander selected a spot for the convict camp and named it Sydney Cove. The convicts were a very rough crowd, and would hardly do enough work to produce their own food. Some escaped to the "bush" and a few lived among the natives, or, when the free settlers came, preyed on them. But in spite of drought and the raids of the dreaded bushrangers, wheat farms began to spread along the river valleys. These, however, did little more than supply the needs of the settlement. It was wool that gave the new colony its greatest industry. The finest breeds of sheep were imported, including some from King George's own farm, and the wool manufacturers of West Riding were glad enough to find a new source of supply for the insatiable appetites of their roaring factories. The sheep ranches of New South Wales spread inland till they reached the Blue Mountains. Not without great suffering, the passes were found, and a thin line of pioneers spread across the dusty plains between the Lachlan and Macquarie Rivers.

3. IRELAND

Ireland, for all that it was one of the British Isles, we may look upon for three-quarters of the eighteenth century as, in effect, the nearest and the unhappiest colony. Even when the penal code against Catholics, dating from the days of William III and Anne (pp. 381, 401), was no longer enforced, they still had the grievance that ownership of the land, as well as political power, were in the hands of a Protestant minority. And that minority itself was discontented. For Ireland was subject to commercial restrictions similar to those which had exasperated the Americans. Furthermore, although Ireland had had a Parliament since the fourteenth century, Poyning's Law (Part II or III, p. 212), passed at the time of an invasion panic in Henry VII's reign and confirmed in 1719, still kept that Parliament completely subject to the English government. Nor was anything done to lessen the dead weight of selfish tyranny, till the American rebellion made North anxious to avoid serious discontent so much nearer home. The trouble across the Atlantic, partly due to the influence of Irish emigrants, was at once an encouragement and an oppor-

tunity to those Irishmen who in the second half of the century had begun to demand greater freedom. In 1778 an Act was passed allowing Irish Catholics to celebrate the Mass in public and to buy land, and some of the restrictions on Irish trade were abolished. Many of the British garrisons in Ireland were taken for service in America, and as there was some danger of a French invasion, the Irish raised a volunteer army. The Irish volunteers soon made it clear that they stood for a free Ireland. North promptly cancelled the remaining restrictions in 1780. A great parade of the Volunteers in 1782 ended with a demand for a free Irish parliament, and we have seen that Fox and Rockingham granted it. And in 1792 restrictions on Roman Catholic worship and education were withdrawn. The free Irish parliament consisted of Protestant members elected by Protestant voters, that is, it represented a small minority of Irishmen. But it was won over by the eloquence of Henry Grattan to do a brave and unselfish thing. With Pitt's approval, it passed in 1793 an Act giving Catholics the vote, which they had lost in 1727. There still remained one step more, to allow Catholic candidates to stand for the Irish Parliament. But that final step was fatally delayed in the panic induced by the war with France. (For later history of Ireland, see p. 514.)



LADY'S COSTUME,
LATTER HALF OF
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

GENTLEMAN'S COSTUME,
LATTER HALF OF
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE WAR OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

I. THE FIRST AND SECOND COALITIONS (1793-1802)

“ Contre nous de la tyrannie
l'étendard sanglant est levé.”

(*La Marseillaise.*)

WE have read in the preceding chapter how England made little progress in social and political ideas in the second half of the eighteenth century. In this sphere it was France which was to lead the world (though her thinkers borrowed some ideas from seventeenth-century Englishmen). Although the leading French philosophers did not attack the monarchy directly, there is no doubt that they sharpened the discontent which many serious Frenchmen already felt; and without foreseeing any such result, they hastened that resounding collapse of the old political and social fabric of France which is usually known as the French Revolution.

In order to understand England's foreign policy between 1670 and 1715, we found it necessary to glance at the system

of absolute monarchy developed in France by Louis XIV (pp. 342, 343). Now such a system demanded that the king should not only be intelligent but should be gifted with tremendous energy and industry, if he was to retain personal control of every phase of government. Louis XIV had possessed such qualities. But the great-grandson who succeeded him in 1715 and reigned till 1774 was a fool and a wastrel. It was he who lost Canada and India in the Seven Years' War, and placed a terrible burden of debt on those classes of his subjects who could least endure it. These debts were further enlarged by his grandson, Louis XVI, in the war of 1778-83 (p. 460). He had the satisfaction of humbling England, but he could not pay his debts. In the coffee-houses of Paris, men who had been to America spoke with admiration of the freedom enjoyed under the new Republic, contrasting it with the annoying restrictions of life in France.

The two most famous writers who encouraged the critical spirit in France were Voltaire and Rousseau, who both died in 1778. Voltaire's main attack was directed against the Roman Catholic Church in France, the strongest support of the royal tyranny. The king often appointed his favourites to bishoprics and abbeys which they never visited, but from which they drew enormous salaries. Rousseau attacked the cruelty, selfishness and artificiality of eighteenth-century society, which was quite content to pay for the glitter of the nobility by the degradation of the peasant. While the proceeds of agriculture were squandered by the nobility, industry was strangled by innumerable taxes and regulations imposed by the government. Meanwhile, although no accounts were ever published, the question of the National Debt grew more and more urgent. A succession of ministers failed to solve the financial problem, partly because of the opposition of the courtiers, and one of these ministers was indiscreet enough to publish accounts which revealed the scandalous way in which the money extorted by heavy taxation had been spent.

At last, in 1789, Louis XVI decided to appeal to the nation by summoning a kind of Parliament called the Estates General, which had not met since 1614. There were three Houses, as it were, the nobles, the clergy and "the third estate," which we may call, for convenience,

the Commons. The Third Estate, as representing the nation at large, at once insisted on drastic reforms. The nobility and clergy were to lose their chief privileges (such as exemption from the heaviest taxation). The monarchy was to lose its autocratic nature, accepting such limitations as would be defined by the "constitution" which was soon to be drafted. Trade restrictions were to be relaxed, and peasants were to be freed from the annoying feudal dues to which they were still subject. At first it seemed as if these wholesale reforms would be accomplished peacefully. The nobles and clergy displayed a surprising readiness to surrender privileges, and after a feeble resistance the king accepted the idea of a constitution. But soon the situation grew dark. The king dismissed a popular minister at the queen's request. There was a bad harvest and the rabble of Paris, swollen by desperate peasants, grew restless. The great grim fortress-prison of the Bastille in Paris was stormed, and in several parts of France the castles of the nobility were sacked. The National Assembly, which was trying to draft the constitution, came more and more under the influence of the new municipal government of Paris (which contained some fiery revolutionaries), especially after the royal family and the Assembly were compelled by a mob from Paris to leave Versailles and live in the capital. Many of the unpopular nobles fled from France to various German princes, and the royal family attempted to escape too, but were recognised and brought back (1791).

Now the queen's brother was the ruler of Austria and the elected Emperor of Germany, and he prepared, at his sister's request, to come and put an end to the disorder in France. Many German princes were ready to follow him, fearing that their own subjects (with good reason) might be tempted to follow the example of the French. This foreign interference was fatal to the chances of any peaceful settlement in France. The most violent and loud-mouthed men in Paris became the national leaders. Those aristocrats who had stayed in France and who were, presumably, of the more honourable and patriotic type, became the objects of a fierce and unreasonable hate. As the exiled aristocrats were bringing armed forces to the eastern frontier of France and it was probable that German and Austrian armies would soon follow them, the Assembly compelled the king to declare war on Austria (1792), as Austria had already

delivered a most arrogant ultimatum. Prussia promptly supported Austria, and feeling in Paris rose to fever heat. For some time there had been a few men in Paris who agitated for a republic, and their influence now grew. In September 1792, a republic was proclaimed. The king was imprisoned, and three thousand aristocrats, and others suspected of sympathising with the invaders, were executed.



MEDAL SHOWING THE CAPTURE OF THE BASTILLE, 1789

By this time the Prussians and Austrians were marching through eastern France. The republican government set to work vigorously. Helped by the fact that Austria and Prussia were now more interested in occupying the last portions of independent Poland, the French not merely drove back the invaders but, with hardly any opposition, annexed towns on the Rhine, in the Austrian Netherlands and Savoy, where the inhabitants eagerly welcomed the apostles of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." In Paris the extreme republicans were now exercising a tyranny far

worse than that of the ancient monarchy. In January 1793, by a narrow majority, the king was sentenced to death and executed, on the ground of having encouraged foreign invaders.

It is now necessary to see what Englishmen were thinking about the stirring drama which was being enacted so close to their own shores. At first, in 1789, they looked with patronising interest at the French attempt to grapple with problems which England had settled a hundred years before. A few young poets such as Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey, that prince of essayists Hazlitt, and a handful of advanced Whigs were full of sympathetic enthusiasm. Wordsworth visited France, as did also Hazlitt. Fox, when he heard of the fall of the Bastille, cried out, "How much the greatest event is this that has happened in the world, and how much the best!" Men who had read Adam Smith's book "The Wealth of Nations" (1776), which advocated the abolition of State interference in commerce and industry, were interested to see what would be the effect on French trade if such an abolition were accomplished. But the more conservative of the upper classes, especially if they were great landowners, were rather alarmed, knowing how much discontent there was in the English country-side. Burke increased the hostility to France by his "Reflections on the French Revolution." His respect for established custom was outraged by all that was happening in France. "Reflections" is written in beautiful English, but there is a great deal of sentimental nonsense in it, for it casts the glamour of false romance on a system of society that was thoroughly corrupt. There was a very small group of men in England who sympathised with republican ideals and wanted a revolution here. Burke and others exaggerated the activities of these men, and helped to work up a panic among the ruling classes (p. 520). The execution of Louis XVI caused a wave of anti-French feeling to sweep over England. In addition to this, the advance of the French Republic in a few months to the "natural boundaries" of France, for which Louis XIV had unsuccessfully striven for fifty years (p. 343), alarmed those who jealously watched the "balance of power" in Europe. Apart from the tactless behaviour of the French ambassador, and the provocative tone of the French government, which urged all the peoples of Europe

to rise against their rulers, the presence of the French in the Austrian Netherlands (modern Belgium), and their threat to invade Holland, was probably the decisive reason for English interference. From the time of William III down to the present day, England has always been ready to go to war with any strong aggressive power which has seized Belgium or Holland and so possesses Channel ports which bring its forces within a few hours of the English coast. The French ambassador in London grew so unpopular that Pitt asked for him to be recalled; whereupon the French declared war on England (February 1793). And it was England who, in the next twenty-two years, was to prove herself France's most obstinate and dangerous antagonist.

The first combination of France's enemies looks very formidable on paper, for the coalition consisted of England, Spain, Sardinia, Portugal, Holland, Austria and Prussia. But alliances never fight at full strength because the allies usually have different aims, and will not work to a single general plan. And France had the geographical advantage of "the inner lines," *i.e.* her armies moved on the inner of two concentric circles, while the allies moved on the outer. As regards England's share in the first round of the struggle, it may as well be said at once that Pitt completely lacked his father's magnificent capacity for the organisation of war. He could devise no bold strategy on the grand scale, he could not "think in continents," as Chatham had done. He was satisfied to send out a variety of small but costly expeditions which mostly failed, and would not have been decisive if they had succeeded. Moreover, he was distinctly unhappy in his choice of personnel—in this too, sharply contrasted with his father. Pitt appointed his close friend Dundas to be Secretary for War and his brother Chatham to be commander-in-chief. The latter became the laughing-stock of England and was often referred to as "the late Lord Chatham" on account of his unpunctuality. A wag of the period explaining a military fiasco tells how "Earl Chatham stood with sabre drawn Waiting for Sir Richard Strachan. Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em, Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham." Another of Pitt's appointments was "the famous Duke of York, who had ten thousand men." Fortunately the navy

did its work fairly well and on "the Glorious First of June," 1794, Lord Howe cleared the French navy out of the Channel. The first English scheme was to support the resistance to the republican government in the west and south of France and in Corsica, and to attack the French possessions in the West Indies. At first things seemed to go quite well, but eventually there was failure to register in every theatre of the war. In 1795-96 the expedition to support the Breton royalists was driven off from Quiberon Bay, a young Corsican officer named Napoleon Bonaparte recovered Toulon for the republic, the English lost their foothold in Corsica, and in the West Indies the French began to get the upper hand, joined by runaway slaves from the British plantations, disappointed at the continuance of the slave trade. This latter failure was chiefly due to the terrible losses of the British by fever. The improvement of French prospects was due to the establishment of a stable government. In 1793 the advance of the allies had thrown Paris into a blind panic. Half-crazy fanatics urged a policy of "frightfulness" against suspected enemies of the republic, and thousands were imprisoned with hardly the pretence of a trial. As the invasion peril died away, sanity returned and the leaders of the "Reign of Terror," including the notorious Robespierre, were themselves executed as enemies of the republic (1794). Romantic novelists have rather tended to concentrate on the bloodshed of the Terror, and to many people the French Revolution has come to mean just this awful episode. But the successful reforms and political ideals which arose from the Revolution were of permanent value, not merely to France, but to all Europe. And as long as France seemed to stand for a new social order, her armies were welcomed in the smaller neighbouring states. That is why the French were able to conquer Holland so easily and set up a republic there (1795). Spain too changed sides in 1796, so that there was every danger of an invasion of England. Sardinia left the coalition as well, and so we no longer had any base inside the Mediterranean. Pitt twice tried to make peace but the French, intoxicated by their success, would not be reasonable.

The year 1797 was darker still. The French and Spaniards agreed to invade the west of England, while the

Dutch, encouraged by the bitter feeling in Ireland (p. 515), proposed to land there and incite the Irish to rebel. The Spanish fleet sailing north from Cadiz to join the French was defeated off Cape St. Vincent (s. coast of Portugal; map, p. 518). The French managed to land a few men at Fishguard, but they were captured. The Dutch fleet was blockaded for a time, and when it got away, it was defeated off Camperdown (north-west Holland). But



MIDSHIPMAN, 1799

SAILORS, TRAFALGAR PERIOD

two mutinies in the navy at this critical time maintained the tension of the situation. The one at Spithead (Portsmouth) was a protest against the harsh conditions of naval life. Many of the sailors had been compelled to join the service by the press-gang. Their very limited quarters in the forecabin were stuffy and verminous. Their food was usually sea-biscuit and salt beef or pork, of the most wretched quality. Discipline was enforced with great brutality, severe flogging and keel-hauling being all too common. Surgery was terribly crude, and if a limb were

damaged, it was usually cut off and the stump cauterised with boiling tar or red-hot irons. And the reward for this life was a few coppers a day, though it was swelled occasionally by prize-money when an enemy ship was taken. The Spithead mutiny was suppressed by the usual method of making lavish promises and then arresting the ringleaders when things had quietened down. There was, however, an increase of pay. The other rising took place in the fleet lying at the mouth of the Thames, and it spread to Duncan's fleet at Yarmouth. This Nore mutiny was more of a political and revolutionary nature and was suppressed with severity. At the end of the year Austria and Portugal made peace with France, and as Prussia had lost interest in the coalition of 1797, England was now the only member left, and France could afford once more to reject Pitt's peace offers.

The Directory, as the republican government of France was now called, wished to concentrate on the invasion of England, but they were dissuaded by General Bonaparte, as he now was. After his service at Toulon, he had made some influential friends in Paris and had been put in charge of a campaign in north Italy against Austria and the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. So brilliantly had he triumphed there in 1796-97 that he was able to advance to within a hundred miles of Vienna, and it was that which had caused the Austrians to leave the coalition. He was now considered the republic's leading general, but he meant to be something more than that before long. He thought the scheme for the invasion of Britain rather risky, and he had no intention of losing his reputation so soon. His mind at this time was full of the glamour of the East. He had realised the weakness of the Turkish empire, and he proposed to strengthen the position of the French in the Mediterranean so as to cripple British trade there, conquer Egypt and Syria, and then somehow get into touch with the Indian princes hostile to England, with a view to driving the British out of India.

After the invasion peril of 1797, during which the British navy was concentrated in home waters, the Admiralty decided once more to keep a squadron in the Mediterranean which would have to use Gibraltar as its base, now that Sardinia was not available. The officer chosen to command it was Horatio Nelson, a frail-looking little man who was

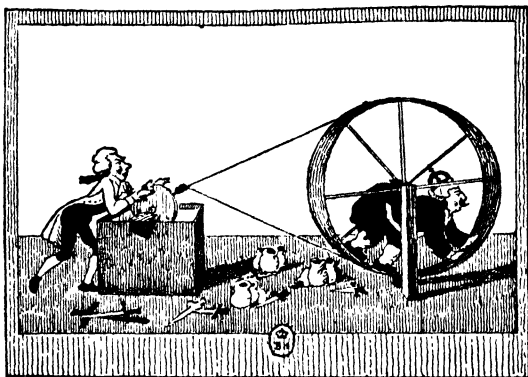
always sea-sick the first few days out. He had served in the American War of Independence as a midshipman, and in the present war had fought in Corsica, where he lost an eye, and had greatly distinguished himself at the battle off Cape St. Vincent. Nelson was told to watch Toulon, as the Admiralty knew that an important expedition was due to sail from there. But Bonaparte got away (May 1798), captured Malta, and then made straight for Alexandria. Nelson got on his track and, making a better voyage, reached Alexandria two days before the French, and decided they must have gone to Syria. While he was away there the French fleet reached Alexandria, disembarked Bonaparte's army, and waited at Aboukir Bay, a few miles eastwards nearer the mouth of the Nile, while the army advanced up the river and routed the Turks at the battle of the Pyramids of Cairo. Meanwhile Nelson returned to the Nile mouth from Syria, and sailing dangerously close in to the shore with half his fleet, caught the enemy van between two fires, and finally captured or destroyed nearly the whole French squadron (August 1st, 1798).

Bonaparte's army could not return now to France by sea. He decided to cross the Sinai desert and strike north through Palestine and Syria. When he reached Acre, the great Syrian port, he was surprised to find the Turkish resistance there so stubborn, the reason being that a British squadron under Sir Sidney Smith was helping them. Not merely did the fire from the British vessels harass the French, but there were landing parties of bluejackets stiffening the Turkish garrison. After a time Bonaparte had to raise the siege and return to Egypt, repeating the terrible desert march (1799). There he received news which made him think that he could now interfere decisively in French politics with great advantage to himself, for the Directory had become unpopular. Leaving his army in the lurch, he took his chief officers and the scientists who were beginning the modern study of Egypt's wonderful past, and risking a meeting with British frigates, sailed home. Fortune favoured him.

He reached Paris safely, dispersed the Directory and established what was practically a military dictatorship, with himself as First Consul of the Republic. France urgently needed his presence, for Nelson's victory of the

Nile encouraged the formation of a second coalition in 1799, England now being joined by Austria and other countries. With his usual amazing rapidity, Bonaparte crossed the Alps and descended like a thunderbolt on the Austrians, who had once more established themselves in northern Italy during his absence, and crushed them at the battle of Marengo (1800). Austria made peace with Napoleon in 1801. Apart from this blow England was faced in 1800 with a league of Armed Neutrality of the Baltic and North Sea powers (Russia, Sweden, Denmark and Prussia), who, as in the war of American Independence (p. 460), strongly objected to the strict examination of their shipping by British naval officers searching for contraband. A fleet was sent north to deal with the refusal to admit British vessels to the Baltic and Nelson was second in command. When the British arrived off Copenhagen, the Danish navy was seen to be in a strong position, protected by shore batteries. Admiral Parker reluctantly allowed Nelson to attack, then signalled him to stop. Nelson, putting his telescope to his blind eye, failed to read the signal, and attacked more furiously still, till the Danes were glad to give him best (1801). A few days before, the mad Tsar of Russia, who had organised the Armed Neutrality, had been assassinated. His successor was inclined to be friendly towards England and the league broke up. About the same time a British army was sent out to Egypt, and the starving army deserted by Bonaparte was compelled to surrender. The fighting in Egypt and Syria is a very clear illustration of the uses and importance of sea-power. Bonaparte himself, who had been at first inclined to ignore the British navy, realised now that it was his most dangerous enemy. He was already planning the invasion of England. But first he meant to reorganise France so that she might be fully prepared for a sharp contest. When, therefore, Pitt again offered peace terms, Bonaparte was prepared to consider them, though he adopted a haughty tone and refused to discuss France's extensive annexations on the Continent. So that the Austrian Netherlands, the Rhine provinces east of France, and half northern Italy were under French control, and Holland's independence was only nominal. In other words, republican France had achieved "the natural boundaries," and meant to keep them. After a good

deal of haggling, the Treaty of Amiens was signed on behalf of England and France on March 25th, 1802. England was to restore to France and her allies all the conquests of the British navy except Ceylon (Dutch) and Trinidad (Spanish). England also promised to restore Malta to the Knights of St. John (a promise which was not kept, on the excuse of Napoleon's own perfidy), and actually did give up other large islands of the Mediterranean which had been taken after 1798, and some West Indian islands. France evacuated central and southern Italy, and gave up her claim



FRENCH CARTOON OF PITT AND GEORGE III

The daggers and money bags would seem to symbolise George's support of Pitt with all the royal prerogative.

to Egypt. The French were naturally elated at these terms, and the triumph of the Revolution seemed to be complete.

2. THE IRISH REVOLUTION AND THE ACT OF UNION

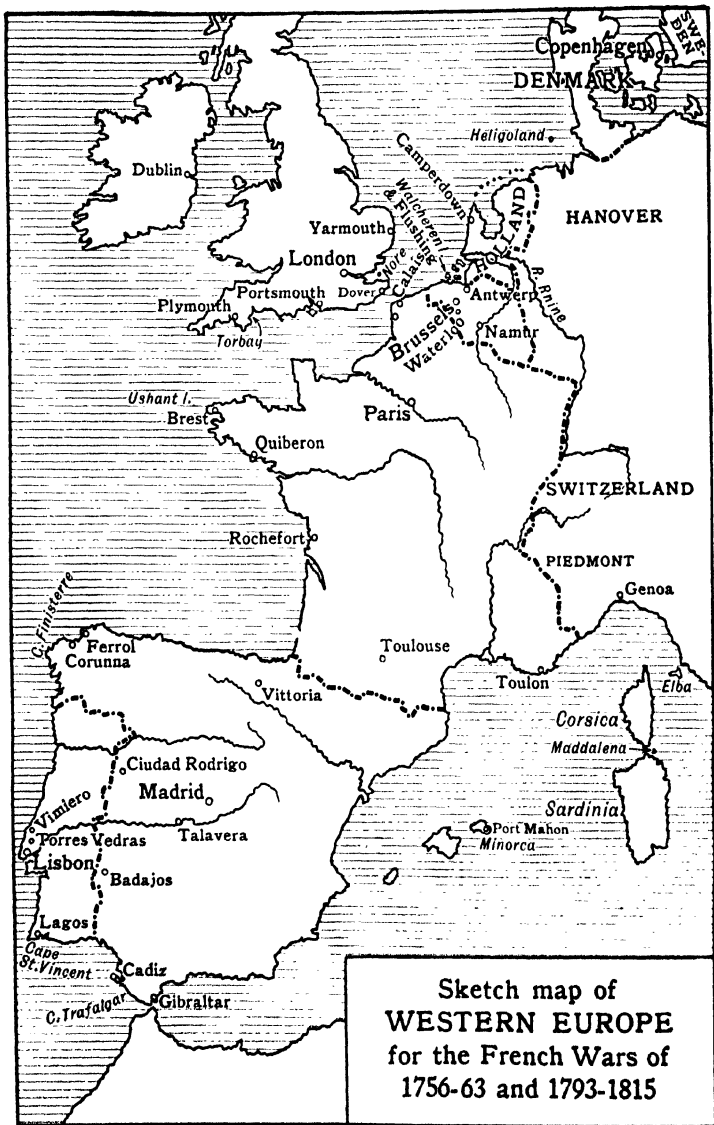
Meanwhile another dark chapter had been added to Ireland's tragic history. With the grant of Parliamentary independence in 1782 and the Catholic vote in 1793, better times seemed to be in sight. It still remained to bestow on Catholics the right to sit in the Irish Parliament, and a few of the more enlightened and generous Protestants were prepared to do this (p. 502). In 1795 Pitt sent out as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Fitzwilliam, who

sympathised with the Catholics and gave them the impression that he would encourage the Dublin Parliament to admit Catholic members as soon as possible. When Pitt realised this, he recalled Fitzwilliam, as the Cabinet had no intention of allowing so drastic a reform without the strongest checks and safeguards. For there was a real danger that a Catholic Parliament would promptly take revenge on Protestants for a century of repression. The disappointment in Ireland was keen, and Grattan's moderating influence (p. 502) declined. The United Irishmen, a body which combined Catholics with discontented Presbyterians of Ulster, increased its membership and became impregnated with a republican and revolutionary spirit. Their fiery leader, Wolfe Tone, went to Paris in 1796 to get help against England, and an expedition actually sailed, but was broken up by a storm. The Protestant ruling class became alarmed and loosed its militia as well as regular troops from England first on Ulster, then on Catholic Ireland. The foul brutality of these soldiers is the reason and the excuse for the rebellion of 1798. They flogged, tortured, and shot women as well as men, and burned farms down. Compared with this orgy of cruelty and bloodshed, the Reign of Terror in Paris was a minor episode. Small wonder then that Ireland broke into open rebellion in 1798. But the leaders of the United Irishmen had already been arrested, including Robert Emmet and Edward Fitzgerald, the latter being killed while trying to escape. And so the rebellion took the form of isolated risings which were quelled without much difficulty. One force of rebels swept through Wexford (south-east Ireland) headed by priests who urged the massacre of Protestants, but it was finally routed at Vinegar Hill. Later in the summer the French made three half-hearted attempts to support the rebels in north-western Ireland, but they were easily expelled, and Wolfe Tone, who was unlucky enough to be on one of the French ships captured, killed himself. When the rising was over, the punishments inflicted on all suspects as well as rebels were so brutal that a number of eminent officers, who were also English gentlemen, made a strong protest. They were dismissed for it, while others who had distinguished themselves by their cruelty received honours and rewards. The English officials who misruled Ireland from Dublin

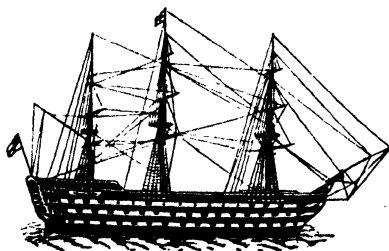
Castle are chiefly to blame for the horrors of '98. But Pitt knew what was going on and would not lift a finger to stop it. Even when allowance has been made for the fact that the Irish rebellion could be considered as a stab in the back, these events are a very ugly stain on his reputation. Pitt now decided that the independence of the Irish Protestant Parliament could no longer be justified, and plans were drawn up for a Parliamentary union of Ireland with England. This was to be accompanied by various concessions to the Catholics, including "emancipation," that is, the right to elect Catholic M.P.s to sit in what was soon to be the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland. But Pitt insisted that the union must come first, and no written pledge was given about the concessions, though he sincerely meant to grant them as soon as the union took place. As in the case of the Edinburgh Parliament in 1707, the Dublin Parliament had to be heavily and shamelessly bribed to accept the Act of Union and dissolve itself in 1800. Ireland was in future to send a hundred members to the House of Commons at Westminster, and the Irish peers were to elect twenty-eight of their number to sit in the House of Lords, while the others were entitled to stand as candidates for British constituencies and might so reach the House of Commons, unlike the English peers. Four Irish Protestant bishops might sit in the House of Lords, as most of the English bishops did. The first session of the enlarged Parliament took place in January 1801. Pitt then asked the Cabinet to consider the concessions to the Catholics. A minister warned George, who was strongly opposed to emancipation. Intervening as in the case of Fox's India Bill, he declared that he would look upon any supporter of emancipation as his enemy. Most of the Cabinet refused to have anything more to do with Pitt's proposals, and he resigned. The king had another attack of insanity as a result of the excitement, and when he recovered, he induced Pitt to promise never to raise the question again as long as he sat on the throne. Pitt promised, but remained out of office till 1804. George also induced Fox, and then the Prince of Wales to make the same promise later, after which he became permanently insane (1810). A hundred and twenty years of discontent in Ireland followed the Union. It was George III rather than Pitt who was responsible.

CHART FOR PERIOD OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1793-1802)

Date.	Home Affairs.	The Continent.	At Sea.	India.	Treaties, etc.
1793		Execution of Louis XVI., P. 507. French threat to Netherlands, P. 508.			First Coalition, P. 508.
1794	Habeas Corpus Act suspended, P. 520.	Reign of Terror in Paris, P. 509.	English success in Corsica and West Indies P. 509. "Glorious First of June," (Ushant), P. 509.		
1795	Treasonable Practices Act, P. 520. Meetings Act, P. 520. Fitzwilliam sent to Ireland and recalled, P. 514.	French annex Holland and repel English raids, P. 509.	England attacks Dutch colonies, P. 538. English failure in Corsica and West Indies, P. 509.		England declares war on Holland, P. 509.
1796	Irish intrigue with French, P. 515.	Bonaparte's success in Italy, P. 511.			Spain joins France, P. 509. leaves the Sardinia Coalition, P. 509.
1797	Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore, P. 510.		Battle of Cape St. Vincent, P. 510. Battle of Camperdown, P. 510.		Austria and Portugal leave the Coalition, P. 511.
1798	Irish Rebellion, P. 515.		Bonaparte captures Malta and invades Egypt, P. 512. Battle of the Nile, P. 512.	War with Tippu in Mysore, P. 535.	
1799	Acts suppressing secret societies and liberty of the Press, P. 540. Combination Act, P. 540.	Bonaparte returns to Paris and becomes First Consul, P. 512.	Bonaparte repulsed from Acre, P. 512.	Capture of Seringapatam. Death of Tippu, P. 535.	Second Coalition, P. 513.
1800	Act of Union, P. 516.	Bonaparte defeats the Austrians at Marengo, P. 513.			The Armed Neutrality, P. 513.
1801	Resignation of Pitt, P. 516.		Battle of Copenhagen, P. 513.		England isolated, P. 513.
1802	Steamer on the Clyde and Forth Canal, P. 560.				Treaty of Amiens, P. 514.



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NELSON'S FLAGSHIP "VICTORY"

Battleship of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE NAPOLEONIC WAR (1803-1815)

I. THE INVASION OF ENGLAND? (1803-1805)

ENGLAND had accepted the unsatisfactory conditions of the Treaty of Amiens chiefly because merchants and manufacturers were anxious to resume business relations with the Continent and so get rid of the accumulating products of the factories. It was confidently expected that Bonaparte (who in 1804 became Emperor of the French, and after that is usually called Napoleon) would conclude commercial treaties with this country. But he flatly refused to do so. Also he tightened his grip on Switzerland, north Italy and, worst of all, Holland, and when the British government complained, he practically told them to mind their own business. Complaining that Malta had not been restored, he himself sent spies to stir up the Irish, survey English harbours and plan a fresh conquest of Egypt, in spite of his pledge. After Napoleon quarrelled in public with the British ambassador, war was declared in May 1803. Since Pitt's resignation in 1801, Henry Addington had been Premier, a dull person who was ready to bow to the king's wishes. The best brains of the country were now in the Opposition, but Pitt was prepared to give Addington a fair chance. However, the new government was so feeble that Pitt decided he ought to overthrow it and return to office, as his friends were imploring him to do. Addington was baited and jeered at till he resigned, and George rather unwillingly sent for Pitt. The latter asked that Fox should

be included in the Cabinet, but the king angrily refused, and Fox replied to Pitt's chivalry by accepting his exclusion gracefully and asking his friends to support Pitt (May 1804).

The struggle that began in 1803 is usually known as the Napoleonic war. This title suggests, quite rightly, that we were no longer fighting so much against the French Revolution as against the personal ambition of Napoleon. The pomp and splendour of his court, the new class of nobles which he created, and the bestowal of the thrones of conquered nations on his relatives have little in common with the democracy and equal citizenship of 1793. And the lesser powers of Europe who had been gulled into accepting the French yoke, now found that "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" seemed to mean supplying conscripts for Napoleon's armies and paying heavy taxes to equip them. Even Fox, who long admired Napoleon, found, when he began to discuss terms of peace with the Emperor in 1806, that he was arrogant and treacherous. So that England's efforts in the coming struggle had behind them more of the impetus which can be sustained only by a united nation. This had been lacking in the earlier contest, when there had been an Opposition strong in intellect if not in numbers. Instead of rallying national enthusiasm, the government had in 1793 embarked on a campaign of stern repression. The eloquence of Burke had sharpened the instinctive fears and prejudices of the upper classes. Pitt had passed a series of Acts, "the Gagging Acts" as they were popularly called, curtailing the right of free speech and criticism, public meeting and agitation of any and every kind, and magistrates throughout the country enforced these laws against sedition and treason with the utmost rigour. The authors, printers and publishers of the most harmless pamphlets suggesting reform were sent to prison. Any workman who complained too loudly to his mates of fourteen hours' work on a little porridge, any desperate yokel who cursed the squire for the loss of his croft, was liable to find himself on a convict ship bound for Botany Bay. Perfectly respectable aliens might be hauled off to Bow Street police-station by tall-hatted "runners" and compelled to satisfy a suspicious officer that they were not French spies. As the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended in 1794, it was now legal to keep men in prison without a trial, a very convenient

situation for a government which suspects everything and can prove nothing. Pitt's emergency measures helped to swell the discontent they were devised to check. There were many unhappy people in England round about 1800, who had good reason to be dissatisfied. But very few of them wanted to cut King George's head off and proclaim a republic on Tower Hill, as Pitt seemed to fear.

When the war was resumed in 1803 Napoleon devoted all his energies to planning the invasion of England. He seems at first to have had some quaint idea of ferrying his army across from Boulogne in barges, as if the Channel were merely some inconveniently large river, and as if there were no currents and tides, or British frigates on a ceaseless vigil from Falmouth to the Nore. The French navy in 1803 was hardly a match for the British. It had been seriously disorganised by the Revolution, and sailors, unlike soldiers, cannot be improvised. But Napoleon apparently was at first prepared to ignore British supremacy at sea. Perhaps he thought that once he had landed and captured London, the government could be terrorised into granting him a free passage back. However, he must have reconsidered his first hare-brained scheme, because he never put it into practice. Eighteen months went by, in which the French navies were improved as far as that was possible without ever leaving harbour. For every French port which contained a naval detachment was closely blockaded by a British squadron. Nelson was watching Toulon as well as he could from La Maddalena, off Sardinia, and Cornwallis (known as Blue Billy because he was always hoisting the signal for putting out to sea) kept the main French navy tightly bottled up in Brest, by sending out detachments from Plymouth. There were hardly any vessels to spare to keep an eye on Rochefort, where the third French squadron lay. Then at the end of 1804 Spain declared war on England because of an attack on her treasure fleet. Napoleon now had Spanish squadrons and harbours at his disposal, and he began schemes for a bold challenge to British naval supremacy. If all his fleets could slip past the blockade and unite somewhere, the joint concentrated Franco-Spanish navy might successfully dispute the command of the Channel (map, p. 518).

