THE GROUNDWORK OF BRITISH HISTORY

SECTION II

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THE GROUNDWORK OF BRITISH HISTORY

BY

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PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

In giving the name *The Groundwork of British History* to this book, the writers seek to make clear the plan on which it is constructed.

If in reading it a boy comes to carry with him some idea of the origin and sequence and relation of events, and gains some notion of history *as a whole*, he is beginning to build on what may be called a groundwork. Much will remain to be learnt and many details to be added, but these will fall naturally into their places if the mind is already prepared with a groundwork or general plan on which to fit them.

If, on the other hand, there is no such groundwork in his mind, additional knowledge may merely produce additional confusion. Every teacher in history is only too familiar with the painful method of "learning"—so called—by which a boy will get up some pages of a book so thoroughly as to be able to answer every question on the pages set, and yet have no grip of his history as a whole. Take him "outside the lesson" and he is at once bewildered and lost—with perhaps a suppressed sense of injustice.

Such a perplexed learner often deserves more sympathy than he gets. He dutifully burdens his memory with all the names and dates and facts which he finds on the pages prescribed, not knowing which are the most important, not having been taught to connect events with their past causes or their future developments. Now and again his memory, being unsupported by any general sense of *where he is*, plays him false, and he produces those grotesque onslaughts upon chronology and probability with which we are all acquainted.

It is to meet such difficulties that our book is directed. Our aim is to provide the reader with a groundwork at once solid and broad-based, upon which increasing knowledge may gradually be built; to trace out the main threads of British history, omitting small and unfruitful details; to treat events in logical sequence by pursuing one subject at a time; and to concentrate the mind upon what was the chief policy or course of action in each age.

In order to do this the book strives to encourage the faculties of understanding and reason rather than mere memory; and to make boys think why things happened and what the consequences were.

The method is the same as that followed in Mr. Warner's *Brief Survey of British History*, but the book is intended for those who have got beyond the elementary outlines, and who require a general view of the broadening stream of our national history.

Mr. Marten would like to thank Mr. Urquhart, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, and Mr. G. W. Headlam, his colleague at Eton, for kindly reading the proof sheets, and the Rev. A. B. Beaven, of Leamington, and Professor Hearnshaw for providing valuable lists of *corrigenda*.

NOTE TO EDITION OF 1932

The whole book has been revised in the light of recent historical research. Up till 1815 it has been found possible to keep to the original paging, but it has been found impossible after that date, as the later chapters have had to be largely rewritten. The book has been brought up to the year 1932. Mr. Marten wishes to express his grateful thanks for help in revision to Dr. R. R. Reid, and to his late colleagues Mr. R. Birley and Mr. Hugh de Havilland, and to Mr. J. G. Fyfe for help in the Scottish sections.

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XXI. Henry VII

1. Introductory: The New Ideas

Physical geography makes us familiar with the idea of a watershed. A homely but misleading image likens it to a house roof, whose sharp ridge divides the rain falling on it; in reality the watersheds of our own land are generally less defined; they are often flat, boggy, high grounds, where the water lies in stagnant pools, apparently going nowhither. It is only when we go down the hill in one direction or the other that the actual course of the streams becomes evident. So with the division between medieval and modern England. Henry VII's reign is on the parting of the ways—its character is indeterminate. Most of the king's legislation is medieval; much of his policy, especially his marriage policy, is modern. Yet if we go back or forward a little we have no doubts about the character of the surroundings. Warwick is medieval, but Wolsey is not. Richard III, with an environment of axe and dagger, murder and sudden death, belongs to the museum of historical antiquities; Henry VIII, though scarcely less blood-stained, is yet essentially modern. We can almost picture him concerned with things of our own day, his mind full of modern questionings as to the Rise of Ritualism, What to do with the Unemployed, or Is Marriage a Failure?

The turning-point between Medieval and Modern.

It is not difficult to find the new characteristics which mark off the age of the Tudors. There is the policy of what historians call "*dynastic marriages*"—marriage alliances by which monarchs attempt to build up world empires, adding kingdom to kingdom by

Characteristics of the Tudor times: 1. Dynastic marriages.

marriages, as the barons in the Wars of the Roses had added estate to estate. One development of this policy threatened to link England with Spain; another seemed likely to couple Scotland and France; a third, with more auspicious union, did join England and Scotland, and the union has not been shaken. There was the invention of *printing*; and there was the *new learning*, the substitution of criticism for blind obedience to authority. Then there was also the moving of the waters of religion, ending in the *Reformation*. The realm wavered between the old faith and the new, and in the end became Protestant; that change, too, was final. Lastly, there was the abandonment of the old policy of conquering territory in France, and, in its stead, the inrush into the *New World* which began the making of the British Empire, our latest and greatest inheritance. Any one of these would suffice to mark a new epoch; together they cleave a huge chasm between the old and the new.

2. New Learning.
3. Reformation.
4. England as a sea power.

These characteristics, it is true, are not peculiar to England, nor indeed English in origin. Spain gave the earliest examples of successful dynastic marriages; she also, with Portugal, was first in the New World. The new learning had its birth in Italy. Germany led that revolt against Rome, which, with varying severity, attacked in turn every European country. Not merely does Tudor England differ widely from Plantagenet England; the same difference reveals itself between fifteenth-century Europe and sixteenth-century Europe, and to understand English history at this period we must note the change that was taking place in the states around.

Changes also European.

Put briefly, it is the change from the old word "Christendom" to the modern word "Europe". In old times, though men of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and England spoke different tongues and were of different race, yet they had some common bonds. They were all of one church, all members of Christendom, all in a sense under the headship of Pope and Emperor—the "Two Swords" to which Christ's words on Gethsemane were held to apply. The name "Christendom" had, thus, a *monarchic* sense; it implied a common faith, some unity of purpose, and a common obedience to Christ's Regents

on earth. But the name "Europe" bears no such meaning. It is *anarchic*, for Europe owns obedience to no ruler, and has no community of purpose; there is no longer even one church. Europe is a collection of independent states, each under its own government; these states are indeed joined by geography and entangled by politics, but each is seeking its own interest. This momentous change from "Christendom" to "Europe" was brought about by the appearance of a new political idea—the idea of the "*nation*".

The idea of "nation".

The latter half of the fifteenth century saw the decay of feudalism and the building up of strong monarchies. It saw Louis XI create France; it saw that union of Aragon and Castile in the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, which made Spain; it saw the Tudor line begin to heal the wounds left by the Wars of the Roses, and set up a monarchy which was really supreme. In each country, too, came a vigorous growth of national spirit, and a pride in national power. This spirit of national ambition revealed itself in Charles VIII of France's expedition into Italy; in the long struggle between France and Spain, in which England took now one side, now the other; in the new idea that the religion of each nation was a matter for its own concern and its own decision; and in the rivalry for the New World. Thus in a sense the new characteristics which we observed as marking the Tudor England spring from a cause which is common to the whole of Europe, the *growth of national feeling*. For a time the new spirit was encumbered with the wreckage of the past—old beliefs, old policies, old traditions of the Medieval Papacy and the Medieval Empire. By degrees these were cleared away, and the new system, the society of "nations", set up in its place. True, that to begin with the important nations were only France, Spain, and England. Germany and Italy were still unnational, overweighted the one with the Empire, the other with the Papacy; and centuries had to elapse before these, or the unwieldy power of Russia, entered upon the scene of international politics. When we think of the State system of Europe in our own day, we are apt to forget how very new are some of its members.

2. The Seed Time

Henry VII's reign was a period of remedy and a period of seed time. The remedies belonged to past ills; these fall in their natural place at the end of the story of the Wars of the Roses. The sowing was to bear great fruit in the future. For the meantime the results were hidden. We need only notice briefly what like the seed was.

1. First came the planting of the overpoweringly strong Tudor monarchy. The Wars of the Roses had left the barons exhausted, the Commons utterly discredited, and the realm filled with one great longing, namely, for peace. Peace could only be assured by the keeping of good order: order, it seemed, could only be kept by a strong king. Hence the determination of the nation to support the Crown. Let the king only be strong and of a good courage, and all would be well. Were he weak, or were the succession doubtful, disorder might break out again. Henry VII was avaricious, and Henry VIII seemed fitful and bloodthirsty; Mary was a Catholic, and a persecutor of Protestant subjects; yet all had, on the whole, the support of the people. The Tudors are sometimes spoken of as despots. If this be understood to mean stern absolute rulers, on whom Parliament imposed very little check, the name is fitting. If we infer that they held their people crushed down in an unwilling servitude, the inference is wrong. The Tudors were absolute because England believed in them, trusted them, and was willing that they should be absolute.

The Tudor "despotism".

Various causes helped them to be absolute. Henry VII gathered a great hoard of money, then as now an unfailing source of power. His ministers—Cardinal Morton, Empson, and Dudley—used all sorts of methods to fill his exchequer, partly by demanding benevolences, more by imposing large fines on all who had trespassed on the rights of the Crown. Henry VIII spent all that his father had collected, but enriched himself in his turn by plundering the monasteries and the Church.

The coming into common use of gunpowder also strengthened

the Crown. For more than a hundred years gunpowder had been known, but the early guns and cannons were so clumsy that they did not at first supersede the bow and the old siege-engines. When, however, artillery began to be efficient, the value of the old baronial castle dwindled away; and as the king alone possessed artillery, he had an advantage in war with which no rebel could compete. Further, since bullets were no respecters of either persons or plate-armour, the armoured knight no longer enjoyed comparative immunity in battle as he had done in the old days. War was no longer a pastime for him. As the risk to his life increased, he grew less willing to hazard it, less ready to fly to arms in order to back a quarrel.

Gunpowder and artillery.

2. Henry VII's reign saw the Genoese navigator Columbus discover the New World for Spain (1492), and Vasco da Gama round the Cape of Good Hope and open the route to the East for Portugal (1497). Nor was England content merely to look on. In 1497 some Bristol merchants fitted out an English ship which under Venetian leaders—John and Sebastian Cabot—first reached the mainland of America. The value of these discoveries was slow to reveal itself. None the less, the change when it came was enormous. Commerce began to pass from the "thalassic" to the "oceanic" stage; that is to say, that while hitherto it had gone along the landlocked seas, especially the Mediterranean, it now began to put out on to the Atlantic. The change of trade routes meant much to England. While the Mediterranean had been the highway, England had been far off. The new highway lay at her door. Henceforth the states with an oceanic seaboard rose, those with a thalassic seaboard declined. England, France, Spain, and the Low Countries throve; Venice, Genoa, and the Mediterranean ports dwindled. Henry VII's reign saw only the sowing of the seed; yet when the harvest came long years after it was a great one for England.

The New World "oceanic" commerce.

3. So, too, with the new learning. Taking its second birth, its "renaissance" in Italy, it spread to other lands, bringing with it an enthusiasm for learning, especially for classical learning, and a desire to search out what was true. In its origin there was nothing about the new learning hostile to the old

The new learning.

faith. At first more than one Pope encouraged and patronized the scholars. And when some of these, in their enthusiasm for Greek and Roman culture, were tempted into irreligious expressions, the Church treated them on the whole with the mild disregard which parents extend to wilful children. Unfortunately, though there was nothing anti-religious in the study of classical Latin, and even of Greek, part of the authority of the Popes was held to rest on certain documents, such as the Donation of Constantine and the statements in the Forged Decretals, which in an ignorant age had been accepted as genuine, but which could not really bear investigation. The new spirit of research and criticism did not confine itself to classical texts; it attacked theological claims also. This the Papacy felt to be undesirable, if not dangerous; and thus the new learning and the theologians gradually parted company. In Henry VII's reign the severance of the ways had not been reached; Grocyn and Linacre, who taught Greek at Oxford, and Colet, who lectured on the Greek Testament, were only interested in spreading *learning*. Yet in the Flemish scholar Erasmus the signs of the coming struggle appear. Erasmus was always ready to mock the theology of the monks. Doubtless the monks' erudition was old-fashioned and often absurd. Yet ridicule is the first step in sapping the foundations of belief. Erasmus never became a Protestant, but he set the feet of many of his followers on the road. Again the seed lay in the ground germinating.

4. So it was also with the policy of dynastic marriages—marriages, that is to say, among royal houses, intended to bring great inheritances and unite realms. It may seem at first sight out of character that this policy should accompany the growth of a national spirit, since it is absolutely at variance with ideas of national policy as we know them now. To us the marriage alliances of crowned heads mean little or nothing in deciding national intercourse.

Dynastic marriages.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a monarch had not yet become merely an official. He was not yet the possession of his people. On the contrary, the people were his. He directed the policy of the country, and his friendship would naturally express itself in marriage alliance. Marriages formed the easiest

bond, and might prove most profitable in acquiring new dominions. Hence all statesmen were matchmakers. That a nation might object to such political *mariages de convenance* would not be a matter of serious concern to the kings and statesmen who arranged them. England was now for the first time about to join in a group of dynastic marriages, the effects of which deeply influenced European history during a great part of the sixteenth century;: indeed European history of the time all hangs on them.

We have already mentioned Charles VIII's expedition to Italy. In 1494 that French monarch had allied himself with Milan, Genoa, and Florence, had marched an army through the length of Italy, and had seized the kingdom of Naples. The ease and effrontery with which his success was won alarmed everyone. Maximilian, who as Emperor had claims on Milan, and Ferdinand of Spain, who had claims on Naples, and the Pope, who was terrified at this sudden inthrust of a mailed hand from over the Alps, all sought means to guard themselves against this pushing dangerous French monarch. The natural enemy of France was in their eyes England. Hence they strove to make alliance with Henry VII. They argued that he could, if he chose, keep France occupied at home; and if France were occupied at home, she would not be in mischief in Italy. Henry was willing to join them, and thus England took the first step in the dynastic marriages which were to prove a menace to the country for a whole century, and, after all, end fortunately.

Tho French in Italy.

It is impossible to understand the history of the time without a knowledge of this group of marriages in which England was now joining.

The story begins with the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, which formed the nucleus round which the nation of Spain gradually formed out of the mass of little kingdoms and provinces of the Peninsula. About the same time Maximilian of Austria (of the house of Hapsburg) had married Mary of Burgundy, thus winning for the house of Hapsburg all Charles the Bold's Burgundian dominions, including the Low Countries. The daughter and heiress of the Spanish

Spain and the house of Hapsburg: its alliance with England.

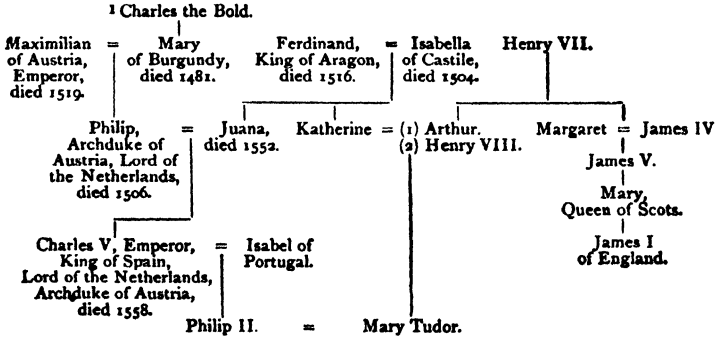
sovereigns, Juana, married Philip the Handsome, Maximilian's only son. This brought the Hapsburgs into Spain. The newborn son of Philip and Juana, Charles (born 1500) would be heir to vast dominions. Spain, the duchy of Austria, Burgundy and the Low Countries, lands in Italy, and the Spanish possessions oversea would all be his. The prize that was offered to Henry VII was the hand of Katherine of Aragon, sister to Juana, and Henry accepted it for his eldest son, Arthur. Arthur, however, died within a year of his marriage, and the bride was affianced to the king's second son Henry, afterwards Henry VIII.

Here, then, was the first great marriage-stroke, entwining the fortunes of England with those of Spain and Austria, securing its aid against the ambition of France. In the future lay other unexpected great events destined to spring from it—the English Reformation and the Marian persecution.

Not content with this, another blow was aimed at France by the politicians of the house of Hapsburg. France had been the enemy of England, and therefore the ally of Scotland. To detach the Scots from the French and so leave France isolated would be a master-stroke. To effect this the hand of Margaret, Henry VII's elder daughter, was offered to James IV of Scotland, and that monarch accepted it (1502).[1]

The Scottish marriage.

Having thus raised England to a position of great influence in Europe Henry VII died, and left the working out of his schemes to his son.



XXII. Henry VIII and Wolsey

Henry VIII's long reign divides naturally enough into two periods. In the first the interest lies mainly abroad; eyes are fixed on international rivalries between France and Spain, the Empire and the Popes, and on diplomatic struggles amongst them. The second is taken up with the Reformation. The connecting point between the two is the question of the King's divorce. The two periods present a contrast. The earlier one, though full of an appearance of greatness, is in reality curiously barren of material results. Out of all the scheming, intrigues, and alliances emerges practically nothing that is tangible. The later period is perhaps the most momentous time in the whole of English history. Yet though in most respects the first period was fruitless, it was notable for one thing. It contained Wolsey: and Wolsey was the first statesman to raise England to a great place in European politics.

Henry VIII's reign.

Divisions.

The new feature of European politics of the time has been already mentioned—it was the rise of national feeling showing itself in the creation of nation-states. This new idea, however, was still encumbered with the old conditions: it was striving with the Medieval notion of Christendom, the headship of Papacy and Empire. Hence the chief theatre of the politics lay in Italy. It was there that the new forces would come most strongly in contact with the old surroundings. In Italian affairs, the Empire, Spain, and France were all concerned. The Emperor was by title King of the Romans. Spain and France both had claims to push in the kingdom of Naples. But England had no direct interests or claims. Hitherto in the eyes of Papacy and Empire, in the ideas of Christendom, her place had been unimportant. It is a significant fact that at the Council of Constance (1414), where the voting went by *nations*, England was not recognized as a separate nation at all. She was grouped with the Germans.

By intervening in these European politics which had their centre in Italy, England placed itself on a level with France, Spain, and the Empire; by the skill which Wolsey showed in

setting off one nation against the other, England for a time seemed to be arbiter in Europe. Finally it was partly through Italian politics that Henry's divorce was refused, thus bringing about the breach with Rome and the Reformation.

England in European politics.

Since for the first twenty years of Henry VIII's reign the attitude of England was the chief question for all diplomatists, and since, further, England's diplomacy lay in the hands of the greatest diplomatist she has ever produced, some knowledge of the course of events is essential, even though at the end none of the results aimed at appear to be attained, and the outcome is barren when compared with the intricate and busy negotiations and changes which mark the time.

After Charles VIII's expedition into Italy, that country had been in a constant state of confusion. Louis XII, the successor of Charles VIII, had captured Milan. Then in alliance with Ferdinand of Aragon, French and Spaniards had made a joint attack on Naples, only to quarrel in the next year. In 1508 the selfish policy of the time reached a climax, when France, Spain, and Pope Julius II united in the *League of Cambrai* to attack and divide the territories of Venice. France took the lion's share of the plunder, and Pope Julius II, seeing with alarm that this sort of political brigandage would in all likelihood next be turned against the lands of the Papacy, deserted the French, and formed a fresh alliance for his own protection. This *Holy League* included Ferdinand of Spain. The natural way of getting rid of the French from Italy was to occupy them at home. Ferdinand planned an invasion of Navarre, and invited his son-in-law, Henry VIII, to attack Guienne. Henry VIII, flattered by the attentions of Spain, and youthfully anxious to make a name for himself, agreed to join the Holy League.

The Holy League between Spain and the Pope. England joins it.

The outcome of this was a fruitless expedition to Guienne in 1511, and the more successful campaign of 1513, in which Terouenne and Tournai were taken and the battle of the Spurs won. Another result was the battle of Flodden, where the Scots, faithful as usual to their French alliance, invaded England and were completely routed. We may leave the details of the battle

to a later chapter, merely noting now the reason of its occurrence. Then, however, as Henry saw that he was being left to do all the work, while Ferdinand and Maximilian reaped the rewards, he withdrew from the alliance.

It is this turn of policy which marks the advent of Wolsey. So far, all had been of the old fashion—an attempt to recover the lost lands in Guienne, a war against the old rival, France, accompanied as usual by an irruption of the old enemy, Scotland, over the borders. In the diplomacy and in the preparations for war Wolsey had made a sudden great reputation. Fellow of Magdalen, Oxford, rector of Lymington, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, royal chaplain to Henry VII, he found in the new king a master who gave him work and rewarded the vigour with which he performed it. In gratitude for Wolsey's efforts to fit out the expedition of 1513 Henry made him Bishop of Tournai, and in the next year Bishop of Lincoln. More important still, he gave him his confidence. Thus a new steersman stood at the wheel and gave a totally unexpected turn to it. He abandoned the policy of opposing France, and determined to turn that country into an ally.

Thomas Wolsey and his new policy.

Henry was already angry with Maximilian and Ferdinand, and readily agreed to Wolsey's schemes. The chance soon came. Louis XII's queen died: he was looking out for a new bride. With the utmost secrecy Wolsey negotiated a match between him and Henry VIII's youngest sister, Mary. That the king was fifty-two and the bride seventeen was, of course, not worth considering by a statesman. Questions of personal feeling did not weigh beside strokes of diplomacy. And the stroke was a master-stroke. Not only did it show that England, hitherto a blunderer in diplomacy, had a diplomatist to the full as subtle, silent, and speedy as any Spaniard or Italian; but by allying England with France it checkmated the Holy League; it marked the beginning of a complete change in policy, a policy which by degrees became established as traditional, namely to treat *Spain* as England's rival and encounter her power at sea and in the New World.

The French alliance.

The eventual results were clear and of great consequence;

on the other hand, the immediate results were confused and unaccompanied by any very tangible advantage. To put it in another way, Wolsey's statesmanship only became clear as the century rolled on. For the present it was obscured by his diplomacy. And as diplomacy has to deal immediately with events as they arise, it often conveys the impression of being vacillating and opportunist. Since the first result of Wolsey's abandonment of the Holy League for a French alliance was to demonstrate how important England might be in European politics, the object of all diplomatists was to secure England's friendship. Thrown into one side of the balance or the other, England's weight would be decisive. Wolsey saw that the best and indeed the only way of preserving this position of authority was to keep, or to seem to keep, an open mind. To decide firmly for one side or the other was to lose the power of decision. Yet, while Wolsey's policy at times swayed between France and Spain, on the whole, at each important crisis, he turned towards France as the better ally.

If we summarize the course of events we shall see this more clearly. His first stroke, the marriage of Mary with Louis XII, was robbed of its value by the death of Louis in 1515. His successor, Francis I, an ambitious young man, immediately plunged into war to regain the duchy of Milan, and defeated the Swiss allies of the duke at Marignano. Europe again grew alarmed lest France should grow too strong. In the next year Ferdinand died, and his grandson Charles became his heir, uniting under his rule an alarming mass of territory—Burgundy, the Netherlands, Spain, and Sicily. Again Wolsey met this danger with a French alliance, and confirmed it with the pledge of Henry's infant daughter Mary to the Dauphin. With great skill he negotiated a Universal Peace, in which the Pope, the Emperor, France, Spain, and Scotland joined. Thus he made England appear as supreme arbiter in European politics.

The passing of the old men—Louis XII, 1515. Ferdinand, 1516. Maximilian, 1519.

1516.

In 1519 came a fresh change with the death of the Emperor Maximilian. Francis and Charles V were both candidates to succeed him: Henry's vanity compelled Wolsey to put his claim forward too, though his chances were never seriously treated.

Eventually Charles was elected, England maintaining a position of neutrality towards both sides in order that each might feel that any unfriendliness might throw Henry into his rival's camp. Each power tried to win Wolsey and the alliance of his royal master, by dangling before him the bait of the Papacy, and promising support at the next vacancy in the Holy See. This phase is marked by the glories of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, where Henry held conference with Francis, going straight from there to Calais to interview the Emperor Charles.

All was now in the hands of the young men. Charles of Spain, Francis of France, and Henry of England were much less cautious and wary than Louis XII, Ferdinand, and Maximilian. The problem, too, had been narrowed and intensified, for Maximilian's and Ferdinand's powers had coalesced. There was no longer Spain and the Empire to be considered. They were in one hand; and they lay on either side of France. The rivals, however, could not keep at peace; and Henry, urged by his Spanish wife, by the national connection between England and Flanders in commerce, and by the old-fashioned liking which his nobles had for a war with France, took the side of Spain. Wolsey disapproved, but he could not sway his master. Two campaigns, however, showed that it was easier to plan the reconquest of the lost English provinces than to carry it into effect. It was almost impossible to get money to carry on the war. Parliament would give no supplies. Wolsey's device of a benevolence, under a new and more alluring title of "the Amicable Loan", was met with clamour and even tumult. "My lord," said one of the rioters to the Duke of Norfolk, "since you ask who is our captain, forsooth his name is Poverty, for he and his cousin Necessity have brought us to this doing." In 1525 Francis was defeated and captured at Pavia,[1] and Wolsey had drawn off from the Spanish side. In 1527 the Imperial troops, under the Duke of Bourbon, sacked Rome, and made Pope Clement VII prisoner. Wolsey used the indignation which this outrage on the Pope caused to prepare a fresh French alliance.