But in the meantime Pitt had returned to office, and was organising an army of defence. Fortified camps were

built and elaborate arrangements made to keep them well supplied with stores. All along the south-east coast round watch-towers were built (called Martello towers), and many of these still remain. Coast-guards, official and otherwise, swept the sea with their glasses day after day. But the government, if not the nation at large, knew quite well that it was the navy which was the only sure defence. Lord Barham, head of the Admiralty, had corrected the tendency to slackness among officers which had become evident in the earlier campaign. And the navy was brought to such a pitch of efficiency that he was absolutely convinced that Napoleon's army would never land in England. All the possibilities were carefully examined by officers who knew every trick the sea can play, and the fullest arrangements were made to cover emergencies. Napoleon, on the other hand, expected ships to be able to put out at any time and manœuvre with the precision of a regiment. At last he decided that the West Indies were the best rendezvous for his squadrons. Not only were the islands sufficiently far away to prevent any immediate interference by the British navy, but severe damage might be inflicted on the valuable commerce centred there. In January 1805, the small Rochefort squadron got away and crossed the Atlantic, but finding itself alone, soon returned. At the end of March Villeneuve took his fleet out of Toulon, picked up a Spanish squadron at Cadiz, and also crossed safely to Martinique (West Indies) in May, and sought in vain for other French squadrons. By this time, Nelson, after a wild-goose chase to Egypt, had got on the right track and reached the West Indies in June, whereupon Villeneuve decided that it was time to go home. He had a week's start of Nelson, and approached Cape Finisterre about the middle of July. Lord Barham had been warned by a fast brig detached by Nelson, and sent Calder out with fifteen vessels to meet Villeneuve's twenty. They met in a mist somewhere off Cape Finisterre, and a confused struggle took place. Villeneuve escaped to Ferrol, where there were fourteen Spanish sail, and Calder returned home and was court-martialled. By this time Nelson had returned to Cadiz, called at Brest, and gone home on leave. The Rochefort squadron was out again, and the obvious thing for Villeneuve to do now was to meet it, race up to Brest, engage the blockading squadron and, at all costs, effect a

junction with his colleague still bottled up in Brest harbour. But instead of sailing north from Corunna, Villeneuve went south to Cadiz. Napoleon at once realised that his invasion scheme was a failure, and the immediate danger to England was over. On the cliffs near Boulogne, where his army of invasion had camped for so long, there stands a high column surmounted by a statue of Napoleon with his back to the Channel. We might look on this as a symbol of what happened in August 1805. For Napoleon now led his army away from the coast to the heart of Europe on a wonderful career of conquest. In April Pitt had organised a third coalition, including Russia and Austria. It was to deal with these powers that Napoleon now swung round.

Meanwhile the French ports still had to be closely watched, for if the enemy squadrons escaped again they might inflict terrible damage on British shipping, even if no fresh plans for invasion were formed. Nelson came out again in September and joined Collingwood in watching Cadiz. In October they were cruising between Cadiz and Gibraltar, when word came that Villeneuve was out, bound for Toulon. Nelson came north to meet him and Villeneuve retired towards Cadiz with his vanguard far in advance of the rest of the line. Nelson and Collingwood caught up off Cape Trafalgar and drove through the Franco-Spanish line at right angles, Collingwood, thanks to the N.W. wind, then demolishing the rear and Nelson the centre; after which the isolated vanguard was easily dealt with. But the joy of that sunset triumph was marred by the death of Nelson in the cockpit of the *Victory*. He had insisted on wearing his full uniform and decorations, and an enemy sniper up in the cross-trees of the *Redoubtable* picked him out and shot him through the spine. No other British admiral has ever gripped the imagination of sailors and landsmen quite so completely as this feeble, crippled, but indomitable fighter who combined a gentle, affectionate nature with lion-hearted courage.

But Napoleon could afford to ignore the battle of Trafalgar. A week before, he had captured an Austrian army at Ulm on the Upper Danube, occupied Vienna, and in December he routed the Austrians and Russians with terrible losses at Austerlitz (seventy-five miles north of Vienna), and Austria was compelled to make peace. In January 1806, Pitt died. The strain of the Irish troubles

had seriously undermined his health, which had never been too good. Once more he had tried in vain to persuade the king that Fox ought to be in the Cabinet. The trial of his friend Viscount Melville for embezzling money which should have been spent on the navy, the news of Ulm, the death of Nelson and finally the hammer blow of Austerlitz, all coming in one year, were too much for him. The French wars spoiled Pitt's life and reputation. Had he enjoyed a longer period of peace, he might have found himself in a political position sufficiently strong to insist on the much-needed reforms which he personally favoured, and he would have left a fine record as a constructive statesman. As it is, the strain of the war drove him to do things which prevent us from feeling much enthusiasm for him. But whatever mistakes he made, he spent his last ounce of strength in devoted service to his country. With Pitt's death his government fell to pieces, and George was at last compelled to admit Fox and his friends. Fox knew that he too had not long to live. He tried to come to terms with Napoleon, whom he had long admired, but realised at last that the Emperor was merely fooling him. But before he died (September 1806) he had the satisfaction of knowing that his other great ambition was to be realised, for he persuaded the House to agree to a Bill for the abolition of the slave trade, which was passed in March 1807. Those sad processions from West African villages to the coast and the horrors of "the middle passage" (Part II or III, p. 255) began to decline, for England, which had taken so prominent a part in the foul traffic, now made a late atonement, not merely by ceasing to take part in the slave trade, but by arranging regular patrols of smaller naval vessels to suppress the Arab slavers. If Pitt deserves to be called "the Pilot that weathered the Storm," it is even more correct to think of Fox as the man who kept the lamps of Liberty and Justice shining brightly through the storm.

2. THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM AND THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL

Not long after the death of Fox, Prussia, which had held aloof from the Third Coalition, with amazing folly challenged Napoleon. In a fortnight's campaign, as masterly as that of Austerlitz, he inflicted two crushing

defeats on them (Jena and Auerstadt, south of Hanover) and the Prussians too were now under his heel.

Except for Russia and Spain, which were soon to be included, Napoleon was now dictator of Continental Europe. He began to work out a colossal scheme for ruining England by cutting off her trade with Europe. By a series of decrees, of which the first and the best-known are the Berlin decrees (November 1806), he prohibited the countries that were under his control from trading with England, more particularly from admitting English goods or even letters and passengers into their ports. Such English products as got past his customs officers were destroyed wherever they were found. England's reply to this "Continental System" took the form of a series of "Orders in Council" (1807), *i.e.* emergency proclamations by the Privy Council which have the force of law. Under these, neutrals were not to enter ports under French control (which were henceforth watched by the navy) unless they had first landed their cargoes for a time in a British warehouse. It was also possible for foreign merchants, by paying a stiff price, to obtain a licence exempting their goods from this restriction.

Both the Continental System and the Orders in Council were so drastic and unreasonable that it was impossible to enforce them rigidly. Napoleon allowed corn to be exported to England provided it was paid for in gold, the export of which he thought would damage our financial system. He also found that he could not do without our cheap clothing, so that many a French soldier wore a greatcoat or boots that had come from an English workshop. In spite of all his customs officers, quantities of English goods were smuggled on to the Continent, Malta being the centre for this traffic in southern Europe, and Heligoland (off Jutland) in the North Sea. On the other hand, the effect of the Orders in Council was weakened by the enormous number of licences issued, and also forged, and the Orders were not strictly enforced against states which accepted the Continental System only under compulsion. In any case it was the neutrals who suffered most. America was very restive at the restrictions on her shipping, and declared war on England in 1812. The fighting was limited to naval encounters in the Atlantic and a futile attempt of the Americans to invade Canada by way of

the Great Lakes. After 1812 the Orders were not strictly enforced, as half the Cabinet was opposed to them. English manufacturers were faced with ruin as a result of the Continental System, and it was a trader maddened by bankruptcy who shot the Prime Minister Perceval in 1812. Even Napoleon himself was feeling the strain of imposing his will on the whole Continent.

3. THE PENINSULAR WAR (1808-1813)

In 1807, when the Russians came to the rescue of Prussia, Napoleon had defeated them at Friedland (N.E. Prussia). Soon afterwards the Tsar Alexander met him and fell for a time under the spell of his personality. Bribed by the gift of large masses of eastern Prussia, he agreed to drop out of the Third Coalition and enforce the Continental System in Russia (Treaty of Tilsit). And when the English, fearing that Napoleon would obtain control of the Danish fleet, sent the navy to bombard Copenhagen (1807), the Danes went over to Napoleon too. Towards the end of 1807 Napoleon invaded Portugal, which had refused to adopt the Continental System or to confiscate English property, and he drove the Portuguese royal family into exile. While he was present, the Portuguese had to obey, but as soon as he left, they intended to renew their friendly relations with England. In the meantime Napoleon had bullied and deceived the Spanish royal family and incited the king to quarrel with his eldest son. He then turned them both out and made his brother Joseph king of Spain. The Spanish nation at once rose against the French (1808). From this time onwards we can trace a new and very important feature in the European struggle, namely, the growing hatred of common people for Napoleon. At first they had believed that the French would free them from the tyranny of native oppressors. Then they found that Napoleon's officers were just as extortionate as the local count or bishop, and their disappointment was intense. In 1809 the mountaineers of the Austrian Tirol rose against the French and were brutally suppressed. Later we shall see how the Russian peasants abandoned their villages rather than help the French invaders. In Prussia a national revival was taking place, born of the deep humiliation of 1806-7. The English government by now was weary of trying to work

with selfish and unreliable kings. But when the subjects were ready to follow their kings, then England was prepared to make a big effort.

It was George Canning, the clever Foreign Secretary at the time, who saw the possibilities in Spain and Portugal. The coast of Portugal with its excellent harbours is only a short sail from England. The Portuguese were quite willing to allow their country to be used as a British base from which the Spanish revolt against Napoleon could be supported. In 1808 Sir Arthur Wellesley (of whose earlier career in India we shall read soon) was sent out with an army to Portugal, defeated the French at Vimiero (north of Lisbon) and compelled them by the Convention of Cintra to retire from Portugal. But as the authorities at home thought he had let the French off too lightly, he was recalled and Sir John Moore sent out to replace him. At the same time Napoleon undertook to crush the Spanish rising personally. He swept through northern Spain to Madrid, scattering the Spanish forces in utter confusion. To give them breathing space, Moore determined on a daring raid into Spain, striking at the great high-road between Madrid and the Pyrenees, which was the main artery of the French organisation (map, p. 518). Napoleon leapt at Moore like a panther. Moore knew quite well that his small army could not face the Emperor, who was at the head of a quarter of a million trained soldiers. He hastily retired, and so began the famous retreat to Corunna, where British transports were known to be waiting. About a hundred miles from the coast, Napoleon, thinking he had wasted enough valuable time, gave up the chase personally and put Marshal Soult in charge. Just before Corunna, Moore turned and sharply checked Soult, and so gained time for his troops to get on board without interference. Moore himself was killed, and everyone has read the poem which tells how they "buried him darkly at dead of night" (January 1809).

Wellesley, having satisfied his superiors at home, was now sent out again, and soon drove the French out of Portugal and even defeated them at Talavera, seventy miles south-west of Madrid, but wisely decided to retreat to Portugal. We must keep in mind the greatly superior strength of the French armies in Spain. Napoleon was now finding the Spanish business a perfect nuisance, and

he decided that there would be no peace until the British were driven out of Portugal altogether. As England had just lost an army by the terrible fiasco of the expedition to Walcheren Island (south coast of Holland), which precipitated a furious quarrel between Canning and his rival Castlereagh (the Secretary for War), Napoleon struck at once. He sent his best marshal, Masséna, at the head of a picked army, to sweep the British into the sea (1810). Viscount Wellington, as he now was, retreated coolly, dealing the French a shrewd blow as opportunity offered, and leaving the country a desert behind him. At last he approached Lisbon itself, and Masséna imagined his task was nearly over. But an unpleasant surprise awaited him. About thirty miles north of Lisbon, Wellington's army slipped behind an immensely strong series of entrenchments, the lines of Torres Vedras, which his sappers had been carefully preparing during the retreat. These lines stretched right across the peninsula on which Lisbon is situated. The British army was therefore in a snug position, with impregnable entrenchments in front of them, friendly Lisbon behind, and the navy on either side. Masséna threw his army at the lines of Torres Vedras again and again, but the French never broke through. His men were now starving and he had to retreat, hotly pressed by Wellington (1810).

Napoleon now withdrew many good troops from Spain for the invasion of Russia, and Wellington, now in supreme command of the Spanish and Portuguese armies also, felt strong enough to take the offensive. There were only two good roads running from Lisbon to Madrid, one somewhat to the north and commanded on the Spanish side of the frontier by the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, the other curving to the south and commanded by Badajos. These were, of course, obstinately defended by the French. In January 1812 Wellington took Ciudad Rodrigo almost by surprise, but a ghastly struggle was necessary before he captured Badajos in April. Though Wellington reached Madrid that summer, he retired to Portugal for the winter, while the French concentrated in northern Spain. Next spring Wellington drove them back without much difficulty, greatly assisted by the repeated landing of British forces on the north Spanish coast behind the French, a neat example of the use of sea-power. He routed Napoleon's

brother at Vittoria (1813), chased the French over the passes of the Pyrenees and finished the war by defeating Soult at the battle of Toulouse (1814). For those who are interested in military history, the Peninsular War will always be fascinating, especially as it has been described by a number of interesting authors. British troops displayed heroic endurance, marching hundreds of miles over scorching rocky paths in summer and deep snow in winter, many of them with only bloodstained rags on their feet and little



SOLDIER, PENINSULAR WAR PERIOD

to eat often but a handful of vegetables. Yet under such conditions there were brilliant and well-earned victories over the veteran troops of France who were led by experienced officers.

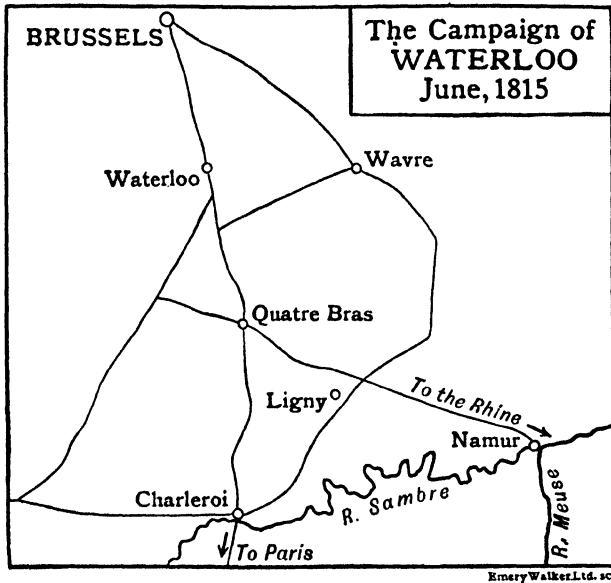
4. THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON (1812-15)

While Wellington was invading France from the south, the allies of the Fourth Coalition were approaching Paris from the north. At the end of 1811 Napoleon had quarrelled with his friend the Tsar, for not enforcing the Continental System with sufficient vigour. The Tsar had found this a difficult matter, as we badly wanted Russian hemp and

timber for our dockyards, and the Russians just as badly wanted cheap tea, coffee, cocoa, tobacco and sugar from our colonies, especially in winter. At last the Tsar flatly refused to help Napoleon any longer. And so the Emperor collected nearly half a million of his finest troops and invaded Russia (June 1812). Now Napoleon's strategy depended on good roads and fertile country, so that his armies could scatter to obtain food and reunite quickly if there was fighting to be done. He failed in Spain and Russia because Russia had no good roads and Spain had neither food nor roads. As he advanced into Russia, the peasants all fled before him and took away or destroyed everything eatable. He reached Moscow in the middle of September, and fondly imagined that Russia would surrender, now that he had taken their ancient capital. But the Russians simply retired and left him an empty and lonely Moscow, which someone set on fire. It burned for a week, and after a fatal delay of a month during which the Tsar pretended to negotiate, when the frosts had already begun, Napoleon decided to return to France (October 1812). If he could have retired by another route which had not yet been devastated, the tragedy would not have been so great. But the Russian army made a tremendous effort, and drove him back on the line by which he had advanced. The snow came, and the east wind. More and more slowly the weary miles were covered. More and more stragglers were left behind to become the prey of wolves and Cossacks. Thousands died of disease. The Emperor himself at first rode at the head of his army but finally sped away on a swift sledge, yet his devoted troops still cried "Vive l'Empéreur!" as he passed. Though Marshal Ney maintained a magnificent defence in the rear against the pursuing Russians, only twenty thousand of the half million ever returned. Now was the obvious chance for Napoleon's enemies. Prussia, Austria, Russia and England united in a Fourth Coalition (1813) organised by the Foreign Secretary, Castlereagh. At Leipzig (Saxony, in the heart of Germany) Napoleon was defeated after a titanic battle lasting three days. The Allies still offered to allow France to keep the "natural boundaries," but Napoleon foolishly refused, so they invaded France and occupied Paris (1814). Napoleon abdicated and was banished to Elba, off the west coast of Italy. The brother

of Louis XVI was restored to the French throne as Louis XVIII, and a Congress attended by the representatives of all the great powers met at Vienna to draw up a new map of Europe.

But in March 1815 news came that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and reached the south of France and that his veterans were rallying round him. Louis XVIII fled, and soon Napoleon was in Paris again. A Fifth



Coalition was formed between England, Austria and Prussia. An Anglo-German force under Wellington was sent to Brussels, and a Prussian army, under Blücher, came across the Rhine to join him. Napoleon, who always believed in attacking, hurried along the Paris-Brussels road and after passing Charleroi found that the allied armies had come south from Brussels, Wellington being at Quatre Bras and Blücher at Ligny. Ney drove Wellington back from Quatre Bras towards the village of Waterloo (ten miles south of Brussels) and Napoleon drove Blücher, as he

thought, headlong towards Namur and the Rhine. But Blücher retreated north, not east, was only a few miles east of Wellington and promised to join him as soon as possible. After an interval of a day, which gave the allies time to reorganise, Napoleon once more advanced and attacked Wellington, who had taken up his position on a ridge of high ground across the Brussels road two miles south of Waterloo. Napoleon ordered four heavy attacks on this ridge in the course of the day, the first by parallel columns of infantry, and the next by heavy cavalry, which the British met by forming squares. On the failure of the cavalry, two more attacks by infantry followed, in the last of which Napoleon used his last line of reserve, the veterans of the Old Guard. Thanks to the iron nerve of the Duke and his troops, these assaults failed too, shattered by those short-range volleys at the last moment with which British troops had met a charging enemy since Marlborough's days. As the French retired, they were dismayed to see the Prussians debouching from the woods on the east of the battle site, threatening to crumple up their flank. For when Napoleon had at last discovered that the Prussians were a few miles east of Waterloo, he had sent a force to hold them back, and it had failed to do so. The French retirement now became a wild stampede for safety, in which organisation and discipline were completely lost and Prussian Lancers chased the broken regiments across the frontier. So ended the crisis of the "Hundred Days" (March 10th to June 18th). Napoleon escaped to the coast and embarked for America, but he surrendered and was brought to Torbay by H.M.S. *Bellerophon*. He was taken away to St. Helena, the little island far off the south-west coast of Africa where the East India Company's ships used to call and after a few years he died there.

5. INDIA (1786-1823)

On Warren Hastings' recall in 1786, Lord Cornwallis (whom we last heard of at Yorktown) became Governor-General of India under Pitt's Regulating Act, and in view of the severe strain of the recent fighting the Governor was instructed to interfere as little as possible with the native princes. He did valuable work in improving the administration, and completed arrangements for the taxation of Bengal which remained in force down to modern

CHART FOR PERIOD OF NAPOLEONIC WAR (1803-1815), A.

Date.	Home Affairs.	At Sea.	The Continent.	India.	Treaties, etc.	Ministries.
1803	Measures for defence against invasion, p. 521.	Blockade of French harbours, p. 521.	French army collected at Boulogne, p. 521.	Second Mahratta War, p. 535. Battle of Assaye, p. 535. Battle of Argaum, p. 535.	War resumed between England and France, p. 519.	
1804	Pitt again Prime Minister, p. 519.	Blockade of Spanish harbours, p. 521. Battle of Trafalgar, p. 523.	Napoleon becomes Emperor, p. 519. Austrians defeated at Ulm, p. 523. Austrians and Russians defeated at Austerlitz, p. 523.		Spain declares war on England, p. 521. Third Coalition, p. 523.	Addington resigns, p. 519. Changes in Cabinet, p. 524.
1806	Death of Pitt, p. 523. Death of Fox, p. 524.		Prussians crushed at Jena and Auerstadt, p. 525.		Berlin Decrees, p. 525.	Grenville, Prime Minister. Fox, Foreign Secretary, p. 524.
1807	The Orders in Council, p. 525. Abolition of Slave Trade, p. 524.	Bombardment of Copenhagen, p. 526.	Denmark joins France, p. 526. French invade Portugal, p. 526.		Treaty of Tilsit between Napoleon and the Tsar, p. 526.	Portland, Prime Minister. Canning, Foreign Secretary, p. 527. Castlereagh, War Secretary, p. 528.

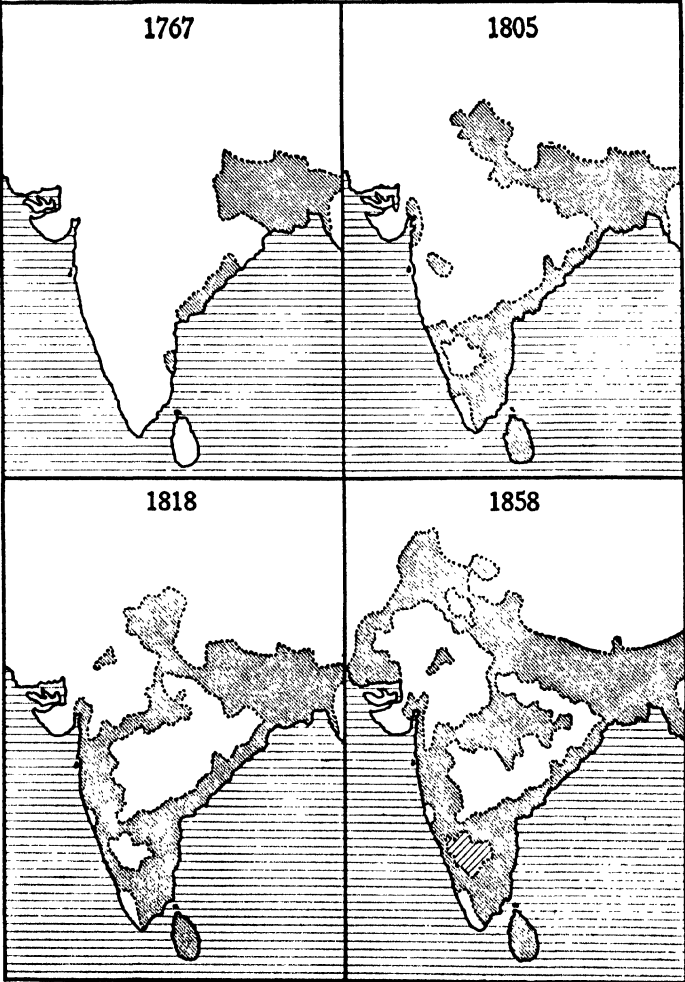
CHART FOR PERIOD OF NAPOLEONIC WAR, B.

Date.	Home Affairs.	The Peninsular War.	The Continent.	Treaties, Coalitions, etc.	Ministries.
1808		Wellesley in Portugal, p. 527.	Joseph Bonaparte, king of Spain, p. 526.	Convention of Cintra, p. 527.	
1809	Quarrel of Canning and Castlereagh, p. 528.	Retreat of Sir John Moore, p. 527. Wellington advances into Spain and is driven back into Portugal, p. 527.			Perceval, Prime Minister, p. 526. Palmerston, Secretary at War, p. 573.
1810	George III permanently insane, p. 516.	French retire from lines of Torres Vedras, p. 528.			
1811	Prince of Wales becomes Regent, p. 543.			Russia refuses to enforce Continental system, p. 530.	
1812		Wellington takes Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, p. 528.	Napoleon invades Russia, p. 530.	United States declares war on England, p. 525.	Lord Liverpool, Prime Minister, p. 541. Castlereagh, Foreign Secretary.
1813		Battle of Vittoria, p. 529.	Battle of Leipzig, p. 530.	Fourth Coalition, p. 530.	
1814		Battle of Toulouse, p. 529.	Allies enter Paris, p. 530.	Congress of Vienna opens, p. 531.	
1815			The Hundred Days, p. 531. Battle of Waterloo, p.	Fifth Coalition, p. 531. Treaty of Paris, p. 537. Congress of Vienna re-	

times. But when the war with France began, it was only to be expected that some ambitious prince would challenge British supremacy in India. Tippu, the Sultan of Mysore, had inherited the daring ambition and ability of his father, Hyder Ali (p. 473). To round off his dominions, he wished to annex Travancore, the south-western tip of India (map, p. 474). The Rajah of Travancore was on friendly terms with the British and Cornwallis came to his rescue, and with the assistance of the Mahrattas and the Nizam of Hyderabad, defeated Tippu and deprived him of the outlying parts of his territory (1792).

The next Governor (1798-1805), the Marquis of Wellesley (who brought with him his younger brother Arthur, later to become the Duke of Wellington), was faced with the problem of protecting India against French intrigues and perhaps attacks. Tippu was burning for revenge, and was willing to fall in with the plans of the French, calling himself "Citizen Tippu," as one who approved of the French Revolution. The presence of Napoleon in Egypt and French officials in Mauritius encouraged him. Now the Marquis was a fearless and domineering man, capable of conceiving and executing the boldest and most ambitious plans. By a series of treaties known as the "subsidiary alliances" he asked the chief native princes to admit and support British armies as a protection against the French. One of the Mahratta chiefs (the Peishwa of Poona), the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Rajah of Travancore agreed, but Tippu, of course, refused. His capital Seringapatam was stormed in 1799 and he was killed. Part of his territory came under direct British rule, part was given to the Nizam, and part was left for the old royal family whom Hyder Ali had expelled. Wherever a Nawab ruled badly or failed to keep his agreements with the British, Wellesley acted with a high hand and deprived him of part of his power and his territory. Thus the Carnatic and eastern and southern Oudh came under direct British control. The Mahratta chiefs became intensely suspicious of Wellesley and the Bhonsla of Nagpur struck at the territory of the Nizam, furious at his acceptance of the subsidiary system. Arthur Wellesley routed him at Assaye and Argaum (1803). Sindhia from Gwalior attacked other British allies and was defeated at Laswarri (1803). At the same time the capture of Delhi and Agra

Sketch maps for Growth of British Influence in INDIA



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ensured that the heart of the old Mogul Empire should be in British hands, safe from French and Mahratta intrigues (map, p. 474). But another Mahratta chief now rose against the British, Holkar, whose dreaded light cavalry for a time disputed British control of Delhi. The directors of the East India Company, once more alarmed, recalled Wellesley, and Cornwallis was sent out again to pursue a less ambitious policy, allowing the Mahrattas to resume their blackmail and oppression (1805).

Before long, however, the British were compelled to intervene again in Central India. In close alliance with the Mahrattas were the Pindari, an even more cruel and rapacious race who were constantly engaged in outrages. The Marquis of Hastings (1814-23) decided to suppress the latter, and having done so (1817) found himself faced with a formidable coalition of the Mahratta chiefs. By a series of clever manœuvres he succeeded in isolating the chiefs and crushing them separately. The Peishwa of Poona, defeated at Kirki, lost all his lands, and the Bhonsla, defeated at Sitabaldi, lost his western territories, while the other princes recognised British supremacy. It should be noted that by 1818 the whole coast-line of India was under British control or influence (maps p. 474 and p. 536). (For history of India since 1823, see p. 581.)

6. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

When the crisis of the Hundred Days was over, the glittering assembly of princes and diplomats, who had met at Vienna in 1814 to recast the map of Europe, resumed their task, and to the accompaniment of a brilliant social life and the most complicated secret intrigues, the new frontiers were decided. But first they disposed of France separately, by the Treaty of Paris. Talleyrand, the cunning French representative, who had once been Napoleon's political adviser but had quarrelled with him, argued skilfully on behalf of his new Bourbon master that France ought not to be punished for the ambition of Napoleon, especially as this would make the restored Bourbon dynasty unpopular. Louis XVIII, therefore, brother of the executed Louis XVI, succeeded to an undiminished France. But at the Congress of Vienna it was arranged that states bordering on France should be strengthened to act as a check against any future aggression.

Austria, receiving compensation in north-east Italy, gave up the Netherlands (modern Belgium), which were united with Holland in a single kingdom. Savoy and Sardinia were combined to check any French advance towards Italy. Switzerland regained its independence, and Prussia acquired extensive territory on the Rhine.

England, represented by Castlereagh, was concerned mainly to safeguard her naval and colonial power. She kept the island of Heligoland, taken from Denmark in 1807, and Malta, held by a British garrison since Nelson pursued Napoleon in 1798. Holland paid the price for the French alliance by losing the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon. These, together with Mauritius and the Seychelles, which France now lost, were valued at the time chiefly as giving Britain increased control of the sea route to India. In the West Indies England finally secured from France St. Lucia and Tobago, which, with Trinidad, won from the Spanish in 1797, may be regarded as stepping-stones to western Guiana (near the mouth of the Orinoco River) which the Dutch also lost to Britain.

The defeat of Napoleon had been essential for the peace of Europe. But with his fall Europe also lost much that was of constructive value in the French Revolution. Napoleon had begun the unification of Germany and Italy. They now had to wait fifty-five years for the completion of the process. He had begun to restore Poland, which had been completely dismembered by Russia, Austria and Prussia. Those powers now cut it up again and kept the living fragments apart for over a hundred years. The French had, at first, put vividly before the whole of Europe a vision of liberty and justice for common people. Napoleon had blurred that vision, and now the victorious monarchs of eastern Europe conspired to blot it out completely, while forming a "Holy Alliance" to govern their realms on strictly Christian principles. For a generation they succeeded, by suppressing freedom of speech and writing, in driving all progressive ideas underground. Everywhere reaction was triumphant. And trade depression increased the universal exhaustion and despair caused by the war. But the peasant as he plodded behind the plough, and the artisan stooping over his loom or bench, even as he cursed Napoleon, wondered why it was so difficult to achieve Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

SECTION VII

CHAPTER XXXV

ENGLAND AFTER WATERLOO

I. HARD TIMES (1815-1822)

THANKS to the navy, England had been spared the devastation wrought on the Continent by the marches and countermarches of armed hosts for more than twenty years. But she was suffering just as severely as any of the combatants from the exhaustion caused by the prolonged strain. The war with France had, at first, the effect of speeding-up the changes which we have described under the heading of the Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions. Farmers, sure of high prices for their produce, extended their farms and eagerly pressed for further enclosures. Manufacturers kept their mills roaring night and day to supply every kind of war material, while the Continent readily bought the cheap products of the new factories. But in the later stages of the war the Continental System was sufficiently successful to bring about an alarming restriction of European markets. And after 1815 the European nations set about modernising their own industries, importing British machinery and British mechanics to set it up, in spite of determined efforts on the part of manufacturers here to prevent such a collapse of their monopoly.

If the British merchant and manufacturer suffered from the sudden termination of the "boom," the position of the worker was more desperate still. Everywhere skilled handworkers were finding that their products could not compete against ingenious, tireless machinery tended by wretchedly paid women and children. Mills were raided by desperate craftsmen and machinery was smashed up, but in the long run the Machine and its owners were bound to win. And the factory workers themselves had to face wholesale dismissals and drastic reductions of wages. In the cellars

and back rooms of the foul slums hastily and carelessly erected to house "the hands" conveniently near the factories, they met to discuss their grievances, forming secret societies with fantastic names, for the Combination Act of 1799 (confirmed in 1800) treated Trade Unions as "conspiracies in restraint of trade." It is true that these laws also forbade masters to combine against workers, but there was nothing to prevent the masters making their arrangements privately after, say, a dinner-party, while all the time they were kept informed of the activities of the workers' secret societies by spies. As if low wages and irregular employment were not heavy enough burdens, the lower classes suffered most from the heavy taxation which war debts had made necessary. For most of the money was raised not by the direct taxation of incomes but by the indirect method of taxing common commodities, including the necessaries of life. From the taxed cradle to the taxed coffin the poor paid an unduly large share of the bill for the defeat of Napoleon. And finally the high cost of food, and particularly bread, meant that the poor were permanently underfed. We may get some idea of their wretched standard of living in this gloomy period if we remember that while the weekly wages of mill-hands were sinking towards ten shillings, the price of a large loaf was rising to one and tenpence.

To understand why bread in particular was so dear, we must return to the farmers. We have seen that they were tempted by the high cost of food-stuffs at the end of the eighteenth century (due partly to the demands of the armed forces and to the growing population of the towns) to enclose land rapidly and to spend a good deal of money in improving it. They too suffered from the "slump" after the war, as the manufacturers did. And as the income of landowners depended on the prosperity of farmers, and as the bulk of the Commons consisted of landowners and their friends, it is not difficult to understand why Parliament in 1815 passed the Corn Law, which absolutely forbade the importation of foreign corn till the price of English grain reached the fantastic figure of eighty shillings a quarter, and even when foreign corn was admitted, it was heavily taxed. The cruel effects of this artificial scarcity were aggravated by a series of poor harvests after 1815. And though the farmer and landowner imagined they had

thus secured another spell of prosperity, the country labourer and small landowner were not likely to share in it. They were both being driven off the land by the enclosure movement. Those who did not drift into the towns were glad to get any sort of work on farms even at very low wages which were not enough to enable them to keep body and soul together. It was proposed that a minimum wage for agricultural labour should be fixed by law. This was fiercely opposed by the farmers, and instead, a well-meant but disastrous scheme of poor relief grew up by which underpaid labourers could claim help from the overseers of the poor in their parish.

In 1795 the Justices of the county of Berkshire met at the Pelican Inn, Speenhamland, a famous hostelry on the Bath road, to discuss the problem. They drew up a scale showing what a labourer's wages ought to be according to the price of bread at any given time, making a comparatively generous allowance for his wife and children. If a labourer's wages did not amount to the sum which the scale allotted him, he was entitled to ask for the difference to be made good from the poor rates. This scheme was soon adopted by the neighbouring counties too, and finally spread to most parts of England. Now selfish farmers promptly took advantage to cut their men's wages down. And as large families were usual then, the poor rate grew to staggering proportions, ruining such small landowners as had managed to survive. And yet labourers still went hungry. Now a rabbit or a pheasant is a sore temptation to a permanently hungry man, and the strictest of game laws will not keep him off indefinitely. Barbarous devices were used to discourage poaching, such as spring guns, that fired their shot at close quarters into anyone who tripped over a concealed wire, and man-traps with large cruel teeth which could sever a limb. But the number of poachers grew steadily, and bloody encounters took place in the woods between desperate gangs and whole squads of gamekeepers.

The government of this period, being composed of "stern, unbending Tories," had little sympathy with the grievances of the workers, and displayed a morbid fear of any possibility of a revolution. The Premier (1812-27), Lord Liverpool, had distinguished himself in the French Revolution by joining the army of *émigrés* on the eastern frontier of France and loudly proclaiming their "divine

right" to govern their estates exactly as they pleased. Viscount Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary, would have had England join the Holy Alliance. Lord Sidmouth, Home Secretary, was the dull Addington, the Premier of 1801-4. They had but one remedy for the discontent of the poorer classes, and that was harsh repression. The Habeas Corpus Act had been restored in 1815, but was again suspended in 1817 after a number of riots. Sidmouth ordered local authorities to deal sternly with any sort of agitation which could possibly be described as seditious. As there was no effective police force as yet, soldiers were drafted into the big industrial towns to cow the artisans. Young men of the upper and middle classes were encouraged to join the Yeomanry, a volunteer cavalry force, where they were trained to charge and scatter mobs, as there was not a sufficient number of regular Hussars and Dragoons available for this all-too-common duty. The most notorious of the many ugly incidents of this depressing period is that which came to be known as the Peterloo or Manchester Massacre (1819). A large meeting had been organised in Manchester to demand the reform of Parliament, and in spite of the prohibition of the local magistrates, the organisers decided to hold it. On the day fixed, a very large but quite orderly crowd assembled, thousands of workers having tramped into Manchester from the neighbouring towns. The magistrates were in a panic. Not merely did they station Yeomanry and Dragoons round the area, but they actually had artillery up the side streets. The moment the leading speaker opened his mouth, the magistrates ordered the Yeomanry to arrest him. As they tried to force their way through the crowd, they were pulled off their horses and roughly handled. The magistrates now ordered the Dragoons to charge, and they did so, slashing with the edge of their sabres (and not the flat blades, as the regulations for such emergencies prescribed). A wild stampede ensued, the frightened spectators now being only too anxious to disperse. Eleven persons were killed and hundreds injured, including women. On hearing of the incident the government actually commended the magistrates and dismissed the Lord-Lieutenant of the county for reprimanding them. Further, they passed a series of six Acts giving magistrates increased powers to suppress and punish any organised expression of discontent. Such was

the state of the nation when George III died (1820). His passing made little difference, for since 1811 the Prince of Wales had acted as regent. For years now poor George III had been wandering aimlessly about the rooms and corridors of Windsor Castle with his long white beard streaming down over his purple dressing-gown, quite blind, deaf and mad, holding long conversations with imaginary statesmen and ambassadors. Whatever his faults, he shines by comparison with his odious son.



GENTLEMAN'S COSTUME
ABOUT 1820

LADY'S COSTUME
ABOUT 1820

By his attention to fashionable clothes and superficial accomplishments George IV (1820-30) earned the title of "First Gentleman in Europe." Surrounded by cads of high and low birth, he set an example of utterly debauched and selfish living which Society of the period all too readily followed. And in the end he became so grossly fat that he could not appear in public without special arrangements. The new reign opened with a conspiracy hatched by a number of crazy extremists to assassinate the Cabinet (the Cato Street Conspiracy). No doubt the conspirators deserved the death sentence passed on them, but it is typical of the brutality of the period that they should have

been beheaded. The accession to the Cabinet of three men of ability in 1822 comes like a current of fresh air into the stifling atmosphere of post-Waterloo England.

CHIEF DATES FOR THE LATER PART OF GEORGE III'S REIGN
(1793-1820)

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| 1794. "The Glorious First of June" (Ushant). | 1808. Battle of Vimiero. |
| 1797. Battle of Cape St. Vincent. | Convention of Cintra. |
| Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore. | 1809. Retreat of Moore. |
| Battle of Camperdown. | Battle of Talavera. |
| 1798. Battle of the Nile. | 1809. Retreat to Torres to 1810 Vedras. |
| Battle of Vinegar Hill (Irish Rebellion). | 1810. George III permanently insane. |
| 1799. Siege of Acre. | 1812. Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. |
| Capture of Seringapatam. | Liverpool's Ministry. |
| Combination Act. | U.S.A. declare war on England. |
| 1800. Act of Union (Irish). | First open sea voyage in steamer. |
| 1801. First Battle of Copenhagen. | 1813. Battle of Vittoria. |
| Pitt resigns. | 1814. Allies in Paris. |
| 1802. Treaty of Amiens. | Battle of Toulouse. |
| The <i>Charlotte Dundas</i> (first steamer. See p. 560). | First abdication of Napoleon. |
| 1803. War between England and France renewed. | Congress of Vienna begins. |
| 1804. Pitt returns to office. | 1815. The "Hundred Days." |
| 1806. Death of Pitt. | Battle of Waterloo. |
| Berlin Decrees. | Treaty of Paris. |
| Death of Fox. | Congress of Vienna resumed. |
| 1807. Orders in Council. | The Corn Law. |
| Abolition of Slave Trade. | 1819. The Manchester Massacre. |
| Second Battle of Copenhagen. | The Six Acts. |
| 1808-13. Peninsular War. | First transatlantic steamer voyage (see p. 561). |

2. PEEL AND CANNING (1822-1827)

Early in 1822 Sidmouth resigned, and Robert Peel took his place as Home Secretary. Peel was the grandson of a Lancashire yeoman who, hard hit by enclosures, had migrated to Bury and prospered in the cotton business. Robert Peel's father had also been successful, went into politics as a staunch supporter of Pitt, and looked forward to seeing his son Prime Minister. Peel soon justified his father's ambition, for his clear head and his tremendous powers of work marked him out; and in 1812, when he was only twenty-five, he was appointed Irish Secretary at a time when keen dissatisfaction with the Union made that post a very difficult one. By a mixture of firmness and justice he restored order and made a reputation as an expert in Irish affairs which he enjoyed to the end of his career. And on Sidmouth's failure to repress disorder in England by severity alone, it was felt strongly that Peel ought to take on the task.

Now Peel had already realised that Sidmouth's policy was stupid, and aggravated the very evils it was meant to cure. So many offences were now punishable by death that juries sometimes acquitted a man, though they must have known he was guilty, because they thought death too harsh a punishment. And the old saying, "One might as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb," takes on more significance if we consider the severity of the criminal code at this time. Peel saw clearly that if a poacher knows he will receive a very severe sentence for stealing a pheasant, he will have no compunction about cracking a game-keeper's skull. He therefore abolished capital punishment for all but three or four offences, and in spite of dismal prophecies, crime decreased.

The problem of crime is closely connected with the problem of poverty. It was unemployment, due to stagnation of trade, that was really the cause of the crime wave which was alarming the authorities, and that stagnation was largely due to heavy taxation of imports and innumerable official restrictions of trade. Although Pitt had accepted Adam Smith's theories (p. 469), the great war had resulted in a huge increase of trade taxation, while laws restricting trade had risen in number to eleven hundred in 1815 and nearly two thousand by 1820. Food and raw

materials paid heavy tolls, and there was an average tax of fifty per cent. on manufactured goods. The new President of the Board of Trade, Huskisson, though hardly an advocate of "Free Trade," saw that State control had gone too far. Many duties were lowered to something between fifteen per cent. and thirty per cent. In 1823 the Navigation Laws, passed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, were to some extent relaxed, especially as regards



DESIGN AT THE HEAD OF A TRADE UNION NOTICE, 1820

This seems to have been the mark of the Hat Finishers' Combination. It shows a worker from the provinces visiting the London headquarters of his union in an attic on the southern bank of the Thames.

the colonies, which were now permitted to trade directly with Europe. The strictness of the Corn Law was modified so that colonial corn might enter more easily, and a "sliding scale" was drawn up, by which the heavy taxes on such foreign corn as had to be admitted in times of famine were reduced in proportion as the price of English corn rose (1828). It became easier for labourers to travel in search of work. Hitherto they had been restricted by rules which tended to keep them in the parish of their birth so that they might not become a burden on the poor rate of some other

parish. Another improvement in the condition of the workers was the repeal in 1824 of the Combination Act which had been passed in 1799 and confirmed in 1800 (p. 540). The repeal was chiefly due to the agitation of Francis Place, a shrewd and influential master-tailor of London who had kept his sympathy with the workers, having himself suffered bitterly with them when he had led a strike in his early days. He won over a few Members of Parliament to his views by arguing that the Combination Law was one of the official restraints which were ruining trade. His Parliamentary friends were rather lucky to secure the abolition, and next year the employers' friends made a counter-attack and it became illegal to intimidate employers by strikes. But the workers were allowed to combine for collective bargaining against their masters and, in spite of the Act of 1825, when they became desperate they still went on strike.

Although Lord Liverpool was nominally Prime Minister till 1827, the Leader of the House and the master spirit of the Cabinet was now George Canning, the new Foreign Secretary. He had shown considerable ability in this office from 1807-9, when he had been responsible for the second bombardment of Copenhagen (p. 526), and had urged British support of the Spanish and Portuguese nations, which had developed into the Peninsular War. But since his sensational duel with Castlereagh on Putney Heath (p. 528), when they had each fired twice and Canning had been hit, his popularity had waned, for he had intrigued against Castlereagh in rather an underhand manner. Canning therefore faded into the background, holding no office at all for some years, and then only minor ones. Castlereagh represented England at the Congress of Vienna and in the subsequent period. Although he had no sympathy at all with democracy either in England or in Europe, he did not approve, as much as he seemed to do, of the suppression of risings by tyrant kings, which was the main function of the Holy Alliance. And in the negotiations he thought more of Europe's welfare than England's gains. But his cold and reserved nature made him odious to ardent friends of Liberty. "I met Murder on the way," wrote Shelley; "he had a mask like Castlereagh." Besides his diplomatic work, as Leader of the House for Lord Liverpool, he bore the main burden of the government

during the painful years 1812-22 till his mind gave way under the strain and he committed suicide.

Canning was about to embark as Governor-General of India when he heard the news of Castlereagh's death. He had some time before been reconciled to him and now took his place. He was more outspoken than Castlereagh in his disapproval of Continental despotism, and when a series of risings took place throughout the Spanish dominions from 1820 onwards, he looked with a very jealous eye on the support which the French army gave the Spanish monarch. The revolt in Spain itself was stamped out, but when the French next proposed to help the Spanish authorities to recover their rebellious colonies in South America (provided they obtained a share), Canning could tolerate it no longer. He threatened France with war if she interfered in South America, and he was helped by the famous declaration of President Monroe that the United States would henceforth consider European interference in South America as an unfriendly act (1823). With help from British volunteers, the Spanish-American colonies managed to break away from the mother country and set up independent republics. In his speech announcing Britain's recognition of the new South American states, Canning triumphantly declared, "I have called in the New World to redress the balance of the Old" (1824).

In February 1827, Liverpool became seriously ill and Canning took his place as Prime Minister. Several members of the Cabinet immediately resigned, differing sharply from Canning on several proposed reforms, and he appointed Whigs in their place. He now had to deal with a very delicate situation in south-eastern Europe. Since 1821, the Greeks, who, like the other Balkan peoples, had long been under the hated rule of the Turks, rose against them, and a protracted war broke out in which the Greeks had the sympathy of many Englishmen. Among them was the poet, Lord Byron, who closed his brilliant, restless career by dying in Greece of a fever contracted while fighting against the Turks. But Canning had to move warily. For Russia was already showing that tendency to take advantage of Turkey's embarrassments, which English statesmen were to watch so jealously throughout the nineteenth century. He therefore arranged a conference of the powers in London to arbitrate between the Greeks and Turks. In the mean-

time there was an armistice in Greece, and the Turkish fleet, which had inflicted great damage, was anchored in Navarino Bay (south-west coast of Greece) and an Anglo-French fleet lay near it. An argument between the British admiral and the Turks about right of way ended in a battle, the result of which was that the whole Turkish fleet was destroyed. In 1829 Greece became an independent kingdom. Canning died in August 1827, just before the battle of Navarino, in the very room in which Fox had breathed his last, twenty-one years before. Undoubtedly the ablest English statesman of his time, a brilliant speaker and writer, he had wasted the best years of his life through jealousy of Castlereagh.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE YEARS OF REFORM

I. PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

AFTER a period of confusion, due to Cabinet quarrels, the Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister in 1828, supported by Peel. The next few years are coloured by the strong dissatisfaction felt by large numbers of Englishmen with the monopoly of both Parliamentary and local power too long enjoyed by a small section of the population. It was felt on all sides that reforms were overdue. In 1828 the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed (see pp. 348, 332) and Dissenters were admitted to all public offices. The government had now to face the more difficult problem of Catholic Emancipation. The promise made by Pitt, at the time of the Act of Union, that Catholic candidates would soon be permitted to stand for Parliament, had not yet been redeemed, chiefly owing to the obstinacy of George III and his successor (p. 516). The Irish were now stubbornly determined to have this grievance remedied at once. A Catholic lawyer named Daniel O'Connell put up for County Clare, was elected and presented himself at Westminster as a duly returned Member of Parliament. He was refused admittance, and a fresh election was ordered. O'Connell was again elected (1828). During the last five years he had organised the whole Catholic population of Ireland to agitate for reform, and his eloquence now roused them to passionate enthusiasm. Wellington himself was not so obstinately opposed to Catholic Emancipation as is commonly imagined, but he knew that most of his party were, besides the king. The threat of a civil war in Ireland made him realise that the reform was inevitable. He had a long and stormy interview with George IV, who finally gave way. But he dreaded facing his party, and in any case, as the Duke sat in the House of Lords, Peel, who as Home Secretary was busy enough organising the new Metropolitan Police, had, as Leader of the House of Commons, the

thankless task of piloting the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. In 1829 it became law, and all political and civil offices were now open to Catholics except that the King, the Regent, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland must still be Protestants. Soon after the accession of William IV (1830-1837), Wellington resigned. The Whigs were pressing him hard for Parliamentary reform, and the extreme Tories, resenting the "Emancipation" Act, would not support him. At the General Election the Whigs secured a small majority and formed a government with the support of the more broad-minded Tories. Lord Grey was Prime Minister, but sat in the House of Lords. Lord John Russell led the party in the Commons, with Lord Melbourne and Lord Palmerston (Foreign Secretary). Grey had supported every attempt at Parliamentary reform for the last forty years, and it was certain that the first business of the new government would be to introduce a Bill for the drastic reform of Parliamentary representation.

There had been little change in the distribution of seats ever since Edward I, round about 1300, had rather vaguely ordered his sheriffs to arrange for the election of two burgesses from each borough and two knights from each shire, for the earliest Parliaments. In the course of five centuries, especially in the south, many a flourishing marketing town had decayed, and busy ports had silted up. But they still returned members to Parliament, while cities which had grown enormously during the Industrial Revolution were not yet represented. London was spreading rapidly, but only Westminster and "the City" returned members, as in the Middle Ages. Cornwall in particular, where the Crown had large estates, was grossly over-represented. Looe, on the Cornish coast, is now a pleasant village built on both banks of a creek. For centuries before 1832 there was a member of Parliament for East Looe and another for West Looe. Another Cornish village, Gram-pound, had lost its member in 1821 for notorious corruption. There were cases where ruined villages still returned members. Perhaps the most glaring instance was the borough of Old Sarum (near Salisbury) which had dwindled, by the eighteenth century, to a few uninhabited ruins. But at the time when Chatham first entered Parliament as its representative (1735), seven men used to meet under an elm tree and there choose two members of Parliament. By the end of the century there was only one

elector. After the Reform Act was passed, there was an old man of the district who used to boast that "he had been the borough of Old Sarum and had returned two representatives to Parliament for forty years, all honest men and gentlemen, not the sort of fellows they were sending to Parliament in these days." But Manchester with two hundred and twenty-eight thousand, Liverpool with a hundred and eighty-nine thousand, Leeds with a hundred and twenty-three thousand, had no representative. And it was not merely the distribution of constituencies which badly needed adjusting. The franchise itself, *i.e.* the right to vote, was enjoyed by a surprisingly small number of people. While the population was increasing rapidly, the number of electors was actually decreasing. This was due partly to the disappearance of the yeoman class on account of the enclosures, and partly to deliberate attempts on the part of the electors to reduce their numbers so that the process of bribery might be simplified. There were cases where a single person had the right to nominate the member of Parliament ("close" or "pocket" boroughs), and he might put his privilege up for auction ("rotten boroughs"). Under such conditions the wealth and local influence of landowners played a decisive part in the elections, and it is estimated that in effect a quarter of the members of the Commons were chosen by a few members of the Lords. Ever since the time of the younger Pitt it was felt that reform was necessary. The French wars, and the period of reaction that followed, discouraged any important change. But by 1830 the idea of Parliamentary reform had gripped the people's imagination. On the Continent in that year the expulsion of Charles X in France and the successful revolt of the Belgians against their Dutch rulers (p. 574) seemed to show that the masses when roused could overthrow stubborn governments. The English "Radicals" (*i.e.* those desiring drastic political reform) took heart, and agitated for electoral changes.

The Prime Minister and Russell (who had also distinguished himself by previous attempts to win Parliament over to the idea of reform) in great secrecy drew up a Reform Bill, and on March 1st, 1831, it was introduced into the Commons. The Bill was in two parts. One dealt with the constituencies, grouped under five schedules. Schedule A was a list of boroughs with less than two thousand inhabitants which were no longer to have members, the

pocket and rotten boroughs being wiped out at one fell swoop. B gave those of two thousand to four thousand which were in future to return only one member. C and D were lists of boroughs hitherto unrepresented now to return two members and one member respectively, and they included the manufacturing towns of the north and the districts of Greater London; while to meet the objection that the industrial towns would now be over-represented, Schedule E gave an increased number of county representatives. As Russell read out these lists, the House listened in silent astonishment. Then shouts of derisive laughter and cries of rage burst from the Tories and some of the Whigs, while Radicals cheered exultingly. But the "little fellow, scarce eight stone," continued in his "cool, small voice," remarking pleasantly, "More yet!"

The other part of the Bill dealt with the franchise. All the quaint and varied qualifications which had formed part of the old system were swept away. In future, only those who in the boroughs occupied a house for which they paid £10 or more annually, could vote. In the counties the vote was given to all freeholders and those who paid £10 or more annually on a long lease, or £50 on a short lease. Now the borough qualification seems at first sight a low one, which might admit a vast army of new electors. But there were certain conditions which, in effect, excluded all below the prosperous middle class. The rent had to be paid in not more than two instalments a year, but most people paid weekly. And there was the further proviso that householders must pay their rates themselves directly, which the poorer ones never did.

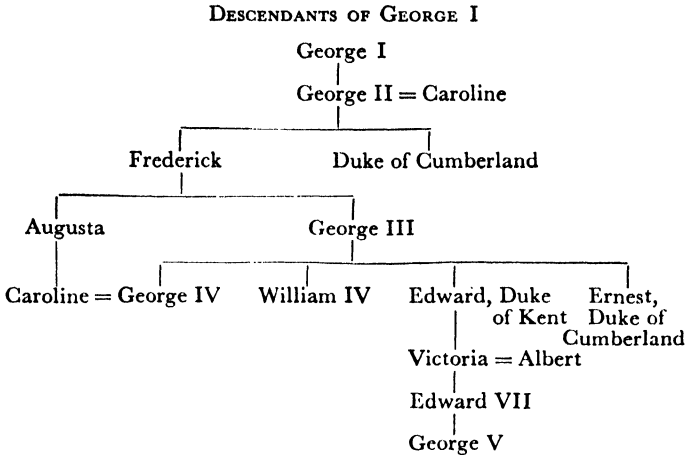
After the second reading the division showed 302 for the Bill and 301 against, and the Bill was soon afterwards defeated in committee. A General Election was held and the Whigs were returned with a big majority, so that there was no difficulty in getting the Bill through the Commons (October 1831). But the Lords, led by the Duke of Wellington, rejected it. There was an explosion of popular fury. The windows of the Duke's London residence at No. 1 Piccadilly (Apsley House) were broken. Nottingham Castle, where the Duke of Newcastle lived, was burned down. Most of the bishops had voted against the Bill, and it was noticed that if they had all voted for it, it would have passed. And so bishops' palaces were attacked, and on November 5th, the effigies of bishops were burned instead of

Guy Fawkes. A third Bill was introduced with minor amendments which might make it more acceptable to the Lords. They still refused to accept it, and such serious rioting broke out in large cities that a revolution seemed imminent, and large bodies of troops were drafted north. Grey resigned, but when Wellington failed to form a ministry, the king had to recall the Whig leader and promise to create a sufficient number of new peers to out-vote the Opposition, if necessary. In face of this threat, many of the Tory peers abstained from voting, and the Bill was passed (March 1832).

The gloomy prophecies of the Tories as to the composition of a reformed House of Commons were shown to be wide of the mark when, after another General Election, the new House met in 1833. The same type of member, and in many cases actually the same members, were returned. They included one hundred and twenty-eight army and navy officers and four hundred gentlemen of independent means, mainly landowners. But there was this difference, that they were now returned by the votes of farmers, merchants, shopkeepers and professional men. As the working classes still did not have the vote and there was a high property qualification for candidates, the Reform Act of 1832 cannot be regarded as an overwhelming triumph of democracy. But it meant that in the future the House of Commons would represent the middle as well as the upper classes, and that the industrial areas of the north, which now contained the bulk of England's wealth and population, could make their voice heard in the national council. The golden age of the English aristocracy was drawing to a close.

CHIEF DATES FOR GEORGE IV's REIGN (1820-1830)

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| 1820. Cato Street Con-
spiracy. | 1827. Death of Canning.
Battle of Navarino
Bay. |
| 1822. Death of Castlereagh.
Canning, Foreign
Secretary. | 1828. Wellington, Premier.
Repeal of Test Act. |
| Peel, Home Secretary.
Huskisson, President
of the Board of
Trade. | 1829. Roman Catholic Re-
lief or Emancipa-
tion Act.
Rainhill locomotive
trials (see p. 563). |
| 1824. Repeal of Combina-
tion Laws. | |



2. MUNICIPAL AND SOCIAL REFORMS

The tendency to break down old political monopolies showed itself in local government too. Boroughs up till this time had been governed by small and sometimes corrupt cliques of aldermen who were not responsible to the citizens, although they spent large sums of money raised by rates. In the case of Manchester, the successors of the mediæval lord of the manor still had wide powers of jurisdiction. By the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, boroughs in future were to be governed by Town Councils, the councillors being elected annually by the ratepayers. So began our modern system of city management. The purposes for which rates were to be levied were at first strictly limited by law, but since then they have steadily increased and are likely to increase still further.

Important social reforms were also effected in the first years of the new régime. Although the slave trade, as far as Britain was concerned, had been abolished in 1807, there were still large numbers of negro slaves working in the plantations of the British West Indies and in Cape Colony. In 1833 the Act for the Emancipation of Slaves was passed, and slavery became illegal throughout British dominions.

The government compensated the planters with twenty million pounds, and the former slaves were compelled to stay with their masters for seven years, after which they were to be quite free. The same year saw the first effective Factory Act put on the Statute Book. Adam Smith's proposals for the removal of state restrictions on trade had been developed by extremists into the doctrine of *laissez faire* ("allow manufacture"), that is, the State ought not to interfere with industry at all. Ruthless competition had driven factory owners to cut down their costs by employing as many women and children as possible, and parents, made callous by their poverty, sent their children into the mills almost as soon as they could walk. The result was that in the manufacturing districts, a pale and sickly generation was growing up which contained far too large a proportion of maimed children, who had been caught in machinery which they were made to clean while it was in motion. The heartless exploitation of child labour is the ugliest feature of the Industrial Revolution. A regular traffic had grown up by which orphan children from London workhouses were practically sold to northern mill-owners who treated them as cruelly as any West Indian planter used his blacks. From 1802 onwards, attempts had been made to remedy this scandalous state of affairs, but the laws had not been enforced. But the consciences of the better sort of mill-owner (Peel's father is a case in point) were touched, and they were active in improving the lot of the factory child. The importance of the Factory Act of 1833, which was the work of the great philanthropist Lord Shaftesbury, is that it entirely prohibited the employment of children under nine, and otherwise protected women and children. Apart from this, to see that the law was observed, a staff of factory inspectors was appointed. It was a clear intimation that the State was not altogether prepared to see its humblest members sacrificed to "prosperity." Since then, a whole code of mine, workshop and factory laws has been passed, enforced by zealous inspectors. In this connection we may note the work of Robert Owen, an eccentric but high-minded reformer and mill-owner. At his model factory in New Lanark, on the Clyde, he set all British employers an example, by refusing to employ young children and giving his employees facilities for education and physical exercise, besides reducing their

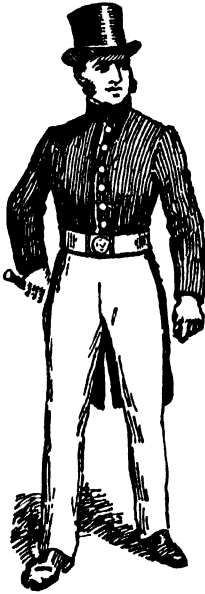
working hours. Like other employers, he kept a shop for his "hands," but he encouraged them to manage it themselves, and so has come to be regarded as the founder of the Co-operative Stores, although the first independent shop of this kind was started by twenty-eight Rochdale weavers in 1844.

In 1834 the Poor Law was reformed and a new organisation set up which endured till quite recently. The extension of the Speenhamland system of outdoor relief to supplement wages (p. 541) had put an intolerable burden on the ratepayers which should have been shouldered more by employers. After 1834 an able-bodied man could not obtain assistance from the overseers of the poor unless he actually came into the workhouse. Groups of parishes combined to erect rather bleak and forbidding buildings, hence known as "Unions," where a man might obtain rough food and shelter in return for a number of hours' work, and unsympathetic workhouse masters saw to it that there was no strong temptation to avail oneself of these facilities. Respectable workers were haunted by the fear of having to enter "the Union" when they were too old and feeble to keep themselves. And even "tramps" (those hopeless rebels against the whole social system) and casual labourers, now free to roam anywhere in search of work, passed through the frowning gates unwillingly.

As a result of differences in the Cabinet as to how disorder in Ireland should be dealt with, Grey resigned and Melbourne became Prime Minister (1834). He was a clever and cultivated man, but treated the most serious matters with flippant indifference, convinced that most problems would solve themselves if ignored long enough. King William disliked him and soon dismissed him. Peel was brought back post-haste from Rome, where he had been on holiday, and formed his first ministry. Wellington, being shrewd enough to realise that Peel was politically his superior, served under him as Foreign Secretary. Peel was in office long enough to prove, in the words of a French historian, that he was "the most liberal of Conservatives and the most conservative of Liberals and the most capable man of all in both parties." But the Whig majority compelled him to resign in 1835 and the king had to recall Melbourne; thus it was decided, once and for all, that the

Crown could not dismiss a Prime Minister who was supported by a majority in the Commons.

When William IV died, Victoria (1837-1901), the daughter of the Duke of Kent, succeeded in preference to her unpleasant old uncle, the Duke of Cumberland (table, p. 556). The slightly-built, blue-eyed girl of eighteen at



A "PEELER," 1829



A LANCASHIRE MILL WORKER, 1842

once showed dignified self-possession and intelligence in maintaining the exalted rôle suddenly thrust on her, and in the first years of her reign she carried out Melbourne's tactful instructions with great success. It was a distinct blow to her when Melbourne's ministry fell in 1841, owing to difference in the Cabinet about Free Trade, and she had to accept Peel as Prime Minister, with his desperately shy and awkward manner, so different from the courtly grace and ease of his predecessor.

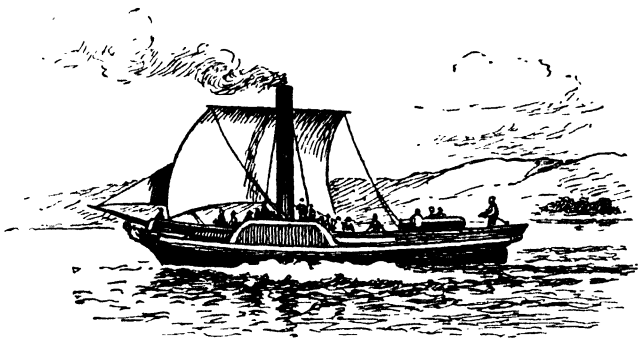
CHIEF DATES FOR WILLIAM IV'S REIGN (1830-1837)

1832. Parliamentary form Act.	Re-	1833. Factory Act.
1833. Emancipation Slaves.	of	1834. Poor Law Reform. 1835. Municipal Reform Act.

3. STEAMERS, TRAINS AND TELEGRAPHS

The period we have now reached may be described as the end of the "Industrial Revolution," taking that phrase to mean the sudden increase in our powers of manufacture and transport which began round about 1750. For early in Victoria's reign, steam power was regularly used for locomotion, and the invention of the electric telegraph showed that man had harnessed another force of nature. There is rather a long interval between the first steam pumps and the first marine and locomotive engines, and Watt himself is partly responsible, as he discouraged the adaption of his invention. Another difficulty was that the earliest engines could not develop the high pressure required for locomotives and steamers. It was in 1789 that Symington first took out a patent for a steam-driven boat which was to have an engine well aft and a paddle at the stern. In 1802 the *Charlotte Dundas* pulled two barges of seventy tons twenty miles along the Forth and Clyde Canal against stormy winds, but as the little steamer's wash damaged the canal banks, Symington could get no further support in Scotland. He then approached the Duke of Bridgewater, who consented to tests on his canal, but the Duke died soon after and Symington was ruined. However, his experiments had been closely watched by Bell of Glasgow, who constructed a larger vessel for passenger traffic in 1812. It is worth noting that Bell, when he had approached the government earlier on for assistance, was strongly supported by Nelson. Bell's steamer, the *Comet*, plied regularly on the Clyde between Glasgow and Greenock at about six miles an hour. Like all the early steamers, it was built mainly of wood, was low in the water, had its engines and tall funnel forward, and large paddles amidships. It also used sails, as all steamers did for a long time. Glasgow boys and old sailors for years confidently expected it to blow up, and they waited hopefully to "see the sailors and passengers flecin' in the air." But they

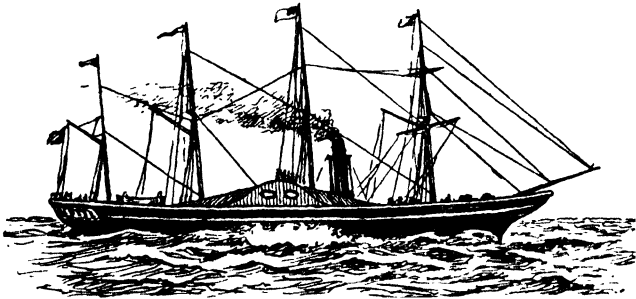
were disappointed. The *Comet* extended its route to Oban and Fort William in the Highlands, and was wrecked in 1820. The first open sea voyage in a steamer was made by three boys in 1812. They left Glasgow in the *Elizabeth* for Liverpool and they duly arrived there, but owing to storms their route was via Arran, Ramsay (I.O.M.), Dublin and North Wales. In 1815 the first Glasgow-London voyage was made, and in 1816 the *Hibernia* crossed from Holyhead to Dublin. Steamers were now constructed with sharp bows, and the engines were reversible. In 1820 a regular Dover to Calais service was begun, and in 1823 steamers began to ply between Hull and Rotterdam.



BELL'S "COMET," 1812

The first transatlantic steam voyage was made in 1819. The most interesting of the earliest transatlantic voyages took place in 1821-22. At this period the Spanish-American colonies were in rebellion (p. 548), and Lord Cochrane, who was helping the Chilian rebels, arranged for the construction of a steamer to assist them against the Spanish navy. This vessel, the *Rising Star*, left Gravesend on October 22nd, 1821, and reached Valparaiso in 1822. Regular transatlantic crossings date from 1838. In the March of that year two vessels were preparing for a voyage to New York, the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, a much larger vessel with more powerful engines. The *Sirius* left London first on April 22nd, the *Great Western* sailed from Liverpool on the 31st, caught fire, and put in at Bristol, leaving three days after the *Sirius* had left Cork. But the larger vessel

arrived only a few hours after the *Sirius*, and its consumption of coal was, in proportion, considerably smaller. The *Great Western* took fifteen days over the crossing. It was now obvious that steam navigation could be put on a business footing. In 1840 Samuel Cunard, a Nova Scotia merchant, supported by Liverpool business men, obtained a contract from the government for the conveyance of mails by steamer between Liverpool, Halifax and Boston, and in 1850 the Inman line (which later became the White Star Line) began to ply between Liverpool, Philadelphia and New York. The first steam voyage from London to Calcutta was made in 1825, and the P. & O. Line was

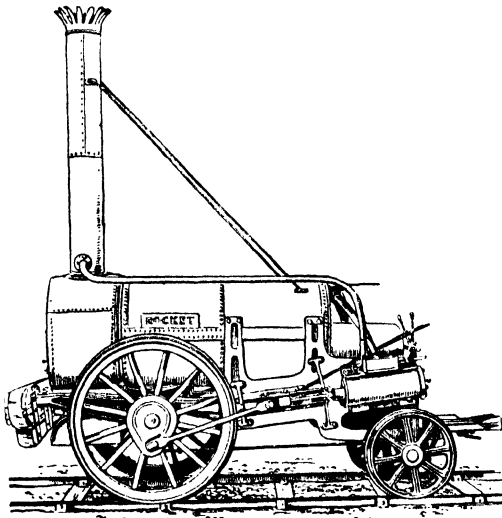


“THE GREAT WESTERN,” 1838

founded in 1840 and was extended to Australia in 1852. Till the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, steamers went as far as Alexandria, and passengers then crossed by camel to Port Suez on the Red Sea, where a second steamer awaited them. The first practical screw-driven steamers date from 1844, when east coast colliers began to adopt the propeller. In the 'eighties twin screws were adopted, and as the danger of a complete breakdown was now minimised, sails were no longer used, and yards began to disappear from masts. In the 'nineties the turbine was invented. But at first the steam engine was regarded only as auxiliary to sail, and the period of the first steamships actually saw the highest development of sail. Magnificent vessels known as “clippers” used to sail to the far East, the finest being those engaged in the tea trade. In favourable weather,

with almost an acre of canvas spread, they could travel well over three hundred miles a day.