The young men.

The sack of Rome.

Close on the heels of this came the trouble of the king's

[1] "Tout est perdu fors l'honneur (et ma vie)."

divorce, leading to Wolsey's fall, and the Reformation. The languid interest which the country had shown in Wolsey's somewhat bewildering diplomacy suddenly sprang into a flame when the old grievance of the papal power in England came to the front. Here must be traced the beginnings of the Reformation.

XXIII. The Reformation

1. The New Learning and the Reformation in Germany

It is almost universally true of the great figures in the world's history that they are partly shaped by the trend of current opinion, and are so far the product of their time: yet more still they react on public opinion, and so shape their time to their own opinions. They are inevitable, and yet totally incalculable. So with Luther. To grasp the significance of his work it is needful to see wherein he merely took up a movement already started, and also how far he gave a new turn to its direction.

The revival of learning.

A scholarly knowledge of ancient Greek was, during the greater part of the Middle Ages, a very rare accomplishment even in Constantinople, and in other parts of Europe it was almost non-existent. But in Italy at the close of the 14th century, and especially during the 15th century, came a great revival of the study of ancient Greek. An interest in Greek once stimulated in Italy, there came a demand for Greek writings to read. These would be first the classical writers, and above all Plato. Curiosity, once stirred, spread. Classic Greek revived classic Latin; and the Italian Renaissance took the shape of a classic revival in letters and art. To it the world owes an amazing debt in scholarship, sculpture, literature, painting. But it does not owe the Reformation. The Italian phase of the New Learning was an artistic and scholarly temper of mind, but it had little that was practical about it. Cosimo and Lorenzo dei

Medici's band of scholars at Florence—where were brought up Michael Angelo and Ficino the Platonist scholar, the brilliant Pico della Mirandola, who was at twenty-three the greatest linguist of his time, and Poliziano, the most cultured poet of the age—lived in a joyous atmosphere of scholarly intercourse "seasoned with delightful talk and wit"; yet when there appeared in Florence Girolamo Savonarola, the one scholar who was in earnest about the moral reform of the city, the Florentines could only give him the fleeting interest that they gave at that time to all brilliant novelties, and eventually looked on without much protest when Pope Alexander VI had him burned. The Florentine school loved words but not deeds. It was the same at Rome when the newly-founded "Roman Academy" became so intensely classical that some members even aped a revival of paganism, and induced the Pope, Paul II, to imprison them. Pope Sixtus IV, however, became convinced that they were so entirely trivial that the Church could afford to pass them over. He was right so far as Italy was concerned. The spirit of the New Learning there showed no signs of being in any way anti-papal. It would study, comment, and criticize; but it would do nothing.

Yet in Italy, as elsewhere through Europe, there was much that needed doing. While the New Learning was rekindling Italian scholarship, the Church, as illustrated by its leaders the popes, seemed to be decaying in morals and influence. Even so honest and well-meaning a pope as Pius II could not raise a spark of real enthusiasm in his attempt to stir Europe once more to drive back the Turks. The days of crusading zeal were past. Gradually, from 1470 onwards, the popes slipped into what was going on around them. They became Italian princes, seeking to build up for the Church a strong principality. Only by having such a strong Principality, so it was thought, could the Papacy maintain its independence against the Italian princes who were fighting for supremacy. Sixtus IV began this "secularization of the Papacy". A later successor, Rodrigo Borgia, Alexander VI, was suspected, with good reason, of using poison to gain his political ends, and his son, Cesare Borgia, was, during his

Decline of the Papacy, 1470.

papal father's life, one of the most notorious villains in Italy. Julius II, the next[1] pope, was not a nepotist, nor greedy for his family, but his ambition to enlarge the Papal States kept Italy distracted with war during his whole papacy. Leo X (1513), of whom little was known save his youth and good nature, was chosen in the hope that he would give rest from the intolerable political activity that had marked the last two pontificates.

Still, the manifold abuses of the time, the emptiness of the Papacy, the alliance that was growing closer between the Church and the world, the aloofness that prevailed between religion and life, the gap that was widening between the new learning and the old theology, caused no real troublings of heart in Italy. Italy had acquiesced for so long in the position and claims of the medieval Church, as embodied in the papal system, that it believed this to be as enduring as the sun in the firmament. The scholars may have despised the churchmen a little, as being ignorant and unenlightened, but they accepted the Papacy and its ways. The Papacy, in its turn, tolerated the scholars with easy confidence. Indeed, some popes, such as Nicholas V and Leo X, were great patrons of literature and art; and Julius II gave architects and artists such as Bramante, Raphael, and Michael Angelo wonderful opportunities at Rome.

New Learning in Germany and England.

Germany and England had got what Italy had not—a sense that wrong is not the less wrong for being long upheld, and that right, even if new, may still be right. That is the real spirit of the reformer, who, while he feels the night too short in which to learn, realizes still more acutely that the day is too short in which to act. Hence the northerners turned to what they felt to be of real concern in life. In Germany and in England the New Learning was practical. Men felt that learning was barren unless it bore directly upon life. To know better was useless, if it did not lead men to live better and to do better. Thus the scholarship which in Italy worked among the classics turned across the Alps to the field of the New Testament; seed sown here would not fall on stony ground or be choked by the cares of this world, but would bring forth fruit.

[1] But one. Pius III was Pope for one month.

Two types, then, were characteristic of the New Learning in the north: the theologian, who, while not regardless of tradition and of what men had been taught in the past, yet applied his learning to it to find out what he believed to be the *truth*; secondly, the reformer, who, fearless of power and dignitaries, followed out his conclusions to do what he felt to be *right*. The best examples of these two types are Erasmus and Luther.

Desiderius Erasmus was a Fleming. Left an orphan and pushed into a monastery, he had as a boy acquired an intense dislike for monks and their life, and on coming of age had quitted his monastery. He had studied at Paris and then at Oxford, and later his wanderings included Germany and Italy. Too wide-minded to fall in with either the impractical spirit of the Italian Renaissance, or the theological brawling which was disturbing Germany, his critical mind set others on the path from which he himself ultimately shrunk back. His influence was displayed in two ways. First, in his book, the *Praise of Folly*, he taught the world, and especially the world of scholars, to laugh at the old-fashioned scholastic learning of the monks.[1] Many had in different ages assailed the monks with abuse, and done them on the whole little harm. To the poisoned shafts of Erasmus's wit no effective reply was possible. Yet ridicule of the monks and their opinions naturally resulted in a contempt for their order and their faith; this meant a sapping of one of the buttresses of the Church. But much more important than Erasmus's work as a wit was his work as a critic. He published, in 1516, a complete edition of the Greek Testament, and placed beside the Greek a new Latin translation, in which he corrected what seemed to him to be mistakes, while in notes he expressed freely his ideas upon current beliefs. One example will illustrate the whole. On the text, "Upon this rock I will build my church", he observes that this does not refer only to the Pope, but to all Christians. Methods of this kind would speedily call upon all the claims of the Papacy to justify themselves from the Bible, and would press for their rejection should they fail to do so.

Erasmus.

[1] The book was not directed against the monks particularly, but against fools. Erasmus merely found the species plentiful in monasteries.

What Erasmus taught was put into practice by Martin Luther. A peasant by birth, he had entered an Augustinian house at Erfurt, but the life of the cloister gave him no comfort. He was oppressed with an intense consciousness of inward sin, and this wrestling in his own mind trained in him the practical earnestness and the feeling of a close personal relation between man and God which marked him through life. He left the monastery in 1508, and became a teacher of theology in the new Saxon university of Wittenberg. A visit to Rome which he paid in 1510 revealed to him the depth of carelessness and indifference which pervaded the Papal Court. He set himself more anxiously than ever to study the Bible, in the belief that here was to be found the only remedy against what he called "the reign of slothfulness" which "made the way to heaven so easy that a single sigh suffices". So, when the Dominican friar Tetzel came into Saxony with a commission to grant indulgences (which remitted penances imposed after sin) in return for a gift towards the fund for building St. Peter's in Rome, Luther took fire. There was, he felt, grave danger that simple or careless men would interpret the giving of money in the wrong way; that they would not realize that sin must be atoned for by inward penitence, and that till this was done and absolution granted, charitable and pious actions and gifts, however virtuous, were useless. Accordingly he posted on the church door at Wittenberg a series of theses explaining his views, inviting discussion, and asking for an expression of "the mind of the Pope".

Martin Luther.

Luther wished to have a discussion on a doubtful point of theology; there was nothing defiant in his attitude at first; discussion of such points was by no means unusual. But the Papacy had no mind for such a discussion. Doubtless the doctrine of indulgences led to abuses; later, at the Council of Trent, the Church had to condemn "disreputable gains" made by those who desired to obtain them; yet equally certainly the system of indulgences had proved most profitable to the Papacy. To destroy it would throw papal finance into confusion; to meddle with it was dangerous. Accordingly Luther must be bidden to hold his tongue, and be content that what the Church sanctioned was well.

Luther's quarrel with Rome.

Here came into the issue Luther's personal character and the feelings of the time. Had Luther been fainthearted, he would have subsided into silence. As he was fearless, he persisted; in answering the objections of his opponents he enlarged his own ideas, following without faltering the conclusions which he drew from the study of the Bible and the early fathers of the Church. When commanded again to be silent, he enquired into the Pope's motives for ordering silence, and began to question whether the Pope might not himself be wrong. Other popes had erred. Why not Leo X? That the path was dangerous did not check Luther; that it would end in catastrophe seemed to him inconceivable. No religious reformer ever starts with the design of being a heretic; he only becomes one when he fails to persuade his opponents that it is they who are wrong and not he; and as this is so plain to him, he cannot see why they should fail to grasp it.

Yet Luther's resolution would not have been by itself enough; he would have perished as Huss and Savonarola perished, under a combination of the powers of Pope and Emperor, had not the state of Germany at the time made this combination impossible. The Papacy was particularly unpopular, and even had the Emperor wished to act vigorously on its behalf against Luther, the princes and nobles of the Empire were divided in attitude. The dispute went busily on, and Luther's ideas were listened to with attention. He began to speak also in a way that could be understood. Discarding Latin, the learned language in which till now all theological discussions had been enshrouded, he appealed to the Germans in their own German tongue. And his ideas soon became more extreme. Commenting on the views expressed by an opponent at the Papal Court, he wrote: "When the Romanists see that they cannot prevent a Council, they feign that a Pope is above a Council, is the infallible rule of truth and the author of all understanding of Scripture. There is no remedy save that Emperor, Kings, and Princes should attack these pests and settle the matter, not by words but by the sword." From the attack on persons it is a short step to the attack on doctrine. He wished to sweep away four of the seven sacraments; he held that the liberty of a Christian man is only ruled by his union

Success of Luther.

to Christ in his kingdom, and therefore free from outward observances.

The one way now to extinguish Luther was to deprive him of support by removing grounds of complaint. This could only be done by making a serious attempt to right abuses and cool down anger by reasonable reform and concession. But concession as a policy does not often commend itself either to Popes, Emperors, or heretics. Luther was condemned at the Diet of Worms in 1521, and the princes of the Empire were adjured to root out his heresy. Some were lukewarm, others vigorous. Where vigour was displayed rebellion sprang up; still, so long as the Pope had the Emperor on his side he might hope that the cause was prospering. But five years later they quarrelled; the Pope had absolved Francis I from keeping the promises Charles had exacted from him after the defeat of Pavia, and accordingly Charles refused to support the Papal cause against the heretics; the imperial policy was reversed; each prince was given liberty to act about Luther "as he thought he could answer to God and the Emperor"—that is to say, as seemed best to his own taste. Immediately after, as if to show how little union there was even among the supporters of the Roman Church, the Imperial troops—a mixture of Spanish Catholics and German Lutherans, led by the French renegade Bourbon —sacked Rome with every conceivable species of horror and blasphemy, and held the Pope imprisoned in his Castle of St. Angelo. In this way Luther was flung about as a shuttlecock in the reckless game of politics, and Germany was left to hopeless religious confusion.

Condemnation of Luther.

So long an account of the beginnings of the Reformation in Germany may seem out of place in a history of England; yet without a knowledge of what happened in Europe, the cause and the importance of the English Reformation cannot be appreciated. Luther had hit the Papacy hard and in a weak spot; the blow had been much applauded; by writing in German he had appealed to the people at large; what is more, he had survived. This was a large measure of success. Yet one thing he lacked. Some German princes had favoured him, but none had openly taken up his cause. No powerful state had put his

views into practice by rejecting the authority of the Pope. This momentous step was first taken by England. Here is the reason why the English Reformation was an event of paramount importance not only in our land, but over the length and breadth of Europe.

2. The Reformation in England: the Breach with Rome

English scholars had been as zealous as the Germans in seeking the New Learning, and had sought it in the same practical spirit. Grocyn studied at Florence, and came back to lecture at Oxford in 1491. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, had, like Erasmus, valued his Greek most because by it he could unlock the treasures of the Gospels: he had unhesitatingly set aside the learning of the schoolmen, as being barren or misleading, and based his teaching on the literal words of the New Testament. In his foundation of St. Paul's Grammar School he gave clear proof of his aims, by causing to be placed over the master's chair in his new school the image of the child Christ, with the words, "Hear ye him". Erasmus himself taught at Cambridge, and inspired Latimer and Fisher with his ideas. In brilliance of wit and in seriousness of mind he found a rival in his own friend, Thomas More. More's book, *Utopia*, describing the ideal land of "Nowhere", was far in advance of its time in its wide and tolerant principles. He pictures a commonwealth where the aim of law was the good of its members; where all were free to worship as they pleased "because it is not in a man's power to believe as he list"; where none were poor, because goods were held in common, yet all had to work because work was necessary to human wellbeing; where the sovereign was removable "on suspicion of a design to enslave his people"; where all children were taught; and where the punishment for crime was so to be ordered to make the criminal "ever after live a true and honest man". This foreshadows all that the modern state has striven after and a good deal that it has not yet attained. No book shows so well

The Reform movement in England.

as *Utopia* how the human soul may leap forward out of the trammels of its time. Yet though More, Colet, and the "Greeks" at either University struggled against the "Trojans", who still clung to the old teaching and the old ideas, they could make little practical progress in the real task of reform by themselves. Till the King or Wolsey would stir, nothing could be done, and both were for the present immersed in foreign diplomacy.

Wolsey's failure.

Wolsey, it is true, saw the need for reform, but the moment was not propitious, and he was too busy ever to find a time. Being Cardinal-Legate he had the power to deal with the Church, but he put off doing it. His few efforts were cautious and prudent, but cautious reformers satisfy neither side. The doom of Laodicea clings to them. They alarm and irritate those who hold to the old system, while the hot reformers condemn them as triflers. Even Wolsey's suppression of a few decrepit monasteries, and the establishment of "Cardinal College"[1] at Oxford, was turned to his reproof. The clerical party saw in him a false friend; the nobles only saw him striving after his own vainglory.

Yet, although the strong hands that held England gave no opportunity to the Reformers, such as was offered in feeble and disunited Germany, there was fuel ready should the torch be applied. Since the days of Edward III and Richard II, Englishmen had vigorously resented Papal interference. The statutes of Provisors and Præmunire[2] had expressed the popular dislike of the Papacy's thrusting intruders into English benefices, or attempting to enforce its decrees in England. However, the

"grim two-handed engine at the door"

stood rusty, but ready. Should cause of affront be given, the King would find his people willing supporters against Rome. And the great source of Henry's power was that he was so completely an Englishman of his time. He understood his subjects and they him. So far he had no quarrel with the Papacy; he heartily condemned Luther, and had caused to be published in his own name a confutation of that heretic which Pope Clement had rewarded with the gift of the Golden Rose.

[1] Now Christ Church. [2] See p. 198.

Clement's predecessor, Leo X, had conferred on him the title of "Fidei Defensor"—a title which still figures on our coinage. But Henry had no deep-grounded respect for the Papacy. Were Popes complaisant, Henry was correspondingly gracious; should differences arise, Henry's zeal would cool; and in 1526 the cause of quarrel was not far off. Henry was tiring of his wife Katherine.

The King's divorce.

It must be admitted that Henry and Katherine had little to hold them together. Being a Spaniard, she had disliked the French alliance to which Henry, under Wolsey's guidance, had turned so frequently, and she had pestered the King with more zeal than wisdom. Henry on his side was disappointed that she had borne him no son to follow him, and secure the succession; each grew cool towards the other, and Henry found her companionship more and more distasteful. But his ideas were suddenly turned in the direction of a divorce by the fact that he fell violently in love with a lady of the court named Anne Boleyn. To win Anne, it was needful to get rid of Katherine; once more Henry turned to Wolsey for help. A technical ground was not far to seek. Katherine had been his brother Arthur's widow; hence the marriage had been illegal but for a dispensation from the Pope; the King's conscience now became convinced that the dispensation was wrong; could not his marriage be declared null and void? Popes had done greater things for monarchs than this.

Difficulties in the way of Wolsey.

Wolsey did not oppose the idea: perhaps he even suggested it to Henry; he would be glad to be rid of Katherine and her Spanish views. But though he hoped the Pope might be persuaded, yet there were many difficulties. Nothing could be said against Katherine, who was of most virtuous character. England would probably sympathize with her, especially when the real object, namely, that Henry should marry Anne, had leaked out. Both France and Spain would oppose it—France, because Henry's daughter, Mary, was betrothed to the Dauphin, and such action would leave her illegitimate; Spain, because Charles V was Katherine's nephew. And in 1527, when the affair was being cautiously broached, came the sack of Rome, which left Pope Clement at Charles V's mercy. No more inauspicious moment could be

chosen for trying to persuade the Pope to offer the Spanish king a deadly affront. No wonder that Wolsey hesitated.

Things went as he expected. Neither Spain nor France gave him any help. Clement put things off, then appointed Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio to hear the cause in England, but did not give them the power of final decision. Campeggio reached England in October, but the trial did not begin till the following June. Its verdict was expected in July, but at the end of that month Campeggio declared the sitting adjourned for two months more. This renewed delay made Henry furious.

Here was revealed what had been hitherto but dimly seen. The real master of England was after all not Wolsey but Henry; and Henry showed the quality which Wolsey lacked—determination, and disregard of tradition and consequence which might stand in his way. Hence, while men were waiting for the cautious Wolsey to find his way round this thicket of political thorns, Henry, like a bull, burst through it.

He threw over Wolsey, and directed his attorney to sue for a writ of *præmunire* against his minister on the ground that, acting as Papal Legate, he had broken the statute. The charge was iniquitous, since Wolsey had obtained his legatine authority at the King's own pressing desire, in order to use it for the King. But that, he knew, would not save him. He made instant and humble submission, acknowledging that all his goods were most justly forfeit to his "most merciful" master. Henry seized his goods, deprived him of the Great Seal, and dismissed him to his see of York. He probably was not quite sure that he might not want him again. Wolsey's enemies, however, were too strong; the Cardinal was arrested at York for high treason, and dispatched southwards to the Tower. Death, however, was more merciful than the King: broken-hearted, feeble, and despairing, Wolsey struggled to Leicester, and there died. Henry's last act was to send instructions to an envoy straitly to question his old servant on his deathbed as to what he had done with £1500 which he had scraped together after his fall, the last remnant of that abundant wealth which had been spent for the King, or seized by him.

Fall of Wolsey.

Two steps which the King took close on Wolsey's fall are

most significant of the future. He issued writs for the summoning of a Parliament, and he appointed Sir Thomas More to succeed Wolsey as Chancellor. Parliament save for one brief session had not met for fourteen years; it was much longer since a King had entrusted his conscience to a layman's keeping.[1] But both signs point the same way: the sway of the Church in politics was tottering, the "minister" and the layman were rising to take its place. Wolsey is the last "Eminence" in that long chain of ecclesiastical statesmen that tower through English history from Dunstan onwards. None of them, great as they were, o'ertops Wolsey. Yet with the suddenness of a precipitous fall the chain breaks off and is submerged. Far off in the sea of time one mitred head will rise again above the political waters: that is Laud; but he is lonely in history, out of place and out of date.

The seven years from 1529 till 1536 during which this Parliament sat, saw the breach between Henry and Rome widen year by year into a yawning gulf. Each step in the quarrel is marked by a fresh inroad of Parliament on the position of the Church. Thus this "Reformation" Parliament is not unlike the Long Parliament. Each came after a prolonged period of unparliamentary government which may be called "tyranny". Each sat for what was for its age an extraordinary number of sessions; each, by an odd coincidence, assembled on the same day. The one tore the Papal authority to tatters, as its successor tore the Royal power. There is one crucial difference: the Long Parliament worked of its own force; the Reformation Parliament owed its vigour to the King. Henry, as it were, having roused the national watchdog from its slumber by a series of thumps on its kennel, urges it against a trespasser; yet grasps the angry beast by its collar, pretending to his enemy that he cannot hold it back much longer, while privily stirring it to a more terrifying show of fury.

The Reformation Parliament.

The first attack fell on a vulnerable point — the pocket. Hitherto the clergy and the Church had been in the habit of getting large fees from the probate of wills, and from "corse presents" (mortuary fees, paid when a dead body was taken through a parish); some of the clergy had made money by

[1] The Chancellor is "the Keeper of the King's Conscience".

farming and trading; all these sources of revenue were docked. Many of the clergy had held more than one benefice; these "pluralities" were now forbidden, as was the practice of non-residence, unless special leave was granted by the King. Hitherto this leave had been granted by the Pope. Here was the first grasp of the royal hand that was to tighten round the clergy.

In the second session all the clergy were entangled in the mesh that had snared Wolsey, the penalties of Præmunire. Wolsey was guilty, and so were they—of obedience. The Convocation of Canterbury hastily bought their pardon with a gift of £100,000, York followed with £18,000. Under the law the laity were involved too, but the King graciously pardoned the rest of his subjects wholesale—for nothing—"of his benignity, special grace, pity, and liberality" as the Act of Parliament put it.

Præmunire.

Ere the next session came round the King's agents had been busy at Rome, but had made no progress over the annulling of the King's marriage. Consequently Parliament gave another turn to the screw by the Act of Annates: "albeit the King and all his subjects be as obedient, devout, catholic, and humble children of Holy Church as any people with any realm Christian", yet the payment of annates (the firstfruits of a benefice) to the Pope was henceforth to cease;[1] any bishop who paid them should forfeit lands and goods to the King: and if in consequence of the act the Pope were to refuse the bull confirming the election of a new bishop, the bishop should be appointed by two of his brethren without waiting for the Pope's consent. But as King and Parliament did not wish to use violence "before gentle courtesy first attempted", the King was to have the power of declaring whether the Act should be put in force.

Act of Annates.

But if nothing could be got from Rome, Henry was ready to do without Rome. In the spring of 1532 Cranmer, fortified by the favourable opinions of some universities, which had been consulted at his own suggestion, was busy over Katherine's divorce. To nullify her certain appeal to Rome, Parliament stepped in with the Act of Appeals forbidding all

Act of Appeals.

[1] They did not lapse altogether: an Act of 1534 bestowed them on the Crown.

appeals to Rome in matters of will, marriage, or divorce, either for the future or already entered on: henceforth the appeal was to go to the Upper House of Convocation. Henry could control that.

By the time Parliament met for its fifth session the divorce had been granted, and the marriage with Anne publicly acknowledged. Matters having been driven to this extreme point, Parliament was still bolder. For the first time it spoke of the Pope as "the Bishop of Rome otherwise called the Pope"; arranged that bishops for the future were to be elected by the dean and chapter of the diocese under a royal writ called the *congé d'élire*, but that they must elect the person named by the King in the writ—conferring a liberty with one hand and taking it back with the other. Peter's-pence, and every other payment made to Rome were lopped off. No church ordinances were to be made save by the King's consent. Yet in case the Pope should even at the eleventh hour repent, Henry was again empowered to suspend or enforce these acts at his pleasure. Further, by the First Royal Succession Act the marriage with Katherine was declared null, and Katherine's daughter Mary cut out of the succession.

Between the fifth and sixth sessions the Pope annulled Cranmer's sentence of divorce; whereon the King retorted with a Royal Proclamation ordering all manner of prayers, mass-books, and rubrics "wherein the Bishop of Rome is named or his presumptuous proud pomp preferred", to be abolished, "and his name and memory to be never more remembered". Parliament followed this up with the Act of Supremacy declaring the King to be the supreme Head of the Church of England, and an oath was exacted calling on men to refuse all obedience to any foreign authority, and to accept all Acts made by the present parliament. For refusing to take this oath the Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher were imprisoned.

Act of Supremacy.

The seventh and last session saw the overthrow of the smaller monasteries. As the King had now absorbed all the ecclesiastical powers which the Pope had formerly wielded in England, he had become visitor of the religious houses, which had hitherto

been under the control only of the officers of their own order, and of the Pope. They were soon to learn what a visitation meant. All of less annual value than £200 were suppressed, and their lands forfeited to the King. With this last blow delivered the Reformation Parliament ended.

Dissolution of the smaller monasteries.