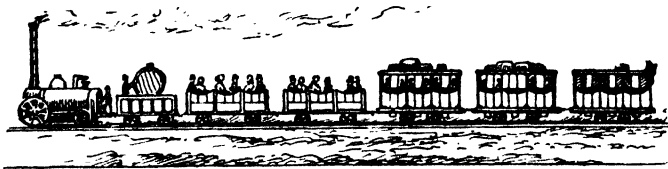
It was the development of mining which had stimulated the invention of the first steam engine (p. 476), and it was the mine also which prompted the first railways. We have already learned how coal was brought from the pits to the canals or rivers in wagons drawn along rails by horses. This hauling was later done by stationary engines (steam capstans), and finally by engines which themselves moved



GEORGE STEPHENSON'S LOCOMOTIVE, THE "ROCKET"

along the rails. A mixed railway of this kind was constructed for colliery owners between Darlington and Stockton-on-Tees. Quite as an afterthought, passengers were later allowed to travel in empty trucks. A party of Lancashire business men visited the Stockton and Darlington line and conceived the idea of a railway where numerous passengers might be quickly transported by the exclusive use of locomotive engines. In 1829 a competition was held near Liverpool to decide on the best type of locomotive. George Stephenson won with his "Rocket." It was at this test that Huskisson was killed. For he was so pleased

with the success of the competition that he ran across the track to shake hands with Wellington, with whom he had quarrelled, and he was knocked down by one of the engines. Stephenson was employed to lay the track between Manchester and Liverpool (1830), and the rapid spread of railways in England was largely due to his ingenuity and perseverance. In 1837 a branch was constructed through Warrington and Crewe to Birmingham (cf. the canals, p. 484), joining up with a London to Rugby and Birmingham line completed in the same year. In 1842 there was thus a through line from London to Preston, which became the London and North-Western Railway. The Pennines were crossed by the Manchester to Sheffield line in 1841, and by 1844 there were lines from London to Bristol and Taunton (Great Western) and to Leicester, Nottingham and



A RAILWAY TRAIN, ABOUT 1830

Derby (Midland). The mails, swollen by the introduction of the penny post in 1840, were carried by train from 1830 onwards.

The government early decided that this new method of transport was too important to be left completely under private control. The railways were compelled to run at least one train a day in each direction between the big termini, carrying third-class passengers at a penny a mile, and railway fares are still controlled by Act of Parliament. The railways found that this third-class traffic was by far the most important, and rivalry between them resulted in a steady improvement in comfort and speed. In the earliest trains only the first-class carriages were enclosed, while the third class consisted simply of open trucks. The first locomotives, which are still preserved in working order, are surprisingly small and low. The boiler tubes have a wooden casing outside, the funnel is tall, to keep the

smoke out of the driver's eyes (for there is no cab), and the tender has a large tub for the water supply. The first "Bradshaw" railway guide appeared in 1840.

Late in the eighteenth century rapid progress was made in the study of electricity and magnetism, especially by a number of Italian scientists. As soon as it was realised that an electric current could pass almost instantaneously along miles of wire, men saw the possibility of sending signals by passing the current and interrupting it rapidly, thus causing a magnetised "buzzer" to vibrate in an office miles away. And so electric telegraphy rapidly developed after 1837, when Wheatstone patented his simplified system, which was widely adopted in England. Up to 1870 the telegraph system was developed by private enterprise, particularly by the railway companies, the first English line being laid from Paddington to Slough by the Great Western Railway. The first marine cable was that from Dover to Calais (1851). After heroic struggles with storms and snapped cables, the transatlantic line from Valentia (West Ireland) to Newfoundland was laid and linked up with the United States telegraph system in 1868.

4. THE SECOND MINISTRY OF PEEL (1841-1846) AND "THE HUNGRY 'FORTIES"

"It may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good-will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour and earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they recruit their strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened by a sense of injustice" (from Peel's speech on his resignation).

In spite of all the ingenious inventions of the Industrial Revolution, England was not a happy country when Sir Robert Peel's second ministry began in 1841. It seemed as if men had learned how to produce the necessities of life easily in large quantities and how to transport them rapidly, without discovering how to make it possible for the masses to buy these products readily—a problem which is still unsolved. In other words, supply had far outstripped commercial demand. And the result was wholesale unemployment, and an alarming increase in the number of paupers and criminals, while conditions in mines and factories, as revealed by a Royal Commission, were

simply appalling. It is to Peel's eternal credit that he had the courage to make drastic alterations in the direction of Free Trade, which resulted in a long period of prosperity.

He had already realised that the numerous import duties which still remained were a serious hindrance to trade, and in a series of Budgets from 1842 onwards he cut these down till they stood at five per cent. on most raw materials, and the duties on foreign manufactured goods were also reduced. The result was that English products became cheaper and sold more readily both at home and abroad, foreign nations buying more English goods now that their own products could be sold more easily in England. British industries at once improved, and the annual totals of imports and exports increased by leaps and bounds. The remaining Navigation Laws were swept away in 1849. But Peel had at first to make good the serious loss of revenue due to reduced customs proceeds. This he did by means of a direct tax on incomes, which was meant to be a temporary measure till increased prosperity brought a greater yield of taxation from other sources. But the income tax, though very low by modern standards, brought in such a large return that it became permanent, and the burden which had weighed too heavily on the workers was thus transferred to backs more fitted to bear it.

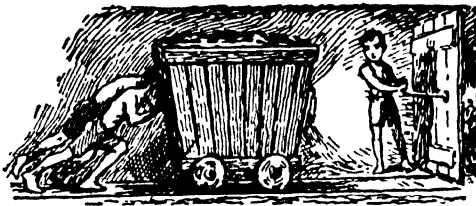
But there was still one import duty which told heavily against the poor, and that was the tax on imported corn imposed by the Corn Law of 1815. Even the reduction made by the "sliding scale" (p. 546) still left bread so dear that, normally, workers did not eat it. Most of the Tories were stubbornly determined that the tax must stay, arguing that British agriculture would be ruined if cheap foreign corn were freely admitted. It was in 1838 that an association was formed in the north of England which grew into the Anti-Corn Law League. Northern manufacturers, etc., who had completely adopted the extreme Free Trade theory that the State ought not to interfere in any way with economic matters, hotly attacked the Corn Laws as a gross violation of their cherished principles and organised a very vigorous agitation for the repeal of the 1815 Corn Law. There was little sympathy for the workers in their attitude. They were thinking, no doubt, of the reductions in wages they might effect if bread, and therefore other foods, could be reduced in price; which explains why the workers

themselves were not very enthusiastic supporters of the League. The leaders of the League were Richard Cobden, a Member of Parliament and a very efficient organiser, and the splendid orator, John Bright, a mill-owner whom Cobden once described to a delighted House as "a spinner of long and low-class yarns."

Now although the Anti-Corn Law League held innumerable crowded and enthusiastic meetings, though Cobden continually argued his case very ably in the House, the prejudice and selfishness of the majority of Tories made them completely deaf to all argument. But the Prime Minister, with his clear intelligence and genuine patriotism, grew more and more uncomfortable as he realised that Cobden was right. Peel had helped to split the Tory party once before, on the question of Catholic Emancipation, and he now realised that he might have to choose again between his party and his country. Then, in the autumn of 1845, came the heavy rains which were to "rain away the Corn Laws." Most English corn was ruined. And at the same time a blight destroyed the potato crop in Ireland on which the majority of Irish people now depended for their daily food, as a result of the restrictions put on their agriculture in the eighteenth century (p. 501). Thousands of Irish people actually died of starvation, their corpses lying about the fields, while the living barely had the strength to go for their ration of meat scraps which the authorities organised. Such was the loss of life and wholesale emigration which resulted from the famine, that the population of Ireland was halved by 1901, and it has not risen much since. The obvious remedy was to import large quantities of foreign corn as quickly as possible, but even now the Tories would not give way, even when Peel himself, entirely converted, did his utmost to convert them. Benjamin Disraeli, a clever young novelist and politician, who had been disappointed that Peel had not included him in the Cabinet, attacked Peel venomously, seizing the golden opportunity to focus attention on himself; and the majority of Tories, furious at being "betrayed," turned against their leader. But the Whigs supported Peel, and their votes, together with those of one hundred and twenty loyal Tories, secured the repeal of the 1815 law and earlier ones.

But the greatest of all Tory ministers was doomed. Having done his utmost to remedy the terrible distress in

Ireland, he next felt it his duty to propose a Coercion Bill, giving Irish magistrates and police increased powers to deal with the disorder which had come to a head in 1846. In spite of the Catholic Emancipation Act and an Act of 1838 which relieved the Irish peasant of payment of dues for the upkeep of the official Protestant Church, there was a strong agitation, led by O'Connell, for the repeal of the Act of Union. Peel and O'Connell had long detested each other, and had actually fought a duel. In the last few years a band of hot-heads, organised in an association known as "Young Ireland," had introduced an element of violence into the agitation for the repeal, and O'Connell was unjustly blamed for this by Peel, who had him arrested in 1844 and tried for conspiracy and sedition. The House of



CHILDREN WORKING IN A MINE

One boy is opening and shutting a door in the gallery for ventilation.

Lords acquitted him on appeal, and a cartoon of "Punch" shows Sir Robert as a modern Sisyphus pushing uphill a boulder with the face of O'Connell, while Whigs stand by, grinning. And although the agitation for repeal died down, violence had again broken out during the famine. But the Whigs voted against the Coercion Bill, as did the rebel Tories, and in face of the hostile majority Peel had to resign (1846).

It was said that the very Whigs who turned him out and succeeded him came to him for advice, confident of his unselfish patriotism. The Tories were out of office for twenty years, but at the time of his death in 1850 Peel had the satisfaction of seeing England peaceful and prosperous, the envy of Europe. Actually the price of corn did not fall very much after 1846, and it was the Free Trade budgets and the development of railways which caused the improve-

ment. English wheat farming was not hard hit until large quantities of grain from the U.S.A. and Canada began to be imported in the 'seventies.

5. THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT (1838-1848)

The clearest proof that serious hardship and discontent among the workers were mitigated as a result of Peel's reforms, is provided by the complete and final collapse of the Chartist Movement in 1848. The Reform Act of 1832 had been a great disappointment to the masses, who had fondly imagined that the franchise would magically solve their problems. A petition was therefore drafted in 1838 which came to be known as the People's Charter, proposing six reforms, viz. annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, votes for all men, equal electoral districts, abolition of property qualifications for M.P.s, and payment of M.P.s. The Charter found many thousands of supporters among the workers, but from the start the movement was weakened by a serious division. The northern Chartists, led by a loud-mouthed demagogue named Feargus O'Connor, were rather too ready to talk of revolution if their demands were refused by Parliament. He boasted that his appeal was addressed only to genuine workmen with their "blistered hands, unshaved chins and fustian jackets." But the London Chartists, under the influence of the more cultured Lovett, who had drafted the Charter, believed in proceeding entirely by constitutional methods, and in educating the workers to fit them for political responsibilities. For Lovett realised that underfed and ignorant mobs without stamina and discipline would scatter at the first collision with soldiers or police, and that all the wild talk of revolution was a silly and dangerous bluff. The riots which followed the first rejection of the petition proved his point, for they were easily suppressed, and both Lovett and O'Connor were sent to prison in 1839. The Chartists had had a sort of delegates' Parliament called the Convention (an echo of the French Revolution), first in London and then Birmingham. In connection with this, Lovett had addressed large meetings, and was therefore found guilty of seditious libel. The hardships of prison life undermined his constitution so that on his release he took a less and less active part in the movement. This was unfortunate, because, at first, it seemed as if he would win over Cobden and the middle classes, and so put

the movement on a perfectly respectable footing. His retirement also left the field clear for his rival. O'Connor had been sentenced for a similar offence to that of Lovett, but in connection with his paper, the "Northern Star," which was influential among northern workers at this time. The tone of his paper was very aggressive, and after he had served his own sentence, O'Connor's attacks on Lovett grew worse than ever, and the London Working Men's Association, which was the latter's particular organisation, gradually declined.

After a second futile attempt to induce Parliament to treat the Charter seriously (1842), the movement died away, but it flared up fiercely again in 1848, "the year of revolutions." The Liberal and democratic elements on the Continent, after a whole generation of harsh repression, broke out in armed risings and demanded drastic political reforms. In such an atmosphere, O'Connor was stimulated to a final effort. He organised a great rally of Chartists in the south of London, who were to walk in procession to Westminster, where he was to present the petition signed by five million persons. The authorities forbade the procession to approach the House of Commons, and the Duke of Wellington, with thousands of troops and special constables, was ready for any disorder. Although O'Connor had blustered of revolution, he was himself something of a coward, and as it was a wet day, his followers dispersed. The monster petition was brought to the House in a cab. Many of the "signatures" (which included those of the queen and the Duke of Wellington!) were found to be forgeries or repetitions. And the Chartist agitation expired in ridicule.

There is no doubt that O'Connor, who later became quite insane, was a low adventurer, who ruined a movement which might have hastened the development of democracy. Apart from the demand for annual Parliaments, the points of the Charter were not unreasonable, though we can perhaps understand the refusal of the middle and upper classes to hand over political power to the wretchedly poor and ignorant workers of that period. It is interesting to note how long it took before the reforms first demanded in 1838 were actually effected. Manhood suffrage required three Acts at long intervals (1867 all town householders, 1884 all country householders, 1918 all other adult males,

pp. 596, 599, 665). Voting by ballot, without which the elector was at the mercy of landlord or employer, came in 1872. Equal electoral districts have not yet been arranged. At present the south of England is over-represented in Parliament. The property qualification for M.P.s was abolished in 1858, and in order to enable candidates who had no private means to sit in Parliament, payment of M.P.s was instituted in 1913.

CHAPTER XXXVII

PALMERSTON (1784-1865)

“ With his hat o’er his eyes and his nose in the air,
So jaunty and genial and debonair,
Talk at him—to him—against him—none
Can take a rise out of Palmerston.”
 (“ Punch,” 1861.)

WHEN we come to study England’s relations with the Continent after the death of Canning (1827), we find our task simplified by the fact that right up to 1865, with only short intervals, British foreign policy is always controlled by the same hearty, vivacious, reckless individual, Lord Palmerston. His father’s rank and influence secured him an easy introduction into the political world, so that he was War Secretary in 1809 at the age of twenty-five, giving Wellington instructions for the Peninsular War. But he decided that the Foreign Office was his natural sphere, and others must have shared that view, because the ex-colleague of Castlereagh, Canning and Wellington was allowed to remain in charge of foreign affairs when the Whigs returned to power in 1830 after their long eclipse. “ Pam ” became a sort of national institution. “ Punch,” on the slightest provocation, would publish a cartoon showing his tall, spare figure, and side-whiskers flanking the tilted nose, long upper lip and quizzical expression which betrayed his Irish descent. From 1830 onwards he is usually considered a Whig, but it is hardly worth while to label him. He was not greatly interested in the politics of his own country and he was sufficiently a child of the eighteenth century to believe that the English constitution was perfect before 1832 and that all subsequent alterations were for the worse. And that gives us a clue to his sympathy for Liberal movements abroad. For Palmerston believed it was his obvious duty to back all attempts made by foreign democrats to bring their governments more in line with that of England. The first foreign crisis he had to deal with was the revolution

in Belgium. Holland and Belgium had been combined in 1815 to form a northern barrier against French aggression (p. 538), but the union was not happy, owing to deep racial and religious differences. The French revolution of 1830 encouraged the Belgians to rise against their Dutch sovereign, and the French, pretending to help them, occupied southern Belgium. Palmerston at once protested, and both the Dutch and the French had to retire. The independence of Belgium was recognised, and in the course of the next few years he persuaded the Powers to agree never to allow Belgium to be invaded (general treaty, 1839). The old fear of an enemy of England in command of Channel ports was thus allayed, especially as the first king of Belgium was an uncle of Queen Victoria.

In 1833 there occurred a fresh opportunity for interference such as delighted Palmerston's sporting instincts. Both in Spain and Portugal royal uncles were trying to compel their young nieces to abdicate in their favour. As these uncles were autocrats, while the little queens admired England and were willing to grant a more or less democratic constitution to their subjects, Palmerston allowed British officers to volunteer for the Peninsula and dropped a hint to British men-o'-war stationed in those latitudes, to such good effect that the uncles were defeated.

About the same time, the powerful governor of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, revolting against his nominal master the Turkish Sultan, had occupied Syria and Arabia. Palmerston was none too pleased at this, as Mehemet now had complete control of the approach to the Red Sea and so of the overland section of the shorter sea route to India (p. 562), and was also on altogether too good terms with France. In 1839 the Sultan tried to recover Syria and was badly defeated, so that Mehemet was in a position to march on Constantinople. The Russians then came forward with hypocritical friendliness and offered to help the Sultan to protect Constantinople. This was more than Palmerston could stand. Russia's persistent attempts to push south towards Constantinople and eastwards through Turkestan alarmed him and all other Foreign Secretaries of the nineteenth century. England could as little afford to allow the Black Sea to become a Russian lake as she could permit the Tsar's officers to approach the Himalayas and intrigue with Persians and Afghans. Hence England's

persistent support of the Turks. Once more, as in 1799, a British fleet bombarded Acre successfully, in support of the Sultan. Mehemet had to give up Syria, and the French were annoyed about it (1840), but Palmerston wrote a typical note to the British representative in Paris. "If France throws down the gauntlet, we shall not refuse to pick it up and Mehemet Ali will just be chucked into the Nile." Soon after this episode Peel became Premier, and Palmerston had to leave his beloved Foreign Office till 1846, passing his time quite pleasantly, hunting, travelling, on the race-course and in the gay round of social amusements which he so thoroughly enjoyed.

The fall of Peel (1846) saw Palmerston reinstated, with Lord John Russell as Prime Minister, the hero of 1832. The next ten years saw the zenith of Palmerston's career and influence. Although he was born in 1784, he was still physically and mentally tireless. Bold to the point of recklessness, he ignored the wishes of the queen and, less justifiably, of the Cabinet, and acted as though the Foreign Office were a completely independent department and as if his popularity with the nation were sufficient warrant for sharp defiance of European powers and arrogant bullying of Orientals. And yet, as a rule, he managed "to fall on his feet." The year 1848 gave him a splendid opportunity for fishing in troubled waters. All over Europe reactionary kings and ministers fled for their lives when the forces of democracy, driven underground since 1815, seemed to leap to the surface in a universal explosion. Palmerston had the sly satisfaction of offering his condolences to the veteran Austrian minister Metternich, now a refugee, who ever since the Treaty of Vienna had done his utmost to hold up all political progress in Europe. That year, it is said, Palmerston wrote or read twenty-nine thousand despatches, and he boasted that he had thus prevented a general European war. Most of the insurrections failed ultimately, but he used his influence to prevent reprisals being too brutal, and democracy in Europe began slowly to gain ground. He particularly sympathised with the efforts of the Italians to free themselves from domestic and foreign tyrants, and it is typical of his methods that guns were sent to Sicily from Woolwich Arsenal without the consent or the knowledge of the rest of the Cabinet (1849). Another incident in 1850 which almost caused a European war and

the fall of the government, proves conclusively the compelling strength of his personality. A Portuguese merchant, who had acquired British citizenship by residence in Gibraltar, settled in Athens. This Don Pacifico had his house sacked by an Athenian mob, whereupon he claimed thirty thousand pounds from the Greek government and appealed to Palmerston. The Greek authorities were naturally slow to pay up this amount, but Palmerston decided to back Don Pacifico, and a British fleet, homeward bound from the Dardanelles, visited the Piræus and seized Greek shipping. France and Russia threatened to intervene on behalf of the Greeks. The House of Commons had a formal debate, and Palmerston gave a wonderful display of his physical and mental energy by defending his whole career as Foreign Secretary in a speech which lasted four and a half hours. The closing words are worth quoting as a clear statement of one of the principles of his policy; “. . . as the Roman, in days of old, held himself free from indignity, when he could say ‘Civis Romanus sum,’ so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong!” When the House rose at dawn, even his enemies, and he had many, could not conceal their admiration, and the government did not fall.

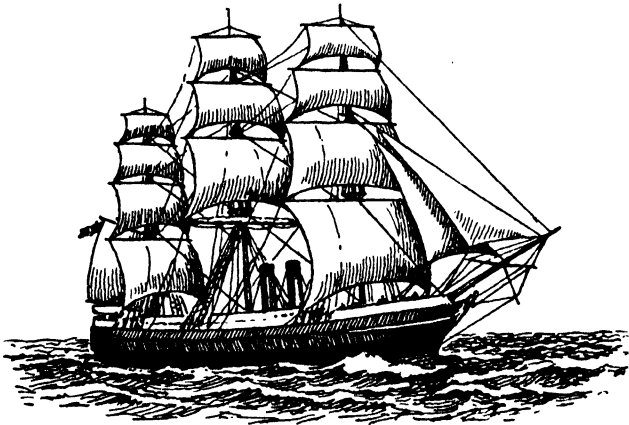
But next year Palmerston overreached himself. The queen had for some time resented his despotic behaviour as Foreign Secretary. She was no longer the inexperienced girl of 1837, but a mature woman, anxious to make the utmost of the prerogatives still left to the Crown; and Albert, the Prince Consort, who was also her secretary, encouraged her political ambitions. She insisted on being kept fully informed on foreign affairs, and complained that Palmerston did not let her see the despatches, or made serious alterations after she had sanctioned them. Russell also was none too pleased at his impetuous colleague's independence, and a glaring example in connection with a crisis in France annoyed the Prime Minister sufficiently to make him dismiss Palmerston. When the Bourbon tyrant Charles had been expelled in 1830, Louis Philippe, “the citizen-king,” had been chosen in his place and had, in his turn, been expelled in 1848. A short-lived republic was then proclaimed. Louis Bonaparte, an ambitious

nephew of Napoleon, who was elected President, decided to seize supreme power when his term was coming to an end, and he abolished the republic, proclaiming a second Empire with himself as the Emperor Napoleon III. When the news reached England through the newly-opened Dover-Calais telegraph (p. 565), the Cabinet decided to remain strictly neutral for a time. In spite of this, Palmerston expressed his approval of Louis' violent overthrow of the republic to the French ambassador in London and the British ambassador in Paris. Victoria and Russell were both furious, and he had to go (1851).

Next year Palmerston had his revenge, for he led an attack on Russell which brought the government down. Lord Aberdeen now became Prime Minister, a moderate Tory who had been in both Peel's ministries, and he brought other Peelites with him, including a dark and very earnest young man named Gladstone, who had been President of the Board of Trade under Peel, and was now Chancellor of the Exchequer. The ministry also included leading Whigs, Russell taking Palmerston's place at the Foreign Office while the latter was relegated to the Home Office, where now at the age of sixty-eight he surprised everyone by the cheerfulness and energy with which he applied himself to his new duties.

But though he seemed to be concentrating on the improvement of prisons and factories, in spirit he was far away, watching a new and dangerous quarrel develop between the Russians and the Turks. The Tsar, believing Turkey to be "the sick man of Europe," was in a hurry to declare him dead and share out his possessions, and in order to pick a quarrel, demanded, in a menacing way, the right to protect all Christians visiting holy places in Palestine. The Sultan refused his claim, and the French Emperor Louis Napoleon disputed it on behalf of the Pope. A European congress (in which England was represented) was held to settle the dispute, and the Powers proposed certain terms to the Tsar and the Sultan. The Tsar accepted them, but the Sultan, on the advice of the British ambassador, refused. War then broke out between Russia and Turkey, and when the Turkish fleet was destroyed, England with the support of France declared war on Russia (1854). It was decided to send an allied expedition to the peninsula of Crimea (Black Sea), which the Russians had strongly

fortified and intended to use as their base for invasions of Turkish territory. It soon became obvious that the methods which the Duke of Wellington had imposed on the War Office since 1815 were hopelessly out-of-date. The troops managed to win victories in spite of staff officers, extremes of climate, and the shameful failure of supplies which, "lost, stolen or strayed," disappeared in enormous quantities during the 2300 miles voyage out. The Allies at length were able to approach Sebastopol, the heavily fortified stronghold which the Russians had established on the south-



A SCREW-DRIVEN STEAMER WITH IRON HULL, ABOUT 1860

western tip of the peninsula. A long siege began, during which the allied troops suffered terrible, and to some extent unnecessary, hardships. Florence Nightingale went out, in defiance of all current ideas of what was "ladylike," and organised the first modern military hospital. The nation began to grow restless waiting for Sebastopol to fall, and Palmerston, discreetly applying himself to the affairs of his own department, grew more and more popular. Aberdeen was heavily defeated in the House amid roars of derisive laughter, and after Russell and the Tory leader Lord Derby, each had tried in vain to form a ministry, the queen had to send for Palmerston (1855) and he became Prime Minister at the age of seventy-one.

His arrival brought, as it were, a gale of bracing air into the stuffy War Office. Supplies began to pour into the Crimea, brought by Cunard steamers, and Sebastopol fell (1855). By the Treaty of Paris (1856) the futile war came to an end. Russia was checked and "the sick man" was given a new lease of life.

Palmerston's amazing career continued for another nine years, but his once sure touch was beginning to fail. He was turned out of office for a few months (1858-59) because of a Bill against dangerous aliens, the result of a plot to assassinate Louis Napoleon, which had been hatched in London. His support of fresh attempts by the Italians to free themselves from hated tyrants was natural. But the way in which he bullied the Chinese does him no credit. When a Chinese vessel, strongly suspected of piracy, was raided by Chinese authorities, Palmerston took the side of the pirates simply because they had the impudence to fly the Union Jack (1857). And this incident developed into a war to compel the Chinese to admit Indian opium, from the sale of which the East India Company reaped a large and shameful profit. This was the second "Opium War" which Palmerston fought, the first being waged in 1839-40. Two crises arising out of the American Civil War were clumsily handled. Two Southern agents on their way to England on an English vessel were taken off by a Northern battleship on the high seas. This was, of course, an outrage, but the tone of Palmerston's protest infuriated the Federal government, which almost declared war. ("We gave the critters back, John, 'Cos Abram thought 'twas right. It warn't your bullyin' clack, John, Provokin' us to fight".) And again in 1862, the *Alabama*, a vessel built to the order of the Southerners to prey on Northern shipping, was allowed to leave Liverpool, in spite of a solemn protest from the Federals. After the war the American government obtained heavy damages for the shipping sunk by the *Alabama*. Palmerston also failed completely to recognise the growing importance of Prussia under the great minister Bismarck. When the Poles rebelled against Russia in 1863, Bismarck helped Russia to suppress the rising with great cruelty. Palmerston protested, but no notice was taken. And in 1864 the long quarrel between the Danes and the Germans over the border provinces of Slesvig and Holstein came to a head. The Danes, who

were under the impression that Palmerston would support them, rashly went to war with Prussia, and were quickly and completely defeated, Palmerston leaving them in the lurch. For at the age of eighty, even he had to admit that his energy was beginning to flag.

Looking back over his amazing career, we can see that his policy is made up of three principles. One has been put this way: "Wherever there was a despot to be insulted, he joyfully insulted him," and though he usually had not the slightest official justification for his interference, posterity will hardly blame him for such an attitude. But his support of Turkey was of doubtful value. It is now realised that England's intense jealousy of Russia in the nineteenth century was hardly justifiable, and that it was a mistake to prolong Turkish rule in south-eastern Europe. Lastly, his blustering maintenance of British prestige and interests abroad, while highly gratifying to the nation's pride, tended to develop the unwholesome and dangerous idea among the ignorant that "one Englishman is worth two foreigners." And Palmerston was distinctly lucky not to have that claim tested in numerous wars.



COSTUMES OF LADY AND GENTLEMAN, ABOUT 1850

CHAPTER XXXVIII

INDIA: 1823 TO MODERN TIMES

I. THE INDIAN MUTINY

AFTER the final destruction of the Mahratta power by the Marquis of Hastings (p. 537), his successors could devote themselves without serious interruption to the task of proving that the British "raj" stood for a higher standard of justice and prosperity than Indians had enjoyed under native rulers. The two most important Governors-General of this period were Bentinck (1828-35) and Dalhousie (1848-56). The former abolished "suttee" (the barbarous custom by which widows were burned on their husbands' funeral pyre) and hunted down the "thugs," gangs of murderous brigands who were also priests and could therefore more successfully terrorise natives. He also began the movement for the education of Indians, and removed restrictions on the liberty of the Press. Dalhousie continued this educational work and also modernised the communications of India, for he introduced canals, railways, telegraphs and cheap postage. He was firmly convinced that the sooner India adopted western ways the better, and took every opportunity of bringing under direct British control states hitherto partly governed by native rulers. To facilitate this process he no longer recognised the native custom whereby a ruler without heirs of his own could adopt a son. In this way, several small states in central India "lapsed" to the British. Western Oudh also was taken over, because of the gross misgovernment of the native ruler, and the claims of his adopted son were ignored. Fresh arrangements had to be made for the ownership and taxation of land in Oudh. The owners were unfairly treated by the British government and became hostile.

The reforms of Bentinck and Dalhousie were made from the best of motives and, in the long run, were of great

benefit to India. But they either failed to realise the strength of the religious prejudice they roused, or, where they did realise it, they took the risk of ignoring it. To the native mind a custom was not barbarous if it was sanctioned by religion and long usage, and mechanical wonders were alarming rather than impressive. The resulting discontent was most keenly felt in the native regiments of the army, which at this period were six times as numerous as the British. The very sharp distinctions of caste were often ignored in making promotions, so that a high-caste sepoy might have to take orders from a low-caste N.C.O. Native troops had been sent by sea to Burma, Persia and China, in violation of their religious code. The strong personal link, which had often existed between British officers who never left India and native troops, was weakening as a result of more frequent leave of absence to England, now freely granted because steamers and railways made the long journey more tolerable. British failures in the Afghan War (p. 587), and more recently in the Crimean War, led the sepoys to question the belief that the British were invincible. This loss of confidence was aggravated by the prophecy, widely current, that the British raj was doomed to terminate a hundred years after Plassey (1757).

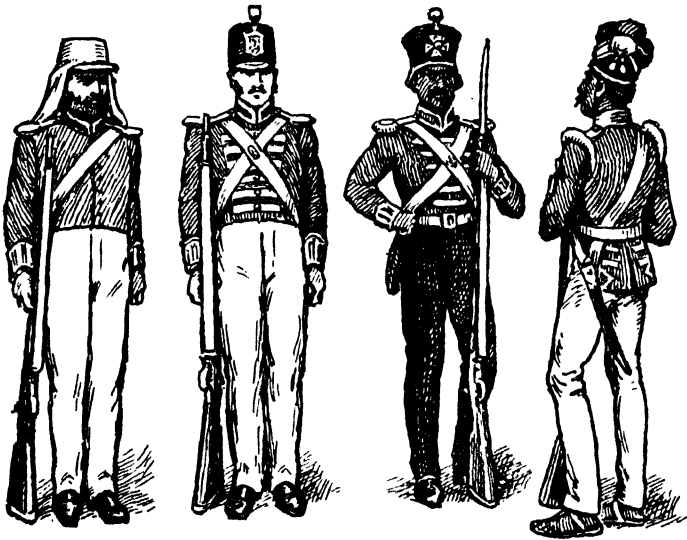
The immediate cause of the military revolt usually known as the Indian Mutiny was another violation of native religious observances. A new type of rifle was adopted early in 1857. Some of the new cartridges necessary were greased, and rumour spread rapidly that the grease was animal fat. Now a Hindu is not allowed to taste beef, because the cow is to him a sacred animal, and the Mohammedan must not taste pig, because it is to him an unclean beast. Both "sects" therefore felt outraged, although, as a matter of fact, only a few fat-smeared cartridges had actually been issued. In May 1857 mutiny began at Meerut and spread to Delhi, where a descendant of the Mogul was once more proclaimed Emperor. The news passed down the Ganges rapidly to the disaffected province of Oudh, and in June Lucknow and Cawnpore became the centres of a serious revolt (map, p. 474). There was, for a time, some danger that the mutiny might spread westwards to the Punjab (quite recently annexed, see p. 587) and east to Bengal, but prompt action against the first

mutineers averted this danger. Fortunately for the British cause, the whole of southern India was neutral if not loyal, and in any case it was a military revolt chiefly. Compared with the teeming millions around them, the British were like a few flecks of foam on the ocean, and would have stood no chance of surviving a really national upheaval. Cawnpore was soon retaken, as Nana Sahib, the adopted prince whose rights of inheritance the British had ignored, fled after a massacre of the British. Reinforcements began to arrive from other parts of India and from England, and if there had been railways up the valley of the Ganges, the mutiny would soon have been stamped out. As it was, the troops had to make forced marches of hundreds of miles in the scorching heat of an Indian summer, and fight for months against heavy odds. The British garrison of four thousand at Delhi held the Ridge overlooking the town against the continuous attacks of thirty thousand sepoys, till they were relieved in September and the town retaken. Lucknow was not retaken till three relief forces had cut their way through the besiegers (March 1858).

Although the Governor-General, Canning, insisted that the misguided rebels should be leniently treated, severe reprisals were too often exacted by British officers, particularly those fresh from England, and in some cases perfectly innocent natives were barbarously executed. The cruelty of Nana Sahib and others of his type must be balanced by the devotion and loyalty shown by many natives. The princes of India took little part in the disturbances, and where they did, it was to help the British. Many white women and children were sheltered in palaces throughout the period of the Mutiny, and its suppression was partly due to the courage and endurance of loyal native regiments such as the famous North-Western force, the Guides. The official end of the Mutiny was marked by the royal proclamation of November 1858. The East India Company finally surrendered all its administrative powers to the Crown (as it ought to have done long before), and a Secretary of State for India was appointed, who acted as a link between the Cabinet and the Viceroy, as the Governor-General was henceforth known. The old Mogul dynasty and its shadowy claims finally disappeared and eventually the queen took the title of Empress of India. It was promised that the creeds of Indians would be in future respected, and

natives of India were to be eligible for any office. As precautions against future mutinies, the proportion of white troops to natives was increased, no natives were allowed to handle artillery, and the construction of railways was hastened.

In actual practice no Indian ever rose above a very subordinate position in the Indian army or Civil Service. But an increasing number received a higher education on western lines, sometimes in England itself. They observed



BRITISH SOLDIERS AND SEPOYS, 1857

how the English prided themselves on liberty and self-government. And they began to ask themselves why the British should so completely monopolise the government of India. The most daring of them demanded the right to a voice in the government of their land, and the British authorities gave them an opportunity to express their opinions but not to influence policy, for in 1861 Indian members were admitted to the Legislative Councils, which passed laws for the provinces, but they could only give advice. The beginnings of a national demand for self-

government came in 1885 when the first National Congress met, claiming to be the native "Parliament," though at that time they had little backing from the mass of the population and none at all from the Mohammedans, a very important minority of the population who were unwilling to act with Hindus at all.