Looking at its work as a whole two things emerge. To begin with, there never was a Reformation so completely mundane. It was political and nothing else. The only sense in which it was partially religious is that it was sacrilegious. Starting with a determination to make the worse appear the better reason over the divorce, King and Parliament proceeded coldly and methodically to bring the Church to heel, rout the Pope, and scatter his allegiance. Neither justice nor sentiment were allowed to interfere with business. The war had no parade of powers, and no thunder of heavy ordnance on the English side at any rate. Each stroke fell on the enemy's supplies; slowly, bloodlessly, but inexorably he was starved out—in the cause of conscience. That it could be done in this way is proof that in general the nation agreed. Rome and its authority were not beloved of many, and by many were heartily disliked. Most would echo the words of his grace of Suffolk, "England was never merry while we had Cardinals among us". A clearance had been needed and was now made. As to what would come next the bulk of Englishmen did not trouble their heads.

Secondly, we must observe that the Reformation Parliament, which had overthrown the Pope, raised the Crown to a height unmatched before or since in English history. Besides conveying to himself all the Papal powers and much of the Church's property, Henry had been permitted to enforce statutes or not as seemed good to him; the succession had been practically left in his hands; he was armed with a new Treason Act which made even *thought* against him treasonable. Bulky as he was, he was every inch a Prince.

Thomas Cromwell.

These two qualities of the Reformation Parliament's work are reflected from the man who, under Henry, had most to do with the shaping of it. Thomas Cromwell was a lawyer who had grown rich by moneylending, had sat in the House

of Commons, and had served Wolsey. But he was essentially a King's man at heart: not a Cardinal's. His early days of adventure in Italy had made him familiar with despotic power ruthlessly exercised, and he halted at nothing to make the king supreme. As "Vicar General" under the Act of Supremacy, he devised the measures which brought the Church under the King. He restricted even the right of preaching to those who held royal licenses, forced the clergy to preach in favour of the Act of Supremacy, overthrew first the smaller monasteries and then the larger, turned over their property to the Crown, and swept out of his way all opposition. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, the foremost scholar and the most saintly bishop of the day, were executed for refusing to accept the Act of Supremacy. The monks of the Charterhouse were hanged in a batch on the same charge, or left to die in chains in Newgate. When the dissolution of the smaller monasteries provoked the north to rebellion, Cromwell never faltered. This "Pilgrimage of Grace", as the rebellion was called, was dangerous enough, for it was inspired by very genuine religious alarm. More firmly Catholic than the south, less ready for the new ideas, men believed that the attack on the monasteries would be followed by an onslaught on the churches. The rebels, led by Robert Aske, took as their banner the Five Wounds of Christ, and demanded that the monasteries should be restored, the reforming bishops turned out, and Cromwell banished. This last aim brought in the northern nobles, for Cromwell was looked on with mingled loathing and fear by the old nobility, as an upstart venomous snake. The Percies, Lords Westmorland and Latimer, Earl Dacre of Yorkshire, all joined; and these could bring the finest fighting men in England with them. Abbots and priors all gathered to the cause; the Abbot of Barlings rode up in full armour. Henry sent Norfolk to meet the rebels; but as he was too weak to fight, bade him make terms. He was only waiting his time; the rebels dispersed, but renewed rioting soon after gave Henry and Cromwell the excuse for revoking all that they had yielded. The leaders were seized; Lord Darcy, Lord Hussey, and the Abbots of four great monasteries were all hanged. Lesser rebels shared the same fate in dozens throughout the

Pilgrimage of Grace.

north. It was a stern lesson in what the Royal Supremacy meant.

This failure of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" led to the downfall of the greater monasteries. Some were forfeited for treason; others found it wisest to submit to the king. The monks were pensioned. Six of the great monasteries were refounded as secular chapters round the six new bishoprics; a little of the property was used for schools; a little for erecting fortresses on the coast. But the bulk of it went to the king; and he dispersed most of it—some by gift to his ministers and courtiers, much by sale—so that in a few years it had passed into many hands, and thus afforded an effectual guarantee that the Reformation would be permanent. If England were to submit again to Rome, that land would have to be restored; and in the course of a few years it was so parcelled up that 40,000 families were reckoned to have an interest in it, and these 40,000 would be sturdy Protestants. It was on this rock that Mary's schemes for restoring Roman influence shipwrecked. To take this land back by force was impossible; she had not money to buy it back; and it remained a bulwark of the Reformation, just as the National Debt of money borrowed by William III and George I proved a bulwark of the Revolution Settlement. Alike in each age, visionaries plotted for a restoration of the Old Faith or the House of Stuart; but sound moneyed men, with an eye on their estates or their funds, looked askance on schemes that menaced "property".

The greater monasteries.

The remainder of Henry VIII's reign bears no very marked characteristic, either of progress or reaction. Some men deplored what had been done; others felt that a halt had been called too soon. Those in front cried "forward", and those behind cried "back". Yet both these were small parties; the bulk of the nation was for the time quite satisfied, and the king, who adequately represented the bulk, was satisfied too. Hence not much was done, and that leaned now to one side and now to the other.

The chief forward step was taken in the translation of the Bible. Most of the copies of Tyndale's version, printed abroad

and smuggled into England, had been destroyed. Miles Coverdale was encouraged by Cromwell to make a new translation; this was combined in 1537 with Tyndale's work by John Rogers, who published it under the assumed name of Matthew. The king was persuaded to license it; and Cranmer having written a preface for it, the "Great Bible" was placed in tne churches. Private persons were also allowed to have copies. Although in 1543 the liberty of reading the Bible was withdrawn from "husbandmen, workmen, and women except gentlewomen", yet in 1544 the Litany and in 1545 services for morning and evening prayer were issued in English.

Translation of the Bible.

While the Bible was thus placed in the hands of the people, no encouragement was given to depart from the old faith. Opposed to Cranmer and the Reformers in doctrine stood the Duke of Norfolk, leader of the nobles; Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; Bonner, Bishop of London; and, above all, Henry himself. Their attitude is expressed in the statute of Six Articles (1539), which was intended as a dam to the rising tide of the Reformation. It enjoined (1) a belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation; (2) the practice of communion in one kind; (3) the illegality of the marriage of the clergy; (4) the necessity of keeping vows of chastity; (5) the continuance of private masses; (6) the use of confession. It will be seen that these maintain a great part of the essentials of the old faith. The first was, of course, the stronghold of the Roman doctrine and the point of attack of all the Reformers: on it, too, rested much of the authority of the priests, and this aloofness of the priesthood was to be maintained by Articles 3 and 4. Their authority over the consciences of their flock was upheld by the continuance of confession. Article 2 was intended to clear England from a share in the old Bohemian heresy now revived in Germany. Having added the penalty of death for the first infraction of the first article, and for the second breach of any of the others, Parliament felt comfortably assured that under no circumstances could those who kept the Six Articles be accused of being heretics.

The Six Articles.

This extremely definite declaration against any attempt to change doctrine was followed by the downfall of Cromwell. In

1539 he had wished to strengthen the Protestant princes in Germany by an English alliance, and he persuaded the king to promise to marry Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves. The alliance broke down; but Henry, who had now been wifeless for four years, determined to keep his promise. Anne had been represented to him as beautiful; she was, however, exceedingly plain, and though Henry manfully went through with the marriage, he at once procured a divorce from his "Flanders mare". He showed his annoyance with Cromwell; and Cromwell's enemies, the nobles with Norfolk at their head, at once turned on him. He was attainted on an absurd charge of treason and executed (1540).

Fall of Cromwell, 1539.

Little calls for notice between 1540 and 1547. The war with Scotland falls in its place in the chapter of Scottish history. The king married twice more: first, Catharine Howard, and then, after her execution for misconduct, Catharine Parr. In order to make it easier for the government to pay its debts, the coinage was much debased; but the effects of that measure belong to the reign of Edward VI. Almost the last thing that the king did was to cause the Earl of Surrey (Norfolk's son) to be put to death for aiming at the Crown.

So the reign ended as it had begun—with the headsman's axe: and in truth this political engine, with its less dignified helpmeet the halter, is so prominent that we are tempted at first to think the reign particularly blood-stained. It did not present that aspect to men of its own time. After the long-drawn-out disorders of the Wars of the Roses, and the nervous dread of their revival in Henry VII's day, Henry VIII's time was a period of peace and prosperity. England was "merry", and "good King Harry" popular even to the end. He was neither merciful, nor logical, nor faithful, nor grateful. But he knew what he wanted and what England wanted, and he took the first and gave the second without scruple of conscience.

3. Edward VI and the Premature Reform in Doctrine

Henry, empowered by Parliament to settle the succession in his will, left the throne first to his son Edward; if he died without an heir, the crown was to go to his daughter Mary; if her line failed, to Elizabeth; and finally, to the descendants of his younger sister, Mary. It will be noticed that Henry's presage of the failure of descendants came true; but his will was not completely carried out, for the crown in the end passed to the descendants of his elder sister, the Scottish line, which he passed over.

The succession.

Meanwhile, as Edward was only nine, a Regency was inevitable, and everything would turn on the political and religious ideas of the Regency. Henry had nominated a council, with men of different shades of opinion included in it, in the hope that it would do nothing but maintain things as they were. Yet here again Henry's plans failed, for the young king's uncle, Seymour, managed to win over to his side part of the council, and got himself declared Lord Protector of the Realm. With their help, and adding to himself the title of the Duke of Somerset, he prepared to put his ideas into practice.

Somerset, the Protector.

Several serious dangers lay ahead of him; opportunities which might be taken, but which if neglected would prove fatal. To begin with, there was a growing party desirous of further change in religion, some of them genuinely anxious for a complete form of Protestantism, others merely greedy for further plunder of property devoted to religious uses. This party, though prominent, was small; large masses of the country, especially in the conservative north and west, were opposed to any meddling with their old faith. Besides religious trouble there was serious economic distress. Ever since the Black Death the process of converting corn land into pasture, often by driving off the old manorial tenants,[1] had been busily pressed. As sheep-farming employed fewer men, there

Social and religious troubles.

[1] See p. 188.

were many left without work. This distress was aggravated by the dissolution of the monasteries. The monks had been old-fashioned lords, often well content with old ways. The new owners of the monastery lands were active "improvers", with no respect for custom or old tenants. And where distress had existed the monasteries had done something to relieve it. Further trouble was caused by Henry's debased coin, for money no longer circulated at its face value; when men were in doubt whether a shilling was worth a shilling or only sixpence, all business transactions were upset, and the evil tended to grow. Not all the coin was bad; but men naturally were unwilling to part with good shillings when they got them, and strove to pay away the bad coins. The good money was hoarded, or even melted down for the sake of the silver, and the bad money took its place. Thus, with doubt and division in religious matters, widespread distress in agriculture, and confusion in all business transactions, the new Lord Protector would have his hands full. Another important, though less urgent question, would also demand attention—that of the young king's marriage. In all these matters Somerset failed, the more lamentably since, though he was an enlightened and honest man, the goodness of his ideas was quite obscured by the badness of the methods which he employed to carry them out. In aims his policy was admirable, in results purely disastrous.

Somerset's Scottish policy.

At the outset he had an opportunity which had not been given to any English statesman since Edward I—the chance to join England and Scotland by a royal marriage. Mary Queen of Scots, the little orphaned daughter of James V, was the obvious future bride for young Edward VI. Scotland being divided between a French Catholic party, headed by the Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, and an "English" party, who favoured a Reformation, Somerset's plain duty was to take care not to unite these parties in the one thing in which they could be united, namely, in a common hatred of England. This, however, he at once proceeded to do. Finding that his scheme of betrothal was not at once kindly received, he marched an army into Scotland which utterly defeated the Scots at Pinkie Cleugh (1547). This was

not the way to win Scotland. Huntly put the Scottish feeling into memorable words: "I mislike not the match, but the manner of the wooing". The little queen was sent over to France, where she was shortly affianced to the Dauphin. Somerset's hasty violence had ruined his own plans.

In religious matters he acted just as rashly. Convinced that England was ready to go much further with the Reformation, he ordered the abolishing of the mass and the use of Latin in the service, and sent commissioners round the country to pull down the images in the churches and destroy the pictures on the walls. As some of the commissioners' servants carried out these orders in an offensive way, parading the streets dressed as mock-priests, and burning the pictures with the same sort of spirit as a later generation burnt effigies of Guy Fawkes, this caused intense anger in all the old-fashioned parts of the country. For time out of mind generation after generation had used the same service, and, in their own simple way, had treasured it as the sacred ground whereon men may approach to the presence of God; unnumbered prayers had been uttered before images which helped dull minds to contemplate their Redeemer and the saints; sacred pictures had hallowed and beautified churches, and had grown to be loved for the permanence of the blessed hopes they had given to one sorrowful heart after another. Now all were rudely swept away, and to the simple country folk it seemed as if the gateway of heaven had been closed, and new prison-houses with white-washed walls put in the place of the many mansions of the blest on earth.

Abolition of images in churches.

On minds still in bewilderment, seeking reasons for this change, fell another blow. but this time chiefly on the towns. The old guilds, so common in every town, were almost as familiar in men's lives as their religion. They had had many objects: some, such as the regulation of trades, declining in value; some taking the shape of festivities and miracle plays, more amusing perhaps than useful; some chiefly religious in aim; others, however, were of great practical use. Were a guildsman sick or in distress, he looked to his guild for aid; if his tools were stolen or his house burnt, his guild

Forfeiture of guild property.

helped him. If he died in poverty his guild buried him, educated his children, looked after his widow, and paid for masses for the respose of his soul. If a man wished to leave money or lands in charity, he left it to his guild, and, as this form of bequest was common, many of the guilds were rich. The greedy eye of the Government fell on them; they, like the monasteries, held much property devoted to religious uses in the shape of masses for the dead. And so an act was passed confiscating their property; in theory their religious property—in reality everything that could be seized. The effect was something as if at the present day the Government were to seize the property of all benefit societies, sick clubs, and workmen's friendly societies. Here again was a measure angering and injuring masses of poor men, all the more offensive because the London guilds were spared, being, it may be supposed, too dangerous to molest.

Trouble was not long in coming. Somerset's brother, Lord Seymour of Sudely, first plotted a rebellion. He had married Henry VIII's widow, Catharine Parr, and sought to make for himself a position like that of Warwick the Kingmaker. He coined money and forged cannon in his own foundries, fortified Holt Castle, and intrigued against the Protector. The Council dealt with him by act of attainder, and had him executed; but the treasonable schemes of so near a relation did Somerset no good. Next came further proof of the Protector's failure in the shape of two insurrections, which burst out at the same time in the west and in the east, and here once more Somerset's incapacity was made plain. The insurrection in the west, where men were still mainly Catholic in faith, was entirely religious in character; it was caused by the New Prayer Book of 1549, which had been put in place of the old service. In the eastern counties there was no religious discontent, for Norfolk and the east, owing partly to immigrants from the Low Countries, was strongly Protestant. Rebellion here sprang from social causes: the enclosures of commons and arable land for the purpose of sheep-farming had thrown many out of work; the debased coinage had upset all manufacturers and all workmen, all wages and all prices; in Norwich and the towns men were indignant at the confiscation

Risings in Devonshire and Norfolk.

of the guilds. Thus at the same moment the most widely severed parts of the country, the poorest and the richest—the backward, agricultural, Catholic west, and the progressive, manufacturing, Protestant east—were each driven to rebellion.

There is only one thing which a Government can do with rebellion, and that is to put it down. Inquiry into the reasons for it, sympathy with men misled into it, remedy for the causes of it, can only come after, namely, when the rebels have laid down arms and become once more citizens. This the well-meaning Somerset did not see. For the Devonshire rebels, in arms for their old religion, he had no sympathy and no mercy. It was indeed some time before he had the upper hand of them. Through the summer of 1549 the west was in a flame; 10,000 men, under Pomeroy and Arundel, in arms; the mass everywhere celebrated; and Exeter besieged. So instant was the danger that a body of German mercenaries had to be taken into the Government service. These under Lord Grey de Wilton met the rebels at St. Mary Clyst and Sampford Courtenay, and, with every advantage of arms and discipline, had hard work to overcome them. No such fighting had been seen in England since the battle of Stoke. Some four thousand were killed in these fierce combats, and at the end the leaders were hanged at Tyburn, and so order was restored.

So stern in the west, where German firelocks were turned against English peasants, Somerset in the east was mild to the point of feebleness. With the great body of rebels, who, under their leaders Robert and William Ket, encamped on Mousehold Hill, outside Norwich, dominating the town, and levying provisions from the gentry round about, he felt some sympathy, for he had realized the evils of the enclosures and of the bad money, and meant in time to mend them. Hence he tried to make terms. This only encouraged the rebels to remain under arms. Inevitably, fighting began between them and the neighbouring gentry, and the Council naturally turned from Somerset to a stronger man. They ordered the Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland) to attack the rebels, which he did with great vigour, slaughtering a number and dispersing the rest.

With this reputation as a man of energy, Warwick turned to

overthrow Somerset. The Protector's failures had been many; his rivals in the Council were jealous of him; he had no strong party behind him. In 1551 he submitted to the Council, and was sent to the Tower; pardoned for the time, he was restored to his place in the Council; but Warwick feared him too much to leave him in peace, and in January, 1552, he was executed on a charge of conspiracy.

Fall of Somerset.

So fell Somerset, one of those tragic failures, an honest and well-meaning man, whose real fault was that he was in advance of his time. Misled into thinking that the opinions round him in London and at court were held throughout the country, mistaken in his belief that the nation, which under Henry VIII had thrown off the yoke of Rome with such enthusiasm, was really anxious for a reform in doctrine, rash in his changes, yet, in spite of his failures, many in England loved him. At his execution those near the scaffold dipped handkerchiefs in his blood to treasure as relics of a good man. He was, after all, honest, which is more than can be said for the man who followed him.

At the date of Somerset's death Edward VI was nearly fifteen. All had the highest hopes of him. He was intensely popular, as his father had been as a young man. Those round him at court knew his ability, his earnestness, and his sincere Protestantism. The nation looked forward to the rule of a king who would sweep away all the failures of the Regency. "When he comes of age," cried an enthusiastic Hampshire squire, "he will hang up an hundred heretic knaves." Probably such methods would not have overmuch distressed a king who noted coldly in his diary his uncle's death thuswise: "This day the Duke of Somerset had his head cut off between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." As it happened, Edward was destined never to rule.

Edward VI.

The last two years of his reign serve in some ways, however, to illustrate his ideas. A "Second Prayer Book", issued in 1552, went much further towards Protestantism than the first; more of the ceremonies of the Church were abolished; Articles of Religion—forty-two in number—were published, and other changes made, all following the ideas of the more extreme Reformers.

At the same time some useful steps were taken. To relieve the distress from which the labourers were suffering efforts were made to check the enclosures and to revive agriculture; the first Poor Law enacted that collections were to be made in each parish for the poor; and the expenses of the royal household were lessened. Unluckily time, the one great healing element in all political troubles, was lacking; what England needed was stable government, and it became increasingly clear that another change was at hand. Edward's health failed, and the next heir was the Catholic Mary. Where the future was so uncertain, the present was bound to be dark, unsettled, troublous.

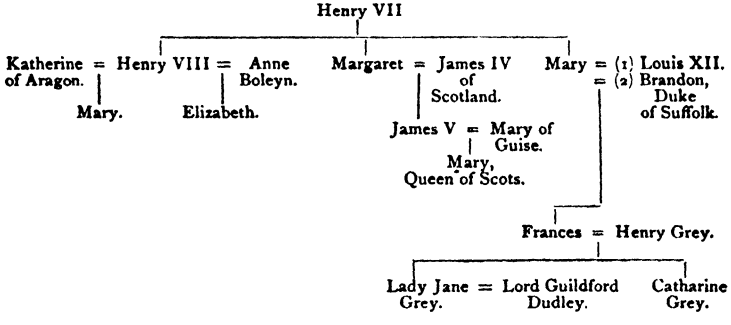
Northumberland. The Protestant succession.

To no one was the prospect more menacing than to the Earl of Warwick, who had contrived Somerset's fall, and now ruled in his place. The son of Henry VII's minister, that Dudley whom Henry VIII had put to death chiefly because his enterprise in collecting money for the Crown had made him bitterly hated, Warwick—now created Duke of Northumberland—had proved himself a capable soldier and a successful, if unscrupulous, politician. He had at any rate the politician's instinct of being on the crest of the wave. Neither sincere nor trustworthy, he had taken the side of the extreme Reformers, partly because it agreed with the young king's ideas, partly because he knew that the old nobility who favoured the system of Henry VIII would, if they returned to power, at once overthrow him. But if the honest Somerset could not succeed in making the country accept a form of Protestantism for which it was not yet ready, the dishonest and selfish Northumberland was certain to fail. Balancing thus upon the favour of the young king and the unsteady support of the Council, Northumberland in 1552 found his position becoming more and more precarious as Edward VI's health failed. Accordingly he set to work to secure himself. It was not difficult to convince Edward that, if Mary came to the throne, the Reformation would be undone, and Edward was sincere in his support of the Reformation, even if Northumberland was not. Accordingly, by Northumberland's advice, he made a will setting aside both Mary and Elizabeth as illegitimate, and leaving the crown to Lady Jane Grey, the granddaughter of Henry VIII's

youngest sister. As Northumberland had shortly before married his second son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane, this stroke would not only have secured the Protestant succession, but also the family influence of the Duke himself. He would at any rate be safe, and as father-in-law of the new queen he might hope to be ruler of the kingdom.

If the nation had been set on having a Protestant sovereign, Northumberland's scheme was sound enough. Lady Jane certainly had all the good qualities of a queen. It soon became clear, however, that the nation was not so set. When Edward died, in 1553, Northumberland tried to lay hands on Mary ere she learnt the news. But a friend brought her immediate warning, and she slipped away to her Catholic friends, the Howards, in Norfolk. She at once declared herself queen, and everyone supported her claim. Even in

Failure of Northumberland.



London Northumberland's plans failed hopelessly. His proclamation of Lady Jane as queen was received in silence or with protest. His son, Lord Robert Dudley, sent to arrest Mary, reached her in Norfolk, but his men would not fight. The fleet declared for Queen Mary. Thousands of men were rallying to her cause. Even Northumberland's own force, which he led into the Eastern Counties, mutinied and deserted him, and on July 20, less than a fortnight from Edward's death, he was forced to give up hope, and himself proclaimed Mary queen at Cambridge. If he thought to disarm the anger of a Tudor in this way he was soon undeceived. He was arrested the next day, and sent to the Tower. There he grovelled further, and

on the scaffold just before his execution announced that he had been always at heart a Catholic. His recantation earned for him the scorn of the Protestants; and instead of being regarded as a "second Joshua", he was despised as a traitor, a second Achitophel.

4. Mary: the Catholic Reaction

At her accession Mary was thirty-six; half a Spaniard and half a Tudor; neither by age nor blood likely to be easily turned from what she had set her mind on. Moreover, all her life she had been soured. Her mother divorced and scandalously treated, herself declared illegitimate, her claim to the throne doubted, surrounded by enemies, often held as a sort of prisoner, half a foreigner holding ardently to the supremacy of Rome which the nation viewed with suspicion, she was by training and faith quite out of sympathy with England. Northumberland was not a wise politician, but he did know what Mary was likely to be as a queen.

England had no such terrors. A Catholic sovereign was not to be feared in the same way as a Catholic sovereign was feared in James II's day, because England had so far never known any other sovereign than a Catholic. Henry VIII, even in his most anti-Roman moments, had never doubted that he was a most sincere Catholic. Edward VI had never ruled; all his reign was filled by Somerset and Northumberland, and if such were examples of Protestant rulers, they were not encouraging. The mass of Englishmen looked on their new queen as a daughter of Harry Tudor, and welcomed her with the loyalty they always gave to all Tudors. The attempts at reform in doctrine under Edward VI had been profoundly unpopular. They wished for a return to the days of "good King Harry". That Mary would try to bring England again under the power of Rome, was ignored in the enthusiastic welcome which was given her.

Hence Mary's brief reign is divided into two parts. First came a period of consolidation, and of reversing the premature reforms made under Edward VI. In the second period the queen disclosed her real plans, married a Spaniard, and tried to restore the Papal power; and it was

Mary's reign divisions.

during this second period that the persecution was made which left such bitter memories of her reign.

At first, then, Mary and her subjects were at one. By common consent the mass came in again. Parliament, meeting within two months of the queen's accession, repealed the religious acts of Edward VI, and went back to the "divine service used in England in the last year of Henry VIII's day". Some of the more prominent Reformers left the kingdom—John Knox, who had been Edward VI's chaplain, among them. Archbishop Cranmer, and the bishops of the same party, Latimer and Ridley, were deprived of their sees, and the old occupants of the sees of Winchester and London, Bishop Gardiner and Bishop Bonner, restored. Even the queen's ideas for her marriage did not offend England. The nation, indeed, wished her to marry Courtenay, Earl of Devon—the last representative of the Yorkists; but, urged by her cousin, the Papal Legate, Reginald Pole, and the Spanish Ambassador Renard, she refused this, and insisted on marrying Philip II of Spain. The idea of a Spanish match was unpopular, but no real resistance was made. There was certainly an insurrection, favoured by Courtenay, the Duke of Suffolk, and Northumberland's friends, and led by Sir Thomas Wyatt, but it failed to find much support. Even in London, where the cause of the Reformation was strong, the citizens held London Bridge against Wyatt. Most of the leaders were captured. Wyatt and Suffolk were beheaded; so, too, were the luckless Lady Jane and her husband; Courtenay was imprisoned, and even the Princess Elizabeth was sent for the time to the Tower. The treaty of marriage was confirmed by Parliament, and in July, 1554, Philip came to England and married Mary.

Restoration.

The Spanish match.

This was the most threatening of all the dynastic marriages of the time. True, it nominally secured for England the alliance of the most powerful state in Europe. It might be regarded as a counterblow to the marriage between Mary Queen of Scots and the Dauphin. France and Spain were at the time the two great lords of Europe. Mary of Scotland married France: so be it: then Mary of England would do better, and marry Spain—and

Spain was a greater country than France. National vanity so far might be soothed in the glories of the Spanish match, but in truth there were innumerable dangers. Not only were both kingdoms in danger of being swamped in the stormy sea of the struggle between France and Spain; not only might an actual union of the French and Scottish thrones be menacing for England if Spanish troops were to be landed to protect us; far worse than either was the peril that England might be absorbed into the Spanish monarchy. The "Habsburg net" was round her; the octopus that had stretched its tentacles so wide in Europe had her in its grip. She might lose independence, as the Netherlands were losing it, and become, as the Netherlands became, but a Spanish province—and with disastrous results. True, that in the marriage-treaty precautions had been taken: Mary alone was to manage English affairs and revenues; no foreigner was to hold command in army or fleet; England was not to be drawn into war with France through the match; if there was a son, he was to rule in England, Burgundy, and the Netherlands, but not in Spain. These were sane precautions; but men take precautions against what they fear to be likely to happen; and treaties are not always kept. The son of such a match—of a half-Spanish mother and a Spanish father—would have every element of danger about him. As it happened, England was spared that son. Wyatt's battle-cry, "No Spanish match!" voices the popular dread; and he and his supporters were right. For more than thirty years the results of this marriage hung like an ever-deepening stormcloud over English politics; and then in the thunder of the Armada it burst and passed away. But a whole generation of Englishmen had walked in the fear of it.

The Catholic Reaction.

This "Spanish match" is the turning-point in Mary's reign. With Spain at her back she set out on her scheme of restoring England to the Roman allegiance. The Papal Legate, Cardinal Pole, was permitted to land. Careful management of the elections produced a compliant Parliament, which repealed Henry VIII's ecclesiastical laws and begged that their sin of separating from Rome might be pardoned. Pole accepted the submission, withdrew the interdict, and England was again included in the Roman obedience. He yielded, indeed, something more: the

old monastery lands were to be left to their present possessors. Everything could not be rubbed off the slate all at once.

The old heresy laws were now revived by Parliament, and there began the persecution of the Protestants. Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, Rogers, a canon of St. Paul's, Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, and fourteen others were tried for heresy. Doubtless Mary and her advisers expected them—or most of them—to recant. Only *one* did so; the rest all went to the stake. This was the prelude. In May, 1555, it became clear that the queen was not going to have the child she expected, and her disappointment may have quickened her zeal for Holy Church. Through the summer the persecution sharpened. In September, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were tried together. Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford. A delay was given to Cranmer; burning an archbishop required special authority from Rome, and besides there were hopes that he might recant; but after making a submission he manfully withdrew it, and declared that he would die a Protestant, thrusting "that unworthy hand" that had signed his submission first into the flames.

The burnings.

Cranmer was the last notable victim of the persecution; indeed, with the exception of about half a dozen Church dignitaries, there were no notable victims. No distinguished layman suffered for his faith—either the distinguished laymen, or the government, were too cautious. But there were some two hundred and seventy martyrs—little-known men—"some there be that have no memorial". Everyone knows Latimer's bold words to his brother bishop Ridley: "Play the man, Master Ridley; and we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out". The candle was lighted, doubtless. But it may be questioned if it was Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, and the greater martyrs who did most to light it. It is not easier for a bishop to be a martyr than for an ordinary poor man, but if need be, it will be expected of him to die for his faith as a soldier will die for his country: martyrdom at times becomes an episcopal privilege. Ordinary men are more shocked by the sufferings of the great, but more convinced by the heroism of their fellows. It was possible to doubt the reforming zeal of Henry VIII's day which was rewarded with Church lands,

or the enthusiasm of Edward VI's reign, when the king and his ministers led the way, but there could be no doubt about Mary's Protestants, whose only guerdon was the martyr's death for conscience' sake. Hitherto Protestantism had been somewhat suspect, as savouring of worldly gain, dubious motive, and wavering faith. The determination which took simple folk to an agonizing death by fire, rather than give up their faith, made the Protestant cause.

Mary hoped by her persecution to convert England, and she did much to convert it—but it was to the other side. A sullen hatred rewarded her and Pole and Bonner and the Catholics, and above all Mary's Spanish husband Philip, who, it was assumed without much reason, had pushed Mary to persecute. Yet little could be done. A rebellion would fail without help from abroad. If French troops came, Spanish troops would certainly come also, and the realm become a battle-ground. Anything was better than that. Besides, it was known that Mary was stricken with a mortal disease. To wait was best.

Yet short as the time left to Mary was, it was enough to bring one more humiliation—another result, men said, of the Spanish match; for friendship with Spain had meant war with France. England had nothing to gain from war, but France had, for Calais was still in English hands. On Calais, then, the French attack was directed, with every hope of success, for the garrison was small and the fortifications ruinous. Lord Wentworth, in command at Calais, knew what was preparing. He wrote urgently for men and money, but Mary would send neither. Every penny she could spare was spent on the pious task of restoring churches and refounding abbeys. In answer to Wentworth's letter of 29 December, that the French army was at hand, Mary replied that she had certain information that "no attack on Calais was intended". Before the letter reached him Wentworth had information even more certain, for 25,000 French were at the gates: with a garrison just able to oppose one man to every fifty of his assailants Wentworth held on for five days, but never a man nor a ship was sent from England. On January 6 he surrendered. Lord Grey in the neighbouring fortress of Guisnes still hung on, but on January 20 he too had to yield.

The loss of Calais.

So vanished the last English possession in France. At first valuable as giving a gate for English trade to the Continent, or as a point of attack on France, the use of Calais had long passed away. England's policy was changing to a new phase. She no longer sought a conquest of France; her eyes were beginning to turn over sea; and Spain was to be henceforth her national foe. But that was not seen at the time; Calais had been in English hands since 1347. It was the one fruit left of the harvest of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, the memorial of the Black Prince and Henry V; the nation's credit seemed to rest on its safe-keeping, and deep was the humiliation at its loss. Even Mary, un-English as she was, declared that when she died the word "Calais" would be found written on her heart.

5. The Religious Settlement

When Mary died on November 17, 1558, the solution of the long-drawn-out problem of the Reformation was left to Elizabeth. Thirty years had seen many changes. First Henry VIII's *Political* Reformation, the overthrow of the Papal power in England but the leaving of doctrine practically unchanged; then under Edward VI an attempt at establishing a *reform in doctrine*. This had proved premature and unpopular. Then under Mary *Reaction*, first to Henry VIII's system, and then back to Roman Catholicism pure and simple. This last had also been exceedingly unpopular. Now the cautious wisdom of Elizabeth and her great minister Cecil devised a fresh system which proved enduring.

Certain conditions of the problem, however, had altered and so made Elizabeth's task easier. The Protestant party had grown stronger, and the Catholic weaker. The translation of the Bible, for one thing, had worked on the side of the Protestants, for though the Bible itself is on no side, yet the more the Bible was in men's hands, the more they inclined to judge in religious matters for themselves; and this habit of "private judgment", in place of accepting what is laid down by "authority", is the basis of Protestantism. Secondly, as has been shown, Mary's persecution had worked for the

Elizabeth's advantages.

Protestant cause; it had made waverers see that the Protestants were really honest and in earnest. Thirdly, it was no longer possible to rest content with the system of Henry VIII: no country could continue to profess itself Catholic and yet be in flat defiance of the Pope. If Elizabeth's government was to endure it must have the support of either the Protestants or the Catholics; it could not halt between two opinions for ever. Finally, the Catholic cause had weakened, owing to the idea that it was a *foreign* cause. It was the cause of Philip of Spain; and Elizabeth's Catholic rival, Mary Queen of Scots, was the wife of a French prince. Hence the loyalty to Elizabeth grew more and more to be a Protestant loyalty; and as the Protestants were the loyal party, the Catholics tended to be thought the disloyal party—a charge which was sometimes quite unjustified, yet sometimes true, and always hard to rebut.

As the conclusion of the long drama of the Reformation one seems to expect some great political stroke, some wide-reaching act that will settle the vexed question. There is, of course, nothing of the kind. The details of "the Elizabethan Settlement" are not striking. Compared with the fierce changes of the last reigns they seem moderate. As Pole was dead the Archbishopric of Canterbury was vacant. It was given to Matthew Parker, a moderate Protestant. Elizabeth followed this by granting leave for the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Commandments to be said in English in the Church service, and for the gospel and epistle to be read from the English version. In 1559 Parliament met and drew up the Settlement. Briefly the details of it were:—

Elizabeth's religious settlement

1. The Repeal of the Act of 1554. This again abolished the Papal power in England and brought into force Henry VIII's ecclesiastical legislation.

2. An Act of Supremacy, declaring the queen to be "supreme of all persons and causes ecclesiastical as well as civil".

3. An Act of Uniformity, accepting (in the main) Edward VI's Second Prayer Book; and laying down that vestments of the clergy and ornaments of the churches were to be as established by Parliament in the second year of Edward VI. The "Articles of Religion" of Edward VI, reduced from 42 to 39, were re-enacted.

It seems little on which to base a great Church settlement; not much that was remarkable, nothing that was exactly new. On the other hand it was conspicuously wise. The first act was inevitable: England would never accept the Papal power. But this blow once struck, everything was done to spare the wounded feelings of the Catholic party. The Act of Supremacy is far more cautious than Henry VIII's blunt declaration that he was "Head of the Church", and only office holders had to take the oath; the ordinary layman was left alone. The Prayer Book is the Prayer Book which we have to-day; and no word against Rome is in it. Even the Litany, which enumerates a very comprehensive catalogue of bodily and ghostly perils, has nothing about the Pope. There was such a clause in Edward's Prayer Book, but Elizabeth's advisers struck it out. Prayer is offered for the conversion of "Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics"—but not of Papists. The Communion service is so worded that those who believed in the Real Presence, and those who did not, could alike accept it. Alternative prayers for the sovereign, one more, the other less definitely Protestant, are provided. Men could do in many ways as seemed good to them and yet feel they were within the law. There was little severity threatened save to those who obstinately maintained the authority of the Pope; these were declared traitors. All save one of Mary's bishops and not a few of the clergy refused to take the oath of Supremacy, as was to be expected, and resigned their posts. Elizabeth was able to fill them with men of her own choice, and so had the heads of the Church thoroughly in sympathy with her. Even where Catholics refused to come to church and had the mass celebrated at home, the Government made no attempt to interfere save by imposing a shilling fine for not going to church. A man was permitted to compound for himself and his household at a rate of 20*s.* a month. The payment is not so trivial as it seems; to get the value of the money it must be multiplied by ten or so; and as the "Recusants" had also to pay their own priests, the being a Catholic was expensive. One after another of the county gentry, desiring to economize, found attendance at his parish church an easy way of doing it. One came in after another, and *time*

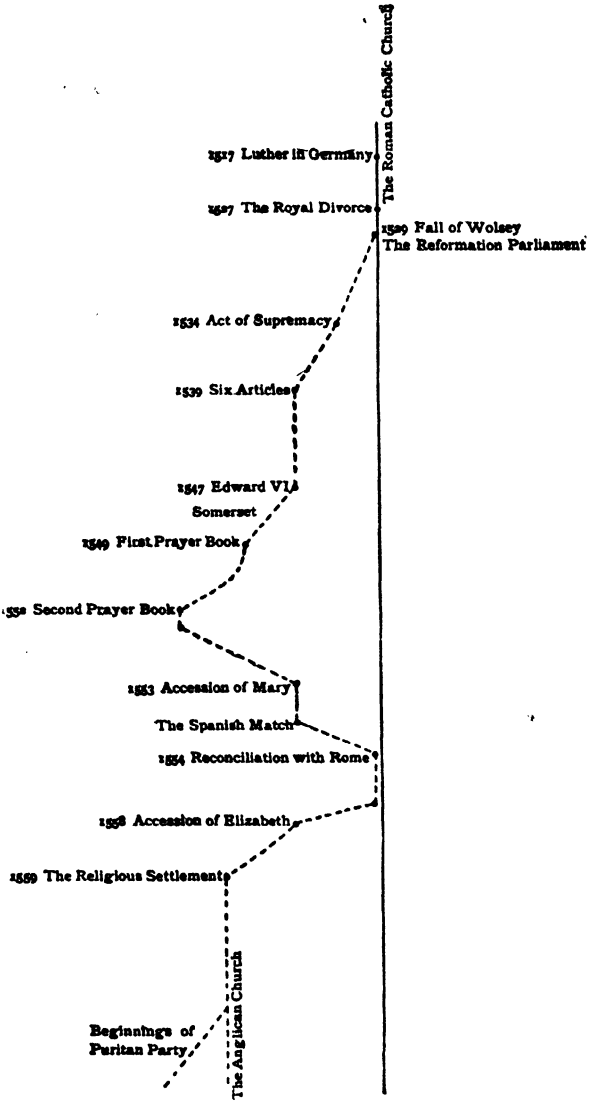


Diagram illustrating the Divergence of the Anglican Church from the Roman Catholic Church

above all things was on Elizabeth's side. She was able to give her system the chance to take root: under her a new generation grew up who had never seen England Roman Catholic and therefore accepted without question the Anglican Settlement.

XXIV. Elizabeth

1. Outlines of Elizabeth's Policy

Outlines.

So far we have been concerned with one aspect only of Elizabeth's reign—her settlement of the Church, ending the English Reformation: unquestionably important, yet in no way striking, nor even appearing at the time to be definitely final. For twelve years there were hopes that the queen might be persuaded back to Rome, and England with her. Meantime her wise tolerance in religion, and the general good sense of her arrangements, gave them a firm hold. By 1570 Pius V, despairing of gentler measures, declared her excommunicate, and henceforth sterner means than persuasion were to be tried.

Yet long before 1570—indeed from the beginning of the reign—there was in sight another means than the conversion of Elizabeth whereby England might again become Catholic. In European politics at the time there was still a firm belief in the state maxim, *Cujus regio ejus religio.* Where the sovereign was Catholic it was assumed the land would be Catholic; and in the main the assumption was true. No definite example had yet been seen of a land breaking away successfully from its ruler's creed. All the changes of the Reformation in England seemed to confirm the belief. Henry VIII's, Edward VI's, Mary's, and now Elizabeth's religious opinions had veered from one extreme to another, and England had veered with each. Hence all that seemed to be needed to regain England from the Reformation was a Catholic sovereign on the throne.

Various roads would lead to this end.

1. The next heir, Mary Queen of Scots, was a Catholic. If she were to succeed, all would, in the opinion of the Catholic

leaders, be well again: more especially if after the death of her French husband she were to marry some English Catholic.

2. The throne might be won for Philip of Spain, the late queen of England's husband, either by force or by marriage with Elizabeth. Possibly Philip might himself marry her, if the Papal dispensation were granted; or she might marry someone of the Hapsburg house. In either case a Spanish Catholic ascendency would be re-established in England.

Politically, Elizabeth's reign is the story of the struggle with the "Counter-Reformation"—the term is used to denote that compound of the great Catholic allies—Spain, the Empire, and the Papacy—which had done so much to check Protestantism in Europe. The forces were enormously strong. Spain and the Empire together then meant practically all Europe, except France and the Baltic states. Spain was enormously rich from her possessions in the New World, and her soldiers were at the time the best in Europe. Further, the abuses in the Papal court had been set right, the old grounds of complaint removed, and at the Council of Trent (1546–63) much had been done to win back the wavering allegiance of many who had leaned for the time to the Reformed doctrines. The Popes had once more become earnest and zealous, and the same spirit marked all the leaders of the Roman Church. The great Jesuit order had been formed to win back the heretics. Much had already been done by the powers of the Counter-Reformation in Germany, and their efforts were now concentrated on England. The Counter-Reformation.

Against this attack the key of England's entrenched position is the throne. So long as Elizabeth lives, all is safe for the time: if her heir is a Catholic, there is peril in the future; if she has a Protestant heir, all is secure. At first the danger menaces covertly from a Scottish queen supported by the forces of the Catholic allies. After that queen's death the danger takes a fresh shape; it is open war with the Counter-Reformation and its champion, Spain; and its forces seem greater than England is likely to be able to resist.

For the Catholic cause Elizabeth's timely death is, if not essential, at any rate much to be desired. To Protestant England her life is invaluable: her marriage to a Protestant most

necessary, so that there may be a Protestant heir. Yet here comes the bewildering feature of the reign. Elizabeth will coquet, but she will not marry. And further, such proposals for marriage as seem even moderately attractive to her, are not at all pleasing to the nation, for she repeatedly seems to intend marriage with a French prince; and he would of course be a Catholic.

Elizabeth's marriage.

Here Elizabeth was wiser than the nation. She saw that the best ally against Spain was France. France, though Catholic, was not of the Catholic Counter-Reformation party. She hated and feared Spain too much to join in that. She was Spain's great rival. Hence for Elizabeth to fish with the bait of a possible marriage was the best way to secure France: so long as Spain feared that she might make a French alliance, Spain would do nothing violent against her that might drive her into it. Once married, her value as a prospective catch would be gone. Thus by her coquetting with French princes, Elizabeth kept Spain quiet and France on her side; this friendliness with France lasted all through her reign and proved her great support in acute difficulties; and in the end, of course, the Protestant heir came from Scotland.

The French alliance.

Elizabeth's reign, then, is one long struggle against the Counter-Reformation. It is convenient to treat it in four phases.

1. The Scottish phase (1558–68): this covers the first ten years of the reign, and ends with Mary Queen of Scots seeking shelter in England, thus putting herself in Elizabeth's power.

2. The period of Plots (1568–87): these all have the same object—to release Mary, to marry her to some Catholic, and to place her on the throne as Elizabeth's successor. As no successor would be required till Elizabeth was dead, most of the plots included Elizabeth's assassination. The plots end with the execution of Mary (1587). This left nothing to plot about.

3. The Armada (1588): the forces of the Counter-Reformation try at last open war, and fail.

4. The last days of Elizabeth (1589–1603): this sees the war with Spain carried to a successful issue, especially at sea: and with it may be grouped an account of the new maritime spirit,

the exploits of the buccaneers, and the early attempts at colonization—though some of these belong in date to an earlier period.

The Scottish phase comes first. In order to appreciate it a review of Scottish history is needful. Scotland, like England, had a Reformation of a character peculiar to itself. As has been seen, England was the first *considerable* state whose king took up the anti-Roman ideas of the Reformers and made them his state policy. Scotland gave the first example of a country which declared for a Reformation, both in politics and in doctrine, *in defiance of its sovereign.* This unique aspect of the Scottish Reformation makes it particularly important.

2. Scotland: the Unlucky House of Stuart

Since the final defeat of Edward I's scheme of annexation England and Scotland had influenced each other but little. They had remained ill neighbours; fighting on the Borders had been almost continuous; Scotland had steadily adhered to its alliance with France; every now and again quarrelling had developed into open wars in which Scotland usually lost the battles. No real progress had been made towards union. Now the time is at hand when the two countries were at last to find a common aim and a common interest in their religion; and while sympathy thus drew them closer, fortune—and Elizabeth's sagacity—gave the chance of the two crowns to join in the person of James I. It is therefore desirable to cast a glance over the policy and social condition of Scotland during these two hundred years of hostility, in order to see how in the end the two nations came together.

Robert Bruce died in 1329, having survived but one year after the Treaty of Northampton. His heart, after its romantic adventure in the good Lord James's keeping, came back to his native land to be buried beneath the high altar at Melrose in that magnificent abbey which seems to embody all that was best of Scottish patriotism, and in its ruin to mourn the disasters which befell Scotland under his successors. And his son David, aged but four years, reigned in his stead.

The purpose of this chapter is not to attempt any continuous account of Scotland under David II and the Stuart kings, but merely to remark what were the general characteristics of the time; to observe, therefore, (1) *the main relations with England*, who, as Scotland's domineering neighbour, was bound to influence her politics most deeply; (2) *the French alliance*, to which Scotland was permanently faithful, on the principle of a common enmity with England; (3) *the elements of disorder at home*, which, in the shape of powerful barons and fierce Highlanders, harassed king after king, and hindered progress in the country. For more than two hundred years invasion from without or rebellion at home tended to paralyse Scotland.

Outlines.

David II's reign saw both invasion and rebellion at work. Edward Balliol, son of John, and the "Disinherited", Scottish nobles who had lost their estates because they had supported England, were tempted to try a stroke to regain their lands when King Robert was gone. They defeated the king's forces at Dupplin Moor, near Perth, in 1332,[1] and Edward Balliol was crowned as a vassal king. Four months later, however, he was driven out of Scotland, and in 1333 Edward III marched north and defeated the Scots at Halidon Hill. The English overran the country; Edward Balliol returned, and the little King David was sent for safety to France. Then, however, Edward became absorbed in French wars; in 1337 Edward Balliol was driven out, and by degrees Scotland regained her lost fortresses.

The constant aim of Edward III's Scottish policy was to break the Franco-Scottish Alliance, for so long as it existed there was always a danger that, while he was fighting in France, the Scots would seize the opportunity to launch an attack against England. Edward III's plan to subjugate Scotland had failed, so now he tried more diplomatic methods—he proposed to the Scots that if they would abandon the French cause, he would restore to them the Lowland counties which had been gifted to him by Balliol in 1334. David II, who had returned from France in 1341, was on the horns of a dilemma, for, no matter what decision he took, he could never feel safe from English aggression. If the English should conquer France, no international agreement would be

[1] See p. 157.

likely to restrain them from further satisfying their lust for power by attacking Scotland, and if they failed in France they would be sure to turn upon Scotland, if only to restore their military prestige. In the end David decided to stand by France, and in 1346 when Edward III was besieging Calais he led an expedition into England. He was defeated and captured at the battle of Neville's Cross, near Durham, and all the lowland areas which Scotland had recently regained again fell into English hands.

David was a prisoner in England for eleven years, but was released in 1357, his ransom being fixed at 100,000 marks to be paid within ten years. This sum, huge at that time, was a sore burden on Scotland, but Scotland shouldered it—the country could not be free while the king was in captivity. The king himself was not worth one mark, let alone 100,000, and hatred for his uncle and heir, Robert the Steward, led him to propose that an English prince should succeed him. This project was indignantly vetoed by the Scottish Parliament in 1364, and from that time onward, Scottish independence was never again in danger.

Fighting on the Borders went on pretty constantly during the latter half of the fourteenth century, the most picturesque event being the great moonlight affray of Otterburn, in which James, Earl of Douglas, was killed, and the two Percies, Ralph and Henry (Hotspur), made prisoners (1388). War: Otterburn. Homildon. But during this time, and under the Lancastrian kings, no serious attempt was made by England to press the conquest of Scotland. The only considerable battle of the time is Homildon (1402), where another Douglas (Archibald, fourth earl), raiding the north, was waylaid by the Percies, who had this time their revenge for Otterburn. The battle had important results in the history of England, for it led up to that great league of Percy, Glendower, Douglas, and Mortimers, which harassed Henry IV; but, save that it once more showed the helplessness of the Scots against English archery, it had no result on Scotland. The Scots clung to their French alliance, and sent men to fight in France against Henry V and Bedford; they helped to win Beaugé (the first turn of the tide, 1422); and Douglas, keeping up his reputation,[1] lost

[1] He was nicknamed the "Tineman" (the *Lose-man*), and justified it by losing the battles of Homildon, Shrewsbury, and Verneuil.

another battle at Verneuil—and his life this time. Stewart of Darnley was killed at the "Battle of the Herrings", and other Scots fought in the Maid of Orleans' company. But in Henry VI's reign England's hands were too full with French troubles for her to be able to resent these Scottish unfriendlinesses effectively; and then came on the Wars of the Roses, so that till Tudor times Scotland was left mainly to herself. Her internal calamities now call for mention.

The House of Stuart.