In 1909 a great advance was made by the Morley-Minto reforms, so called from the names of the Secretary for India and the Viceroy at the time. There was a large increase of elected native members on the Legislative Councils, and there were to be two Indian members on the Secretary of State's Council in London, and one on the Viceroy's Council in India. But Indians still objected that though they were allowed to advise, they were not permitted to govern. The great European War (1914-18), which involved considerable sacrifice for India, sharpened the demand for self-government. In August 1917, the new Secretary for India, Montagu, declared that it was the policy of the British government "to increase association of Indians in every branch of administration," and in 1919 the Provincial Councils were given a limited measure of self-government. And the National Congress of December 1917, was much more widely supported than it had ever been before. In 1930 the importance of the Congress was enhanced by the emergence of an influential national leader, Gandhi. He was a successful lawyer who had made his reputation by defending his countrymen. He suddenly gave up his career and his wealth, lived in the simplest style, and rallied the masses of India to support the demand for national self-government. It was about this time that a commission was sent to India under Sir John Simon to study the best methods of granting Home Rule to India by stages. The commission's report was issued in 1930. But the demand for immediate self-government grew loud and urgent. A conference was therefore held in London between Indian princes and officials on the one side, and members of Parliament on the other, to discuss the very difficult situation which had arisen (the Round Table Conference, 1931). An agreement was reached as to what steps should be taken in the near future, but the awkward question still remained, what would happen if the Nationalists completely ignored the findings of the Conference? Fortunately Gandhi, who

had for a short time been imprisoned, was released and had an interview with the Viceroy, and the immediate tension was relaxed. For the Nationalists had previously violated the government monopoly of salt-manufacture and organised a boycott of English goods, and although their leaders advocated passive resistance to the government without disorder, serious riots had broken out (1931). Gandhi came to England to take part in the Round Table Conference, but on its termination in failure, partly because of disagreements between the Hindu and the Moslem delegates, he returned to India and was imprisoned and Congress was declared an illegal assembly (1932).

2. FRONTIER DEFENCE

The other problem which the government of India has had to face in modern times has been the defence of the long land-frontier. To the north the Himalayas form a mighty rampart, and in any case there was no danger of attack from that quarter. The chief difficulty was the north-western frontier, where the Russians and raiding Afghans were the menace. And to a less extent there was some danger in the east from an ambitious and turbulent dynasty in Burma. In 1824 the Burmese were actually preparing for an invasion of Bengal. A war followed, and in 1826 Assam, together with the Burmese coastal districts of Arakan and Tenasserim, were annexed. Central Burma was left to a native government, which failed to keep order. British shipping was unsafe in the important harbour of Rangoon, and in 1852 that district was annexed and British influence was extended inland till Mandalay came under British control. In 1885 the misbehaviour of the native king of northern Burma became so intolerable that he was deposed. In spite of French and Chinese intrigues, British officers pushed forward up the Irawaddi to its sources on the Tibetan frontier and the whole province became British territory.

We have already noticed how jealously England watched Russia's advance in the course of the nineteenth century from the Caspian Sea through Khiva, Bokhara and Samarkand till only the Pamirs and the Hindu Kush mountains separated her territory from India. At the same time the Russians intrigued with the Persians and

Afghans. So that it was not unnatural for the British to take special precautions to protect the mountain passes giving access to the north-west of India. They were thus tempted to interfere with the independence of the Afghans, with rather unsatisfactory results. In 1838 an unpopular Amir was placed on the throne of Afghanistan, where he remained only by support of a British army. The Afghans rose in favour of Dost Mohammed, who had a better claim. The British were compelled to retreat from Kabul, the Afghan capital, and all but one perished in the mountains. Dost Mohammed reigned undisturbed from 1842 to 1863, and as he became reasonably friendly with the British, the problem was left at that for the time.

In the course of this Afghan war it was found difficult to approach the enemy, because, as yet, British authority had not advanced beyond Rajputana, and the intervening provinces of Sind, Punjab and Kashmir were under independent native rulers (map, p. 474). The harbour of Karachi had been seized during the war to suit British convenience, and when the Amir of Sind objected, the whole of his province, comprising the fertile valley of the lower Indus, was taken from him (1843). The ruler of the Punjab, who had been friendly to the British, died about this time, and his successor did not disguise his hostility. Two fierce wars were fought against the Sikh armies, which were composed of splendid fighting material, and after the decisive battle of Gujerat, 1849, the Punjab, "the land of the five rivers," was annexed. In spite of their fierce resistance, the Sikhs, ever since, have shown themselves particularly loyal to the British raj. They rendered valuable assistance during the Mutiny, and to-day these great, burly fellows, with turbans and flowing black beards, are employed by the British as policemen throughout the East. Kashmir had been annexed in 1846, but, unlike Sind and Punjab, the native ruler was allowed to reign, provided, as was arranged in several other important provinces, he accepted the advice of a British official.

In 1876 the British occupied Baluchistan, leaving the native ruler nominally in charge, but taking under their direct control the district round Quetta, which gave them control of the Bolan Pass leading into southern Afghanistan, just as Peshawar in Punjab had given them control of the

Khyber Pass northwards. This alarmed the Amir of Afghanistan, who drew closer to the Russians. The British deposed him in 1878 and put a puppet of their own in his place with a British adviser. The Afghans rose and murdered him, and the British garrison at Kandahar in the south was also cut off. By a series of wonderful marches General Roberts regained both Kabul and Kandahar, and after this the problem was solved for a time by a succession of friendly Amirs who allowed the British to pay for the upkeep of their armies.

But the Russians themselves still had to be reckoned with. They brought a railway right up to the Afghan frontier, and their agents were active in the hills (as we can read in Kipling's "Kim"). The British replied by annexing Chitral in 1895, thus gaining better control of the passes joining the Pamirs to the Hindu Kush. And in 1901 the district west of the northern Indus, including Peshawar, was made into a special district with its own organisation, known as the North-West Frontier Province. In 1907, after Russia had been crippled by her war with Japan, an agreement was made which settled outstanding difficulties on the Indian frontier. Russia undertook to discontinue secret intrigues with Afghanistan, while the two powers practically divided Persia between them, Russia taking the north and England the south as their "spheres of influence." Since the war of 1914-18, fresh difficulties have arisen. A series of civil wars in Afghanistan from 1919 onwards have made it difficult to obtain permanent settlements with a recognised Amir, and the raiding tribes on the Indian frontier have resumed their immemorial habit of swooping down on the Indus plains, and can barely be restrained by a judicious mixture of bribery and bombing from the air. And there is once more mutual suspicion between the Russians and the British.

CHIEF DATES FOR INDIAN HISTORY, 1823-1932

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| 1824-26. First Burmese War. | 1876. British control Baluchistan. |
| 1828-35. Bentinck, Governor-General. | 1878-80. Second Afghan War. |
| 1838-42. First Afghan War. | 1885. First meeting of Indian National Congress. |
| 1843. Annexation of Sind. | Third Burmese War. |
| 1846. Annexation of Kashmir. | 1901. The North-West Frontier Province. |
| 1848-56. Dalhousie, Governor-General. | 1909. Morley-Minto Reforms. |
| 1849. Annexation of Punjab. | 1919. Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. |
| 1852-56. Second Burmese War. | 1930. Simon Commission Report. |
| 1857-58. Indian Mutiny. | 1931. Round Table Conference. |
| 1861. Indian members of Legislative Councils. | |

CHAPTER XXXIX

RELIGIOUS AND SCIENTIFIC PROBLEMS OF THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS

I. TRACTS FOR THE TIMES

THE removal of political handicaps on Catholics, Jews and Dissenters, which was almost completed by 1840, seemed to promise an end of religious controversy. But during these very years a reform movement sprang up within the Established Church, which aroused strong feeling at the time and has again, within recent years, gained sufficient strength to shake the foundations on which the Church of England rests. A group of clergymen at Oxford, of whom the best known were Newman, Keble and Pusey, published (1833—) a series of pamphlets known as "Tracts for the Times," in which they argued that there had not been so complete a change of religious beliefs in England at the Reformation as was generally imagined, that the Apostolic succession (Part III or IV, p. 291) had never been broken, and that the Church ought to take a more active part in national life, as it had done in the Middle Ages. These "High Church" clergymen approached very close to Roman Catholic practice in the matter of vestments, general church arrangements and even the form of the services, and the "Oxford movement" therefore aroused a violent controversy which lasted on and off for over thirty years, its opponents maintaining that the Tractarians were violating the Protestant settlement arranged by Elizabeth and her Parliament (Part III or IV, p. 245) and confirmed soon after the Restoration. Suspicions were aroused that the movement would end in a re-union with the Roman Catholic Church, and there seemed to be some ground for uneasiness when two of the leaders, Newman and Manning, went over to the Roman Church, eventually becoming Cardinals, though most of their followers remained within the English Church. The problem has arisen again recently in an even more acute form. The present High Church party, which includes a

very sincere and zealous minority of laymen and clergymen, and a number of bishops, have taken full advantage of the Catholic elements, if we may call them so, left in the Elizabethan Prayer Book (Part II or III, p. 246). But as even these have not satisfied their requirements, they have pressed for a revision of the Prayer Book, and this the House of Commons has refused (1928). As long as the Established Church maintains its close connection with the State, it must abide by that decision. But if it aims at perfect spiritual freedom it must sooner or later end that connection by Disestablishment. Both phases of the movement were marked by an increased sense of the Church's responsibilities towards the less fortunate members of society. And it is, partly, a deep feeling that the Church ought to be able to condemn social injustice boldly that is behind the growing impatience of State control felt by some of the more progressive members of the High Church party.

2. THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION

As if the religious atmosphere were not sufficiently unsettled already, a fresh storm broke when thoughtful men began to discuss what seemed to be obvious inferences from the theory of Evolution, first put before the public in Charles Darwin's "Origin of Species" (1859). He was a naturalist who travelled widely and studied innumerable examples of animal life. And after some thirty years' research, he decided that he had sufficient evidence to put forward boldly a theory which had already occurred to a few scientists (notably, another Englishman, Wallace). He declared that all the strange and complicated diversities of animal life had been "evolved," *i.e.* they resulted from gradual changes in a few simple, primitive types, a process which must have taken many thousands of years. An even greater sensation was caused by his later work, "Descent of Man" (1871), in which he argued that Man himself was the product of evolution, sharing with the higher apes a common ancestry in the dim past. Now Darwin himself wrote purely as a biologist, made no philosophical deductions from his theories, and went regularly to church. But some of his followers, especially Huxley, working out the details of Evolution, went far beyond his position. A violent quarrel broke out. The more dogmatic and over-confident scientists claimed to be able to explain the whole

Universe and Man himself in terms of chemistry and mechanics. On the other hand, the champions of the Bible insisted on a literal interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, where it is written that on the fifth and sixth days of Creation "God created every living creature . . . after its kind. And God created man in His own image." Now the "Mid-Victorians" were earnest people with a great respect for science. To them it seemed clear that if the scientists were right, and they had little reason to doubt that, then the Bible and all that the Church taught must be wrong. So that there was no God, no soul and no immortality, and Man was simply the most cunning and most cruel of beasts. The harsher type of Victorian was the more ready to accept such doctrines as "the survival of the fittest," which seemed to follow from the theory of Evolution, because he felt confirmed in his view that ruthless competition was the obvious law of life. But more thoughtful and sympathetic people lingered for years in painful doubt, recovering slowly from the severe shock to their faith. What they felt about it, we may read for ourselves in many a wistful stanza of Tennyson's "In Memoriam."

Nowadays, we seem to be on the way to reconciling the apparent conflict between the teachings of science and religion. Modern scientists do not claim to be able to explain Man and the Universe entirely in a mechanical way. Astronomers and biologists alike tell us that in spite of all their accumulated knowledge, they are faced with baffling mysteries. A great modern philosopher, Bergson, has propounded the doctrine of "Creative evolution," which teaches that evolution slowly rounds off changes produced in sudden periods of rapid creation. Most educated people nowadays, including Churchmen, accept the general principle that all forms of life advance from a simple to a complicated form. Even granted that Man's body is the result of such a process, modern psychological and psychic research prove that as yet we know too little about the origin of Man's mind and spirit.

CHAPTER XL

DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

I. THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN DEMOCRACY

THE political history of the later nineteenth century is dominated by two outstanding figures, standing in sharp and picturesque contrast—Benjamin Disraeli, head of the Conservative party, and William Ewart Gladstone, leader of the Liberals. Their prominence is due partly to the disappearance of all the old leaders by 1865, partly to their own striking personalities, which provoked either intense admiration or utter detestation. Disraeli was the grandson of an Italian Jew. Though without any family influence, he determined quite early on to make a name for himself in politics, and after four failures, first entered Parliament in 1837. When he made his maiden speech, his extravagant dress and gestures provoked loud laughter, and as he sat down, unable to obtain a hearing, he remarked, "I will sit down now, but the time will come when you *will* hear me." The eccentric young man, with his wealth of black, shiny curls, brightly-coloured clothes, and ostentatious jewellery, looked like becoming notorious rather than famous. He wrote a number of successful novels, and in one of these, "Sybil," he showed strong sympathy with the northern workers, contrasting their misery with the luxury which their toil made possible for the fortunate few. For in the first stage of his career, Disraeli was a Radical. But he soon realised that there was no brilliant future in store for any Radical. He developed a romantic interest in England's past and the nobility who represented it. He attached himself to the Tory party just when Peel was trying to broaden its outlook, and he was disappointed not to be given a place in the ministry of 1841. The Corn Law crisis of 1846, when he led the rebel Protectionist Tories, was his golden opportunity (p. 567). It gave him revenge on Peel, and provided ample scope for the sarcastic wit in which he excelled, and he thus drew on himself the

attention of Parliament and the nation. He was now recognised as one of the leaders of the Conservative party, which he had wrecked, but he paid a heavy price for his triumph, for twenty of the best years of his life went by before the Conservatives were really in power again. For it became clear that Protection, to use Disraeli's own phrase, was "not only dead but damned."

Gladstone too was a Tory in his earlier career, first entering Parliament in 1833, but, like Peel, he came of a Lancashire business family, and accepted the logic of facts and figures. We therefore find him in Peel's temporary ministry of 1834-35 as well as in the historic government of 1841-46, and he supported his chief over the Repeal of the Corn Laws. His great financial ability and staunch support of Free Trade obtained for him the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer in Aberdeen's ministry of 1852-55, Palmerston's ministries from 1855-65 and the short-lived second ministry of Russell, 1865-66.

In 1866 the Conservatives took office with a fairly large majority at last, Lord Derby, a martyr to gout, being Premier, and Disraeli Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House. Although Russell had been turned out because of the opposition to his new franchise Reform Act, which aimed at lowering the qualification for a vote, the new Conservative government, under pressure from Disraeli, passed a similar measure in 1867, giving the vote to all ratepayers in towns, and to lodgers who paid a certain rent, while the qualification for country voters was reduced. In effect, this meant that a large number of town workers obtained the vote. Long before the rest of his party, Disraeli realised that the working classes would now have to be admitted to political power, and he thought that the Conservatives might as well have the credit of admitting them. He still retained something of his old Radical sympathies and, like other politicians, he had been greatly impressed by the way in which the workers of north England had actively sympathised in the American Civil War with the northern States (who wished to abolish slavery), even though the cotton famine which resulted from the war hit Lancashire very hard. But the older Conservatives shook their heads over the new Reform Act, and condemned it as "a leap in the dark." And at first their doubts seemed to be justified. Lord Derby's gout became too much for

him in 1868. He resigned, and Disraeli became Prime Minister for a short time, till a General Election became necessary. As if the newly-enfranchised workers clearly realised that it was Gladstone and Russell whom they had to thank for their vote, the Liberals were returned by a large majority, and Gladstone became Prime Minister (1868-74).

CHIEF DATES FOR THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (1837-1901)
AS FAR AS 1867

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| 1837. The Wheatstone Telegraph. | 1845. The Irish Famine. |
| 1838. The <i>Great Western</i> crosses from Bristol to New York. | 1846. Repeal of the Corn Laws. |
| 1840. Foundation of the White Star and the P. and O. steamship lines. | 1848. Failure of Chartist Movement. |
| 1841-46. Second Ministry of Peel. | 1854-56. Crimean War. |
| 1842. Peel's first "Free Trade" Budget. | 1855-65. Palmerston, Prime Minister. |
| | 1856-58. Indian Mutiny. |
| | 1859. Darwin's "Origin of Species." |
| | 1867. Disraeli's Reform Act. |

In this ministry he passed three measures of immense importance to the workers. In connection with the Reform Act of 1867, one of Disraeli's colleagues had said, half in jest, "We must educate our masters," meaning the mass of new voters. Gladstone, in earnest, set about educating their children. In 1870 the Elementary Education Act laid the foundations of our modern public educational system. It is hardly necessary to point out how this hastened the advent of democracy. It meant that the next generation would be more fitted to exercise political power, and that intelligent children could aspire to higher positions than had been open to their parents. In this connection we ought to notice the extensive and valuable work that was already being done in Church schools before 1870. These schools were encouraged to take their place in the new public scheme, and there were so many of them, that to-day it is difficult to carry out the important educational reforms which are being prepared, without making special

arrangements to include the Church schools also. The second measure, which affected the lives of the workers almost immediately, was an Act of 1871 making Trade Unions legal organisations with the power (subject to numerous restrictions) of declaring a strike (p. 547). That privilege was soon exercised to the full, and it certainly helped to raise the workers' standard of living. England was now entering on an era of unexampled prosperity, due to Free Trade, hard work on the part of masters and men alike and courageous enterprise. In spite of all the gloomy, rigid theories of some of the earlier economists, who had proved, on paper, that the workers would never be able to get more than the barest living, wages actually rose steadily in a period when prices were falling. The third Act in favour of the workers secured vote by ballot (1872). This was absolutely essential if the Second Reform Act was to have any value. The frequent course of an election hitherto had been for the Mayor (or whoever the returning officer was) to call for a show of hands for the candidates when they had made their final speeches from the "hustings," a covered platform erected in front of the Town or County Hall. As he usually declared to be successful the candidate whom he himself favoured, it was quite a regular thing for the dissatisfied party to show its resentment by starting a riot. The more serious part of the election followed later, the voters being called up individually and declaring their choice verbally. The voting lists were later published, and every landlord and employer obtained a copy, to see if his own tenants or employees had voted according to his instructions. If they defied him, eviction or dismissal was quite the usual sequel. By the Ballot Act, an elector could vote as he wished without fear of being victimised.

Disraeli in his second ministry (1874-80) had to follow the pace which Gladstone had set in courting the new electorate, winning his party over to the policy of "Tory Democracy." In 1875 the Artisans' Dwellings Act empowered local authorities to pull down the foulest of the slums which the Industrial Revolution had multiplied, and build in their place tenements more suitable for human beings. It was made compulsory in 1876 for all children not privately educated to attend the new elementary schools till they were thirteen years old, and so child labour was

reduced, but not altogether abolished, as many unfortunate children put in several hours a day in the mill as well as the school. Two other Trade Unions Acts (1875 and 1876) confirmed and freely extended Gladstone's rather grudging concession, and the various Factory Acts were systematised.

In his second ministry (1880-85) Gladstone passed the third Reform Act, which gave the country labourer the vote on similar terms to those affecting the town worker (1884).

2. IMPERIALISM

While the domestic policies of the two great protagonists ran along parallel courses, their foreign and colonial policies diverged sharply. Ever since the loss of America in 1783 England's interest in her colonies had languished. And Disraeli himself, though he now originated a total change of attitude toward the Empire, had privately declared earlier in his career, "These wretched colonies are a millstone round our necks." But in the 'seventies the opening-up of Africa, begun by the devoted missionary David Livingstone, resulted in the beginning of a modern colonising movement in which the chief European powers eagerly took part, when it was realised that overseas dominions might be very useful in absorbing some of the enormous output of the factories and supplying raw materials. Apart from this, Disraeli's romantic imagination was fired by the thought of the distant and diverse races who owned allegiance to his beloved queen. He felt that the possession of the Empire was a matter for conscious pride, that its various communities ought to be in closer touch with the homeland, and that no opportunity for extending the Empire ought to be missed. This attitude, which came to be known as Imperialism, he developed first in his own party and then in the whole nation. Imperialism has since lost most of the rather patronising spirit of superiority which its cruder exponents displayed towards the "lesser breeds without the law." But it still continues to be a vital issue in English politics.

Disraeli was particularly interested in India, and he followed very closely any developments which might affect England's position there. From this we may rightly infer that his foreign policy was anti-Russian and pro-Turkish. When the Balkan States rose against their hated rulers in

1876, the Turks treated the rebels with hideous cruelty, and Gladstone in pamphlets and speeches demanded that they should, once and for all, be driven out of Europe "bag and baggage." But Disraeli sneered at his righteous indignation, and when the Russians declared war on Turkey, playing the traditional rôle of protector to their "little Slav brothers," Disraeli sent the fleet to Constantinople to check the Russian advance. The Russo-Turkish treaty which followed in 1878 struck him as far too severe on the Turks, and he suggested to the powers of Europe that it ought to be revised. The Prussian minister, Bismarck, accordingly arranged the Congress of Berlin, which Disraeli himself attended. A fresh treaty was drawn up, by which the north Balkan states achieved independence, while Russia had to disgorge some of the gains made by the earlier treaty. The Turks made Cyprus over to England. It was a great personal triumph for Disraeli (now Lord Beaconsfield), especially when we remember he was seventy-four years old. He claimed to have secured "Peace with Honour," but the horrible massacres committed on the Armenians some years later made many Englishmen feel uncomfortable about their support of the Turk. In 1877 the queen took the new title of Empress of India to suggest a close personal connection with her Indian subjects, and Disraeli's incurable suspicion of Russian designs on India was behind the Afghan War of 1878-80 (p. 588).

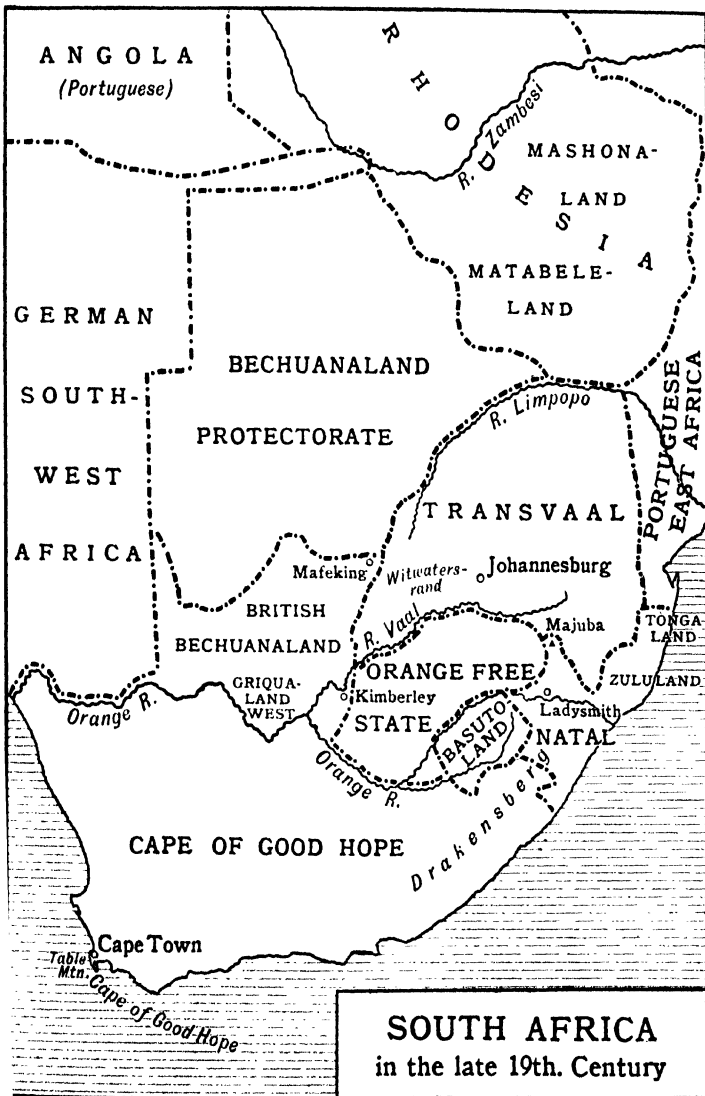
Events in Egypt and South Africa form a link between this ministry of Disraeli's and that of Gladstone which followed, since in those lands Disraeli "sowed the wind" and Gladstone "reaped the whirlwind." In Egypt, Mehemet Ali's grandson, Ismail, had borrowed enormous sums from English and French financiers to carry out his ambitious schemes for the development of the country. One of them was the construction of the Suez Canal. But his projects did not bring the prosperity he had expected. He could not pay his debts and had to sell his half share of the Canal. French agents were just about to purchase it when Disraeli, without waiting for Parliament's authority, offered a higher figure, and so the British government became (1875) and still remain the controlling shareholders of the Suez Canal Company, and the annual dividends are noted in the Budget. For it was absolutely essential, in

order to safeguard the short route to the East, that the Canal should not pass into foreign control. Although the Khedive Ismail sold all he could and crushed his subjects with heavy taxation, he still failed to meet his debts, and he asked for British and French representatives to be sent to take charge of his finances (1879). They took control of the taxation and allotted a proportion of it for the repayment of debts, and it looked as if a way might be found out of the financial morass, when a double revolt occurred which created fresh problems not yet solved to-day. The Egyptian army mutinied, resenting what amounted to foreign control, and fearing that they would be disbanded for economy. The cry was raised "Egypt for the Egyptians," and there were anti-foreign riots in Alexandria. France now refused to take any further responsibility, and England undertook to deal with the situation alone (1882), after assuring the other powers that she had no intention of annexing Egypt permanently. Alexandria was bombarded by the fleet, and the rebel army was scattered at Tel-el-Kebir, near Cairo. From that day to this there have been British officers in Egypt.

Now Gladstone, taking office again in 1880, had been most unwilling to interfere in Egypt at all. His general foreign policy was always non-intervention, especially as this tended towards peace and economy, the Liberal ideal at this time. He could not see why the government should use its power to make good the losses of private capitalists, and only the murder of Europeans in the riots of 1882 had compelled him to permit the interference of the British army and navy. But in 1883 the situation was further complicated by the revolt of the fanatical warrior tribes of the Sudan under the Mahdi, a sort of Mohammedan Messiah, against the Anglo-Egyptian government. This vast province had only recently been annexed by Ismail, and had never yet been under effective Egyptian control. Ismail's son (for the father had been deposed) sent an Egyptian army under British officers against the Mahdi. It was ambushed and wiped out. Gladstone now decided that Egypt was enough of a burden without the complication of the Sudan, and resolved that the latter province should be abandoned to the Mahdi and the Egyptian garrisons led back. A specially selected officer named Gordon, who had already served in the Sudan, was sent

out by Gladstone to supervise the evacuation. Although his orders were clear, once at Khartum (where the Blue and White Niles meet), he decided to hold the northern Sudan and announced that he was going "to smash up the Mahdi." Before long the Mahdi's wild spearmen had surrounded Khartum and Gordon was appealing for reinforcements. Gladstone, furious at Gordon's disastrous blunder, was in no hurry to send them, until public opinion and his Cabinet colleagues compelled him to do so. The relief expedition was delayed by the unusual shallowness of the Nile, and when it arrived, the Union Jack and the Crescent and Star no longer fluttered over Khartum, and Gordon was dead (1885). He had recently become the idol of England, and a wave of rage against Gladstone passed over the country when the news arrived. But it is difficult to see why we should continue to extend our sympathy to a misguided officer who deliberately went back on his promise to carry out a definite commission.

Gladstone was equally unfortunate in his dealings with South Africa. When England annexed the Cape in 1806 there was a considerable number of Dutch settlers there who ruled the natives with an iron hand. The Boers were annoyed when the British authorities gave free natives rights of citizenship in 1828 and freed the slaves in 1833 (p. 556), giving the owners inadequate compensation. A few years later, therefore, large numbers of Boers left Cape Colony and moved inland on their ox-wagons. Some crossed the Drakensberg into Natal, but as England was determined to keep the coast-line, Natal was annexed in 1843 in spite of armed resistance from the Boers. Others settled between the upper reaches of the Orange and Vaal rivers, and some pushed further north still across the Vaal, and two republics were formed, the Orange Free State and Transvaal. Here they imagined themselves to be free to bully the Kafirs as they wished, and the British government was in a difficult position, for the natives further inland made little distinction between the two white races, and discontent among the fighting tribes was a menace to the two British colonies on the southern coast. In 1868 the British annexed Basutoland, lying between the Orange Free State, Natal and Cape Colony, and in 1871 greatly annoyed the southern Boer republic by annexing the



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Kimberley district and West Griqualand, both of which were rich in diamonds (map, p. 603). Not long afterwards the Transvaal Boers annoyed both the Zulus, who defeated them, and the Kafirs; and fearing a general rising of natives, Disraeli decided to annex the Transvaal for the time being, promising to restore independence when the danger was over (1877). Before Gladstone took office in 1880 he declared that England must keep that promise. But reports from missionaries about the brutality of the Dutch towards the natives made him hesitate. The Boers began to show their impatience, and Gladstone began to negotiate with them, when suddenly news came that the Boers had risen (1881). The British commander was trying to collect scattered garrisons when he was surrounded on Majuba Hill (Natal-Transvaal frontier), and all his men were killed or captured. Many Englishmen clamoured for a war and the immediate termination of all negotiations, but Gladstone, at the risk of being branded as a coward, insisted that the discussions must go on in spite of Majuba, and he granted the Transvaal Boers their independence, subject to a vague right of controlling their relations with other powers (1884). (For later history of South Africa, see pp. 614, 619.)



COSTUMES OF GENTLEMAN AND LADY, ABOUT 1890

3. HOME RULE

Those who maintained that Gladstone was a hypocrite when he professed to act only from the highest motives, soon had another opportunity of sneering at him, when the Irish question began to dominate English politics. In the June of 1885 Gladstone's second ministry fell, chiefly as the result of the tragedies in Egypt and Transvaal and his refusal to check Russia's renewed advance on the borders of Afghanistan. A Conservative ministry was formed, but it soon collapsed, for Disraeli had already made his exit from the stage he had so long adorned. He died in 1881, exhausted by his efforts at the Congress of Berlin, and keenly disappointed at his failure in the election of 1880. His chief colleague, Lord Salisbury, who had been closely associated with him as Foreign Secretary, could not keep his team together as yet, and there was a second election in December 1885. When the new House assembled in the February of 1886, it was found that there were 335 Liberals, 249 Conservatives, and 86 Irish members. The latter were determined to extort Home Rule from the British Parliament; that is, they demanded the restoration of the Dublin Parliament extinguished in 1800, as the only permanent solution of Ireland's difficulties. The rage and contempt of the average Conservative member when Gladstone announced his conversion to Home Rule may well be imagined. To them the real reason for Gladstone's conversion was a matter of very simple arithmetic. Some of their own leaders, however, were at the same moment quite ready to consider Home Rule, but Salisbury would not tolerate the idea. Gladstone himself had not been convinced quite as readily as his enemies tried to make out. He had been wrestling with Irish problems for twenty years, without making much headway. Fair-minded people agree that Gladstone was honest and sincere, but he did not take the public much into his confidence, and his change of policy was apparently so sudden and convenient that we must not be surprised at his enemies' scepticism. He was sincere enough about Home Rule, at any rate, to wreck his party over the issue and end his career in failure. To understand his apparently sudden conversion in 1886, we must turn back some distance.

Disraeli once summed up the Irish problem as "a

starving population, an absentee aristocracy and an alien Church.' The last grievance had been reduced when Catholics ceased to pay tithes for the upkeep of the Protestant Church in Ireland (p. 568), and Gladstone went further in 1869 and disestablished the Irish Church and partly disendowed it, in spite of fierce protests in England. The other two grievances went together. Ever since the Famine of 1845, Irish estates tended to fall into the possession of ever fewer landlords of a new class, who were quite indifferent to the welfare of their tenants, rarely visited their Irish estates, but expected their agents to forward regularly every penny of rent they could extort. If a tenant improved his farm, a higher rent would promptly be charged, and if he refused to pay it, he would be turned out and a new tenant soon installed, glad to get the benefit of the improvements. Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 was the first of a long series which aimed, without success, at giving the tenant greater security of tenure, and compensation for improvements. The failure of these Acts led to discontent, crime and a series of Coercion Acts. In 1879 Charles Stewart Parnell became the leader of the Irish Home Rule party. The son of a Protestant Irish squire, he was cold and distant even to his own followers, and exercised over them an iron discipline. His mother was an American, and he frequently went to America and collected funds from Irish immigrants there who had no love for England. His policy was a simple one—to obstruct all business in the House of Commons (and to those who mastered its complicated rules of procedure this was not difficult) until the question of Home Rule was squarely faced. In Ireland itself he supported the Land League, with its equally simple policy of making life very uncomfortable for unsympathetic landlords and their agents by boycotting them or any tenant who took over a farm where an unjust eviction had occurred. And if the boycott failed, violence was used.

In his second ministry (1880-85) Gladstone had again tried in vain to solve the problem of Irish land ownership, and he imprisoned Parnell for a time, holding him responsible for a fresh outbreak of violence. Parnell was soon released, and had entered into negotiations with Gladstone, when the assassination in Phoenix Park, Dublin, of a new and sympathetic Irish Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, embittered the situation once more (1882). This stupid

crime was followed by a further series of outrages, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the average Englishman hardened his heart against Ireland and left the Royal Irish Constabulary to deal with the situation. But Gladstone was not content to leave it at that, and he had therefore introduced his first Home Rule Bill in 1886. Some of the ablest members of his own party turned against him and he was defeated. Salisbury once more formed a Conservative ministry (1886-92), and worked for a settlement on the lines of an Act to enable Irish farmers to buy their holdings outright, while a system of public elementary education was introduced. After 1890 Parnell lost control of his party, becoming involved in a divorce case which discredited him. But Gladstone in his fourth ministry (1892-94) made another attempt to pass a "Home Rule Bill," which was passed by the Commons, but was defeated in the Lords (1893). As Gladstone felt that a large section of the nation endorsed that verdict, he gave up the struggle and retired from politics in 1894, and died in 1898.

But the subsequent history of Ireland (pp. 626-629), culminating in the horrors and bloodshed of recent years, proves that Gladstone was right.

CHAPTER XLI

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS

I. THE SELF-GOVERNING DOMINIONS

“ A daughter in her mother’s house, a mistress in her own.”
(KIPLING.)

THE main interest of Imperial history in the eighteenth century is the growth of British control in India; that of the nineteenth century is the rapid expansion of the colonies which attracted British settlers, and the achievement, by the new young nations thus created, of advanced democracy and independence within the Empire.

After the loss of the American states in 1783, Canada began to attract more attention from the home government. The Quebec Act of 1791 (p. 498), which had separated the French district of the lower St. Lawrence from the English-speaking province on the Great Lakes, had not worked satisfactorily. The English and French settlers still quarrelled with each other and with the officials sent from England to govern them. In 1837, the year of Victoria’s accession, there were the beginnings of a rebellion, particularly in French Canada. Next year Lord Durham was sent out to report on the situation. He acted in a somewhat high-handed manner, deporting the alleged leaders of the recent disturbance to the Bermudas without any sort of trial. He became so unpopular that within five months he had to return to England. And yet the report which he made put the subsequent government of Canada on sure foundations. He recommended that the two provinces should be united, and that the elective Canadian Assembly should take charge of all internal affairs. His first recommendation was adopted in 1840, when the provinces of Quebec and Ontario were united. The second was in practice put into effect by his son-in-law, Lord Elgin, who was Governor-General from 1847 to 1854. Instead of exercising personal control of the administration, he allowed

a ministry chosen from the strongest party in the Assembly to take charge of the government, contenting himself with occasional advice to the colonial Premier in times of crisis. In 1867 the first steps were taken to federate the provinces into the "Dominion of Canada," that is, to combine them in a union for all purposes of common interest such as defence, communications and taxes, while leaving them free to control their own local government. The small Atlantic provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (p. 497) joined Quebec and Ontario, the latter provinces, once more separated, being greatly extended to the north-east and north-west respectively, when the Dominion government bought out the Hudson's Bay Company (p. 498) in 1870. By this important purchase, the Canadian government acquired control of all the territory stretching to the Pacific coast. On that coast, developing the forests, orchards, fisheries and mines, there was already a thriving community, which had been receiving many settlers since 1850, and which entered the Dominion as the province of British Columbia in 1871. The central ranch and prairie lands gradually filled up, and received in turn the status and rights of provinces as soon as they qualified by the growth of their population—Manitoba 1870, Saskatchewan and Alberta 1905. The development of central Canada was the direct result of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, completed in 1885, the vital artery of the Dominion (map, p. 496). Newfoundland, together with the coast of Labrador which belongs to it geographically and politically, still prefers to remain outside the Dominion, and received self-government in 1855. Negotiations are on foot for the sale of Labrador to the Dominion. Settlers were attracted to the Yukon by the discovery of gold (1894) in the Klondike. Alaska had already been claimed by Russian explorers and was sold to U.S.A. in 1866, rights of fishing in the Behring Strait being later granted to Canadians.

Meanwhile in Australia, the free settlers of New South Wales (p. 501), growing prosperous by the export of fine merino fleeces, were beginning to resent the stream of convicts which the home government still continued to send out during the unhappy years of the earlier nineteenth century, and in 1840 the practice ceased there, but was continued for some years longer in the other colonies which

had sprung up. In 1855, New South Wales, which had had an Assembly since 1842, was granted responsible government.

Queensland began in 1824 with the establishment at Brisbane of a colony for the rougher type of convicts who could no longer be tolerated near Sydney. But when good grazing land was discovered inland there was an influx of squatters. Some very ugly episodes occurred with the "blackfellows," who interfered with the white men's herds often out of sheer ignorance. Mines, sugar plantations and ranches brought quick prosperity, so that the colony was granted self-government in 1859, on its separation from New South Wales.

The three southern states, West Australia, Victoria, and South Australia, grew from organised settlements. In 1826 the rumour of a French descent on the south-west coast of Australia prompted the governor of New South Wales to send a force to King George Sound, where the city of Albany (West Australia) later grew up. Surveyors also sent back reports of the promising appearance of the land near the Swan River, and in 1829 Sir Thomas Peel, cousin of Sir Robert, brought out hundreds of labourers to the district. But conditions proved to be unfavourable for agriculture, and most of the settlers gradually drifted eastwards. In 1850 the few who remained, as a last resource, actually asked the home government to set up a convict colony near them, in order to obtain free labour, and this grew into the city of Perth. Eventually pastoral land was discovered, and the forests and pearl fisheries were exploited. In 1890 West Australia was granted self-government, and a gold rush to Coolgardie a few years later brought a big increase of population.

Victoria was settled from the beginning by a wealthier class of immigrant with farming experience, who usually paid a fair price for his land and could afford to stock it well at once. Orchards and dairy farms prospered, and Melbourne grew in sixty years from a collection of a dozen log shanties to a magnificent city with half a million inhabitants. The discovery of gold near Ballarat in 1851 attracted many immigrants, and serious disorders took place while the "gold rush" was on. In the same year Victoria was separated from New South Wales, and in 1855 was granted self-government (map, p. 499).

The settlement of South Australia in 1836 was planned by a bold and obstinate man of long views, Gibbon Wakefield, who strove to rouse in England in the early part of the century an enthusiasm for Imperialism which hardly appealed to the spirit of the age. It was his idea that emigrants should be of a higher social type, who would sink capital in their holdings and remain loyal to the home country. After early difficulties were overcome, wheat and dairy farms were developed, and the discovery of copper mines enriched the colony's resources. A magnificent feat of exploration made it possible to run a telegraph from Adelaide across the central desert to Port Darwin on the north coast (completed 1872). Like Victoria, South Australia obtained self-government in 1855, as did Tasmania.

Wakefield was not an easy man to work with, and as his schemes were not put into practice quite as he wished, he soon gave up his connection with South Australia and went to Canada as a member of Durham's staff in 1838. The next year he brought a number of settlers out to New Zealand, where, since Cook's annexation in 1769 (p. 500), an occasional English whaler or trader called at the Bay of Islands in the far north and carried out some dubious transactions which usually left the natives poorer. Wakefield's settlement and fear of French aggression drove the home government to reaffirm the British annexation in 1840, and encourage further settlements. Wellington and Auckland were founded that year, Dunedin in 1848 and Christchurch in 1850. The further development of the colony was hindered by fierce wars with the native Maori, a virile and intelligent race whose resistance was formidable. In some cases they had been cheated of their lands, and in others the chiefs sold land to white settlers as if it were their own, when actually the whole tribe owned it. The struggle did not finally cease till twenty-five years after. The Maori then decided to accept the white settlers and some of their ways of life. To-day they are represented in the New Zealand Parliament and the highest types are received as equals in society. Neither in Australia, where the aborigines are few and of a low intelligence, nor in New Zealand, where they are few and adaptable, do the native races, therefore, provide the very serious problems which arise elsewhere. Both Australia and New Zealand benefited considerably from the installation of refrigerating

plants in steamers, which began in the 'seventies. Their dairy produce, fruit and meat now became available for the growing industrial areas of England.

It is impossible to leave the early history of Australia and New Zealand without reference to the career of another Empire-builder, George Grey. He first came to Australia in 1837 as a young infantry officer, underwent terrible hardships while exploring western Australia, and became Governor of South Australia. Later he was made Governor of New Zealand, where he was as successful in dealing both with white men and natives as he had been in Australia. After a number of years in Cape Colony, which he saved from an invasion of natives, he went back to New Zealand to deal with a Maori war, and finally became Prime Minister.

It was inevitable that the various provinces in both colonies should finally combine in some form of unified government. In New Zealand (where the provinces as well as the general Parliament had received self-government in 1852), the problem was simplified by the small total area of the colony and the fact that similar geographical conditions produced a generally similar type of life throughout. A strong central government was therefore established in 1875 and the local governments were abolished. But in Australia, as in Canada, the vast distances made a large measure of provincial self-government essential. Land communication between the Australian states was not easy, and the varying conditions of life made for different political requirements. It was not till 1901, therefore, that the states combined, when German and Japanese advances towards the South Seas seemed to threaten Australia's security. Even so, the Commonwealth of Australia was organised on federal lines, each state retaining its own Parliament, as well as returning members to the Federal Parliament. Recent difficulties in connection with the repayment of loans have provided an example of the Commonwealth exercising its authority against a defiant New South Wales. The Federal government administers the districts of North Australia and Central Australia (previously known as the Northern Territory) and the district round Canberra (south of New South Wales), the Commonwealth capital. (For recent history of Canada and Australasia, see pp. 619, 620.)

As we might guess from the account of events leading up to the first Boer War (p. 604), the granting of self-government to all the South African states and their ultimate union were not as easily achieved as in the other colonies. Cape Colony became self-governing in 1872, and Natal in 1893, the white population in both states being mainly British, though there is a large Dutch minority. But there was still this problem to be solved—what were to be England's relations with the Dutch states to the north? That problem was aggravated by two ambitious men, each of whom wanted the whole of South Africa for his own race. Cecil Rhodes left a Hertfordshire rectory, when still a boy, to try his luck in South Africa. He ultimately joined in the rush to the Kimberley diamond mines, and did extremely well there. He then turned to politics, became a member of the Cape Parliament, and devoted his life to the expansion of British power in South Africa. He got into touch with influential native chiefs, and cajoled them into consenting to the annexation of their territories. In 1885, soon after the first Boer War, Bechuanaland, a large area to the north of Cape Colony, and immediately west of the Dutch states, was taken under British control, and Boer settlements there were broken up. Zululand and Tongaland, north of Natal, were annexed in 1887. And in 1889 the British South Africa Company, formed by Rhodes, obtained a charter from the English government giving them powers of administration in the lands of the Matabele and the Mashona (now Southern Rhodesia). The chief of the Matabele, Lobengula, at first inclined to be friendly, gave the Company permission to look for gold. But the Matabele were a fierce, proud race. Fighting broke out, and the Company's volunteer army suppressed them and, a few years later, the rebellious Mashona (map, p. 603).

A glance at the map will show that these annexations completely hemmed in the Dutch states. To the president of the Transvaal Republic, Paul Kruger, who had never liked the British since he had taken part as a boy in the Great Trek (p. 602), this was galling enough. In addition, the traditional farm life of the Boers within the Republic's frontiers was threatened by the industrialism which they feared and hated. Kruger had done his best to prevent the railway planned by Rhodes from running up from the Cape to Rhodesia, and he tried to ruin the trade routes by

closing the numerous fords which they crossed. But the friction between Briton and Boer rapidly increased as a result of the gold rush of 1884, to Witwatersrand in the south of the Transvaal. Most of the immigrants were British and of an enterprising and progressive type, and a large industrial area sprang up round Johannesburg. This was just what the Boers dreaded, and they proceeded to discourage "the Outlanders" as the immigrants were called, by taxing them very heavily, while denying them rights of citizenship. The Outlanders, who formed the majority of the population, were hardly the sort of men to take this treatment lying down. A revolution was planned to upset the Boer Government, but owing to a premature raid from Rhodesia under Dr. Jameson, agent of the South Africa Company, the plans fell through (1895). After the capture of the raiders, the Boer government treated the Outlanders even more unfairly, and encouraged by Rhodes, now Premier of Cape Colony, the latter asked the British government to insist on Kruger granting them citizenship. While the governments were still negotiating, Kruger demanded that no more British troops should be sent to South Africa, though he himself was buying munitions on a large scale. When the British government refused his demand, both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State declared war and invaded Cape Colony and Natal (Oct. 1899).

The British forces were soon driven into three towns. The Cape forces, which had been stationed in Bechuanaland, were besieged in Kimberley and Mafeking, and the Natal garrison, stationed near Zululand, was locked up in Ladysmith. Attempts to relieve the garrisons by fresh troops in December resulted in three disasters in a week, and that Christmas was a gloomy one for the British. A large army was then sent out from England under Roberts and Kitchener, and within twelve months the sieges were raised, the main armies of the Boers had been defeated and their capitals occupied. But the Boers now split up into small groups, and for eighteen months Kitchener was fully occupied in running them to earth by surrounding each district in turn with a ring of blockhouses. Peace was made in 1902. The Boers agreed to take an oath of loyalty to King Edward VII, while the British promised to make their military occupation brief and to grant the Boer states

self-government within the Empire as soon as possible. In 1906 the Transvaal, and next year the Orange Free State, obtained responsible government, thanks to the Liberal Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman, and in 1910 the two British and the two Boer States combined in the Federal Union of South Africa, a triumph of moderation on both sides. It would be an exaggeration to say that all bitterness between Boers and British died away. But at the beginning of the Great War, it was a loyal Boer general, Botha, who promptly crushed the Dutch rebel minority, and Boers fought for England in South Africa and France. Neither Rhodes nor Kruger had won. Another loyal Boer general, Smuts, took a prominent part in working out the Covenant of the League of Nations (p. 657).

Though the Sudan was abandoned after the death of Gordon, the English occupation of Egypt was maintained. Under the continued supervision of Lord Cromer (the original British agent sent out in 1879) the worst abuses of Egyptian administration were remedied. The flogging and forced labour of peasants were abolished, and the more scandalous forms of corruption were reduced. And when some measure of prosperity was achieved, it was inevitable that a fresh attempt should be made to recover the Sudan. So vast an area, which had recently been controlled by British officers, could hardly be left permanently at the mercy of brutal and fanatical slave-dealers who reduced its population from eight to four millions in a few years. The loss of the Sudan had also weakened British control of the Red Sea, so essential for communication with India. Above all, since Egypt is completely dependent for its existence on the water which the Nile brings down, the upper reaches of that river must be under Egyptian control, if any modern schemes of irrigation and water conservation on a large scale are to be carried out. When a new Egyptian army had been trained, Kitchener was appointed to carry out the difficult task of recovering the Sudan. He advanced steadily up the Nile in his methodical fashion, and reaped the reward of long and careful preparations at the battle of Omdurman (near Khartum), when the repeated charges of wild tribesmen were shattered by Maxim gun fire (1898). The nightmare of Dervish rule in the Sudan came to an end, and under the new Anglo-Egyptian régime the more peaceful

tribes resumed their cattle-grazing. In recent years cotton-growing has become an important industry.

Lord Cromer left Egypt in 1907 and Kitchener later became Governor for a time. In effect Egypt seemed to have become a British colony, though we must remember that native authorities never ceased to take a nominally equal share in the government, and there was always the shadowy suzerainty of the Sultan in the background. But after the Great War, which was fought partly to safeguard the rights of small nationalities, England had to face Egypt's demand for independence. The vague authority of the Turks, who had fought against England, was finally terminated. Egypt was recognised as an independent kingdom under a native king (1922), but concluded a close alliance with England in recognition of the work done by English officials. British garrisons are to leave Egypt, but a force is to be permitted to guard the Suez Canal. Unfortunately the question of the Sudan has not yet been satisfactorily settled. Egypt requires us to give up entirely any claim to that province. But England is reluctant to do so, in view of the fact that Egypt's control of the Sudan was never effective without British officers.

2. CROWN COLONIES

We have studied the problems of the British Empire which arose from the development of the larger colonies into nationhood in the last hundred years. We now have to notice the remarkable increase in the number and area of British possessions which took place in that period, particularly towards the end of the nineteenth century. As these lie within the tropics and so do not attract large numbers of white settlers, and are inhabited by natives of primitive culture, the problem of government is comparatively simple. A few officials, responsible to the Colonial Secretary, and supported only by a small military force, often recruited from the natives, administer large areas and populations. Two motives lie behind these recent additions to the Empire. Some may be classified as further safeguards of the route to India and Australia—and to this group belong Aden (1839) and British Somaliland (1884), which with the islands of Perim and Socotra command the southern approach to the Red Sea, Cyprus (1878, p. 600), Singapore and Malacca (1824); to another

group belong England's gains in the scramble which took place among the powers of Europe in the 'eighties for colonies in Africa and the Pacific. This was due partly to the need for new markets to absorb the increasing output of the factories, and partly to the growing industrial need for tropical products such as rubber and palm oil. To the south-east of the Sudan, Uganda, and British East Africa (now Kenya), were taken over by a chartered company in 1888 and came under Crown government in 1895. On the other side of Africa, Nigeria (explored by Mungo Park a hundred years before) was exploited from 1880 by another chartered company, which sold its rights to the Crown in 1900. In the same way the North Borneo Company was bought out in 1888, and in that year southern New Guinea was annexed.

3. THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

"Great Britain and the Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status . . . united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." (Declaration by the Imperial Conference of 1926.)

When the "white" colonies achieved self-government, it was regarded as inevitable that sooner or later, on the first occasion for dissatisfaction, they should claim complete independence and leave the Empire entirely. And many Englishmen, particularly those who belonged to the Liberal party, viewed that possibility without dismay. But as time went on, the colonies showed no inclination whatever to break away. Two reasons suggest themselves. One is that they were not yet in a position to defend themselves. If Canada left the Empire it was quite possible that the United States would promptly annex it. Australia was nervous of Japanese expansion in the Pacific, especially as hordes of Japanese immigrants were swarming into Queensland. The other reason is that while the colonials were quick to resent anything patronising in the Englishman's attitude towards them, they felt a strong personal loyalty to the queen. Englishmen, in their turn, began to look upon the colonies with more interest. Disraeli, as we have seen, taught them to think Imperially. And his mantle fell on the brilliant leader of the rebel Liberals who had turned on Gladstone over the Home Rule question,

Joseph Chamberlain, who in 1895 became Colonial Secretary in Lord Salisbury's Conservative ministry. After a tour of the Empire, he became an ardent advocate of closer union between the white communities included in it, proposing Imperial Federation and a customs union, in which Empire trade should be fostered by taxing foreign imports. Neither of his schemes was adopted, but since that time there has been closer co-operation between the Dominions and England. When the Colonial Premiers came to England in 1887 and 1897 to celebrate Queen Victoria's Jubilee and Diamond Jubilee (fifty and sixty years' reign), informal conferences took place at which Imperial problems were discussed. And from 1907 such conferences at intervals of about four years became a regular institution. The colonial contingents which took part in the Boer War, and even more so, those of the Great War, showed the world clearly that the Dominions still considered England the mother country.

Yet, at the same time, the Dominions have insisted more and more strongly on their independence. They long ago acquired the right to control their taxation, and a clear illustration is the import duties put on British as well as on foreign goods. And since 1918 particularly they have aimed at the abolition of every sign of dependence on England. They signed the Treaty of Versailles as separate nations, and since 1920 Canada has had her own representative at Washington. Their performance in the War proves that they do not need British troops to protect them, and Australia has a small navy of its own. Until quite recently the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a small body of judges sitting in the House of Lords, was recognised as the supreme court of appeal for the whole British Empire. South Africa has now challenged this arrangement, and will not in effect allow appeals to England from her own High Court. The other Dominions will probably take this line also. Another important constitutional change took place recently when an Australian was appointed Governor-General of Australia, *i.e.* the king's representative there. Hitherto this post in each Dominion has been filled by an Englishman. One of the most interesting proofs that the "Colonies" have "grown up" has been the arrangement by which they have taken over from England the government of local British possessions.

The Union of South Africa controls what was once German South-West Africa. Australia administers British New Guinea, while the Tonga and other Polynesian islands are now controlled by New Zealand. The political system of both these colonies is democratic and progressive. There is a high standard of living and a strong feeling of independence among the workers. Australia had the first Labour government, and has made experiments in Socialism, for the Federal government owns railways, controls the sale of Federal land and the State Bank, and until recently, owned steamers. Both Dominions gave women the vote long before they had it in England. There are arbitration courts to prevent industrial disputes, though they have not been altogether successful. During the War the "Anzac" (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) contingents impressed English people by their fine physique and proud, manly bearing. It was clear that these young nations would call no one master.

CHIEF DATES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH
EMPIRE IN THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS

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| 1837. Canadian Rebellion. | 1875. Government of New Zealand centralised. |
| 1838. Durham's Report. | 1884. "Gold rush" to Transvaal. |
| 1840. Quebec and Ontario united. | 1885. Completion of Canadian Pacific Railway. |
| 1847-54. Canada obtains self-government. | 1890. West Australia obtains self-government. |
| 1852. New Zealand obtains self-government. | 1893. Natal obtains self-government. |
| 1855. Self-government granted to—
Newfoundland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania. | 1901. Commonwealth of Australia. |
| 1859. Queensland obtains self-government. | 1906. Transvaal obtains self-government. |
| 1867. Beginning of Canadian federation. | 1907. Orange Free State obtains self-government. |
| 1872. Adelaide-Port Darwin telegraph completed. | 1910. Union of South Africa. |
| Cape Colony obtains self-government. | 1920. Canadian representative at Washington. |
| | 1922. Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. |

CHIEF DATES FOR THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (1837-1901)
FROM 1867-1901

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|--|-------------------------------|
| 1870. Public Elementary Education Act. | 1882. Battle of Tel-el-Kebir. |
| 1876. Trade Unions Act. | 1884. Third Reform Act. |
| 1878-80. Second Afghan War. | 1886. First Home Rule Bill. |
| 1881. First Boer War. | 1898. Battle of Omdurman. |
| | 1899-1902. Second Boer War. |

CHAPTER XLII

THE GROWTH OF THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE RECENT HISTORY OF IRELAND

AFTER the retirement of Gladstone on his failure to convert even his own party to Home Rule, there was no important issue in English politics for some years. It was natural that the Conservatives, joined by rebel Liberals, should now hold office for a considerable number of years, and that in accordance with the normal policy of that party and the temperament of its leaders, Lord Salisbury and Arthur Balfour, they should confine themselves to immediate problems of government without considering any far-reaching reforms. A new force, however, was just beginning to make itself felt in English politics—the organisation of the working classes to secure political power quite independently of the two older parties. The present Labour party rests on the two supports of Trade Unionism and Socialism. Many Trade Unionists are not Socialists, and we must try to keep the two movements distinct (although they frequently overlap), especially as the same men were pioneers in both. The doctrine that the State should control the economic life of the nation first came into prominence during the French revolutions of the early nineteenth century. After some crude experiments, in that direction, Socialism lost ground in France, and little attention was paid to the theory in England, which was then advancing to prosperity through the energy and enterprise of private individuals. But round about 1880 a period of trade depression began. It was about this time that there appeared "Das Kapital," an analysis of capitalism by a Prussian scholar named Karl Marx, in which he argued that the whole European system of commerce and industry was unsound, and doomed to ultimate failure, which would be marked by a general revolution of workers. In the early 'eighties these doctrines were proclaimed to small groups of bored listeners at the corners of dreary streets in the East End of London by a prosperous-looking

gentleman in a silk hat and frock-coat. This was Hyndman, who, after an education at Eton and Cambridge and adventures in distant parts of the world, had succeeded in business and now devoted himself with astonishing obstinacy to preaching doctrines which meant the ultimate extinction of the class to which he belonged. In 1881 he founded the Social Democratic Federation, and for a long time it seemed as if he would be the only member of that organisation. But among the people who were attracted by his arguments were the craftsman-poet, William Morris, J. Ramsay MacDonald, an ambitious Scottish youth who had left a fishing village to seek his future in London, and a clever journalist named George Bernard Shaw. But the English temperament is not prepared to consider the idea of a violent upheaval of society even to secure the most perfect rearrangement of wealth, and many of the early Socialists left Hyndman, to join the Fabian Society, founded 1884. They agreed with Hyndman that the necessities for national existence ought to be under national control and not at the mercy of "private enterprise," which was so often a polite name for private greed. But they did not believe that such a system could be quickly set up by means of a revolution. It could only be a very gradual process, and they were prepared to support any party at any time which took a step in the right direction.

About the same time the Trade Union movement received an immense stimulus. Up to about 1890 only the aristocracy of labour, as it were, the highly-skilled workers, who hardly formed a tenth of the working classes, were organised in unions. But in 1889 the vast army of casual labourers who earned a miserable and precarious livelihood round London docks, was persuaded by John Burns to protest against the abominable conditions under which they worked. The good temper, discipline and comradeship which they displayed during a strike lasting many weeks won the admiration of the whole nation. The dockers won in the end, and the victory encouraged other large bodies of workers to organise. Hence arose the modern Trade Unions, with their large financial reserves which give them the power to maintain a prolonged strike and to support their own Parliamentary candidates. The leaders of such unions have to be men of considerable executive ability, and it was a clear omen of future develop-

ments when John Burns was included in the Liberal Government which took office in 1906. In 1901 the position of the Unions was weakened by a judge's decision that claims could be made on the funds of a Union for the misdeeds of individual members (Taff Vale Decision). But this was reversed in 1906, and the Unions were henceforth liable only for offences committed as an organisation.

At first the representatives of the workers in Parliament belonged to the Liberal or Conservative parties. It was in 1892 that Keir Hardie, a Scottish miner, began to insist on the need for absolutely independent representatives of the workers in the House of Commons. He founded the Independent Labour Party, and was elected to Parliament, but for a time he alone comprised the party. But in 1906, after an exciting election in which the Conservatives were routed and the Liberals returned by a large majority, it was found that there were no less than 54 Labour members. In spite of their large majority the Liberal leaders, Asquith the Premier (since Campbell-Bannerman's death in 1908) and Mr. Lloyd George the Chancellor, lent a ready ear to the voice of organised Labour, the latter all the more willingly as he was of humble origin himself. The result was a series of laws for the benefit of the workers. Apart from the alteration of Trade Union law already mentioned, Acts were passed granting workmen compensation for injuries received while at work, bestowing Old Age Pensions, and limiting the miners' working day to eight hours. And in 1909 Labour Exchanges were organised, to help the unemployed to find work. The Budget of this year contained schemes for taxation which aimed at providing funds for further social services by taxing land which had increased in value through the activity of the community and not of the owner. Although it had become a recognised rule that the House of Lords should not interfere with money Bills, the peers claimed that this Budget was attempting a social revolution, and not merely raising the money required for ordinary government purposes, and they rejected it. Another election was held in 1910 and the Liberal majority almost disappeared, so that the balance of power lay with the Labour members and Home Rulers. A Bill was at once brought in which declared that in future the House of Lords had no control over any money Bills (the Speaker to decide which were money Bills) and could

only delay the passage of other Bills for two years. If the Commons were then still in favour of the Bill, it would go direct to the king and become law. The Lords naturally rejected this Parliament Bill, but Asquith used the same threat which Earl Grey had found effective at the time of the Reform Bill crisis, *i.e.* he declared that if the Lords were obstinate, he would ask the king to create sufficient new peers to ensure a Liberal majority. As before, the hostile peers refrained from voting and the Bill became law (1911). The preamble to the Bill suggested that a reform of the House of Lords would be undertaken at a convenient time. Twenty-one years have passed, but nothing has been done yet.

It was only to be expected that the Liberals, after their triumph over the Lords, should reward their Labour and Irish allies. Discontent among the workers was growing to be serious. There were over a thousand strikes between 1911 and 1914, and it was an unhealthy sign and an "un-English" development when soldiers were to be seen on guard at stations during the general railway strike of 1911. The demand of the men was that their Trade Union leaders should be officially recognised by the companies' directors, who were to discuss with the leaders beforehand any proposed alteration of wages or working conditions. This strike is important not only because the railwaymen and other unions eventually obtained recognition for their leaders, but also because it witnessed the formidable alliance of railwaymen, miners and transport workers. It was realised that these three powerful unions, if they stood together solidly, could paralyse the national life by a general strike. The same year saw the beginning of Mr. Lloyd George's scheme of National Insurance of workers against unemployment and sickness. All employees receiving less than three pounds per week were compelled to give up fourpence weekly, while their employers paid fivepence on their account. In return the State would pay workers a limited sum when they were sick or out-of-work, besides providing medical treatment. Thus the lowest-paid workers were partly protected against hard times. (For the subsequent history of the Labour party, see pp. 667, 669.)

The government now had to satisfy the Home Rulers. A Bill was introduced in 1912 to establish a Parliament at

Dublin which was to deal with all purely Irish legislation, while a few Irish members were still to be elected for Westminster to represent Ireland as a partner in the United Kingdom. The Lords rejected it, but by the Parliament Act it would become law automatically in 1914. There was another and much more serious difficulty to be considered, and that was the resistance of Ulster. A large proportion of the population of Ulster was descended from the dour English and Scottish Presbyterian stock which had settled there in James I's reign (Part III or IV, p. 290). Apart from religion, their whole way of life was different from that of the Catholics, and although they thought themselves as completely Irish as anybody else in the island, they dreaded the prospect of being governed by a Dublin Parliament which was sure to be predominantly Catholic and would not be particularly sympathetic towards the northern Protestants' claims for special treatment. The Ulstermen therefore asked that their province should be exempted from the Home Rule Bill. On the other hand, Ireland is obviously a single geographical unit, and the Home Rulers could not see their way to giving up by far the most important industrial area of the island, especially as it contained a considerable number of Catholics. The Ulstermen declared their intention of resisting the proposed Dublin government, and began to drill and import arms in preparation for a civil war. The Home Rulers followed their example. Such was the ugly situation with which the government had to deal in 1914. They introduced a Bill to exclude Ulster from the Home Rule Bill, and ordered the British garrisons in Ireland to disarm both parties. As if the position were not difficult enough, the officers at the large Curragh camp (north of Dublin), who had been ordered to disarm Ulstermen, promptly resigned. Soon after this the Great War broke out. Caution prevailed over generosity and the government postponed the Home Rule Bill indefinitely. We may as well deal now with the terrible sequel to that decision.

The Irish were naturally full of resentment at the government's obvious suspicion of their loyalty, but as yet the Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone) party, which advocated a violent separation from England, included only a handful of extremists. It was the harshness of the English officials at Dublin after the insurrection of Easter Week (1916) that

united most of the nation in hatred of the English government. An adventurous Sinn Fein leader, Sir Roger Casement, hoped to get German support for an Irish rising. The Germans were unwilling to help on a large scale till Ireland was more obviously disloyal, and Sir Roger was captured on a German submarine which was bringing him back to Ireland with a small quantity of arms. He was executed, and soon after the other Sinn Fein leaders in Dublin seized some of the main buildings, hoping that the rest of Ireland would rise to support them. In this they were disappointed, and after a week the rebellion was put down. It was inevitable that the ringleaders should be shot, but some of the rank and file, who were only misguided youths, were also executed. It was the death of these boys, for they were little more, that inflamed the whole of southern and western Ireland, which now definitely threw off the connection with England and declared for a completely independent Irish Republic. The Republicans set up their own administration, and British courts and officials were ignored. Such officers as attempted to enforce their authority were liable to be shot. Up to the end of 1918, while British troops were required elsewhere, the English government could do little. But when the Great War came to an end, a determined effort was made to put down the Republicans and a guerilla war broke out. The rattle of machine guns and rifle fire became a common sound in western villages. A special auxiliary force composed chiefly of ex-officers was enrolled by the English authorities, assisted by "the Black and Tans," soldiers of the Great War, hardened to slaughter and destruction. They were given a free hand against the rebels, and the terrible nervous strain of their work prompted them to commit as ugly outrages as any of which the Republicans were guilty. But they failed to cow Sinn Fein. Over and over again the swift lorries which conveyed their patrols from one village to another were ambushed, and they were shot down from behind the tall fuchsia hedges of the south-west. And it was woe to any civilian who fell foul of either force. Many an Irishman was dragged from his bed at night and riddled with bullets on his own doorstep. In 1921 Mr. Lloyd George (Premier since 1916) realised that the Black and Tans would not solve the Irish problem, and a treaty was negotiated with the Irish leaders by which Ireland achieved

such independence as was enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions.

Thus the Irish Free State came into being, but Ireland had not yet finished with bloodshed and destruction. The extreme party among the Sinn Feiners, obsessed with Ireland's grievances, were unwilling to maintain any connection with England whatsoever, repudiated the Treaty and turned their revolvers on their former comrades-in-arms. Free Staters and Republicans shot each other with the same cold-blooded ferocity that they had displayed against the British. At long last the nightmare ended with victory for the Free State in 1923. English soldiers left Ireland, presumably for ever. Subsequent elections have shown that Irishmen intend to stand by the treaty and maintain the English connection, though the victory of the Republican leader, De Valera, in the 1932 election has raised doubts about the treaty of 1921. There is still the question of eastern Ulster, which since 1920 has had its own Parliament for local legislation, while still returning members to Westminster. So things must stand till bitter memories are softened by the lapse of time. But it is not too much to hope that some day both north and south will be equally convinced that Ireland was meant to be one and indivisible.

CHIEF DATES FOR GROWTH OF THE LABOUR PARTY
AND THE RECENT HISTORY OF IRELAND

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| 1881. Foundation of the Social Democratic Federation. | 1908. Workmen's Compensation Act.
Old Age Pensions Act.
Miners' Eight Hours Day Act. |
| 1884. Foundation of the Fabian Society. | 1909. Labour Exchanges.
Budget provides revenue for social services. |
| 1892. Foundation of the Independent Labour Party. | 1910. Death of Edward VII.
Accession of George V. |
| 1906. Liberal victory.
Ministry of Sir H. Campbell - Bannerman. | 1911. Parliament Act.
Railway Strike.
"Triple Alliance" of Trade Unions. |
| 1908. Asquith Ministry begins.
Lloyd George, Chancellor of Exchequer. | |

CHIEF DATES FOR GROWTH OF THE LABOUR PARTY AND
THE RECENT HISTORY OF IRELAND (*continued*)

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| 1911. Lloyd George's
National Insurance Scheme. | 1914. Curragh "mutiny." |
| 1912. Home Rule Bill. | 1916. Dublin insurrection. |
| 1914. Amended Home Rule
Bill. | 1920. Ulster Parliament. |
| | 1921. Anglo-Irish Treaty.
Irish Free State
established. |

CHAPTER XLIII

THE GREAT WAR (1914-1918)

I. THE ORIGINS

A FAIRLY simple way to approach the causes of the Great War is to consider certain aspects of the history of Austria and Germany in the last half-century.