David II had died in 1370, leaving no heir, and the crown passed to a grandson of Bruce through his daughter Marjory and her husband, Walter the Steward. This grandson came to the throne as Robert II, and began the line of the unlucky house of Stuart. Six kings descended from him sat on the throne of Scotland. Of these only one (Robert III) had a peaceful end, and he, before his death, saw one of his sons cruelly murdered and the other a prisoner in England. Robert III, too, was the only one to attain old age; none of the others lived to be forty-five; three of them were cut off ere they had entered on the second half of life's natural span; James I was murdered; James II killed by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh; James III assassinated; James IV killed at Flodden; James V died of a broken heart; his daughter had the worst fate of all, for she perished on the scaffold after nineteen years of captivity. It is a series of disasters unparalleled in history—even in Scotland at a time when "life was short and death was violent".[1] Yet, unlucky as the kings were, their country was even more so. Not the least misfortune, inevitably following on the premature deaths of the kings, was the constant succession of minorities. James I succeeded at the age of eleven; James II at six; James III at eight; James IV had reached eighteen—a ripe and statesmanlike age compared with that of his ancestors. But James V was not quite two years old when he came to the throne, and his daughter Mary at her accession was aged but one week. So minority followed minority, and regency regency, with every opening for ambition and violence; year after year, and reign after reign, war followed rebellion and rebellion followed war in dreary succes-

Misfortunes of the house.

[1] Maitland.

sion. Homes burnt, fields ravaged, invasions, defeats, raids from the Highlands, hangings, murders, come one after the other. National independence was a good thing, but no use could be made of it while there was neither order nor firm government. A king could do little for his people so long as his whole resources were being strained to crush the great families into obedience.

Robert III was more or less a cripple, unable to ride about the country, or fight at the head of an army; therefore, for those days, an inefficient king. That he was a kindly and charitable man only made the matter worse. Robert III, 1390–1406. The government fell into the hands of his brother, the Duke of Albany, and he, with Douglas (the Tineman), was concerned with the arrest of Robert's eldest son, Rothesay, and probably with his death, which occurred (conveniently) while he was in prison. As the younger son, James, was captured by English vessels while voyaging to France in time of truce in 1406, and Robert III died soon after, Albany had the regency till his death, in 1420. James, however, on his return in 1424, at once struck at the new regent, Murdoch, Duke of Albany, and his two sons. James I, 1406–1437. They were executed, and James seized their estates. This stroke was followed up with laws against "bands" (covenants of alliance between nobles), a hanging of disorderly Highland chiefs, the imprisonment of Douglas, and the forfeiture of the earldom of Strathearn. This last proved his undoing, for Sir Robert Graham, heir to Strathearn, hatched a plot in the Highlands to murder the king. The chance soon came. James went to Perth to keep Christmas, and was lodged in the Abbey of Black Friars. On the way north he was warned that he would never return alive, but paid no heed to the warning. Late at night the conspirators "spoiled the locks" and burst noisily in; the king, who was sitting with the queen and her ladies, tore up a plank from the floor and took refuge in a cellar below; there had been an opening from it to the outer end, but the king had just caused it to be walled up to prevent his tennis balls being lost there. Meanwhile, above, the ladies had tried to keep the door, the story being that one of them, Catharine Douglas, thrust her arm

through the staples in place of the bolt. Graham and his followers easily broke in, but not finding the king, were on the point of withdrawing, when the king unluckily made a noise below. Graham leaped down and stabbed him to death.

James II. The Douglas family.

The next reign, that of James II, saw the culmination and fall of the power of the "Black" Douglases. As that house played in Scotland somewhat the same part as the family of Neville (the Kingmaker) played in England almost at the same time, it is worth following in a little detail. If the Douglases were every whit as dangerous, and on occasion treacherous, as the Nevilles, the methods of the Scottish kings in dealing with them were far less scrupulous than those of even Queen Margaret and Edward IV.

James II was a boy of six, and Archibald (fifth earl) was his regent. This earl was unenterprising for a Douglas, and died in 1439 without having distinguished his regency by anything in particular. The Earldom of Douglas, but not the regency, passed to William (sixth earl). This William, a boy of seventeen, was in a position that reminds one of that of Richard Neville the younger. Duke of Touraine, Earl of Douglas, owning land in Scotland right across the Lowlands, able to bring 5000 men of the best fighting quality into the field, himself with a title to the Crown, for he was great-grandson on the female side of Robert III, he was by far the most powerful subject of the King of Scotland. The king's ministers—Crichton the Chancellor, who was Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and Livingstone, the King's Guardian, lately at feud with each other—united to set a trap for Douglas. He and his brother David were invited to Edinburgh Castle to meet the young king. At dinner the Douglas brothers were seized, hurried into the castle-yard, and beheaded (1440).[1]

The leadership of the house of Douglas passed, after a few troubled years, to another William (eighth earl). With this earl, James II, now a boy of thirteen, was at first friends, but quarrels between Douglas, Crichton, Livingstone, and the Earl of Crawford distracted the land. At last James, imitating

[1] This is the occasion on which the famous "black bull's head" (the sign of death) was said to have been placed on the table.

Crichton's violence, invited the Douglas to Stirling, where the two dined and supped together; then the king accused him of being in "a band" with the Earls of Ross and Crawford to rebel, and bade him break the band. Douglas refused, and thereon the king dirked him with his own hand. Patrick Gray, standing by, "made siccar" by dashing out the wounded man's brains with a pole-axe. The ninth Earl—James, brother to the murdered man—naturally fell into rebellion and treason with Henry VI. He was forgiven for a time, again intrigued with the English and the Highlanders, gathered an army and was overthrown at Arkinholm in Eskdale, and fled to England. So fell the family of the Black Douglas; but the king was not quit of them, for he had won the day only with the help of the younger branch, the Red Douglases, Earls of Angus. These were to prove as intolerable as the elder branch had been. 1452.

In 1460 James II was killed at Roxburgh by the bursting of a bombard. James III being but eight, there followed the usual regency. Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, the one honest and patriotic statesman of the time, who is credited with having given James II the sage illustration of how to deal with his enemies,[1] favoured the Lancastrian cause. Edward IV won over the queen-mother, and allied with the exiled Douglas and some of the Highlanders. So the rebound of the Wars of the Roses led to more fighting in Scotland and on the Borders. When James grew up he quarrelled violently with his two brothers. The elder played the usual traitor's part, made alliance with England, claimed the crown as Edward IV's liegeman, and marched with an English army, led by Richard of Gloucester, into Scotland. James summoned his nobles to his assistance, and they gathered under Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus. But before fighting the enemy they had a grudge of their own to settle. James, who was a peaceful man, with refined tastes, had made friends with men who had some skill in music and architecture—chief of them Robert Cochrane, a mason—"a person of mean and sober estate", as a chronicler calls him. The nobles hated this favourite, and wished to over- James III, 1460-1488.

[1] He gave the king a number of sticks tied in a bundle and told the king to break them. When James failed, Kennedy drew them from the bundle and snapped them *one by one*.

throw him, yet did not see the means to do it. "I will bell the cat," cried Angus to them—hence his nickname, "Archibald Bell-the-cat"—and he kept his word by marching to the king's aid, arresting Cochrane in his tent, and hanging him from Lauder Bridge (1482). James himself was made prisoner and sent to Edinburgh Castle, and Angus and his friends made terms with Albany. Then Albany and Angus quarrelled, and Albany was for a short time reconciled to the king. He soon broke with him, however, and intrigued with England, whither he fled in 1483. In the following year he and the Earl of Douglas led an English force into Dumfriesshire, but it was defeated. Albany escaped to France, where he was killed in 1485. Three years later a new conspiracy was formed against the king by Angus and the southern barons who had in their power the fifteen-year-old Prince James (afterwards James IV). In June, 1488, the king and the northern nobles met and were defeated by the insurgents at Sauchie Burn, near Stirling. James was killed—perhaps murdered—after the battle.

Sauchie Burn, 1488.

Ominously as James IV's reign had been preluded with the son in arms against the father, it showed for a time promise of better things. The king grew strong, and enforced the law; one curse of Scotland, disorder at home, died down. An alliance made with England by the marriage of James with Margaret Tudor (Henry VII's elder daughter), checked the fighting on the Border; while the Highlands were kept in control by the raising to power of the houses of Campbell (Argyll) and Huntly (Gordon) in the west and east, to act as policemen against "the wild Macraws" of the north. The country prospered, trade increased, and the reign was rightly spoken of as a "golden age". So, till the death of Henry VII, all went well. When Henry VIII succeeded, the royal brothers-in-law began to bicker on personal matters. The old fascinations of the French alliance attracted James, and so, when Henry entered a European league against France, he, like a knight-errant, adventured and lost all at Flodden (1513). It should be noted, however, that the wiser counsellors by no means approved of the expedition. James had a great force; Highlanders under Lennox, Argyll, and

James IV, 1488-1513.

Huntly; Borderers under Home and Hepburn; Perthshire men with Crawford and Errol—all the chivalry of Scotland was with him. He crossed the Tweed, took some castles, and pitched on the last southern ridge of the Cheviots, at Flodden Edge, a morass in front, his left flank guarded by the deep sluggish Till,[1] and with the Tweed at his rear. Surrey with a strong force, yet less in number than the Scots, kept the Till at first on his left, crossed it at Twizel Bridge, and got in James's rear. James seems to have lost touch with his enemy, and to have thought they were moving on Berwick. Even so the Scots were the better found, the English almost starving and discouraged by having been for three days without beer; and James had the upper ground. The Scottish king was no tactician, however, and finding the enemy in his rear, moved down to meet him, the two armies impinging somewhat at an angle, so that the English right and the Scottish left came first into contact. Here the Scots had the advantage. Home and Huntly broke Edmund Howard and Tunstal, while Dacre, called up from the supports, had much work to stand his ground. Then the centres met in fierce and uncertain combat, James leading a charge against the Percies, who had broken the Perthshire men; the English artillery made great holes in his ranks, while the Scottish guns, which might have been as effective, were not brought into action. On the Scottish right, which came last into action, the English were completely successful. Stanley, with a few archers, harassed Lennox and Argyll's Highlanders into a charge and shattered them. The leaders fell; their men fled headlong. Thus each army had a wing broken, and the fight in the centre was dubious. But while on the Scottish left Home's Borderers had scattered to plunder and, as Fluellen says, "kill the luggage", Stanley kept his men in hand, and pressed in on James's flank. So hemmed in, James and his nobles fought their last fight—the king him-

Flodden, 1513.

[1] Says the Tweed to the Till
"What gars ye rin so still?"
Says the Till to the Tweed
"Tho' ye rin wi' speed,
And I rin slaw,
Yet for ae man ye droon,
I droon twa."

self pierced with arrows and hewn down within a lance's length of Surrey, his nobles pressing forward to cover him, and falling one by one under the sweep of the English bills.

Though the English were so severely stricken that they did not realise until in the morning, when they found that the Scottish forces had gone, that victory was theirs, nevertheless Flodden was for Scotland a shattering blow. High and low alike, from palace, castle, town, and cottage, were stricken there. Surrey's work was done; there was no need to go further; more than a century was to pass ere a Scottish army was again to penetrate into England.

James V's reign was in the main a repetition of the reigns of James II and James III. The internal feuds revived; the country was distracted between warring houses struggling for the possession of the king. This disorder was increased by the part played by Henry VIII and his ministers, who fostered an "English" party (of traitors) in Scotland, and, further, by the beginnings of the Reformation; obviously, when the Tudor king became the enemy of Rome, the Stuart king clung more closely to the old faith. For the present, merely noting that at first the beginnings of the Reformation tended to widen the gulf between the nations instead of closing it, we may leave the story of the Reformation in Scotland till Mary's reign.

James V, 1513-1542.

After Flodden the chief persons left to rule Scotland were the queen, Margaret Tudor, Angus (head of the Red Douglas), and Arran (head of the Hamiltons). Within a year the queen married Angus, and henceforth the Douglases were the English party in Scotland, in constant traitorous correspondence with Henry VIII. How lawless Scotland had become was shown in the affray called "Cleanse the Causeway" in 1520. Angus and Arran were both in Edinburgh, to be present at a meeting of Parliament and to discuss a healing of their quarrel. Each, of course, brought his faction with him; Angus had 400 spearmen at his back. Archbishop Beaton, taking the side of his Hamilton kin, urged the blessings of peace, and in the fervour of his speech smote on the bosom of his vestments; a hollow ring of metal answered the stroke; the archbishop wore a steel corslet beneath.

"My lord, your conscience clatters," answered Gawain Douglas. Sir Patrick Hamilton also spoke for peace, but another of his name taunted him with cowardice. "I shall fight," answered Sir Patrick, "where thou darest not be seen," and, rushing out, he made an onslaught on Angus's spearmen. Straightway both sides fell to it, and up and down the High Street raged a fierce faction fight, which ended in the complete rout of the Hamiltons.

France was naturally perturbed at the power wielded by the English party, and, in 1515, the Duke of Albany, son of the traitor duke of James III's reign and heir-presumptive to the Scottish Crown, came to Scotland as regent. Margaret and Angus fled to England, but returned a few years later and became bitter enemies. Albany left Scotland in 1524, and the king came under the power of his mother, who had divorced Angus. Then Angus secured the king's person. Walter Scott of Branxholm, and some allies in secret treaty with the king, endeavoured to waylay him at Melrose and rescue him from the Douglas claws, but Angus, helped by Kers and Homes, won the day,[1] and the boy king had to sham gratitude for his preservation. At last, however, he escaped to his mother at Stirling, and rallying to him those who hated the Douglas rule and their treason with England, was able to make himself king in reality. Angus was driven into exile in England, where he became a pensioner of King Henry, with Henry's instructions "to do all the mischief he could", still plotting to kidnap Archbishop Beaton—an old scheme of Wolsey's—or, better still, King James himself, and hand him over to his English royal uncle, who professed benevolence all the time.

Exiled the Red Douglas.

The last fifteen years of the reign were fairly prosperous. On the whole there was peace with England, and this kept treason at home within bounds. James did something to pacify the Borders by clapping the great Border lords in hold, and going round hanging notorious rascals, the chief of them Johnnie Armstrong of Gilnockie. He made a similar tour round the Highlands, established some garrisons, imprisoned some chiefs, and took the Lordship of the Isles for the Crown. There was

[1] It was in the pursuit after this battle that Ker of Cessford was pierced by "dark Elliot's border-spear", as readers of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* will remember.

talk of reform of the Church, and the College of Justice was set up in Edinburgh. But though outwardly there was peace with England, Henry and James were not at one; Henry, having severed himself from Rome, desired James to do the like, and break from the Auld Alliance with France. James had no mind to lose his old friend and the support of Rome. Further, his marriage policy vexed Henry. First, he married Madeleine, daughter of Francis I, when Henry had ideas for him to marry his own daughter, Mary. When his first queen died James went again to France and espoused Mary of Guise, whom Henry had his eye on for his own fourth bride. Henry had to content himself with Anne of Cleves—a further source of vexation. Then James refused an interview with his uncle, and gradually the two kings drifted into war. An English raid, with Angus traitorously leading it, was badly beaten in Teviotdale. In reply James mustered his nobles at Fala Muir in 1542, but they refused to follow him in an invasion. Borderers, however, were always ready to fight, and the king collected a mass of them in the West Marches, and at the last moment put them under a friend, Oliver Sinclair, a commoner whom the Scottish nobles disdained to follow. Wharton, the English Warden, had early news of the raid, and advanced with about two thousand men to repel it. While the Scots were discussing the point of command, a small body of English horse suddenly attacked. The Scots were caught between the Esk and a morass; unable to deploy, they made a disorderly retreat, which soon turned to a hopeless panic. The rout was complete. The "battle" of Solway Moss was finished before it had begun. All the guns were lost, 1200 men were captured, many more were drowned; the English lost seven men.

Solway Moss, 1542.

The disgrace of it crushed King James. A fortnight later a daughter was born to him. "It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass," was all he found to say. In a sort of stupor, murmuring at intervals, "Fie, fled Oliver!" the poor king lingered another week, and died at Falkland.

The story of the first five Jameses is tragic, but that Scotland survived through all the internal feuds and recurrent minorities is evidence of how firmly based was the sentiment of essential unity

and of national independence. But not only did Scotland survive, she also progressed; in the fifteenth century trade increased, the legal system developed, and the three universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen were founded, while under the five Jameses a great Scottish literature grew up. James I, Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, Sir David Lyndsay, are the outstanding names of the "Golden Age of Scottish Poetry".

3. The Reformation in Scotland

The first fact to be borne in mind about the Reformation in Scotland is this: it stopped the weak spot in England's defences, and this at a time of England's greatest danger. Scotland had always been an ally of France, and a Catholic Scotland would have been, in Elizabeth's reign, a base from which the Counter-Reformation could strike. Imagine England's danger if Napoleon had been able to use a friendly Scotland as his base. Yet the danger would hardly have been greater in George III's reign than it was in Elizabeth's. A Reformed Scotland gave the enemy no opening for dealing a stab in the back.

Results of the Reformation in Scotland.

Secondly, it led to the union of two relatively small powers into one big one. To the European diplomatist of the early sixteenth century England was a second-rate power, mostly following the lead of Spain; Scotland a hanger-on of France. Thanks to the Reformation in Scotland and to the statesmanship of Elizabeth, the two were united in one Protestant power of first-rate importance—a fact of incalculable consequence in Europe; and for the first time Britain reaped the full value of being an island.

Union of the island.

Thirdly, Scotland gave the first example of a country making a successful Reformation in defiance of its rulers. It was the first "popular" reformation, as opposed to royal or political reformations.

These are great happenings; yet one is tempted at first to say they are inevitable. Each of the two countries has a Reformation at the same time; it is only natural that the Reformers join in self-defence. So far from this being inevitable, it was at first exceedingly unlikely. Not only were the two nations bitter

foes, but they had everything to keep them apart; and their Reformations were totally different in character. Henry VIII would have treated the Scottish Reformers as rebels. They, looking on themselves as the sons of the prophets, would have regarded him as Ahab and Nebuchadnezzar combined in one corpulent monster.

Between the affray at Solway Moss in 1542 and Queen Mary's crossing of the Solway to take refuge in England lie twenty-six years; another nineteen years take us to the end of the tragedy at Fotheringay Castle. So was spanned the life of Mary Stuart. It is in the first part, however, that the great events occur. In it the Scottish Reformation was secured, with the heir to the throne in the hands of the Reformers; in it England and Scotland learnt to face the common enemy, the Counter-Reformation, together; warfare between the two neighbours came to an end; Elizabeth's support saved the Scottish Reformation; the Scottish Reformers in return steadied Elizabeth's throne when it tottered.

In England the king had taken up the Reformation to suit himself, and shaped it to his own political purposes. The Scottish Reformation had in its beginning nothing to do with politics, nor could it be led by the king. James V relied upon his clergy, upon France, upon the Pope, for his nobles were already turning greedy eyes on the vast wealth of the Church. To side with the Reformers meant to break with all of these ancient allies, and the king could not face that. The Reformation in Scotland, then, was based upon criticism, upon the need of reform in the Church, upon the temper of the Scottish people. As there was in the Church much to criticize, and as the temper of the people took readily to theological and religious discussion, especially basing its judgments on its own interpretation of the Bible, there was fertile soil for the Reformers to work on.

Peculiarities of the Scottish Reformation.

The Church in Scotland was rich, but much of the wealth was not used for Church purposes. The bishops were far more nobles than ecclesiastics—warlike, greedy for wealth, and worldly-minded. They were often the younger sons of great families, who used their position

The Church in Scotland, 1500.

to plunder the Church for their own house. They fought among themselves—James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, having ordered the Prior of St. Andrews to mend his immoral life, the Prior—who belonged to the wildest of all Lowland families, the Hepburns—retaliated by arming his retainers and threatening war on the archbishop. Beaton, of the "clattering conscience", was not the only one who wore a breastplate. The common clergy were poor, and ignorant, and ill-behaved; "dumb dogs" who did not preach—"drunken Sir John Latinless", is Sir David Lyndsay's name for them. The exactions found so burdensome in England were even more oppressive in Scotland. The "corse presents" (mortuary fees), the taking of the "best cloth" and a cow from the family of the dead, pressed hardly on the poor. Marriage, too, in a small country where family relationship spread so widely, offered another point where the influence of the Church was oppressive. The prohibited degrees of cousinship came in so often that dispensations had perpetually to be obtained; and dispensations were not to be had without fees. Finally, the morals of the churchmen were openly and notoriously bad. In no country was the rule that the clergy must remain celibate more openly defied. Over and over again come the records of priests' children being made legitimate, and no steps were taken to check the loose morality. Proposals for reform were made, orders issued, and so forth, but nothing was done.

Meanwhile the influence and writings of the German Reformers reached Scotland; translations of the Scriptures became common; Parliament and the Church tried to crush the new opinions, and in 1528 Patrick Hamilton, who had travelled in Germany and picked up the ideas of the time, was tried for heresy and burnt. "The reek of Mr. Patrick", however, did not deter others, and George Wishart, another who had learnt the new doctrines abroad, returned to Scotland in 1543, and began preaching, at first in Dundee, and after in Ayrshire. His quarrels with the clergy grew, and Cardinal Beaton had him arrested, tried, and put to death at St. Andrews. Three months later Wishart was revenged; a gang of Beaton's enemies—Leslie, Melville, and the Kirkaldys

Murder of Cardinal Beaton.

—slipped into the castle and stabbed him in his chair. His body was hung over the walls for the townsfolk to gaze at, just where, three months before, he had looked on at Wishart's execution. The murderers held out in the castle for more than a year. At length some French ships came to help the besiegers; then the "Castilians" surrendered, and were banished to the French galleys; with them went a man, after to be famous; a minister, "an earnest professor in Christ Jesus", a friend of Wishart, who had entered the castle during the Easter truce, and had been preacher to this band of godly murderers. This man was John Knox.

May, 1546.

In 1547 Henry VIII died, and Somerset's policy was for a match between his young king and the child Mary Stuart; but, as has been seen, the battle of Pinkie shattered that hope. Mary was sent to France—England and Scotland being bitter enemies—and the Reform party in Scotland was checked. England was the only place whence the Reformers could get help, yet to ask for English help was to play the traitor. Edward VI, however, welcomed Scottish Protestants at his court, and procured the release of John Knox from the French galleys.

Mary Tudor's accession, however, gave another shift to the wheel; with England once more Catholic, the Reformers of the two countries, each party downtrodden and persecuted, began to draw together. Knox came back to Scotland with some knowledge of Englishmen and their ways. After his release from the galleys in 1549 he had been Edward VI's chaplain, and had been offered a bishopric, prudently refusing it as he foresaw "evil days to come". The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland had failed to reform itself from within, but Knox found the time not yet ripe, and retired again. But the cause went on. Some powerful nobles—Glencairn, Argyll, Morton, and Erskine—united in a "band" to establish the "Word of God and his Congregation" against "wicked power that does intend tyranny". In 1557 the image of St. Giles, patron saint of the Mother Kirk of Edinburgh, was stolen and burnt; the next year the procession was rabbled in the street. Thus the people and a strong party of nobles had declared for the Reformers; the clergy had nothing to rely on but the Crown

Knox.

and the French alliance. But that at any rate seemed firm, for in April, 1558, Mary Queen of Scots had married Francis, Dauphin of France, and (though it was not known in Scotland at the time) her husband was to be no mere king-consort; she had assigned to him, in the event of her death without issue, the throne of Scotland and her claims on England. Now at length it appeared certain that Scotland and France, so long allied, would be definitely united, with Scotland practically a province of France; and if so, the cause of the Reformers was lost.

4. Scotland and Elizabeth

Such, then, was the situation when Elizabeth came to the throne. Mary had been six months married to the Dauphin, but was still in France; her mother, Mary of Guise, was regent in Scotland, keeping down, with some difficulty, the Reforming party headed by the "Lords of the Congregation", as Glencairn and the other Protestant nobles styled themselves. If Elizabeth was to secure Scotland she must support the Reformers; yet to do so was obnoxious, for two strong reasons. It would offend France, and she could not afford to quarrel with France as well as Spain; besides, she detested helping rebels, and it would be a dangerous precedent: it would be only too painfully easy for France to help rebels in England against her. And further, Knox, in the fullness of his zeal, had just issued his famous *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.* It was directed against the three Maries,[1] all Catholics, and all, to Knox's mind, abominable. That the fate of England and Scotland should hang at this critical time upon a succession of queens, all marriageable, and all therefore potentially dangerous, in so much that their marriages might entangle their realms in all kinds of calamities, has always been a fact dwelt on by historians as most singular; and it moved Knox—an outspoken man—to more than his usual plainness of language. It was peculiarly unlucky that the *Blast*, intended to wither the

Elizabeth and Scotland.

[1] Mary Tudor, Mary Stuart, and Mary of Guise. Knox uses the word *Regiment* to mean Rule or Government.

Catholic Mary Tudor, should deafen her Protestant sister on her accession. It gave Elizabeth great offence, and she refused to let Knox pass through England, and would have nothing to do with him.

No two years contain so many events as 1559–60. Knox came back to Scotland, and put heart into the Reformers. "The voice of that one man is able in an hour to put more life into us than six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears," said one who knew him. His supreme quality was his fearlessness; the words spoken by Morton at his grave tell the naked truth: "Here lies one who never feared the face of man". Already the preachers and the Lords of the Congregation were at odds with the regent. A conference was invited at Perth, and both factions gathered; each suspected the other of treachery.

The sermon at Perth. On May 11 Knox preached a sermon against idolatry, and the mob suited the action to the words by attacking and destroying the monasteries and religious houses in the city. The spirit of destruction, which must be regretted, spread to St. Andrews, Stirling, Dundee, Edinburgh, and over the country. "Burn the nests," cried Knox, "and the rooks will fly." Soon the Lords of the Congregation were in arms, and masters of Edinburgh. Most of the nobility had joined them; the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI was appointed for use in the churches, and the property of the plundered abbeys was to be "bestowed upon the faithful ministers". Needless to say, they did not get it; the great nobles intercepted most of it.

Faced with this rebellion, the regent looked for help to France. Here, too, momentous events had occurred; peace had been made between France and Spain at Cateau Cambrésis—an ill omen for Elizabeth, whose interest lay in their mutual enmity—and then, in the tournament held to celebrate the treaty, Henry II met with a fatal accident, so that Francis, Mary's husband, now became king of France. In July a French expedition to Scotland was preparing, and the Reformers appealed to Elizabeth. She refused to help, though she secretly sent some money.[1] For the time she waited to see how it would fare between the Lords of the Congregation and the regent,

[1] Bothwell robbed the messenger who carried it.

backed by the French. The French held Leith, and the Reformers could not dislodge them. An assault was beaten off, and the French occupied Stirling. The cause of Reform was almost lost when Elizabeth at last acted. She sent a squadron of ships under Winter to the Firth of Forth; so secretly had she acted that none knew at first in whose cause they came; but the action was decisive; to blockade Leith meant that the French would receive no more reinforcements (December, 1559).

Elizabeth helps the Reformers.

The credit of winning Elizabeth to this momentous step was due in the main to Maitland of Lethington. It was probably he who had persuaded the Reformers to drop the cry of "Religion" and unite on the more patriotic demand for the expulsion of the French and the regent. He went as envoy to confer with Elizabeth in November. Lethington was a statesman far in advance of his time. "The mark I always shoot at," he wrote, "is the union of England and Scotland in perpetual friendship." The first proof of his marksmanship was the sailing of Winter's fleet. It was followed by a treaty between Elizabeth and the Lords of the Congregation against Mary of Guise in February; an English army entered Scotland in April. Leith was besieged by English and Scots fighting side by side. In June the regent died. A month later the French surrendered, and were removed from Scotland; and the English departed too, leaving behind them, for the first time in the history of the two nations, gratitude instead of hatred. No advantage had been sought; not a word had been said of the old obnoxious claim of suzerainty. Elizabeth had played fair, when fairness was masterly, and had won. The Reformation in Scotland was safe (though this was not what she had played for), and she was safe too in having a Protestant Scotland over her borders. And here fortune came in to aid her. In December, 1560, Francis II died; and Mary Stuart was no longer wife of the King of France; she was but a childless widow, Queen of Scots.

Treaty of Leith, July, 1560.

In August, 1560, a Scottish Parliament sanctioned the establishment of the Reformed Church. Papal authority was abolished, the Protestant faith alone was recognized, the

exercise of the mass and of Roman Catholic rites in general was forbidden under heavy penalties.

5. Mary Stuart

In August, 1561, Mary came home to her realm—and to her ruin. "Was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven . . . that forewarning God gave unto us," said Knox. It is hard to realize the pathetic tragedy of Mary's return. She was only nineteen; she had hitherto lived a happy life in a highly-civilized country, first as a princess, then as Queen of France. Suddenly her husband had died, and she, childless, had to leave France and return to Scotland—a bewildering change. Scotland, in comfort, civilization, and manners, was far behind France. If one wants an example one has only to think of the Château of Amboise and the Towers of Holyroodhouse, the one light, graceful, looking out over smiling river and countryside, perhaps the most charming "great house" in a land always supreme in great houses, the other low-lying and squat, dark and gloomy, with slits for windows carved in the great depths of walls which must always have suggested a dungeon rather than a palace. At her homecoming Mary received a warm and enthusiastic welcome from her subjects, rejoiced to have their queen of the ancient royal house of Stuart back to reign over them. But cordial relations could not long endure between a sincerely Catholic queen, who loved France first and Scotland only second, and a sternly Protestant people and nobility. Mary's first mass at Holyroodhouse was, though private, interrupted by brawlers clamouring at the door to put the priest to death. Knox, in his first interview with her, called her Church by a foul name. On her entering Edinburgh she was presented with a huge Bible—a fairly plain hint—and a number of children were set up to make a speech to her "concerning the putting away of the mass". In fact, every preacher of the Reformed doctrines in Scotland thought it his duty to check and exhort his queen. The nobles were hardly better. Bothwell (probably) was plotting to murder her in her first year. Even Huntly, the chief of the Catholics, intrigued with the Hamiltons, and compelled the queen

Mary Queen of Scots in Scotland.

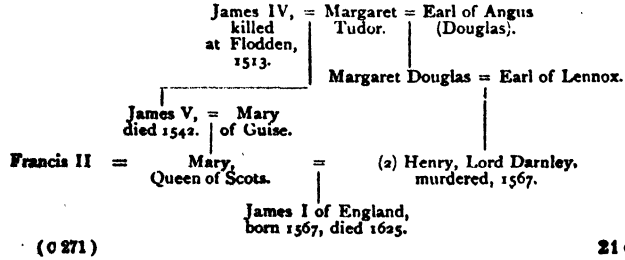
to fight against him till his death after a skirmish with the royal troops. Few there were who offered Mary faithful service.

Yet she was not powerless. She had her beauty and her astuteness. "If there be not in her a crafty wit," says Knox, "my judgment faileth me." Further, she was heir to the English throne, though Elizabeth would not recognize her title. Finally, she had another weapon: she could marry again.

It was recognized that inevitably she would do so, and all the politicians in England, Scotland, and on the Continent occupied themselves with matchmaking. There were rumours of everything—she would marry the King of Denmark or of Sweden; a son of the Emperor; Don Carlos; a French prince; even Philip II himself. Elizabeth pressed the choice of her own favourite noble, the Earl of Leicester. Mary pretended to consider this, but secretly made her own choice; and her choice fell on her cousin, Henry Lord Darnley. **Mary's marriage.**

One thing was to be said for this match; it did not entangle Scotland with either France or Spain; perhaps it may have commended itself to Elizabeth in this way, for though she opposed it she did not try to prevent it, as she might have done. She let Darnley go from England to Scotland. Yet it had dangers too, for Darnley was of Tudor blood, and thus the marriage joined two Tudor lines of claim to the English throne. Both Mary and Darnley were grandchildren of Margaret Tudor (Henry VIII's sister), who had married James IV. Thus, "if anything should happen to Elizabeth"—which, being translated by plotters, signified "were she assassinated"—Mary and Darnley's joint claim to the throne would be almost irresistible; and this would mean a Catholic on the throne of England.

Again, however, Elizabeth's troubles were smoothed out by



the misfortunes of her rivals. Mary soon quarrelled with Darnley. He was vicious and empty-headed, and she got no help from him. She refused him the crown-matrimonial, and he was much affronted by her refusal. So he allied himself with some of the Protestant nobles, who joined him in a plot. The murder of Mary's Italian secretary, Rizzio, was to be the first item; how much further the plotters were to go none knows; probably the seizing of Mary and the crown for Darnley lay at the back of it. Mary had only Bothwell and the new Earl of Huntly faithful to her; against her many: the Douglas brood, Ruthven and Morton; nobles full of hate for an Italian upstart; Lethington, now left in the cold and jealous; Lennox, angered that his son was slighted over the crown; and her despicable husband screwing his courage up with much liquor. The conspirators signed a band[1] to support Darnley; he was to hold them quit of consequences "for whatsoever crime", and they were to have their religion established "conform to Christ's Book". The compost of crime and conscience is edifying.

Plots.

On the evening of March 12 Darnley came into Mary's room at Holyroodhouse; behind, Ruthven, Morton, and other plotters; Rizzio clung pitifully to Mary's skirt. There was a scuffle in which the supper-table fell, and Rizzio was dragged out, and dispatched by many stabs; the body was thrown down the stairs, Darnley's dagger, which had been used by George Douglas, sticking in it.

Holyrood, 1566.

No political murder is more stamped with horror; nothing is more amazing than the skill with which Mary got the better of the murderers. In two days she had won over Darnley, had spoken of amnesty, and had persuaded him to escape with her to Dunbar. Her friends joined her; Bothwell brought in men, and the murderers scattered to seek safety. Mary's son was born in June, and all the summer she was talking of reconciliation; but she had not forgotten. In October another band was signed by very much the same set of plotters, this time against Darnley, though nothing was specified. In January, 1567, he fell ill of smallpox at Glasgow. When he was recovering,

[1] The plot was very widely known. Randolph, the English envoy, reported it to Cecil three days before the murder.

Mary visited him and brought him back with her to the Kirk-o'-Field, an old monastic house just outside Edinburgh. Here she visited him, going there for the last time on February 9; while she was sitting with him upstairs, Bothwell and some helpers were carrying in gunpowder into the room beneath Darnley's. Bothwell then fetched the queen, rode back with her to a masque at Holyroodhouse, and later rode down again to Kirk-o'-Field. About 2 on the morning of February 10 Kirk-o'-Field was blown into the air. The bodies of Darnley and his page were found in the garden with no marks of powder on them. They had been strangled.

Kirk-o'-Field, 1567.

Bothwell's guilt is certain. How much Mary knew of the plot has remained one of the puzzles of history. None at the time doubted that she knew, and the whole train of events makes it hard to doubt now. But too many were in the plot to have it dragged into day. An inquiry was made and abandoned; Bothwell was "cleansed". Then came another thunderstroke. Late in April Mary was seized by Bothwell, no doubt with her consent, and carried off to Dunbar; Bothwell secured a hasty divorce from his wife; in a fortnight Mary and Bothwell re-entered Edinburgh together; on May 15 they were married. Even on her wedding-day Mary's brief infatuation for the ruffian was waning. She was heard to say that she longed to die. She was, however, still a long way from the end of her misfortunes. The next event was the gathering of the Lords of the North against Bothwell. The forces met at Carberry Hill, close to Pinkie; Bothwell's men deserted, and he escaped; but Mary was captured, brought into Edinburgh in her short red skirt, jeered at by the mob, and at last sent off to her prison on the island in Lochleven. Immediately after, the silver casket holding the famous "Casket Letters" was captured from a retainer of Bothwell's who had been sent to remove some of Bothwell's property from Edinburgh Castle. These letters, if genuine, would prove that Mary was privy to Darnley's murder and had consented to Bothwell's abduction of her. They were, therefore, the very piece of evidence which her enemies lacked to justify her imprisonment *without involving their own guilt.* It is certainly suspicious that they secured it

Marriage of Mary and Bothwell.

so very promptly; and there is much else to indicate that some parts of the letters were forged and tampered with. But Mary never had the chance to disprove them.

When Mary was in prison Elizabeth began to bestir herself a little on her behalf. She wrote to forbid the Lords to do her any injury, and to suggest that the little Prince James, her son, should be sent to England. There was talk of putting Mary to trial for her life, but in the end it was arranged that she should abdicate in favour of her son, and that her half-brother, Murray, should be regent. She entrusted to him her jewels; he sold some to Elizabeth.

Lochleven.

Robbed of her jewels, her son, her throne, her liberty, Mary still had her beauty; she won over her jailor, George Douglas; the keys of Lochleven Castle were stolen, and Mary rode off wildly to join her last friends, the Hamiltons. Murray gathered the Protestant Lords, and routed the Hamiltons at Langside.

Mary's flight to England, 1568.

Her last hope in Scotland gone, Mary fled in haste to the Solway, and two days after the battle crossed into England. She wrote to Elizabeth: "It is my earnest request that your Majesty will send for me as soon as possible, for my condition is pitiable, not to say for a queen, but even for a simple gentlewoman". Pity, however, was not the motive most likely to guide Elizabeth.

Mary expected that either Elizabeth would help her, or that she would let her pass from England to seek aid in France or elsewhere. Elizabeth talked of restoring her to Scotland, or at all events of making terms with her enemies—but first she must be convinced that Mary was not guilty. It was the hope that she would get Elizabeth's help that induced Mary to submit to an inquiry at all. But from the first Elizabeth's mind was made up not to let her escape. So Mary was brought from Carlisle to Bolton Castle in Yorkshire, where she was out of reach of a rescue. An inquiry was held. Norfolk, the chief English Catholic noble, Sussex, and Sadler were to meet Murray, Morton, and the Scots envoys. But Mary was never allowed to see the evidence against her, nor to have an interview with Elizabeth; she had no justice given her. Morton, the chief witness against her, had been leader in the plot to murder Rizzio, and privy to Darnley's

taking off.[1] He was far more guilty than the queen. But Elizabeth did not want a decision; if Mary was innocent, she must be released; if guilty, punished. Both courses were desperately inconvenient, so Elizabeth preferred to keep her a prisoner—neither guilty nor acquitted—with the shadow over her.

6. The Period of Plots, 1568–87

So passed away the immediate peril of a hostile queen in Scotland who was a Catholic, marriageable, exceedingly attractive, and heir to Elizabeth's throne. Mary was a prisoner, and the Reformation, established by the Scottish Parliament in 1560, was safe: that gateway of attack was blocked to France or Spain. This meant much in the way of security. But in the ten years from 1558 to 1568 other things had happened to help Elizabeth. Not only was she stronger, but her enemies had grown weaker. The wars of religion had burst out in France. At the head of the extreme Catholic party there was the house of Guise, and the Guises set up a claim to the throne. As a safeguard against the Guises the kings of France sought Elizabeth's friendship, and this friendship was maintained; it survived even the shock of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. One prop to the alliance Elizabeth furnished by her marriage policy; she "considered" a proposal to marry a French royal prince, Anjou. True, she was not in earnest; privately she alluded to her suggested bridegroom as her "Frog"; but an appearance of negotiation was kept up. So France, severed from Scotland, distracted by religious wars and by the ambitions of the Guises, who in their turn were backed by Spain, was perforce friendly to Elizabeth.

Elizabeth's improved position.

Spain, too, was less strong, also on account of a religious war. The Low Countries, her richest province, were in rebellion; and the rebellion proved unexpectedly hard to crush. Through Elizabeth's reign the struggle went on, and it gradually sapped

[1] Bothwell had tried to enlist him in the plot, but he had refused to join without Mary's signed warrant, which Bothwell could not get. His first cousin, Archibald Douglas, was present at the explosion, and Morton knew he was going there.

the Spanish power. This gave Elizabeth another vantage-ground. She might aid the rebels; true, she was not likely to do it, for that would provoke a war with Spain. But she could hint at doing it; and Spain would be cautious not to act vigorously against her, for fear that she might retaliate by helping the Dutch rebels.

Thus these ten years had seen Elizabeth's place on the throne grow much firmer. Her people were loyal; her settlement of the Church was winning its way; her enemies were occupied at home. Still, she was not yet out of the wood. Mary was her captive, but there would be schemes to release her and marry her. This would have to be done secretly, hence the next phase—the "period of plots".

What was coming was foreshadowed at that inquiry held over Mary in 1569. Norfolk, Elizabeth's chief commissioner, was at first convinced of Mary's guilt. Then he changed his mind, and began to scheme to marry Mary. As he was the chief English Catholic, such a marriage would have pleased the Catholic party. It might even have produced a Catholic heir to the throne, for nothing was yet settled about the succession. But Elizabeth's ministers were vigilant, and well served by their spies. The plan was revealed; the inquiry was closed; and Mary was sent off, half-guest, half-prisoner, to Tutbury.

The next step was more formidable. Norfolk and his friends intrigued with the Duke of Alva, the Spanish commander in the Netherlands. They promised to head a rising and arrest Cecil, Elizabeth's chief minister; Alva was to furnish troops; Mary was to be released. Alva refused to send his men before the rebels showed themselves to be in earnest, and Elizabeth's ministers were again too quick and too well-informed. Orders were given to arrest the most dangerous plotters, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. How dangerous these two were their names bear witness. Percy and Neville were the two great fighting names in the north; and the north was still used to arms, and warlike. The earls called out their border forces, seized Durham, and had the mass sung in its cathedral; then hurried southward to capture Mary. But Mary was taken to Coventry, and the queen's forces barred the

The Rising in the North.

earls' march in the West Riding. There was no fighting; the leaders escaped to Scotland; the rebels scattered; many were caught and hanged in the towns and villages of Durham and Yorkshire; there was need of a sharp lesson. So ended the Rising in the North. It is worth note that while the earls wished their cause to appear to be the Catholic cause, and made show that they were fighting for their faith, Elizabeth took pains to display them as merely rebels. As if expressly to destroy their claim to be the Catholic party in arms for the Catholic cause, she sent against them a Catholic as commander, the Earl of Sussex.

Up till now, indeed, it was not clear that in the end Elizabeth might not return to the Church of Rome. The "English heresy", as it was regarded by the Catholic party, had lasted long, but they trusted that it would be overcome in time; it was hardly conceivable that Elizabeth would persist in a cause that seemed to sever her from all other European monarchs. Consequently the Papacy had been long-suffering, affording her leisure for repentance. Now, however, it seemed time to remind her that her attitude could no longer be tolerated, and in 1570 Pius V declared her excommunicate, and her subjects released from the duty of obeying her. This, it is true, need not mean a final breach—excommunication could be revoked—but it made it clear that Rome regarded her for the time as an enemy, and expected Catholics who were true to their faith to take part against her.

The excommunication.

Hence came a fresh outburst of plots, both from at home and abroad.

A few fervent Catholics in England, and enthusiasts in Spain, France, and Italy, all began to see that to dethrone Elizabeth was their duty. First came the Ridolfi plot (1571). This Ridolfi, a Florentine banker, was in the confidence of the Pope, and employed as an agent between Norfolk, Mary Queen of Scots, and Philip of Spain. Alva was asked to send help from the Netherlands; he, however, answered, with caution, that he was doubtful of success unless Elizabeth should first die a natural death, "or any other death". Eventually the plot leaked out through Burleigh's spies; Norfolk was arrested, and put to death.

Ridolfi's plot.

A brief period of comparative calm followed. By the Treaty of Blois, France had agreed not to support Mary's cause in Scotland, and Elizabeth and the French Court managed to keep friends in spite of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (Aug., 1572). The rebels in the Netherlands proved stubborn and kept Spain occupied; and even when Don John had nearly subdued them, and was planning to invade England and marry Mary himself, Philip was so much alarmed at his half-brother's ambitious plans that he recalled him.

The next trouble came from the Jesuits. Since its foundation, in 1540, by Ignatius Loyola, this order had produced the leaders in the struggle to win back the peoples that had adopted the teaching of the Reformation. In 1568 a school for English Jesuits was set up at Douai —moved ten years later to Rheims—on purpose to train a band of missionaries to reconvert England. Such persons came to England at the risk of their lives: one, Cuthbert Mayne, was executed in 1577. A fresh campaign began in 1580, with the arrival of Campion and Parsons. Nominally they did not meddle in questions of state, but their teaching had a marvellous influence in reviving Catholic hopes throughout England, and the Government caused Campion and several of his companions to be arrested, tried for treasonable plotting, and executed. There was little evidence against Campion, but his comrade, Parsons, who escaped, showed by his subsequent career that he certainly did meddle in questions of state. He sent two Jesuit companions into Scotland to stir up a rising in Mary's cause; he plotted with Mendoza, the Spanish envoy in London; he collogued with Philip and the Pope, and planned Elizabeth's murder. But the English assassin, who was to kill the queen for a reward of 100,000 francs, was, as Parsons regretted, "a worthless fellow, who would do nothing". Parsons was also thick in the plot for a Spanish invasion, which was got up by Mendoza and a Cheshire gentleman named Francis Throckmorton. Again Burleigh and Walsingham were well-informed; Throckmorton was arrested (December, 1583) and executed, and Mendoza dismissed.

The Jesuits Campion and Parsons.

Throckmorton's plot.

So far Elizabeth had seemed to bear a charmed life; the great

bulk of her people were enthusiastically loyal; the plotters half-hearted and inefficient. But in 1584 came a thunderstroke of politics—so-called—to show that plots did not always miscarry. William the Silent, Prince of Orange, the heart and centre of the rebellion in the Netherlands, was shot by an assassin in Spanish pay[1], Balthasar Gérard. Just at the same time Anjou's death made it clear that the crown of France would go, after Henry III's death, to Henry of Navarre, who was a Protestant. The prospect of being ruled by a heretic was, to many French Catholics, unbearable; and forthwith civil war broke out in France. This was disastrous for Elizabeth. Not only would she get no help from France, if she needed it, against a Spanish invasion — now far more probable since William of Orange was gone, and the Spanish troops under Parma were triumphant in the Netherlands—but, what was worse, the Catholic party in France, alarmed at the prospect of a Huguenot on the throne, were inviting help from Spain. If, as seemed likely, France and Spain were to unite in a Catholic league, Elizabeth and the cause of England would be lost. The dagger or a pistol-shot; a swarming over of Spanish troops; the Inquisition, the faggot, and the stake; and the downfall of all Englishmen held dear—such was the prospect of the black years following 1584.

England made what reply she could. Twelve years before, Parliament had petitioned for Mary's attainder, but Elizabeth would not permit it. In the peril of 1584 an Association was formed, the members of which undertook to prosecute to the death anyone plotting the queen's death, and also *any person in whose favour such an attempt was made.* Parliament followed this up with an act which provided that if such a plot were formed with the "privity" of any person pretending a title to the throne, that person could be tried for treason by royal commission. This might not secure Elizabeth from the assassin, but, if she died, Mary would never succeed to the throne. Her life would be forfeit, in any case. Elizabeth followed this up by an alliance with James VI for mutual defence of their religion, and by sending Leicester with an army to aid

The Association.

[1] Parma had *promised* him pay. He was, however, penniless; a gift from William himself, in reward for a piece of news, provided the money to buy the pistols.

the Dutch. Little came of it save the battle of Zutphen, wherein the chivalrous Sir Philip Sidney was mortally wounded.

So stood affairs at the beginning of the year 1586. In May Walsingham intercepted a letter from Mary to Mendoza, in which she disinherited her son James, and made over all her claims to Philip of Spain. This, however, was only the beginning. Another plot was brewing. Savage, an English officer serving with Parma, took an oath that he would murder Elizabeth. Mendoza, now ambassador in France, suggested that Cecil and Walsingham had best be killed also. The English agent for the plot was Antony Babington, a Catholic attached to Elizabeth's court, who found five other assassins to join Savage. Walsingham's chief spy, however, had wormed himself into the secret. The letters between Mary and the plotters were intercepted, deciphered, copied, and forwarded, and so the plot grew under Walsingham's fingers. The object was to be sure of Mary's "privity" to the scheme to murder; that once established, nothing could save her. At last, in July, she wrote: "Affairs being thus prepared, then shall it be time to *set the six gentlemen at work*". That was enough. Mary's papers were seized, and she was tried before commissioners at Fotheringay.

Babington's plot.

Inevitably she was found guilty; Parliament petitioned for her immediate execution. Elizabeth hesitated; to put Mary to death was to change the whole face of politics, to embark on all kinds of new dangers. But Parliament and the Privy Council were determined on Mary's death, and the warrant for her execution was sent by the Privy Council to Fotheringay; and in February, 1587, Mary was beheaded.

Mary's execution, 1587.

So ended the period of plots with the death of the unhappy woman in whose favour they were made. If Spain was to do anything now, it must be by invasion; the enemy who had fought behind the covert of secrecy and conspiracy must now come into the open.

7. The Armada

The Adventurers and the Buccaneers.

Since the days of Henry VII a spirit of adventure had sent Englishmen, particularly from the western ports of Plymouth, Bideford, and Bristol, out into the great waters. To explore, to find gold, to trade, and, it may be added, to plunder, were the objects. So went Chancellor to Archangel; Willoughby to the North-east Passage, and to his death, in 1554; Frobisher to Labrador; Davis to the North-west Arctic. Such northern adventures were all attempts to find an English route to the East; the existing roads round the Cape of Good Hope or the Horn were already seized on; they belonged to Portugal and to Spain. The North proved unkindly and inaccessible, however, and there were no inhabitants to buy the cloth which the Englishmen hoped to sell in cold latitudes. Hence the diversion to the warmer latitudes, in particular to the Spanish Main. Spain resented the coming of English ships, and all our trading there had a suspicion of contraband about it, and even a taste of piracy now and again. But the maxim ran, "No peace beyond the line",[1] and though there was often fighting in the Spanish Main, at home Spain, though sorely tried, had kept up a sort of peace with England. The provocation she swallowed was amazing. In a sense she began the violence in the treacherous attack on Sir John Hawkins's flotilla at San Juan in 1568; but Hawkins had no business there, and was meaning to force a sale of the slaves he was carrying. He lost four ships—one of them belonging to the queen—and goods to the value of £100,000; and he and his companion, Francis Drake, barely escaping with their lives, came back angry and revengeful. In 1572 came Drake's attack on Nombre de Dios, his capture of the mule-train loaded with silver, and his first vision of the Pacific. In 1577 he sailed with five ships, the chief being the *Golden Hind*, through Magellan's Straits, fell on the unprotected Spanish towns on the Pacific coast, plundered them, and then crossed the ocean to Java, and so home round

[1] The line drawn by Pope Alexander VI, 300 miles west of the Azores, to separate the colonial spheres of Portugal (east) and Spain (west).

the world, bringing back treasure valued at £800,000. For this exploit the queen knighted him on board the *Golden Hind* at Deptford; so substantial a contribution as £800,000 to what may be called the party funds deserved a knighthood. Even so, though Spain remonstrated angrily, no war followed. Each country laid an embargo on the other's vessels in 1585, and the queen sent Drake off again to plunder the Spanish West Indies. Yet even now only two royal ships went; it was a sort of joint-stock piracy; the rest were merchantmen from London and the West and private venturers, some thirty in all. This flotilla pillaged the Spanish islands, sacked Santiago in the Cape Verde, Domingo, and Carthagena, plundering, burning, and holding to ransom, and returned unscathed. The profit was poor,[1] but the damage done enormous.