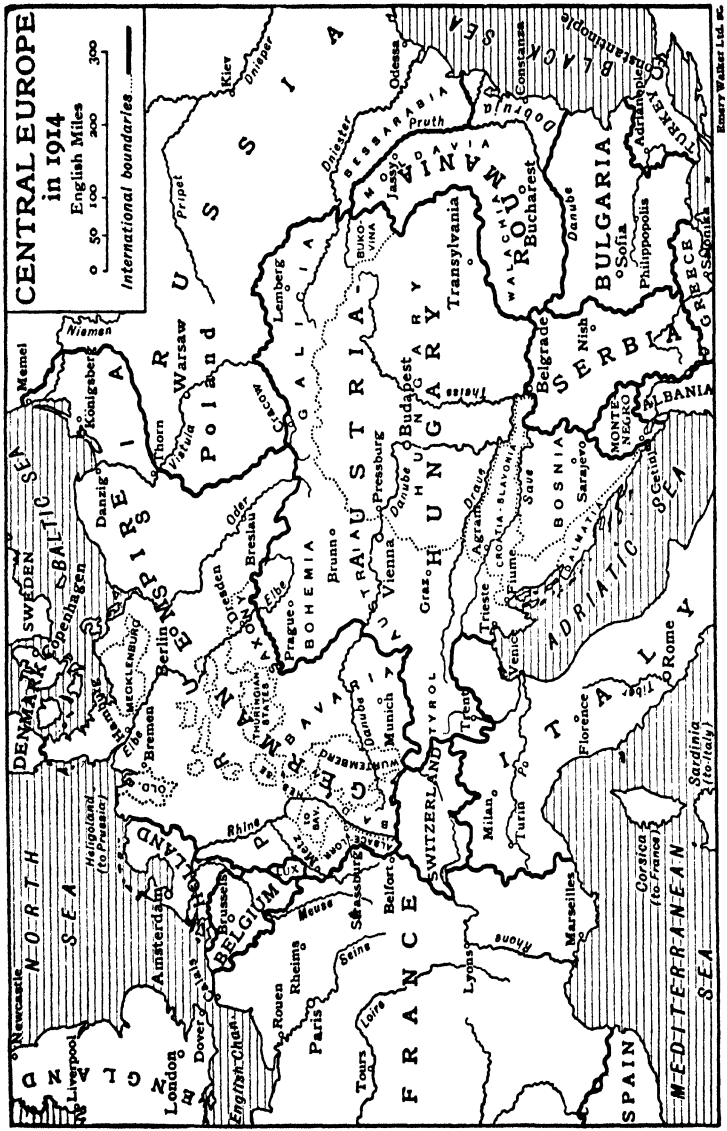
(a) *The Balkans.*

Let us first take Austria's relations with the Balkans. We have already seen that during the nineteenth century the Balkan States were restless under the misrule of the Turks, and that Russia was always ready to encourage their discontent. Greece broke away early in the century (p. 549) and in 1878, after the Congress of Berlin, as we noticed, northern Serbia and Bulgaria won their independence. Now the Congress also permitted Austria to occupy and govern the large province of Bosnia, lying immediately to her south. The Austrians valued their concession for two reasons. It enabled them to make far greater use of the Dalmatian coast, which was already in their possession, and it gave them greater control over their turbulent Slav subjects in the southern provinces (Croatia and Slavonia) who had too easily found refuge in the rugged mountains of Bosnia when it had been under the slack rule of the Turks. For thirty years Austria governed Bosnia, and the powers of Europe admitted that she had carried out her task well. Then in 1908 there occurred a revolution in Turkey which eventually substituted a more modern European system of government for the simple Oriental despotism of the past. The first effect of the revolution, however, was to weaken Turkey, and her enemies decided to take advantage before the reforms of the new government should make Turkey much more formidable. Austria at once formally annexed Bosnia, thereby arousing the anger of the Serbs, for the latter were planning a kingdom to include all the territories containing a Yugo-Slav

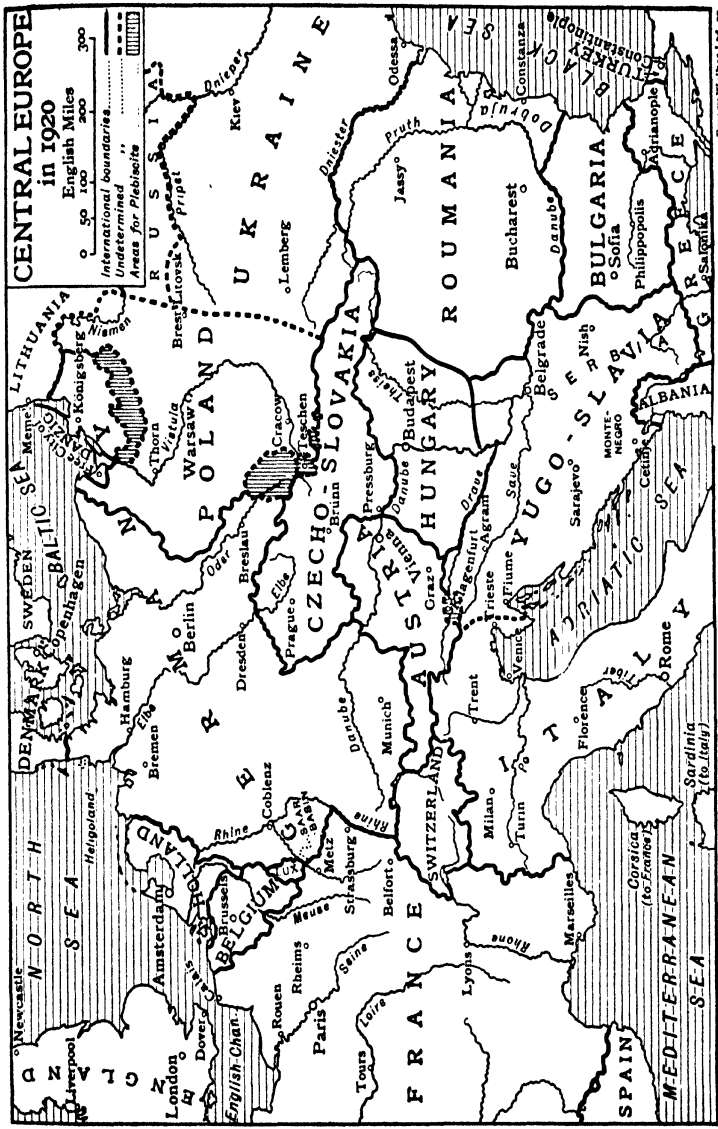
CENTRAL EUROPE in 1914

English Miles
0 50 100 200 300

International boundaries.....



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(Southern Slav) population, which would form a compact block enjoying access to the north-eastern Adriatic coast. Serbia looked to Russia to challenge the Austrian annexation of Bosnia, but Russia had been weakened by a war with Japan, and was itself threatened with revolution, and could not at the moment look after its "little Slav brothers," as it had so regularly done in the nineteenth century. In 1911 the Turks were weakened by a war with Italy for the possession of Tripoli (north Africa). Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria therefore declared war on Turkey and in 1912 occupied that belt of land from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, which was all Turkey had been allowed to retain in Europe after 1878, comprising Albania, Macedonia and Thrace. Serbia was particularly anxious to retain Albania, which would at once give her access to the Adriatic, especially at Durazzo (the ancient Roman harbour of Dyrrachium). But Austria and Italy once more dashed Serbia's ambitions by insisting that Albania must be independent. Once more cut off from access to the sea, so vital to a state in modern times, the Serbians began to foment the discontent of the Slavs in Austria's southern provinces, where rioting and attacks on officials became common. These culminated in the assassination of the Archduke Francis (heir to the Austrian throne) and his consort by Bosnians at Sarajevo in Bosnia on the 28th of June, 1914. Before we study the terrible repercussions throughout Europe of those fatal revolver shots, we must turn back and learn something of the history of Prussia in modern times.

(b) *The Expansion of Prussia.*

Ever since the time of Frederick the Great, Prussia had been fighting her way to recognition as an important power in Europe. She had wrenched Silesia from Austria, and large slices from Poland, in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century she had expanded westwards. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815 a large area on the Rhine, with Cologne as centre, had been awarded to the Prussians for their services against Napoleon. As a result of their wars against Denmark (1864) and Austria (1866) they had acquired the intervening belt of land stretching from the North Sea to the eastern frontier of France, and including Hanover, while the smaller German states of the north who

were still independent entered into a loose federal union with them. In 1870 came the Franco-Prussian War, in which the large south-German states supported the northern confederation. And after France had been completely defeated and the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine annexed, the south-German states also joined what was henceforth known as the German Empire (1871), while the king of Prussia became the German Emperor (Kaiser) and head of the federal union.

The union of Germany was thus achieved through warfare by the Prussian minister, Bismarck, who long ago had prophesied that Germany could be unified only by "blood and iron." For a time Prussian ambition was satisfied, and German energy was absorbed in working out the practical details of the union. Modern industrial methods were introduced and rapidly developed. And in the last years of his administration Bismarck began to admit that Germany ought to have colonies, as other powers had, to supply raw materials and food-stuffs and provide additional markets for the products of her factories. Germany therefore joined in the division of African territories which took place in 1884 and carved out for herself Togoland and the Kameruns (on the Gulf of Guinea). They also extended the patch of ground which a German trader had purchased till it became the large province of German South-West Africa, and they established themselves on the east coast in German East Africa, chartered companies doing the pioneering work, as in the English territories. About the same time the Germans were getting a foothold in the Pacific, by acquiring north-eastern New Guinea and some islands off that coast, together with Samoa. Bismarck was cautious in his colonial policy and aimed at friendly relations with the other powers of Europe, once he had acquired as much as he wanted. But on the accession of Emperor William II, 1888, Bismarck's influence declined, and he was practically dismissed in 1890. The new Emperor was a restless autocrat whose brain was full of ambitious schemes which he announced dramatically in bombastic language. One ambition of his which became obvious was to make Germany a first-class naval power. In 1890 he gave England Zanzibar (hitherto claimed for German East Africa) in exchange for the little island of Heligoland (p. 525), which henceforth supplied Germany

with a naval base in the North Sea. "Our future," he said, "lies on the water." In 1897 the port of Kiao-Chau (north China) was seized to provide a German naval base in the far East. "The Trident," declared the Kaiser, "must pass into our hand." From 1898, and even more so from 1900 onwards, a heavy programme of naval shipbuilding was carried out steadily, Germany's avowed intention being to challenge Britain's sea-power. Thus began a terribly expensive race in building warships. When the British government pointed out that a large navy was vital to England's existence, as most of her food and raw materials came across oceans, and proposed to call a halt in this ruinous naval competition, Germany's only reply was to build faster. And when the heavy Dreadnought type of battleship appeared, the German canal from Kiel to the North Sea was widened to accommodate the large vessels Germany built in reply. All this time an unusually large proportion of the German navy as well as army was kept ready for war at short notice.

Besides rousing English suspicions by this rapid increase of naval power, Germany was on bad terms with Russia and France. Bismarck had taken care to cultivate Russia's friendship, and for years there was a cordial understanding between the three Emperors of Russia, Germany and Austria. But William II had promptly demonstrated that he was not very anxious for Russia's friendship, especially after her humiliating defeat by Japan in 1905. When the Austrians annexed Bosnia, the Kaiser, in answer to Russian protests, declared that Germany "in shining armour" stood by her ally Austria. And the fact that German officers were training the new Turkish army after the revolution of 1908 did not please Russia, which still cherished hopes of seizing Constantinople some day.

France during these years had been establishing her influence in Morocco, where the native ruler still strove to maintain his authority. The Kaiser professed sympathy for Morocco's attempts to remain independent, and twice interfered dramatically in a fashion which infuriated the French, each time demanding compensation which the French looked upon as simply blackmail. "Germany must have a place in the sun," he insisted. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if England, France and Russia completed a Triple Entente against Germany and Austria,

though it would have been better if England's obligations under the vague and secret terms of alliance had been made more clear. Intoxicated by their success, the ruling class in Germany dreamed of world-power. Their navy would some day challenge Britain's command of ocean routes. The English, they thought, were a decadent nation, unfitted to govern their vast and too-easily-won Empire. Apart from this, Germany hoped to control a land route to the East to rival the English sea route. Austria, her close ally, was trying to dominate the Balkans. Germany was on friendly terms with Turkey, thanks to personal visits of the Kaiser, and was building a railway in Asia Minor which was to extend through Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf. So if Austro-German plans succeeded, there would be a railway linking the North and Baltic Seas with the Persian Gulf, the Berlin-Baghdad route, passing through Vienna, Belgrade (Serbia) and Constantinople. Actually German trains did make this trip for a time during the Great War. The middle classes of Germany, who had an exaggerated respect for officers and officials, were won over to these ideas. The discontented lower classes had little use for the Kaiser's lofty schemes, and they had shown it by their votes in the elections. But when the war came, their rulers convinced them that Germany was surrounded by enemies who envied her successes and were bent on her destruction.

2. JULY AND AUGUST, 1914

When the news of the Sarajevo murders reached Vienna, the Austrian government maintained that Serbian officials had instigated the Bosnian assassins, and clamoured loudly for their punishment. The Serbian government was willing to hold an inquiry, but a month later Austria demanded that not merely should certain Serbian officials be dismissed but that Austrian judges and policemen should hold the inquiry into the assassinations. This last request was too much to ask of an independent state, especially as it was accompanied by the alternative of war within forty-eight hours. The Serbians asked that the question should be submitted to The Hague International Court or to arbitration, but the Austrians refused, and declared war on Serbia, July 1914. Russia at once began to mobilise, *i.e.* concentrate her army, on her Polish frontiers, a threat to Germany as well as Austria. Whereupon Germany declared

war on Russia (August 1st) and demanded from France what she proposed to do. The French gave a vague answer, and Germany then declared war on France (August 3rd), German troops being already on their way to France the day before. As the French had heavily fortified their eastern frontier after the war of 1870-71, the Germans first advanced from the north-east, violating the neutrality of Luxemburg and then of Belgium. The latter invasion alarmed England, which ever since the days of Louis XIV had refused to permit a strong power to advance on Channel ports. The Foreign Secretary promptly reminded Germany that the great powers of Europe had solemnly promised to respect Belgium's neutrality (p. 574) and he demanded that Germany should honour that pledge. The German Chancellor replied that military necessity compelled the Germans to pass through Belgium and that England ought not to enter the war merely "for a scrap of paper." England therefore declared war on Germany on August 4th.

It is a difficult and invidious task to fix the terrible responsibility for the Great War. And we must guard against the too common practice of speaking of a whole nation as if it were as single-minded as an individual. There was opposition to the war in all countries. And it was a few ministers who made the fatal decisions which bound their countrymen. But it seems clear that the Austrian government must share the guilt for its intolerable ultimatum to the Serbs. The Russian government may be blamed for aggravating the crisis by mobilising and so giving the Germans an excuse for intervening. And lastly it is obvious that the German military party saw a splendid opportunity for crushing France and gaining control of the Balkans. They felt sure that Russia would bungle the mobilisation and that the Belgians would allow the German army to pass without hindrance. France was in the middle of a complicated reorganisation of her army. The widening of the Kiel Canal had just been completed, and they hoped to be able to attack France by sea as well, particularly as the bulk of the French navy was in the Mediterranean. And they felt confident that England would not join in, hampered as she was by impending civil war in Ireland.

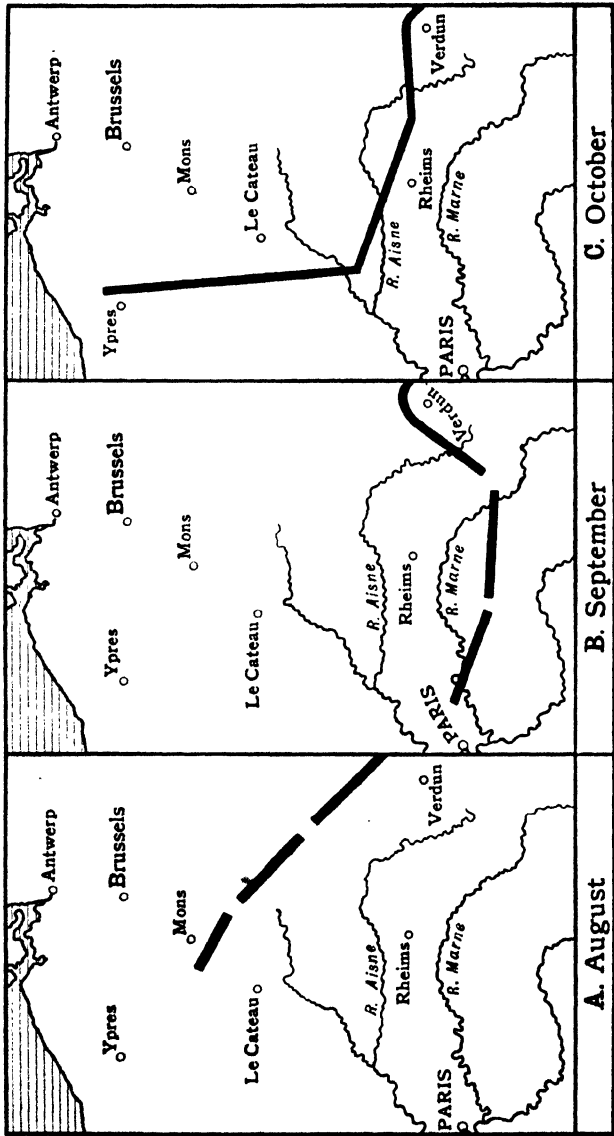
3. THE COURSE OF THE WAR

(a) *The Establishment of the Western Front.*

Convinced that the Russians would not be dangerous for a time and that the British army was too small to make any serious difference, the Germans concentrated their strength for a swift conquest of France which they hoped would be achieved by Christmas. They advanced in three columns, through Belgium down the Meuse valley, through Luxemburg, and through Lorraine, the province they had taken from France in 1871. In Belgium the forts of Liège and Namur held them up for a few days and the Belgian army strove to defend Brussels, but was driven back to Antwerp. The German army now extended in a line from Brussels to Namur, across the Ardennes forest, along the Franco-Luxemburg frontier, through Lorraine, over the Vosges mountains and through Alsace to the Swiss frontier. The French had not expected attacks to be made through Belgium and Luxemburg, and sent most of their forces to Lorraine and Alsace where the Germans had attacked in 1870. So that when the whole German line now advanced in a south-westerly direction, the northern end of that line advanced more rapidly than the rest, and pivoting on Namur swung through Belgium (with no one to stop them) on to the French frontier (see diagram A) with the extreme tip of the line near Mons.

Here the British army met the Germans, but even with the French reinforcements which had been brought up the Sambre valley to join it, the German hordes could not be kept back and threatened to surround the allied forces. A retreat southwards began towards Le Cateau, but it was a retreat as glorious as any victory. The British Expeditionary Force (commanded by Sir John French) was small compared with the millions of half-trained soldiers which the Continental powers could put in the field at once under their system of conscription. But it was composed of professional soldiers who had been intensively trained and now displayed a matchless discipline. The terrible pressure of the German advance shook them but did not destroy their organisation or morale. For days and nights throughout August they marched south, hungry, thirsty, sleepless, turning to fight successfully whenever a favourable chance occurred. After checking the Germans for a time at Le

THE GERMAN INVASION OF FRANCE, 1914



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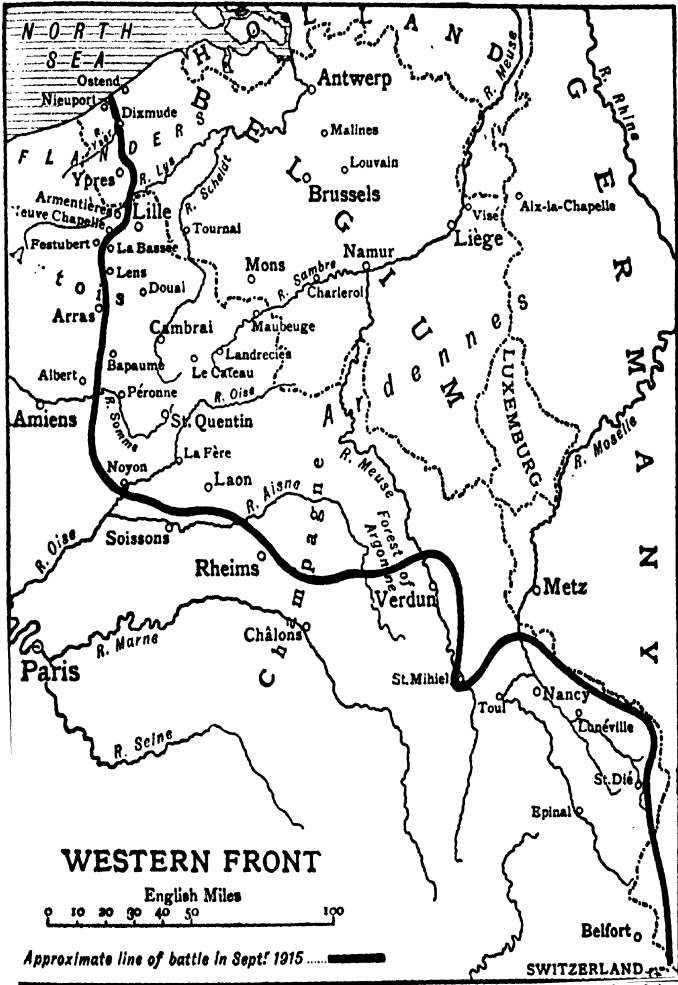
Cateau, the retreat was resumed until a point on the River Marne was reached only twenty miles east of Paris. Here the British halted, exhausted in body and mind, but still an army in good order.

The main French army had now also been driven back until its centre came to a stand in front of Verdun. The northern half was now made to swing back pivoting on Verdun till it stretched along the River Marne and linked up with the Allied force which had retreated from Belgium (diagram B). The German commander on the extreme right, who had all the time been trying to outflank the British left, realised that he could not do so, as the British left flank was now protected by the outer forts of Paris. With surprising audacity he thereupon led his army across the British front, apparently simply ignoring it, to an attack on the French centre. This was one of the decisive moments of the war. The French centre was much stronger than the Germans imagined. And in addition, a reserve army stationed in Paris was hurried out in motor 'buses round the British flank and attacked the German right flank, while the French centre advanced at the same time and pierced the German line (battle of the Marne, Sept. 5th, 1914). It was the Germans' turn now to retreat in order to avoid annihilation. With typical foresight they had already constructed entrenchments on the River Aisne, and to these they now retreated. So that the western section of the fighting line now ran from Verdun to a few miles north of Rheims with the British still on the allied left wing (diagram C). From this position on the Aisne the Germans could not be dislodged by frontal attacks, and, in fact, it became part of the permanent trench system of the Western Front.

Each side now tried to outflank the other beyond Rheims, and the result was that the line began to creep further and further north, and the line of trenches began to lengthen, especially as both sides were now pouring thousands of fresh troops into France. At last the line extended so far north that a race began for the Channel ports, but the combatants were so well-matched that neither side secured any great advantage. A French force took the place of the British near Rheims and the latter were now brought back to Belgium (Oct. 1914) and soon involved in a terrible struggle to hold Ypres, which barred the way to Calais. From Ypres to the sea, the line was now held

by the remnants of the Belgian army. For soon after the battle of the Marne the Germans had delivered a terrific onslaught on Antwerp. The British government sent a strong force of Marines to its rescue somewhat too late, and the Germans captured the town. They were now in occupation of all Belgium but the extreme western corner, and a large area of north-eastern France which included important industrial districts. The occupied territory was ruthlessly exploited and any resistance by civilians was harshly punished.

Until 1918 there was little change in the line after the combatants had "dug themselves in" during the winter of 1914-15. Both sides from time to time launched attacks which involved terrible loss of life and immense expenditure without effecting any substantial change in the double line of trenches which wound their dreary way from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier without a gap. Ghastly struggles took place in 1915 and again in 1917 east of Ypres and of Arras, as a result of British attempts to move the Germans clear away from those vital points, when the latter transferred many troops to the eastern front (p. 644) and again when they were bringing them back after the Russian collapse. But even these battles are not to be compared with the terrible slaughter that took place in 1916, first round Verdun and then across the upper valley of the Somme. In that year the Germans made up their mind to take Verdun from the French, the important fortress which compelled the line to take a sweeping curve eastwards. Over a million men were lost near Verdun that spring and summer, but in the end the French kept it. To relieve the pressure on their allies, the British agreed to join the French in an attack on a big scale north of the upper Somme. The objectives were the strongly-fortified enemy depôts of Bapaume and Péronne. By the summer of 1916 England had large new armies at her disposal, including the Dominions' forces, and had brought her artillery up to something like the enemy's standard. The battle began on the first of July and did not cease till the beginning of winter. Three-quarters of a million of the finest young men in the British Empire were killed or wounded in the summer and autumn of 1916 in the vain attempt to reach Bapaume and Péronne. It is true that the Germans were badly shaken, but it is obvious now that



England gained little for the piteously high price paid. In the early spring of 1917 the Germans voluntarily retired twenty miles in this section of the line, giving up their two depôts and occupying an immensely strong line of entrenchments in front of Cambrai and St. Quentin which came to be known as the Hindenburg Line. They left behind them a scientifically devastated area which was quite useless, and as their new line was shorter, as well as unusually strong, fewer men were needed to hold it, and so it was the Germans who gained by this retreat. At this point we may turn away to other theatres of the war, only to find further reasons why 1917 was the darkest year for the Allies.

(b) *The Eastern Front.*

When the Germans in 1914 allotted most of their troops to the Western Front, it was obvious that Russia would be in a position to take the offensive against the Teutonic allies. But the latter hardly expected the Russians to move as quickly as they did. Now when the old kingdom of Poland had been finally broken up after the Congress of Vienna, Russia had taken the major portion, including a great salient west of Warsaw. To the north of this bulge lay East Prussia, to the south Galicia (Austrian Poland), and the Russians naturally invaded these territories. First an army composed chiefly of Cossacks rode into East Prussia and devastated it, but their triumph was short-lived, for at the Battle of Tannenberg the Prussian General Hindenburg, who later became the German commander-in-chief, crushed one division, and then routed the other among the Masurian lakes, where thousands were drowned. The Russians did better against the rather slack Austrians, overrunning Galicia and occupying the passes over the Carpathians, from which they threatened to descend on the fertile plains of Hungary. The Germans came to the rescue of their allies. In the spring of 1915 they suddenly advanced down the valley of the Dunajec (East Carpathians), blasted a large gap in the Russian front, and by the winter of 1915-16 had driven the Russians not only out of most of Galicia but most of Russian Poland and Lithuania in the north as well. In the summer of 1916, when the Austrians were weakened in the west by their attack on Italy (which had joined the Allies in 1915), the Russians took advantage

to invade Galicia once more, and once more reached the Carpathians, only to be hurled down again by German reinforcements.

Russia had been handicapped in the war not only by the lack of the industrial areas necessary to supply modern armies, but also by the downright treachery and incompetence of corrupt officials. The discontent of the nation, which had been rising before the war, came to a head early in 1917, when the food supply of the great cities began to give out. A revolution broke out which was at first a protest of the middle classes against the inefficiency and dishonesty of the ruling bureaucrats, and at first it was hoped that the war would be waged with greater vigour as a result of the upheaval. But the peasants of the wide steppes, and even more so the workers of the towns, were too bitterly dissatisfied to have any further heart for the war. They had been won over by the secret propaganda of the Bolsheviks, or Majority Communists, who encouraged them to form Soviets or executive Councils, which in November 1917 seized control of the government. The Bolshevik leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, helped by the German government, came out into the open. The Russian soldiers, who, because of the breakdown of munition supplies, had in many cases become nothing but helpless targets for German artillery, turned Bolshevik and began to drift homewards. Lenin came to terms with the Germans that winter, with the result that the German army of the east was transferred to the Western Front, Russia dropped out of the war, and all her outlying provinces came under German occupation and later won their independence. Nor could England and France draw much comfort from the fortunes of their other allies. In the autumn of 1915, part of the Austro-German army which had driven the Russians out of Galicia was brought south and invaded Serbia. This encouraged Bulgaria to join the Central Powers, for after the Balkan states had routed the Turks in 1912, they quarrelled among themselves over the spoil, and the Bulgarians had an old score to wipe out. They therefore assisted the Austro-German invasion of Serbia by a savage thrust from the east. The British and French seized the Greek port of Salonika, but were unable to bring help in time and the whole of Serbia was lost.

Long before the Great War Italy had joined the

alliance of the Central Powers, not that she had any love for Austria, which had ruled northern Italy in the nineteenth century and still held districts inhabited by Italians, but out of bitterness at France's annexation of Tunis, which Italy had wanted for herself. In 1914 Italy declared that she was not bound to support her allies, as they were the aggressors. And in May 1915 she went over to England and France, and set about recovering from Austria "Unredeemed Italy," *i.e.* parts of the Tirol and the north-eastern corner of the Adriatic. In the summer of 1916 the Austrians drove them out of the latter area, but the Italians recovered it when the Austrians detached forces to meet the second Russian invasion of Galicia. Yet it was clear that the Italians were not likely to make much progress at the head of the Adriatic. And when the pressure from Russia ceased, an Austro-German "drive" hurled the Italians back in a terrible retreat almost to Venice (autumn, 1917).

The temporary success of the Russians' 1916 invasion of Galicia had encouraged Rumania to declare war against the Central Powers. A large number of Rumanians were under Hungarian rule in Transylvania on the other side of the southern Carpathians, and Rumania now claimed and invaded that district. By a masterpiece of strategy the Germans drove the Rumanians back over the Carpathians, invaded Rumania, with the help of the Bulgarians, who had another grudge to satisfy, and occupied Bucharest and southern Rumania, an area which included many oil wells and fertile corn-lands (winter, 1916-17).

Turkey came into the war in November 1914 on the side of the Germans, after two German cruisers managed to reach Constantinople. England at once looked to the safety of the Suez Canal and the nominal authority of Turkey over Egypt was declared at an end. A bold scheme was then attempted, which if it had succeeded would have put Turkey quickly out of the war and made it much easier for Russia to communicate with her western allies. English and French battleships suddenly tried to force their way up the Dardanelles with a view to attacking Constantinople. But the losses from Turkish batteries and mines caused the purely naval attack to be abandoned (March 1915) and in April a joint military and naval attack was made. But the Turks, under German supervision, had already strongly fortified the Gallipoli peninsula with a view to such an

attack. All the heroism of British and Anzac (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) troops, who landed at two points and held on precariously for months in spite of terrible conditions, counted for nothing. In December the peninsula was left to the Turks by a skilful evacuation in which not a soldier was lost. Our failure there undoubtedly encouraged Bulgaria to join the Central Powers. Most of the troops from Gallipoli were sent to Salonika in the hope that some day a strong attack on the enemy's rear could be possible. Flushed by their success, the Turks took the offensive. They occupied the Sinai peninsula with a view to attacking the Suez Canal and recovering Egypt, and thanks to the Baghdad railway they were in a position to make serious raids on the British Admiralty oil wells at the head of the Persian Gulf. The British counter-attacks against these threats developed into two campaigns, in which the discontent of the Arabs with Turkish rule was an important factor. The British forces on the Persian Gulf were tempted to advance up the Tigris towards Baghdad, and by November 1915 they were within twenty-five miles of the town. But the Turks hurried reinforcements into Mesopotamia and the British were driven into Kut and besieged, and they surrendered in April 1916. Early in 1917 fresh British forces advanced up the Tigris and in a fortnight took Baghdad. By this time the Turks had been driven out of the Sinai peninsula and preparations were made for a British invasion of Palestine from the south. A railway and water supply were laid from Egypt right across the desert to Gaza, in the south of Palestine. This town was then captured, and by the Christmas of 1917 the British had advanced north and occupied Jerusalem.

(c) *The War at Sea.*

Although the Germans had increased their navy considerably before the war, it was still weaker than that of the British. It was therefore natural that the Germans, so ready to take the offensive on land, should adopt defensive tactics on the sea. On the outbreak of the war, German ships, whether war vessels or merchantmen, hurried back to Germany or took refuge in neutral ports. The approaches to German harbours were elaborately fortified, particularly with mines. No direct assault on the German coast was therefore possible. And in view of the danger of submarine

attacks on our very costly battleships, the main battle fleet, composed of the most powerful vessels, had its own base at Scapa Flow in the Orkneys, while the cruisers were stationed at Rosyth on the Firth of Forth. Needless to say, the North Sea was constantly patrolled in case the Germans should issue at any time from their bases near the mouth of the Elbe, and a particularly elaborate system of safeguarding the Channel was devised, with its head-quarters at Dover, to protect the routes to the French and Belgian coasts. The German cruisers which failed to get back to Germany at the beginning of the war, and began to prey on allied shipping, were at last with difficulty destroyed. Occasionally swift German cruisers ventured across the North Sea and laid mines or fired shells, as happened at Yarmouth, Hartlepool and Scarborough, but after a sharp engagement off the Dogger Bank early in 1915, when their cruisers were badly damaged, the Germans seem to have decided that the game was not worth the candle.

The most serious and last encounter between the British and German fleets took place off the coast of Jutland (Denmark) on the first of June, 1916. The British fleet cruising those waters received news that the enemy fleet were out and near them to the south-east. The cruisers were at once detached to discover the enemy as soon as possible, and the British cruiser squadron was before long engaged with the German cruiser squadron, which moved still further south-east to gain the protection of the German main battleship fleet. The British cruisers, after suffering somewhat heavier losses, sighted the German battleships and in their turn retreated north to the protection of their own main fleet, with the German fleet in pursuit. A general engagement followed, in the course of which the two navies exchanged very hard knocks. The British fleet was working its way towards the mouth of the Elbe and seemed likely to cut off the Germans from their bases when a mist descended, after which it grew dark. The Germans during the night made a great sweep round the British fleet, got on the inside again and slipped into the Kiel Canal, where the British dared not follow because of the mine-fields. Both sides claimed a victory, but the German fleet hardly left its base again except to surrender at the end of the war.

A far more serious menace to the safety of England was the development of the German submarine campaign.

In every modern war England had exercised the right of examining vessels bringing to enemy ports cargoes which might be described as war materials. And in the present age almost any cargo can be classed as contraband of war, in view of the complicated industrial processes necessary for the supply of munitions. Now although there were no German merchantmen at sea and all the German North Sea harbours were closed, Germany was getting supplies of war materials from Holland and the Baltic States. England therefore insisted that all vessels bound for Dutch and Scandinavian ports must be searched at a depôt in the Orkneys, and soon afterwards declared that all food-stuffs destined for Germany would be considered contraband. The Germans protested that England was abusing her sea power to starve the civilian population into surrender. But not merely was the right of search rigorously enforced, but the imports of Holland and other countries near Germany were strictly rationed to ensure that there was no surplus for re-export to Germany. In retaliation the Germans declared the seas round the British Isles to be a war zone and from February 1915 onwards their submarines sank any vessel, whether belonging to the Allies or neutrals, which they caught off the British coasts. The best example of their stern determination was the sinking of the great liner *Lusitania* off the south coast of Ireland in May 1915, when twelve hundred people lost their lives. The Germans justified their action by insisting that the *Lusitania* was armed and was carrying munitions, and that they had warned passengers in New York not to sail on her. The United States protested and the Germans promised to relax the submarine blockade, but in fact they became more ruthless. In 1916 they announced that in future they would not warn a ship before sinking it, as they had hitherto usually done, in view of the fact that many merchantmen were now armed with light guns. When England in January 1917 completed her terribly effective blockade of the whole German coast, the Germans, who now had a fleet of hundreds of submarines, extended the war zone, already declared round the British Isles, to the Continental coasts on the one side and far out into the Atlantic on the other, and early in 1918 they included the islands off the north-west coast of Africa. Any ship whatsoever in this great tract of the Atlantic was liable to sudden

doom. By 1917 the loss of shipping through submarines had become really alarming, and food supplies in England were running short. But to offset this the Americans had by this time been provoked into sharp hostility against the Germans, and declared war in the same month. The Americans pooled their naval resources with England, with a view to combating the grave submarine menace. Various methods were devised for the destruction of "U-boats" and the protection of shipping. Merchant vessels wishing to use any particular route had to travel together convoyed by destroyers. Many submarines were destroyed or badly injured by "depth charges" or bombs dropped from the destroyers which circled round their convoys like sheep-dogs round a flock, and often cut a submarine in two. Other "U-boats" met their doom when they were lured to attack "Q-ships," decoy ships which looked like helpless fishing-smacks or little tramp-steamers, but which actually were bristling with concealed guns. By the end of 1917 the worst of the crisis had been passed. And in 1918 the entrances to the German submarine bases on the Channel at Ostend and Zeebrugge were blocked by vessels deliberately sunk there in the course of two brilliant naval raids.