The Armada.

This raid on the West Indies decided Philip at last. His generals in the Netherlands urged an invasion of England as easy; Spain could collect a huge fleet; and, finally, Mary's death, in 1587, made it clear that if the enterprise succeeded it was Philip in person who would profit by it. So the preparations, hitherto lukewarm, were pressed forward, and the Armada would have sailed in 1587, had not Drake's "singeing of the King of Spain's beard"—his attack on the shipping in Cadiz harbour—thrown everything back for a year. Thirty-seven ships and quantities of stores were destroyed, and Drake, after threatening Lisbon, hovered off Cape St. Vincent for six weeks, snapping up Spanish coasters and preventing any movement of ships from the Mediterranean ports. This daring exploit increased the Spanish terror of the terrible "El Draque", but it also displays how excellent was his strategy. Two hundred years before Jervis and Nelson he grasped the value of a vigorous offensive, and the truth that the enemy's coast line should be our frontier in war. He petitioned to be allowed to repeat his attack in 1588, and had the queen consented, probably the Armada would never have sailed. But Elizabeth refused, fearing that the Spanish fleet might elude him and find the Channel bare.

So the Armada, the great emprise against the heretic, officially

[1] £50,000.

blessed by Pope and clergy, with its motto from the Psalms,[1] sailed out of Lisbon on May 20, 1588: 130 ships, with 8000 seamen and 19,000 soldiers—a great fleet. It was to sail up Channel without seeking the English fleet, seize Margate, join Parma, who was to provide 30,000 picked Spanish troops from the Netherlands, and convey him over. The Armada made shocking weather to Corunna, taking nineteen days over it, and put in there to refit, stop leaks, and replace some of the rotting stores which the Spanish contractors had furnished. It did not leave Corunna till July 12, and now, more or less favoured by weather, appeared off the Lizard on July 19. The Channel fleet, under Lord Howard of Effingham, with Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, Fenner, and Raymond, had just put back into Plymouth to get supplies, and was windbound there. The ships were warped out into the Sound and got to sea, but the Spanish fleet passed farther to the southward. Thus the Armada, in spite of all its tardiness, had got into the Channel, and the way was clear; there was no enemy in front except the tiny squadron under Seymour and Wynter, helping the Dutch to watch Parma in the narrow seas.

If the total of ships be counted, the English were more than the Spanish; but omitting the quite small craft that could take no real part, we may reckon that Howard had some seventy ships—many of these small also, and of little fighting value. Of the thirty queen's ships most were well armed and efficient; a dozen or more of the merchantmen could also play their part in a fight. They seemed, however, few and small compared with the size of the enemy. Yet it was not a fight which was to be settled by size or number. The Spaniards were overwhelming if they could bring their whole force to bear, but it remained to be decided whether they could do this.

The fact, realized now, but dimly seen then, is that the two "fleets" were radically different, the Spanish of the past, the English of the future. Fighting mainly in the smoother waters of the Mediterranean, the Spanish ship was a castle on the sea, directed by the sailors, or even at times rowed by galley slaves, but depending for fighting purposes on the fact that it carried a

[1] "Exsurge Deus et vindica causam tuam" (Ps. xxxv. 23).

mass of well-drilled soldiers. A Spanish ship carried few guns for its size, and little powder for them. Manœuvring, seamanship, gunnery, were all subordinate matters; the one object was to come at once to close quarters, to board and fight it out with steel and arquebus. So the Spaniards had beaten the Turks in the great sea fight of Lepanto. A Spanish fleet was, briefly, an army at sea.[1] But the English seaman, bred in rougher weather, had developed a more seaworthy type of ship, lower, smaller, stiffer, and faster, offering a smaller target, carrying relatively far more guns, and trusting to do its execution at a distance. In the sixteenth century, guns could not be elevated nor depressed, and good shooting therefore depended on steering and sailing qualities. Thus in a breeze the Spanish ships, badly steered and handled, heeling over before the wind, sent their weather broadsides flying skywards, while their lee guns fired into the sea. The English ships, however, on a more even keel, made sure work, often hulling the Spaniards' exposed sides below the water-line. Even the Spanish size and numbers were less formidable than they appeared. Out of their 130 only fifty were efficient men-of-war; the rest, store-ships and transports that could not fight, unless by boarding. The total Spanish broadside was in weight only about two-thirds of the English. Their commander, Medina Sidonia, was a landsman who had offered Philip a number of excellent reasons why he should not be put in command,[2] and was certainly incapable of handling a fleet. Finally, now that the English had got the weather-gage, and could follow the Armada up Channel, making a running fight of it, they could close or not as they wished; and every Spanish ship that was crippled was bound to lag behind and be taken.

These things, however, were to be made clear on the way up Channel; they were not yet seen. All that was known was that the Armada was in the Channel: beacon fires blazed; the militia was called out; 70,000 men gathered in London, and Elizabeth reviewed her men at Tilbury.

[1] The Duke of Medina Sidonia was to hand over the conduct of the enterprise to the Duke of Parma (the general) as soon as he met him at Dunkirk.

[2] His last and least valid argument was that he was sick when he went to sea. But so was Nelson.

Meanwhile, for a breathless week, England waited, and the Armada lumbered on its way up Channel, fighting on the 21st, on the 23rd off St. Alban's Head, and on the 25th off St. Catherine's, losing some ships, yet by no means crippled. It anchored at Calais on the 27th, ready to embark Parma's men.

Here came the first great blow. Parma was not ready; the Dutch held him blockaded. He wrote to Medina Sidonia bidding him clear the sea of the English and Dutch; that done, all would be well.

While Medina Sidonia and his captains were digesting this unsatisfactory reply, eight fire ships were sent drifting with the tide into Calais Roads. Panic seized the Spaniards, who cut their cables and sailed eastwards, scattering as they went. The next day (July 29), of the whole Spanish fleet which was nominally engaged, only fifteen, those round Medina Sidonia, managed to come to close quarters; but they were shorter of powder even than the English: in the words of a Spaniard who took part in the battle, "they fighting with their great ordnance, and our men defending themselves with harquebuss fire and musketry". Some were taken, some sunk, and some ran aground, a fate that would have befallen them all had the wind not shifted more to the southward. But by the evening the Armada—still to Drake's mind "wonderful and strong, yet we pluck their feathers little by little"—in reality a beaten fleet, was flying northward. Storms, the rocks of Scotland and Ireland, did the rest. Far out into the Atlantic[1] as the ships beat their way, yet their leeway brought them in again, and Mull, the Giant's Causeway, Donegal, and Achill all took toll of them. Twelve were embayed in Sligo Bay, and to those who got ashore the wild Irish of the west were as merciless as the sea. Fifty-three only got back to Spain. Philip gave the weather-worn survivors magnanimous consolation: "I sent you forth to fight with men, and not with the elements". Elizabeth, piously, was of the same mind, inscribing on her Armada medal, *Afflavit Deus*, "God blew with His wind, and they were scattered". Yet the fact is not so; the Armada had all in its favour till the panic at Calais; till, in short, it had failed. And how complete the failure was, is revealed by a few

[1] 400 miles westward from the north of Scotland.

figures. In the first day's battle only two Englishmen were killed, and only sixty in the whole fighting. The Spaniards *lost more ships than we did men.* The Spanish fleet was hopelessly overmatched in the kind of warfare it encountered. It could never have beat its way down Channel against the English fleet; thus there only remained the way round by the north, and that was certain destruction.

So the great thundercloud that had gathered against England for close on forty years hung imminent for a week, broke, and passed away.

8. The Last Days of Elizabeth

The end of the war.

Nearly fifteen more years remained to the great queen after the Armada was beaten, and they were fifteen years of glory. Yet in a sense the reign ends in 1588. The climax was reached, the day won, the policy of the queen and her ministers triumphant. What follows may be grouped under two heads: it was either the natural gathering in of what had been already won, or it was the low beginnings of what was to be important hereafter; it was either gleaning or sowing. Thus in the gleaning came the remains of the war with Spain, now at the mercy of English sea captains. In 1589 Drake led an expedition to Portugal, and in 1590 Sir Richard Grenville fought the amazing fight of "the one and the fifty-three", where, though the—

> "Little *Revenge* herself went down by the island crags,
> To be lost evermore in the main",

the memory of her and her commander will abide so long as the Jack flies in the wind. Drake, and Hawkins with him, tried a last cruise to the West Indies in 1594, which failed, both commanders dying at sea.[1] Two years later Howard, Ralegh, and Essex sacked Cadiz again, destroying the Spanish ships at their moorings. These were the great things; more fatal to Spain was

[1] "Drake he's in his hammock an' a thousand mile away
(Capten, art tha sleepin' there below?),
Slung atween the round shot in Nombre Dios bay,
An' dreamin' arl the time o' Plymouth Hoe."

the fact that every cargo from the Indies, every ship crossing the Atlantic, every reinforcement going to the Low Countries, had to run the gauntlet of English buccaneers; and little escaped them. So the wealth and power of Spain was drained away. Her silver from the New World robbed, her rich possessions in the Netherlands lost to her, her decline began, and became more and more marked. In France, too, Spanish policy failed; the Huguenot Henry of Navarre established himself on the throne with Elizabeth's aid, in defiance of the Guises and the Spanish party; and, once there, began the building up of that great French ascendancy which was to replace the Hapsburg power that had domineered over Europe so long.

Shortly after the Armada many of Elizabeth's older ministers —those servants who had served her so well in her critical years —died: Leicester, Walsingham, Hatton, were all dead by 1591. Burleigh survived till 1598. Of the younger men, Robert Cecil inherited his father, Burleigh's, caution; but Sir Walter Ralegh and Essex were of a wilder school. With all his romantic qualities, the polish that won him the queen's favour, the adventurous spirit which drove him to found his colony in Virginia, and explore Guiana and the Orinoco, Ralegh never had the gift to win men to follow him, as Drake had. Essex was still less governable than Ralegh. Sent out to the prodigiously difficult task of reducing Ireland to order, he made a feeble treaty with Tyrone, the chief Irish leader, instead of fighting him; and then, knowing that the queen would never ratify it, returned headlong from Ireland without leave, and intruded muddy and travel-worn on the queen's presence. She, much affronted at his whole conduct, banished him from Court. Furious at this, Essex fell into treason, tampered with the Scots and some Catholic lords, and eventually tried to raise a rebellion in London. He was taken prisoner and beheaded in 1601.

The new school.

The names of Essex and Ralegh thus raise to our minds two important issues in history, the matter of Ireland and the beginnings of our colonial empire; but they will come up for treatment later. Elizabeth's policy in Ireland settled nothing; it only led up to all the disastrous events in the seventeenth century—the Rebellion, Cromwell's conquest, and the bitter struggle in William's

reign. In spite of Gilbert and Ralegh, no Elizabethan colony was successful. All failed; at the end of the reign England had not yet fixed her grip on one bit of land oversea. Thus the story of our colonial empire really belongs to a later time. Again we postpone to the seventeenth century the story of the rise of the Puritan party and the new spirit which animated Parliament. These are two new factors of paramount importance, but their day was not yet. It is true that signs of each appear in Elizabeth's reign; there were many men who thought that Elizabeth's settlement of the Church did not go far enough, stubborn men who were hostile to any Established Church, men who desired complete liberty to preach what seemed good to them, and were angry when they were forbidden to do so. Such were the Brownists, the Baptists, and the followers of Thomas Cartwright, who wrote libellously against the bishops in the *Mar-Prelate Tracts*. But all this really belongs to the epoch of the Stuarts and not to the Tudors. So, too, with Parliament, where now and again rash members ventured to offer unpalatable advice to the queen, generally on the subject of her marriage—advice which she contemptuously refused, sometimes despotically rewarding the adviser with imprisonment. It is true that at the end of her reign Parliament appeared to win a victory when the queen promised to grant no more Monopolies—a word which seems to bear a foretaste of the Constitutional struggle about it. But in reality throughout the reign queen and Parliament were on excellent terms; she steered the ship, and they looked on, only daring to speak to the woman at the wheel when they thought that she was blundering—and, of course, they were sure she was blundering when she refused to marry and provide an heir to the throne. As a rule, however, the history of Parliament is described in the Speaker's words to his queen when she demanded of him what had passed in the session. "May it please your majesty, seven weeks have passed." It was a Parliamentary millennium.

Queen and Parliament.

It is, of course, characteristic of the great reign that it produced what is called the "Elizabethan school" of letters. Apart from Shakespeare, who stands unrivalled in all time, there was Spenser, whose *Faery Queene* is

The Elizabethan men of letters.

the most poetic of romances in the old-world style, and Francis Bacon, whose *Essays* still surpass, in their profundity of thought and terse vigour of expression, anything that modern essay-writing can reach; Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* remains a model of judgment and moderation in theological controversy; Christopher Marlowe, as a playwright, was, in gorgeousness of imagination, hardly inferior to Shakespeare; while the writers of lyric verse, of whom Sir Philip Sidney was the most distinguished, gave England a new form of literary expression, graceful, polished, and true. All these men's work is characteristically English. They borrowed old stories—Shakespeare most of all—and they sometimes seem to imitate old models. But what appear at first sight borrowings and imitations are in all cases so seized upon and mastered that they become original. The spirit is breathed upon the dry bones so that they become flesh and blood again. This intense vitality of the Elizabethan school, the alertness of mind, the joyful outlook, the breaking and casting away of old fetters and the adventuring out into new worlds of thought, the vigorous patriotism and Englishness of them, is after all only the expression in the finest minds of what every Englishman of Elizabeth's time felt. For him the fetters of the old learning were broken, the years of dread were over, the enemy humbled, the new world open, and his land, his England, safe at last.

So the great queen died—a true Tudor, in that she understood her people, even better than her ministers did; singularly unscrupulous, yet magnificently successful; unlovable in character, yet romantically beloved; served throughout her reign with wonderful loyalty, yet as parsimonious in her reward of it as she was with her money; vain, untruthful, capricious, and sometimes mean; yet, with all her defects, indubitably great. Her policy, so hesitating in appearance, was in its very uncertainty profoundly wise. Fools, in difficulties, rush into hasty decisions. What England wanted was time. Time for the Established Church to grow firmer, time for the new alliance with Scotland to settle, time to breed the race of seamen who beat off the Armada; and that Elizabeth gave England. At the end came concord at home, a high reputation abroad, and—Elizabeth's greatest gift—

a succession to the throne that would afford no chance of baronial quarrelling, would open no door to aggression from Rome and the Catholics, would involve England in no dangerous entanglement with either France or Spain, but would bring about that inestimable boon, the union of England and Scotland under one king. So the forty-five momentous years passed to a serene conclusion:

"Time and the hour runs through the roughest day."

Part II

FROM THE UNION OF THE CROWNS TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

C. H. K. MARTEN, M.A.

Summary of History by Reigns (1603–89)

During the reign of *James I* (1603–25) the main interest in Foreign affairs lay in the king's policy with regard to the opening stages of the terrible Thirty Years War in Germany, a war which broke out in 1618 (pp. 331–6). In Home affairs came the beginning of the rift between King and Parliament, and the revival by the latter of the formidable weapon of impeachment (1621). The king's chief adviser in the early years of his reign was the wise Earl of Salisbury (d. 1612), and at the end of his life the volatile Duke of Buckingham (Ch. XXVI). In Irish affairs the reign was important because of the Plantation of Ulster (p. 426), and in Imperial History for the first successful settlement on the coast of North America, and the first "factory" in India (pp. 404–5). Among other points of interest in the reign may be mentioned the Authorized Version of the Bible, published in 1611, and the death of Shakespeare in 1616.

In the reign of *Charles I* (1625–49), the king's first adviser was Buckingham (d. 1628). At first, in Foreign affairs some activity was shown, but in the later stages of the Thirty Years War England played no part (pp. 336–9). It is, however, in the struggle with Parliament that the main importance of the reign lies. In the first three years of the reign came three Parliaments, in the third of which the famous Petition of Right was drawn up (pp. 355–60). Then followed eleven years without a Parliament (1629–40), a period during which the influence of Laud and Strafford was conspicuous, the latter being the efficient if somewhat harsh ruler of Ireland (pp. 360–3 and 426–8). Meanwhile in Scotland dissatisfaction with the religious policy of the Stuarts finally came to a head with the signing of the National Covenant in 1637, and the two Bishops' Wars followed in 1639 and 1640 (pp. 364–7). To meet the financial burdens the Long Parliament was called in 1640; it secured the execution of Strafford and abolished the arbitrary powers of the king, but friction between the majority in Parliament and the king increased, and finally led to war (pp. 367–72). In the Civil War (1642–5), the Parliamentary forces, joined by those of the Scots, finally triumphed; and then follow the series of confused events which led to the execution of the king in the beginning of 1649 (Ch. XXVIII and XXIX, Sec. 1). Meanwhile in Ireland, before the Civil War broke out in England, a rebellion had occurred in 1641, which led to a prolonged period of bloodshed (pp. 426–9).

The *Commonwealth* (1649–60) was a period of continuous and successful warfare, first of all in Ireland, then in Scotland and in England. There followed war in Europe, first with England's new colonial and commercial rival, Holland (1652), and then with her old

foe, Spain (1656), a war which led to the conquest of Jamaica and Dunkirk. The Government for the first four years was in the control of the "Rump"—a small remnant of members of the Long Parliament. Subsequently Cromwell was the real ruler, and in 1654 became Protector; but he never succeeded, despite various experiments, in organizing a Government based on popular support, and, on his death in 1658, a period of confusion followed which resulted in the restoration of Charles II (Ch. XXIX and XXX).

The reign of *Charles II* (1660–85) was, so far as Foreign policy is concerned, somewhat involved; our hostility to Holland continued, leading to two wars in 1665 and 1672, but between these wars England was for a short time in alliance with her; in the later part of the reign the great French king, Louis XIV, who reigned from 1643 to 1715, paid Charles II large sums of money, and made the policy of England subservient to that of France (pp. 400–3). For the first seven years of the reign Clarendon was the king's chief adviser; and during his ministry came the settlement of the kingdom after the Commonwealth, the first of the two Dutch wars, the Great Plague and the Fire of London. After Clarendon's fall came the ministry known as the "Cabal" (1667–73), and then that of Danby (1673–8). The years from 1678–81 were years of crisis, during which occurred the attempt to exclude the Duke of York, the king's brother, from coming to the throne; but the king triumphed, and during the last years of his life (1681–5) did much as he liked (Ch. XXXI). Despite Charles's supremacy at the close of his life, the reign was important in our Constitutional History, especially for the further control of Parliament in finance (p. 411) and the development of individual liberty by the Habeas Corpus Act (p. 414). The reign of Charles II is important in our Religious History for the separation between the Nonconformists and the Anglican Church in England (p. 409), and the persecution of the Presbyterians in Scotland (p. 419); in our Imperial History for the acquisition of Bombay and (for a time) of Tangier, and of the middle colonies in North America (pp. 404–5); and in our Military History for the organization of a Standing Army (p. 410). In Science the reign saw the foundation of the Royal Society, in Art the buildings of Sir Christopher Wren, and in Literature the greatest poems of John Milton.

The reign of *James II* (1685–8) is very short. In three years his attempt to impose Roman Catholicism on England had alienated the great majority of Englishmen, and the Revolution of 1688 led to his flight to France (pp. 407–8 and 416–18).

N.B.—In arrangement, Ch. XXV deals with the characters of James I and Charles I and their Foreign policy, and Chs. XXVI to XXIX with Domestic History (1603–60). Ch. XXX reviews the Foreign policy of the Commonwealth and of Charles II and James II, and the beginnings of our Empire; and Ch. XXXI outlines the Domestic History of England from the accession of Charles II, and of Scotland from the period of the Commonwealth. Ch. XXXII contains a brief sketch of Irish History under the Tudors and Stuarts.

For list of chief dates of period see end of volume.

PART II

XXV. The First Two Stuarts and their Foreign Policy

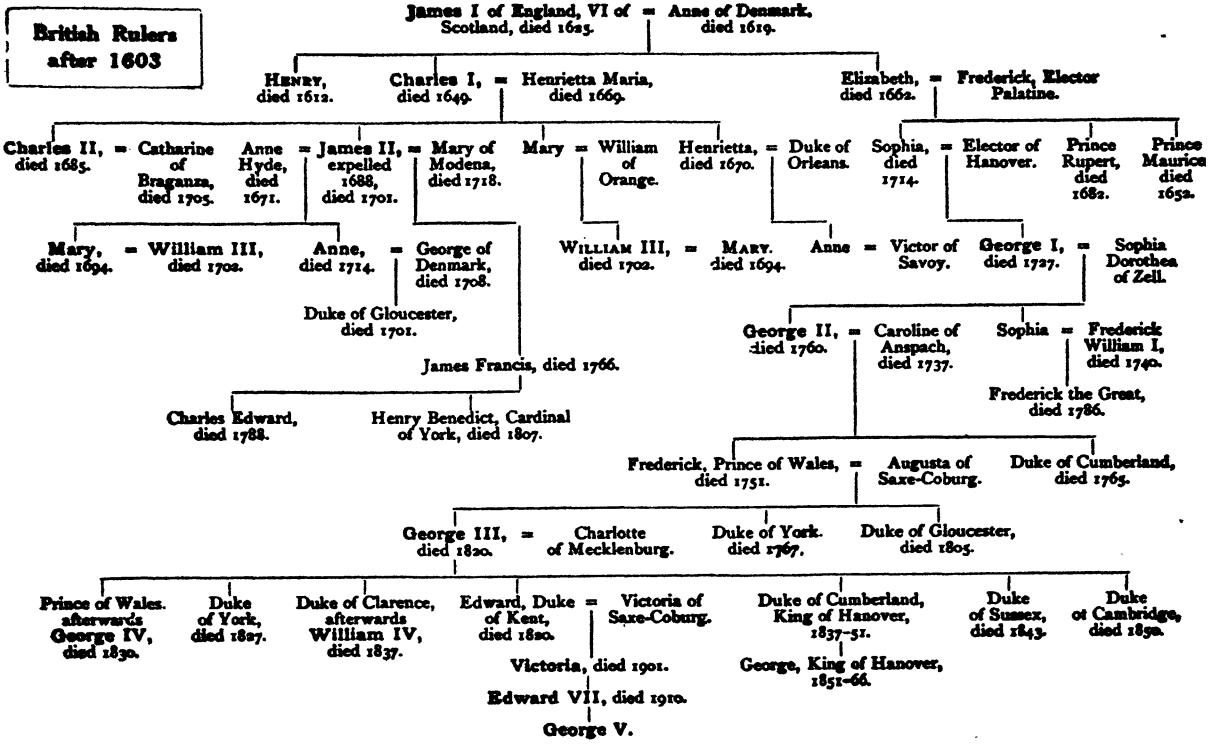
The development of England at every stage has been largely influenced by the character of its monarchs. But it may be doubted whether at any other period more depended upon the character of the sovereign than during the first half of the Seventeenth Century, when, as we shall see, most difficult questions arose both at home and abroad. It will be as well, therefore, to say something at once about the first two kings of the house of Stuart who sat upon the English throne—about James I, who succeeded Queen Elizabeth in 1603, and reigned till 1625, and his son, Charles I, who reigned from 1625 till 1649.