4. THE COLLAPSE OF THE CENTRAL POWERS

We are now to see how the dark clouds which shadowed the Allied cause in 1917 lifted suddenly the next year when the successive collapse of Bulgaria, Turkey and Austria made the strain on the Germans too much for them to bear.

A revolution in Greece against the pro-German king in 1917 made an advance of the Allied army into the Balkans from Salonika much easier. The Bulgarians, once having witnessed the ruin of Serbia and Rumania, were not especially anxious to support the Central Powers or Turkey, now that their final victory was far from certain. So that when a strong Allied force advanced on them from Salonika, they collapsed at the end of September 1918, retired from the war and allowed the Allies access to their territory. The Turks were thus cut off from their Teutonic allies, with a hostile army not very far to the north of Constantinople. In addition to this, the British in 1918 continued their advance from Jerusalem through Syria by way of Damascus and Aleppo and threatened to seize the railway through Asia Minor to Constantinople. Caught between

two fires, the Turks surrendered at the end of October. About the same time Austria collapsed too. When the Italians had retreated in 1917, British and French regiments were sent to reinforce them, and when the last great Austrian attack had ended in failure (June 1918), a successful Allied counter-attack was made in October and the Austrian army broke up in rout. At the same time a series of revolutions brought about the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. All the outlying provinces had been inhabited by discontented races who detested their Austrian or Hungarian masters and had served in the army only under strict compulsion. These provinces now proclaimed their independence, and the ruler of Austria abdicated.

These abrupt surrenders were partly due to the failure of Germany's last attacks on the Western Front in the spring of 1918. It was obviously to Germany's advantage to make immediate use on the Western Front of the forces released by the Russian collapse, before the Allies could obtain the full benefit of America's vast resources. For America had joined the Allies in April 1917. Elaborate preparations went on behind the German lines through the winter of 1917-18. The Allies, of course, were prepared for a hammer blow somewhere on the northern section of the Western Front, but to discover just where it was going to fall was a harassing problem. The British decided that at all costs they must protect the Channel ports, and so the bulk of their forces were massed in the north. The Germans were aware of this, and they struck their first and heaviest blow at the British Fifth Army, the southernmost section of the British line, which had been dangerously weakened to supply troops for the north. For every "Tommy" waiting round Bapaume and Péronne, three Germans came westwards out of Cambrai and St. Quentin, and the line gave way under the pressure (March 21st, 1918). The ground which the British had won in three months at heart-rending cost in 1916, during the battle of the Somme, they lost in three days, retreating in complete disorder. It seemed at first as if the greatest disaster of the war had overwhelmed the British. The Germans hurried through Bapaume and Péronne on towards Amiens, the great railway junction. If the British lost that, all would be over. We may compare the Allied line to a piece of elastic tightly held at each end. The Germans were pushing very hard at the centre, forcing

the elastic into a V shape. If they kept up their pressure, the elastic would snap at the point of the V into two flabby and disconnected fragments. Every spare Tommy in France, cooks and clerks included, was hurried up the Somme with a rifle in his hand, whether he was used to one or not. Somehow or other, when the first German regiments were already in Amiens, the retreat was held up. Fresh troops were hurried over from England in thousands. The front-line Germans found themselves too far from the reserves and supplies, and they had to fall back. Promptly recognising their failure before Amiens, early in April the Germans made another "drive" round Ypres and to the south of it. One stronghold after another, won at a terrible cost in British lives earlier on in the war, was overrun, but Ypres itself was held. In May it was the turn of the French to face the storm. The Germans crossed the Aisne, advanced about thirty miles, and once more reached the Marne, only to be held a third time. The Germans had shot their last bolt.

The alarm created by the German offensive in March had induced the British, including the commander-in-chief, Sir Douglas Haig, to consent to the appointment of Marshal Foch, the French commander-in-chief, as supreme general over all the Allied forces on the Western Front, with a view to preventing confusion and waste of Allied strength. He fully justified the appointment. By sound strategy he dealt the Germans a series of shrewd blows along the whole line, which resulted in a general retreat from northern France and from Belgium. The Germans fought pluckily to the very end. But they were greatly discouraged by their failure to win a speedy victory in the spring. And the Allies took steps to turn that discouragement into despair. The comparatively small American army had done well in Foch's offensives, and it was made clear to the weary Germans that thousands of trained Americans were pouring into France. They were further depressed by the letters they received from Germany, complaining of the starvation which was the result of the British blockade, the effects of which are still to be seen among young Germans and Austrians. The German troops in the field were overwhelmed by Allied artillery and aeroplanes, now superior to theirs, which gave them no rest. And the German nation at home began to realise that their idolised war lords

had led them to ruin. Discontent with the government became more and more outspoken, especially as President Wilson of the United States had suggested that if the German nation chose new leaders, whom the Allies could trust, reasonable terms of peace would be put before them. The German navy, weary of its imprisonment at Kiel, turned against its officers. The Kaiser abdicated and fled to Holland with his family. So fell the House of Hohenzollern, its end as unsavoury as its beginning. Prussia and other German states set up republics in place of monarchies and dukedoms. And the new government of the German Empire accepted Foch's stern terms for an armistice, which was declared on November 11th, 1918.

CHIEF DATES FOR THE GREAT WAR (1914-1918)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1914. June. Assassinations at Sarajevo. | 1916. Rumania joins the Allies. |
| July. Austria declares war on Serbia. | 1917. The Russian Revolution. |
| Aug. Germany declares war on Russia and France. | Extension of German submarine campaign. |
| England declares war on Germany. | America joins the Allies. |
| Retreat from Mons. | British capture Baghdad and Jerusalem. |
| Sept. Battle of the Marne. | 1918. March. German attack on Somme. |
| Nov. Turkey joins Central Powers. | April. German attack on Ypres. |
| 1915. German submarine Campaign begins. | May. German attack on R. Aisne. |
| Allied attack on Dardanelles. | Aug. Allied counter-attack on Western Front begins. |
| Italy joins the Allies. | Sept. Bulgaria surrenders. |
| Sinking of the <i>Lusitania</i> . | Oct. Turkey surrenders. |
| Bulgaria joins the Central Powers. | Nov. Austria surrenders. |
| 1916. Battle of Verdun. | Nov. 11. Germany surrenders. |
| June. Battle of Jutland. | |
| July. Battle of the Somme begins. | |

CHAPTER XLIV

THE PEACE AND AFTER

I. THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES (JUNE 1919)

THE very first task which faced the Allies on the declaration of the Armistice was to prevent the German army, still a formidable fighting machine, from renewing the struggle. The German forces which had fought on the Western Front were made to retire to the far side of the Rhine, and their troops in other theatres of war were recalled. An Allied army at once occupied all Germany west of the Rhine with large areas on the other bank also, round the chief towns, confiscating all war material and taking charge of the railways. The surrendered German fleet had to sail to Scapa Flow (p. 648), and under the eyes of the British fleet every vessel was scuttled, yet the iron grip of the blockade on Germany was maintained. The Germans, swallowing their pride, made no difficulties about these terms, so eager were they for peace.

Now when President Wilson had first raised the question of peace terms, long before the Armistice, he had suggested that the basis should be no annexations and no indemnities, but that the Germans should pay compensation to civilians for the terrible damage they had done in the war zones and in occupied areas during their final retirement. But the other Allied representatives, after the Armistice, insisted first on tremendously heavy reparations, *i.e.* payments for all war damage, which practically amounted to what was understood by the old term "indemnities." Secondly, they pressed the principle of "self-determination" to its fullest limits, that is, the diverse races of central and southern Europe, who had been under German or Austrian government, were to be granted independence, while various small districts were to be allowed to vote as to which power they would prefer to join. This principle seems sound enough at first sight, and calculated to bring about lasting peace. But the map of

Europe was redrawn not so much in a spirit of justice as of revenge. Clemenceau, the French representative, with the full approval of his countrymen, who were embittered by Germany's wanton attack and the devastation of northern France, aimed first and foremost at "security," by which he meant the crippling of Germany and Austria, which were to be surrounded by a girdle of hostile states, sharing France's jealous fear of the Central Powers. Mr. Lloyd George, now virtually dictator in England and backed by a Coalition government containing Liberal, Conservative and Labour members (p. 662), was inclined to support Clemenceau but often used his influence in favour of moderation. Between them they outmanœuvred President Wilson, who was a typical American idealist, full of the very best intentions, but with little conception of the ancient, almost incurable, feuds that separated European nations. France therefore recovered Alsace and Lorraine, the valuable provinces she had lost in 1871, and was allowed to administer the Saar valley (north Lorraine) for fifteen years, and to work the coal-mines there; and the inhabitants are finally to decide whether they wish to belong to Germany or France. On similar terms Belgium has occupied the Eupen-Malmédy district north of the Ardennes. By the wish of the inhabitants, the northern half of Slesvig, taken from Denmark by Prussia in 1864 (p. 579), was restored, and the Kiel Canal zone was taken over by the League of Nations (pp. 636, 657). These transfers were, perhaps, only to be expected. More serious still were Prussia's losses on her eastern frontier. Here she had to satisfy the claims of a revived and independent Poland which not merely took a slice off Silesia but, by annexing the Vistula basin, drove a great wedge clean through Prussia to the Baltic, cutting off East Prussia from the main body. The port of Danzig, however, which the Poles desired to incorporate, was left an independent city.

The ultimate fate of Germany's colonies rests with the League of Nations, which will be explained shortly. The Japanese, when the war broke out, promptly snapped up Kiao-Chau, and the German islands in the Pacific were seized by Japanese, Australians and New Zealanders. In Africa an Anglo-French force occupied the Kameruns and Togoland after long and hard fighting. German South-West Africa was soon over-run, but a long struggle took place

before mixed detachments of Imperial troops led by Dutch and English generals conquered German East Africa. There was no intention of giving these colonies back to Germany, at any rate for a time. But direct annexation seemed too bold a defiance of American ideas. It was therefore arranged that the various powers should administer these areas under a "mandate" or commission of the League of Nations.

2. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The first part of the Treaty of Versailles consisted of the Covenant of the League of Nations, *i.e.* a solemn agreement of many nations, not merely those who were nominally or actually engaged in the war (for in 1917 many distant nations declared nominal war on Germany), but any who cared to join. These nations pledged themselves, before going to war, to submit future disputes to arbitration, judicial settlement, or the League Council, and the League was to boycott any member who refused to submit a quarrel to arbitration, by terminating all commercial relations with that country. A permanent organisation was set up which has its headquarters at Geneva and employs many highly-trained officials. The executive consists of the League Council, made up of five representatives of the chief Allied Powers who have permanent seats, while the other powers take it in turn to nominate nine other members. Every nation in the League has its representatives in the League Assembly, which forms, as it were, an international Parliament. Unfortunately two important nations are not in the League (which now does include Germany and Austria). Strangely and regrettably enough, America (by authority of the American Senate) refused to join, wishing to avoid European entanglements, although the plan of the League was drawn up by President Wilson who, worn out by hard work and disappointment, died soon after his return to America. Bolshevik Russia, with no friend in Europe, was not invited to join. The League has done valuable work in settling minor disputes, looking after war refugees, and discouraging various forms of criminal traffic which needed international action. It also has an extremely useful organisation (International Labour Bureau) for controlling and improving labour conditions by general agreements between the nations. But, as yet, it has failed in its most important function—to put an end to the fear

of another world war by abolishing or drastically reducing armaments. One of the chief reasons for the Great War was that every nation was armed to the teeth. The Treaty of Versailles and the other peace treaties disarmed the Central Powers at once, and contained an implied promise that the victors would disarm too. Efforts to redeem that promise have not been very successful as yet. Several conferences have been held, but there has been no reduction in armies and only a small reduction in navies, so that armaments, growing every year more complicated and costly, still remain a crushing financial burden as well as a menace to the peace of Europe. A serious challenge to the authority of the League was the sudden Japanese occupation of Manchuria, followed by the attack on Shanghai, early in 1932, although China, like Japan, was a member of the League. Japan refused to submit her quarrel to the League, except after considerable delay, during which time several battles had been fought.

3. THE TREATIES OF ST. GERMAIN (SEPTEMBER 1919) AND SÈVRES (MAY 1920)

The Austrians and the Turks lost most by the principle of self-determination, for their former empires contained large areas inhabited by discontented and alien races. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, by the treaty of St. Germain, was completely dismembered. The former provinces of Bohemia and Moravia became the republic of Czecho-Slovakia. Galicia went to the new Poland. The ambitions of Serbia were fully gratified by the formation of the kingdom of Yugo-Slavia, made up by the addition of the former Austrian Adriatic provinces to Serbia with Montenegro, though Albania was left still independent. Rumania was greatly enlarged by the annexation of all the eastern half of Hungary, as well as the large province of Bessarabia on the Black Sea which Russia still claims. Italy received the whole of southern Tirol (the Trentino) together with the Adriatic districts round Trieste and a few small portions of the Dalmatian coast. Even in their drastically reduced form, Austria and Hungary were not allowed to remain together, and probably no longer wished to do so, and they now form two independent republics. Small wonder then if Austria wishes to join Germany. The League, under French influence for the present, has for-

bidden this, though it is difficult to see how they can prevent it for ever and still maintain the principle of self-determination. The ex-enemy republics are apparently resigned to the loss of territories inhabited by alien races who were discontented under their rule. But they complain that the frontiers have been unfairly drawn to include large numbers of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in the new states, where they receive unsympathetic treatment.

By the Treaty of Sèvres, Bulgaria lost its strip of the Ægean coast, which went to Greece. Turkey was allowed to keep Constantinople and the intervening area to the great fort of Adrianople, on sufferance of the League, which controls the Black Sea and Dardanelles. The Turks also kept most of Asia Minor, which is genuinely Turkish territory, although Greece took a large area round Smyrna and the Ægean islands, and the Italians have a mandate for the south coast. But all the rest of the Turkish Empire went. Egypt, Armenia and Arabia became independent; England received a mandate for Palestine (where the formation of a Jewish state was encouraged) and for Mesopotamia, or Irak, as it is usually called; France took Syria.

It might have been thought that the satisfaction of racial feelings by these arrangements would have brought peace in Europe. Far from it. An orgy of racial hatred broke out. The new states, as if not satiated with the horrors of war, seemed ready to display their new-found strength, on the slightest provocation, against their former oppressors or their neighbours. Poland attacked Russia (and was thoroughly trounced), quarrelled with Lithuania, and trespassed on the Prussian frontier. Greece claimed a larger share of Asia Minor, only to find that the Turks had a good deal of fight left in them yet. The Italians and the Serbs quarrelled about Dalmatia, which apparently had been promised to both of them, and the city of Fiume, like the city of Dantzic, had to be left independent, for neither would let the other have it. The Italians also quarrelled with the Greeks about Albania, the Ægean islands, and the coast of Asia Minor. All these states maintained large armies, considering their size, and carried on a trade war against their neighbours by an elaborate system of heavy tariffs. Even England, under the influence of the more aggressive members of the Cabinet, sent three futile and

costly expeditions to Russia to help the ("Whites") anti-revolutionaries against the Bolsheviks ("Reds"); one to Archangel, one to Siberia and one to South Russia. Not only did they completely fail to upset the Bolshevik régime, but they implanted in the minds of Russians incurable suspicion of British designs. Eventually this orgy of hatred and bloodshed exhausted itself. It was a clear sign of returning sanity when the Allied army of occupation was withdrawn from the Rhine (1929), although the Germans had not completed, and could not complete, their enormous reparations payments entirely. There are still enough grievances left in Europe to start half-a-dozen wars. But it seems at present as if even the most quarrelsome states are beginning to realise that a large army is a very expensive toy, that the acquisition of a few more square miles of disputed territory is not going to bring prosperity any nearer, and that it perhaps will pay better, not to shoot your neighbours but to trade with them.

CHAPTER XLV

ENGLAND DURING AND AFTER THE GREAT WAR

WHEN the Germans had recovered from the first shock of the English declaration of war, they professed themselves to be undismayed by the hostility of a degenerate nation. To a foreign observer, England might well appear to be in a sickly condition. Discontent in Ireland and, to a less extent, in India and Egypt, was growing. And at home the government had also roused the fierce opposition of a large and powerful section of the nation, and apparently could not control even the small band of determined women (militant suffragettes) who were protesting against the failure to grant votes for women by making public nuisances of themselves. Though faced by serious problems, all classes of Englishmen seemed to be preoccupied with sport. And, in fact, England, relying for her main defence on sea-power, distrustful of soldiers, and unwilling to bestow on the government any more power over individuals than could be helped, was not as well prepared for a life-and-death struggle as the Continental powers. For the latter compelled every young man to serve for a time in the army, they had elaborate schemes prepared for mobilising their forces on the declaration of war, and they were always ready to sacrifice the individual to the welfare of the State. To understand the story of England during the Great War, we must realise that the nation was striving towards a disciplined unity which does not come easily to the English, but was forced on them by the perilous situation most of them had for years refused to consider possible.

One of the first results of the war was the abandonment of the traditional system of party politics. Asquith invited the Conservative leader Balfour and prominent Labour members to join the government in a national Coalition and the quarrels of recent years seemed to be forgotten over-night. Though Asquith was a man of high character and intelligence, he did not possess the fierce energy and

constructive ability essential for the conduct of a great war, and when he found his colleagues united against him in making certain demands, he simplified what might have been a very difficult situation by resigning (1916). The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, now became Premier, and his vigour, eloquence, and bold imagination found full scope. Additional departments were created and the number of new ministers appointed made the Cabinet inconveniently large. On the principle, therefore, that "war cannot be conducted by a debating society," important issues were decided by a small group of ministers, a sort of "inner Cabinet," which tended to be dominated more and more by Mr. Lloyd George, till finally he became practically a dictator, and enjoyed an undisputed authority such as no one else had exercised in England since Cromwell. At the same time the State extended its activities in a manner which the Victorian age, with its exaggerated belief in the value of private enterprise, would have thought incredible. The government took over the railways, built munition factories and made shells at a price far smaller than that asked by private firms, and, towards the end of the war, successfully began bulk purchase of raw materials.

The fact that conscription was finally adopted to recruit the army is a clear proof that the traditional, voluntary ways had to be modified in face of a grave peril. While the small army of trained regulars was leaving England in August 1914, a fresh army of volunteers was already being formed, composed of men with a strong sense of duty or adventure, who had immediately enlisted when the war broke out. When it was realised in 1915 that a long struggle had to be faced, a scheme was devised by which a large number of volunteers were enrolled, but were not called up until they were urgently needed (the Derby scheme). This system could not supply the growing demand for men, and in 1916 military service was made compulsory for men between the ages of eighteen and forty-two (fifty in 1918). The terrible losses in the Somme fighting soon seemed to justify this drastic step. Tribunals were set up to which men could appeal for exemption or postponement of military service, and those who had conscientious objections to taking part in warfare were given an opportunity of stating their case. Many of these "conscientious objectors" failed

to convince the tribunals, and suffered harsh treatment in prison. But we must remember that England was the only country which took any notice at all of moral objections to military service.

The Germans had put themselves badly in the wrong by their invasion of Belgium. They soon proceeded to make their moral position worse still by air raids on Great Britain which began in January 1915. At the outbreak of the war they possessed large dirigible airships named after their constructor, Count Zeppelin. The Kaiser was at last persuaded to allow these to be used for raids on England, though at first he had sufficient respect for the international understanding which protects civilians, to insist that the Zeppelins must limit their attacks to docks, arsenals, etc., east of London, and not attack London itself. As the airships raided at night and were never sure just where they were, this restriction was somewhat of a farce, and soon all pretence of attacking only centres of military value was given up. The Zeppelin raids became simply attempts to terrorise the population of England into clamouring for an end of the war. At first London and the whole east coast up to Edinburgh was raided frequently, especially the Tyne industrial area, where the blast furnaces were an obvious target. Hundreds of large cigar-shaped bombs were dropped, which wrought terrible havoc when they landed in the heart of a town, and smaller bombs were used to cause raging fires. Later, the raiders found their way to the Midlands and even crossed the Pennines and reached the crowded towns of south-east Lancashire. But measures were taken for defence which, after the failure of a great attack on London in the autumn of 1916, discouraged the Germans from further Zeppelin raids. Important areas were surrounded with a ring of searchlights and of anti-aircraft guns which fired shrapnel shells rapidly to a great height. Home-defence aeroplane squadrons were multiplied. Street lights were dimmed and shaded, houses had to have blinds down when illuminated, and all lights were put out when sirens, etc., gave warning of the approach of Zeppelins. The nervous strain on the population of a big town during an air raid was terrible while it lasted, but it is surprising how little damage the Zeppelins actually did, compared with what might have happened. After the loss of several Zeppelins

in the September raid on London in 1916, the Germans began to send squadrons of bombing aeroplanes over, which steered their way by the Essex rivers to London with increasing boldness, till raids were made in broad daylight, and panic-stricken crowds poured for refuge into "Tube" stations. The anti-aircraft defences of London were made more and more elaborate, and eventually the overwhelming supremacy of the Allies in aeroplanes left the Germans no machines to spare for these ventures.

The most serious menace to the home population came from the shortage of food, due to the sinking of hundreds of merchantmen by the U-boats (p. 649). It became necessary to ration the supply of certain food-stuffs, and even for the very limited quantities available it was necessary to wait in long queues. Waste ground and playing-fields were divided up into "allotments," on which people grew their own vegetables. Had the German submarines continued their period of maximum success for another month, it is possible that England would have been starved into surrender.

To many individuals, however, the war period was one of considerable prosperity. The government spent large sums of money freely to secure supplies of every kind. Prices began to rise rapidly and fortunes were easily made, partly by selfish exploitation of the nation's urgent needs by greedy traders—"profiteering"—partly owing to the working of economic laws for which no one was to blame. Certain classes of workers, particularly those directly engaged on war supplies, shared to some extent in their employers' prosperity, and the shortage of labour, due to the absence of large numbers of men, tended to force wages up generally. Women were readily employed, not only in offices and factories but as conductors of trams and 'buses, as drivers of motor-cars and lorries, and on farms. Large numbers of girls were enrolled in semi-military organisations ("Waacs," "Wrens," and "Wrafs") to assist at army, navy and air force camps both at home and in France. The work which women did in the war, and the independence which their wages gave them, won for them in a few years such freedom as the antics of the militant suffragettes would never have brought in a lifetime. And though women gave up their special duties after the war, a social revolution had been effected.

The declaration of the Armistice on November 11th, 1918, was celebrated with frantic enthusiasm by exulting crowds composed of all classes. The long nightmare was over and it seemed that the dawn of a happier age was at hand. The return of the soldiers to their homes, which was effected as rapidly as possible, certainly did bring an immense relief and happiness. For a time the conditions created by the war maintained a quite artificial prosperity. Prices rose higher and higher, and many workers who had not yet obtained increased wages, now successfully claimed them. In view of the help women had given in the war, and of the fact that every healthy young man had been called upon to risk his life for his country, it was felt that they ought at least to have the right to vote, and by the Representation of the People Act (1918) all men on reaching the age of twenty-one and all women on reaching thirty received the franchise. An election was held not long after the Armistice, and the result was an overwhelming triumph for Mr. Lloyd George and his personal followers, for as yet there was no political issue to split up the Coalition, and the nation was grateful to him as the organiser of victory.

But the Lloyd George of 1919, perhaps intoxicated with triumph and in close touch with men who had once been his fierce opponents, was a different person from the Chancellor of 1909 who had thundered against peers and landlords. The promises he had made during the war now seemed much more difficult of achievement. There had been serious discontent among miners during the war, and he had persuaded them to continue at work, urging them to wait till the war was over and then ask for whatever they wanted. They now began to do so, rather sharply. The railwaymen raised their low standard of living only by a serious strike (1919). He had promised the soldiers "A land fit for heroes." Actually there was a very acute shortage of houses, as very few had been built during the war, and the slums were seriously over-crowded. And many ex-soldiers found that a woman or some other man had filled their posts and that there was no immediate employment for them.

Apart from this difficulty of individual unemployment among those who had a right to expect work, after 1920 the sudden collapse of trade resulted in a general problem of

unemployment which has become by far the most urgent question of the day. We can explain why particular industries have declined since the war, but it is not easy to understand why the "trade boom" of the war and early post-war period so suddenly and completely collapsed in 1920 and gave way to a "slump" which now seems to hold the entire world in its grip. Wholesale prices in that year began to fall much more rapidly than they had risen, so that merchants who had large stocks at this time found them sinking to a half or even a third of their previous value, and were ruined if they did not sell out quickly. Manufacturers were unwilling to produce goods when the market value of the finished article might be considerably less than the cost of the raw material, so that the factories began to cut down their staff or close altogether. Special reasons helped to aggravate the situation in the coal, cotton and shipbuilding industries. Mining was affected by the growing use of oil fuel, the competition of foreigners willing to accept lower standards of living, and the fact that Germany had to supply large quantities of coal free, by way of reparations. In the same way the British shipbuilding industry was crippled for a time by the surrender of hundreds of German merchantmen to compensate for those sunk by submarines. Cotton, the most important English industry before the war, was seriously affected by the wild speculation of financiers who during the "boom" bought mills, simply as a method of getting rich quickly. Apart from this, in the countries to which Lancashire used to export great quantities of cotton goods, native and English manufacturers have set up mills because of the very low cost of labour in such places. All English export industry was checked by the "return to the gold standard," which meant that in order to protect the interests of financiers, English money was raised to a high level as compared with foreign currencies, by making English paper-money once more readily convertible into gold, a system which had been suspended during the war. The result was that European nations found it expensive to buy our goods. Manufacturers were further embarrassed by a sudden reluctance on the part of bankers to lend them money, at the very time when they needed it badly. They therefore began to insist on their workers accepting reductions of wages, and a long struggle began which has not

yet ceased. For many workers had become accustomed to a certain standard of living during the period of prosperity and they were unwilling to sacrifice it, thinking they might never reach it again. Apart from this, though wholesale prices had come tumbling down, retail prices, that is the prices charged in shops, had not fallen to the same extent. The workers therefore were not willing to return to the old wages until the necessities of life reached the old prices. It was the discontent resulting from the failure to get wholesale prices, retail prices and wages to correspond, which was behind the General Strike of May 1926.

The trouble began with a dispute in the mining industry. Since the war the miners had secured a seven-hour working day and other improvements. The mine-owners, in an effort to meet the fierce competition abroad, now pressed for these to be cancelled, and when the miners' leaders refused, the owners closed the mines. Two powerful Trade Unions, namely, those of the railwaymen and of the other transport workers, supported the miners, and the situation was serious enough for the government to intervene. A Conservative ministry had been in office since 1924, with Mr. Baldwin as Prime Minister. When Mr. Lloyd George's 1918 Parliament had lasted four years, the Coalition broke down and was followed by a short Conservative Government (1922-23) under Bonar Law and Mr. Baldwin. This was broken up by the death of Bonar Law, and a short-lived but historically important Labour Government under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald held office rather precariously for a few months (1923-24). Just before the following election a prominent newspaper, by publishing an alleged letter from a Russian minister, gave the electors the impression that the Russian Communist Government was exercising a sinister influence in British politics, and the panic that resulted brought the Conservatives an overwhelming and rather unnaturally complete victory. The Liberal party shrank in a most astonishing way. The influence of the Labour party declined for a time. It was this strong Conservative Government, therefore, which had to deal with the great strike of 1926. Rather abruptly, owing to a misunderstanding, Mr. Baldwin broke off negotiations with the Trade Union leaders and the great strike began. Trams and 'buses ceased to run altogether, and only a few trains manned by volunteers plied slowly along the most

important lines. Arrangements had to be made for the supply of food and milk. Fresh bodies of workers joined "the Triple Alliance" daily. It seemed as if the Trade Unions would compel the government to surrender, when the suggestion that the General Strike was illegal seems to have frightened the Trade Union leaders and they hurriedly called the strike off, leaving their men to make what terms they could with the employers. Wholesale dismissals, reductions of wages and increases of hours followed, but trade did not recover. The number of unemployed rose to two millions, and the payment of unemployment insurance benefit, commonly known as "the dole," has become a crushing burden on the national resources. When Mr. Lloyd George initiated his scheme (p. 626), there was always a sufficient number of workers employed to enable the government to collect from their contributions a large fund, sufficient to pay the unemployed and leave a handsome balance. But to-day the increased contributions of workers and employers are nowhere near sufficient to meet the staggering total of "dole" payments, and the difference has to be made good out of taxation.

Nor was the Baldwin government too successful in its foreign relations. The strong suspicion of Russian Communist designs felt by Conservatives came to a head in a police raid on the Russian headquarters in London, which led to the severing of diplomatic relations between England and Russia. A sudden increase in the American navy seemed like a direct challenge to British sea-power and hostile feeling sprang up between England and America, as sharp and dangerous as it was unjustifiable. In 1929 a General Election took place, in accordance with the existing law which requires a government to resign after five years. Shortly before the election, the last step towards complete adult suffrage was taken, for women were henceforth to have the vote on reaching the age of twenty-one. There were loud protests from the less progressive elements, but on what principle the vote bestowed on men of twenty-one should be withheld from women of the same age, it is difficult to see. Mr. Baldwin insisted that little could be done by government action to remedy the trade depression, but he revived the idea of Protection which Chamberlain had unsuccessfully advocated in 1903 (p. 619), to encourage English industry and agriculture by taxing all foreign

imports. The electors were disappointed and the swollen Conservative majority dwindled in the election so that the Labour party had a slight majority. The Liberal party, led by Mr. Lloyd George, had shrunk further still, and was weakened by dissensions, but it held the balance of power, for the Labour majority over the Conservatives was so narrow that if the Liberal members voted with the Conservatives, the Labour party could be defeated. Hampered though he was by this ever-present possibility, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald formed the second Labour government with Mr. Snowden as his Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Premier made an excellent start by a visit to America, where naval problems were discussed and a better feeling was established. A treaty with Egypt was negotiated which seemed to settle outstanding differences, although it has not been entirely ratified. Relations with Russia improved, at any rate as far as trade between the two countries was concerned. The British army of occupation on the Rhine was withdrawn. And Mr. MacDonald (who had refused to have anything to do with the Great War) devoted himself to the cultivation of better relations in Europe, with a view to reducing the crippling burden of armaments and war debts and the very real danger of another world war. There had been European conferences during the Baldwin ministry, and some success had been achieved. Mr. MacDonald hoped to make further considerable progress. But France's fear of Germany was an almost insuperable obstacle. And as France both from the military and financial point of view was the strongest state in Europe, and was supported by most of the new states created by the Treaty of Versailles, she could not possibly be ignored.

Mr. MacDonald was no more successful than Mr. Baldwin in dealing with the trade depression. The number of unemployed remained well above two millions. Most of these people were desperately anxious to find work, and if they were not supported by unemployment insurance benefit, they had to be helped by the poor relief authorities, or "public assistance committees" as they were now called. The most that could be done to relieve the burden on taxpayers and ratepayers was to weed out as rigorously as possible all doubtful claimants and reduce the benefits to the lowest reasonable minimum.

In August 1931, a serious financial crisis arose which produced surprising political and economic effects. The crisis arose from the fact that foreign bankers were quickly withdrawing, in gold, their deposits in London, while English bankers could not call in their own loans to foreigners, owing to numerous bankruptcies abroad. A further drain on the Bank of England's gold reserve was due to the fact that England was importing considerably more than she was exporting. This flow of gold abroad threatened to wipe out the bank's gold reserve, on which the value of English paper money depended. A further financial difficulty of another kind brought about a political crisis. For the serious decline of English industry had resulted in a rapid shrinking of the revenue at a time when large sums had to be found for armaments and social services. It seemed obvious that the Chancellor would not be able to collect the required total of taxation without drastic and immediate economies. The Premier and the Chancellor disagreed with the rest of the Cabinet on the details of these economies, and some of the leading members of the Cabinet resigned. Mr. MacDonald, faced with a national emergency, decided to invite the leaders of the other parties to join the government and they accepted. The economies were agreed upon and soon put into operation. But though the Budget was thus balanced, vast sums of gold still passed out of England, making it difficult to keep a gold basis for English paper money any longer. England, therefore, "went off the gold standard," *i.e.* once more, as in the war, refused to exchange her paper money, on demand, for gold. The value of the English pound abroad fell, but this checked English imports and encouraged exports, and so helped to redress the unfavourable "balance of trade," but not as much as was hoped, and so further checks on imports were thought to be necessary. After the election of Nov. 1931, the Conservative element in the National government was greatly strengthened. Mr. Snowden, who had always been a staunch Free Trader, resigned his post as Chancellor and was elevated to the peerage. The Conservative leaders had for long advocated Tariff Reform and they now saw a clear opportunity for testing their theories. Towards the end of 1931 certain imports were prohibited or restricted, on the ground that they competed unfairly with English products. And on

March 1st, 1932, a general tariff of 10 per cent, was imposed on all imports, certain food-stuffs and raw materials being exempted. Certain Liberal Cabinet ministers protested, but did not resign, and so a hitherto accepted principle of the constitution, namely, that ministers must all be agreed on important matters, ceased to operate.

At present England is staggering and almost sinking down under two burdens, either of which would be crushing by itself. Apart from supporting the unemployed, England is the only country which is paying its war debts promptly and in full. This country borrowed large sums from America during the war on behalf of the Allies. America has hitherto insisted on the money being repaid in full and regular instalments. And we have paid, though we could ill afford to do so. But our own creditors are not repaying us at anything like the same rate, though they seem to be able to pay for large armies and navies. It has been urged that England should break loose from Continental entanglements and form a closer union with the self-governing dominions. But, at present at any rate, self-preservation demands that, as in 1914, Englishmen should show themselves "good Europeans."

CHIEF DATES FOR THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND DURING AND AFTER THE GREAT WAR

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|---|--|
| 1914. Aug. 4. England declares war on Germany. | 1923-24. First Labour Ministry.
Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, Premier. |
| 1915-16. Zeppelin raids. | 1924-29. Baldwin Ministry. |
| 1916. Resignation of Asquith.
Mr. Lloyd George, Premier. | 1926. General Strike. |
| Compulsory military service. | 1929-31. Second Labour Ministry. |
| 1916-17. German aeroplane raids. | 1931. Aug. Financial Crisis.
Formation of National Government. |
| 1918. Representation of the People Act. | Nov. General Election. Mr. MacDonald's third Ministry. |
| 1920. Beginning of serious trade depression. | 1932. March. Adoption of general tariff. |

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