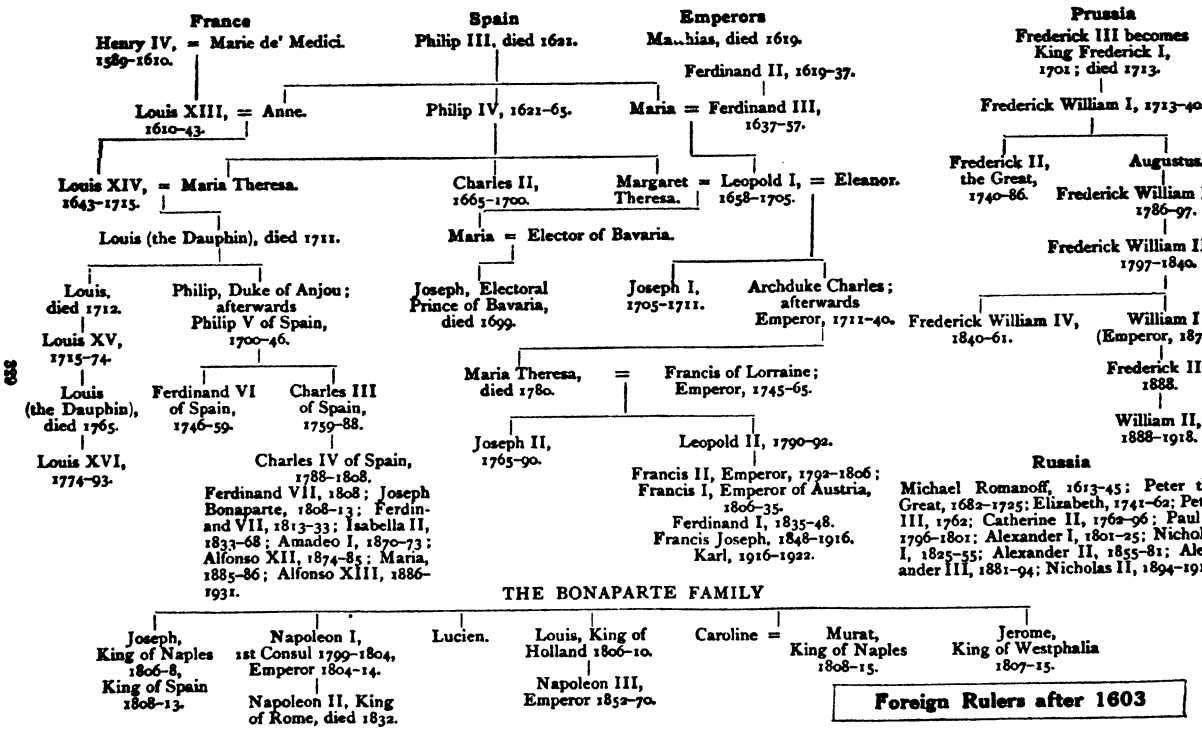
James I has been described as the most learned man who ever occupied a British throne. He was highly educated. In his youth he was something of a prodigy,[1] and in later life he wrote tolerable verses, whilst his speeches and prose writings were vigorous and clever.[2] He was exceptionally well informed, especially in theology, and well versed in foreign politics. Moreover, not only was he a great reader, but a great rider as well; he was fond of all forms of exercise, and was a mighty hunter. He was humorous, and not without shrewdness. "Bring stools for the ambassadors," was his remark when a deputation came from the House of Commons in 1621, James

Character of James I.

[1] At the age of ten "he was able, *extempore*," wrote a contemporary, "to read a chapter out of the Bible out of Latin into French, and out of French after into English".

[2] His writings include *A Counterblast to Tobacco*, a violent attack upon the practice of smoking


British Rulers after 1603
James I of England, VI of Scotland, died 1625.
Anne of Denmark, died 1619.
Henry, died 1612.
Charles I, died 1649.
Henrietta Maria, died 1669.
Elizabeth, died 1662.
Frederick, Elector Palatine.
Charles II, died 1685.
Catharine of Braganza, died 1705.
Anne Hyde, died 1671.
James II, expelled 1688, died 1701.
Mary of Modena, died 1718.
Mary
William of Orange.
Henrietta, died 1670.
Duke of Orleans.
Sophia, died 1714.
Elector of Hanover.
Prince Rupert, died 1682.
Prince Maurice died 1652.
Mary, died 1694.
William III, died 1702.
Anne, died 1714.
George of Denmark, died 1708.
Duke of Gloucester, died 1701.
William III, died 1702.
Mary, died 1694.
Anne
Victor of Savoy.
George I, died 1727.
Sophia Dorothea of Zell.
George II, died 1760.
Caroline of Anspach, died 1737.
Sophia
Frederick William I, died 1740.
Frederick the Great, died 1786.
James Francis, died 1766.
Charles Edward, died 1788.
Henry Benedict, Cardinal of York, died 1807.
Frederick, Prince of Wales, died 1751.
Augusta of Saxe-Coburg.
Duke of Cumberland, died 1765.
George III, died 1820.
Charlotte of Mecklenburg.
Duke of York, died 1767.
Duke of Gloucester, died 1805.
Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV, died 1830.
Duke of York, died 1827.
Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV, died 1837.
Edward, Duke of Kent, died 1820.
Victoria of Saxe-Coburg.
Victoria, died 1901.
Edward VII, died 1910.
George V.
Duke of Cumberland, King of Hanover, 1837–51.
George, King of Hanover, 1851–66.
Duke of Sussex, died 1843.
Duke of Cambridge, died 1850.



Foreign Rulers after 1603

recognising that it was becoming, in some sense, a rival power to himself. "You will live to have your bellyful of impeachments," was his prophetic reply when his son Charles pressed him to sanction the impeachment of one of his ministers. He was a thoroughly well-meaning man, with every intention of doing his duty. "He felt himself", as it has been humorously put, "as an enormous brood fowl set over his new kingdom, and would so fain gather it all under his wings." He was a man also of large ideas. In an age of war his motto was *Beati pacifici*. In an age of persecution he was in favour of toleration, and desired an understanding with the Pope and a cessation of religious controversy. Almost alone he saw the great value of the political union between England and Scotland, a union which was not, however, to be achieved till 1707.

Perhaps it is not quite true and even if true it was not his fault that James, in Macaulay's words, had an "awkward figure, a rickety walk, and a slobbering mouth"; but his personal appearance, if it was neither ludicrous nor displeasing, was at all events not prepossessing, and his personal habits were not all of them nice. Unfortunately, however, apart from that, the defects of James more than counterbalanced his virtues. He was indolent, averse to taking trouble, and he refused to think out details. He was timid and lacking in decision, as he showed in his foreign policy. He might have large ideas, but they were vague and formless. He was prodigiously conceited, and no flattery of this "Solomon of England", as he was called by his courtiers, was too fulsome for him; and, finally, he was pedantic and loquacious to a degree which would have provoked any English House of Commons at any period. James was, in truth, unsympathetic and tactless, and, as was natural in a Scot brought up in Scotland, entirely ignorant of the ordinary opinions of the ordinary Englishman. The French king once called James "the wisest fool in Christendom"—perhaps that is the best description of him.

Character of Charles I.

The portraits of Vandyck and the fate of the martyred king have combined to prejudice most people in favour of Charles I. And, indeed, he was not without many attractive characteristics. He was a thorough gentleman, devoted to his wife and children, artistic (before the Civil War he

had acquired the best picture gallery in Europe[1]), and fond of good literature, and more especially of Shakespeare. Moreover, he was a hard worker at the business of his kingdom. But as a ruler he showed his worst side. He was a silent, obstinate, self-absorbed, unimaginative man, who never knew what anyone else was thinking about. He was absolutely untrustworthy; he would make promises, but with all sorts of mental and private reservations, and consequently he often failed to keep them. No one who has not followed his intrigues in detail, either at home or with foreign powers, can understand how difficult he was to deal with. He would pursue at the same time three or four contradictory plans, and it is not surprising, therefore, that his policy should have been futile. It might be said of him, as was said of another ruler, "that his head was as full of schemes as a warren was full of rabbits, and, like rabbits, his schemes went to ground to avoid notice or antagonism".

Such was the character of the two kings. We must now see in what manner they dealt with the problems which faced them. We may take, first, those that arose in foreign affairs, since the desire to get money to take part in foreign politics profoundly affected the relations between the Stuart kings and their parliaments. In some respects England's position in 1603 was far more secure than it had been before. When James VI of Scotland became James I of England these two countries, after hundreds of years of rivalry, were at last united under one king. Hitherto, for England's Continental foes, Scotland had been the most convenient of allies; when English energies were absorbed in foreign wars Scotland always had the opportunity of making an invasion, an opportunity of which she not infrequently took advantage. But henceforth, Scotland is, generally speaking, the ally and not the foe of England in her foreign undertakings. Moreover, there were no rivals to the throne whom foreign powers could support, and the succession seemed secure. Again, there was no danger to be apprehended from Spain. Englishmen during the first half of the seventeenth

Position of England in 1603.

[1] Unfortunately the Commonwealth sold most of the pictures after the king's execution; and they are now to be found in various foreign collections, and especially in Paris, Madrid, and Leningrad.

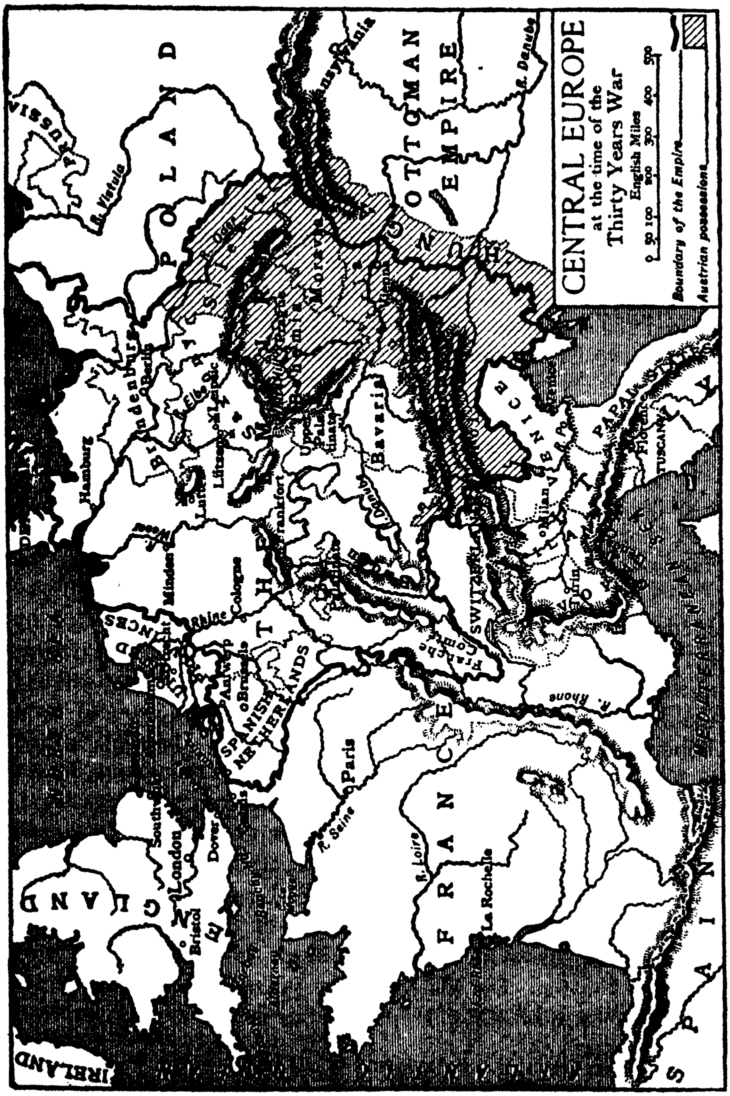
century, and even later, continued to hate the Spaniards, but they no longer had reason to fear them. Consequently England was not vitally concerned in affairs on the Continent, as she had been under Elizabeth through fear of Spain's ambitions, and as she was to be later, owing to the ambitions of France.

Foreign policy before 1618.

We need not concern ourselves with James I's policy in the years previous to 1618. Until his death, in 1612, *Lord Salisbury*, James I's minister, had the controlling influence, and a cautious policy of peace was pursued. After Lord Salisbury's death, James designed marriages for two of his children. One, *Elizabeth*, later known from her great beauty as the "Queen of Hearts", married, in 1613, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the grandson of William of Orange and the leader of the Calvanistic party in Germany. On the other hand, for his son *Charles*, James designed a marriage with the daughter of the King of Spain, the great champion of the Papacy. With this object he opened negotiations in 1617, negotiations which, though they ended in failure, were regarded with great suspicion and disfavour by James's subjects.

Condition of Germany in 1618.

In 1618 there broke out in Germany the war known as "*the Thirty Years War*". The war developed into a gigantic European struggle, which gradually drew in all the chief states in Europe, and it was destined to have vast consequences. To understand the war, and the part Great Britain played in it, something must first be said as to the condition of Germany at this period. Germany, in the seventeenth century, consisted of some three hundred states bound together in a confederation called the Holy Roman Empire, at its head being an Elected Emperor who held office for life. There was a good deal of friction between the rulers of the various states as to the constitution of Germany, some wanting to tighten the bonds of the Confederation and to exalt the powers of the emperor, and others holding contrary opinions. But, of course, the great line of division in Germany at that time was between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, the former being on the whole predominant in the north and the latter in the south of Germany.


CENTRAL EUROPE
at the time of the
Thirty Years War
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Boundary of the Empire
Austrian possessions
POLAND
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
R. Danube
R. Vistula
Brandenburg
Berlin
Hamburg
Bavaria
Frankfort
Cologne
Rhine
Minden
SWITZERLAND
Franche Comté
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Brussels
Paris
R. Seine
R. Loire
La Rochelle
FRANCE
R. Rhone
Milan
TUSCANY
Florence
London
Dover
Bristol
IRELAND
SPAIN

In 1619 an event occurred which brought on a crisis. The most important person in Germany was the head of the *House of Habsburg*, and he was always elected Emperor.[1] Not only did he govern large Austrian dominions, but he ruled Hungary as well. In addition to this, he was King of Bohemia. But the crown of *Bohemia* was, like that of Hungary, in theory elective, and the House of Habsburg was stanchly Catholic, whilst the nobles in Bohemia were mainly Protestant. Consequently the nobles of Bohemia took advantage, in 1619, of the death of the Emperor to make a change of dynasty, and offered the crown to a Protestant, Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who was, as stated above, James's son-in-law. Frederick asked James's advice as to whether he should accept it, but James was slow in making up his mind,[2] and Frederick accepted the throne before James had come to any decision.

The Bohemian election, 1619.

"That prince," said the Pope, referring to Frederick, "has cast himself into a fine labyrinth." The Pope was right. The Catholic powers in Germany at once combined to support the claims to Bohemia of Ferdinand, the new Emperor and head of the Austrian dominions. Frederick, on the other hand, was not cordially supported by the Protestant princes in Germany. His forces were consequently defeated, in little more than an hour, at the battle of the *White Hill*, just outside *Prague*; and he was expelled from Bohemia (1620). But that was not all. The Duke of Bavaria invaded and occupied that part of Frederick's dominions known as the Upper Palatinate, which bordered his own territory (1621). The King of Spain, both as an ardent Catholic and a cousin of Ferdinand's, also intervened, and proceeded to send an army from the Netherlands to occupy the Lower Palatinate, which lay on the Rhine (1622). The result of the opening stage of the war was, therefore, that the Elector Palatine lost not only his new kingdom, but his hereditary possessions as well.

Beginning of Thirty Years War, 1619–22.

We must now see what part Great Britain played in these

[1] A Habsburg was always elected emperor from 1438 until the close of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, except for a brief period in the eighteenth century, when the Austrian dominions were ruled by a woman.

[2] The matter, of course, was urgent, but all the answer Frederick's agent could extract from James was, "I will consider of it."

proceedings. Public opinion in England had been enthusiastic in support of Frederick, the Protestant husband of an English princess.[1] It wanted to force a Protestant policy upon the Government, and clamoured for an immediate war with Spain. In this public opinion was right. The Spanish king would probably not have occupied the Palatinate at all if he had felt convinced that it would have led to hostilities with England. But he was well served by Gondomar, his ambassador in London, who was much more aware of James's timidity and indecision than James was himself, and knew exactly how, by a mixture of firmness and flattery, to manage him. And therefore, though English volunteers went out to fight on the Continent, and the House of Commons enthusiastically passed motions in Frederick's favour,[2] nothing else happened. James, indeed, wished to be the peacemaker of Europe, and sent numberless embassies to the Continent; but he never realized that diplomacy, unbacked by armed force, was useless, and that the differences between Protestants and Catholics in Germany were, at that time, too deep to be settled merely by a little judicious management.

England's policy.

Having failed to prevent the Spanish occupation of the Palatinate, James thought he could get the Spaniards to surrender it if he arranged a marriage between Charles and the Spanish Infanta, and he accordingly reopened the negotiations which he had begun in 1617. Finally Charles—fancying himself in love with the Infanta, whom, by the way, he had never seen—and Buckingham, James's favourite, persuaded James to let them go to Madrid and woo the Infanta (1623). As Tom and John Smith, they crossed the Continent, and arrived at Madrid at eight o'clock one night. But the Spanish statesmen in return for the marriage, instead of being prepared to give up the Palatinate, tried to extract from Charles conces-

The Spanish marriage and the journey to Madrid, 1623.

[1] The enthusiasm even extended to the lawyers, and thirty gentlemen of the Middle Temple swore on their drawn swords, after the fatal battle outside Prague, to live or die in the service of Queen Elizabeth; and Charles, who was devoted to his sister, was so much upset by the news of this battle, that for two days he shut himself up in his room and would speak to no one.

[2] The members waved their hats "as high as they could hold them" when one motion was put to the vote.

sions for the Roman Catholics in England.[1] Charles made all sorts of promises—which no one knew better than himself that he could not have kept; and finally came back in disgust, to be received with acclamations and bonfires,[2] not so much because he had returned as because he had returned without the Infanta.

The expedition to the Palatinate, 1624.

Buckingham and Charles were now all for war to recover the Palatinate. James yielded and Parliament voted the money, and an army was collected (1624). But the army was, to quote a contemporary, "a rabble of raw and poor rascals", and never reached its destination, being diverted to another siege in 1625. In the same year James died, with the Palatinate still unrecovered.

When Charles came to the throne, the Protestants were fighting for their existence in Germany, but a new champion had arisen on behalf of the Protestant cause in the person of the *King of Denmark*. Charles agreed to pay him £360,000 a year for the conduct of a war in Germany. He paid one instalment of £46,000—and that was all. For one thing, Charles had obtained, largely through his own fault, insufficient supplies of money from Parliament. For another, soon after Charles made the engagement to the Danish king, he and Buckingham, who largely controlled the king's policy, came to the conclusion that the Protestantism of Germany might best be succoured and the Palatinate recovered by an attack upon the Spanish ports. It was, doubtless, a roundabout plan to attack the King of Spain in order to put pressure on the Emperor to restore Frederick, but a naval war with Spain was sure to be popular, and it was easier than campaigning in Germany. Accordingly an expedition was organized to *Cadiz*, which was to repeat Drake's exploit, sack the town and capture the treasure fleet coming from America. But the expedition came to hopeless grief and took neither Cadiz nor the treasure fleet (1625).[3] The next year the King of Denmark, with soldiers

Charles I and the war, 1625-6.

[1] Charles was only allowed one interview of a purely formal nature with the Infanta; he tried to effect another of a more informal character by leaping into a garden where she was walking, but the Infanta, who did not care for Charles, rushed away shrieking.

[2] There were a hundred and eight alone between St. Paul's and London Bridge.

[3] The expedition had started in the stormy month of October, with pressed crews and soldiers, with ships whose hulls were rotten and whose sails—at all events in the case of

clamouring for pay in consequence of the failure of the English subsidies, was obliged to take the offensive, was decisively defeated, and accordingly returned to his own country (1626). Charles's initial interference in the Thirty Years War had, therefore, been disastrous.

Meantime Charles had got into difficulties with France. At the end of his father's reign he was engaged to marry a French princess, *Henrietta Maria*, and on his accession he married her. By the terms of the marriage treaty concessions were promised to the Roman Catholics in England, and James also, just before his death, had undertaken to lend ships to the French king. The French king and his famous minister, Richelieu, wanted to use the ships to aid them in a war against the Protestants in France, the Huguenots as they are called. Charles, after futile endeavours and discreditable subterfuges to evade his father's promises,[1] was obliged to lend them—to the great wrath of his subjects in England.

Difficulties with France, 1625-6.

Later on the King of France demanded that the promised concessions to the Catholics in England should be granted, and in 1627 the two countries gradually drifted into war. Buckingham was himself sent with an expedition to capture a fort in the *Isle of Rhé*, in order to assist *La Rochelle*, the Huguenot stronghold on the west coast of France which the French king was still besieging. At that time there was no standing army, and a force largely composed of the riffraff of the country was not likely to be successful.[2] Buckingham, however, did well, and inspired his men with courage, if not with enthusiasm; and, but for the fact that, through no fault of his own, the French managed to revictual the fort, and that, through contrary winds, reinforcements failed to leave England, he might have succeeded. As it was, Buckingham

The Rhé expedition, 1627, and Buckingham's assassination, 1628.

one ship—dated from the Armada; and the food was exceedingly bad, "such as no dog in Paris garden would eat", said a contemporary. On reaching Cadiz, the men got drunk, and the ships finally returned home with scarcely enough men to work them.

[1] Amongst other things, a mutiny was arranged so that the ships might not be given up.

[2] When an army had to be raised, each county had to contribute a certain number of men. The lord-lieutenants, as in this case, took advantage of the occasion to get rid of those who, it was desirable, "should leave their county for their county's good". Buckingham's troops were ignorant alike of marksmanship and discipline, and after being drilled for a fortnight at the seaside, were dispatched on the expedition.

came back discredited in the eyes of the country. Before he could fit out another expedition, the tenpenny knife of a disappointed officer called Felton, who thought, as many others thought, that the assassination of Buckingham was a meritorious act, closed his career (1628).

With Buckingham's death, "there was an abrupt transition", it has been said, "from a policy of adventurous activity to one of utter inaction". Charles would make proposals, at one and the same time, to France for an alliance against Spain, and to Spain for an alliance against France. He would offer to help *Gustavus Adolphus*, the King of Sweden, the new champion of Protestantism in Germany, and not the King of Denmark, and then to help the King of Denmark and not Gustavus. One ambassador said to Charles, "The truth is you pull down with one hand as fast as you build up with the other": and the criticism was a just one. Moreover, circumstances were against the prosecution of an active policy. At first, Charles had no money to back his schemes; and later he had his hands full with his quarrel with his own subjects. As a result, the influence of Great Britain in foreign affairs became a negligible quantity for the remainder of Charles's reign.

Charles's inaction, 1629-49.

The Thirty Years War, therefore, ceased to be influenced by or to influence Great Britain; and we can only briefly allude to its later developments. *Gustavus Adolphus* had a brief spell of brilliant success and was then killed at the famous battle of *Lützen*[1] (1632). The Protestant cause appeared hopeless. But Richelieu, though he suppressed Protestants in France, was willing to support them in Germany by force of arms so as to weaken the house of Hapsburg. During the later stages of the war, the French armies exerted a decisive influence and were brilliantly successful. The war came finally to an end in 1648, France and Sweden acquiring large parts of what had been German territory whilst the German states were left more disunited and independent than before the war broke out. Upon Germany and the German nation the effects of the war, material and moral, were appalling—indeed, in

Later stages of the Thirty Years War.

[1] At the crisis of the battle, a thick November mist obscured the sun, and Gustavus, losing his way, was killed by the enemy.

the opinion of Bismarck, the great Prussian statesman, Germany was still suffering from these effects in 1880.

It must be confessed that England's foreign policy during the first half of the seventeenth century was both inglorious and ineffective. Many explanations may be offered. There was no standing army, and consequently no force behind English diplomacy; and if England went to war, her hastily trained levies had little chance against more experienced soldiers. Parliament again, though keen for war, did not, as a matter of fact, provide either James or Charles with sufficient money to wage it effectively—though in the case of Charles it was, as we shall see, largely his own fault for not explaining what he intended to do. Moreover, ill fortune attended the English efforts. But the chief cause of the futility of English policy lay in the characters of James and Charles; the indecisive and timid policy of the one and the tortuous and contradictory policy of the other could only result in failure. Nor must we forget that England's failure enabled France, by becoming the ally of the German Protestants, to establish a predominance which was before the end of the century to threaten the independence of nearly every other country in Europe.

Failure of English policy—its causes.

XXVI. King James I and Domestic Affairs

1. Plots against the King

We must turn now to the internal history of England under the first two Stuarts. Despite the fact that before Elizabeth's death there were other possible successors, James was fortunate in that his accession to the throne met with almost universal approval. There were, however, three unsuccessful plots against him. The first was rather an absurd plot, known as the *Bye Plot*, the object of which was to kidnap the king at Greenwich and to capture the Tower of London; it was designed by one Roman Catholic and

James I; the Bye and Main Plots, 1603.

betrayed to the Government by another. The evidence given by one of the conspirators led the Government to suspect the existence of the second plot, known as the *Main Plot*, the alleged object of which was to put, with Spanish aid, the Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne.[1] The details, are, however, obscure and uncertain, and it is very doubtful whether there was ever such a plot at all (1603).

The chief interest of the Main Plot lies in the fact that *Sir Walter Ralegh*,[2] the soldier and seaman, the prose writer and poet, the explorer and courtier of Elizabeth's day, was accused of being implicated in it. Ralegh, after a most unfair trial, was condemned to death for treason. But he was reprieved, and imprisoned in the Tower. He employed his time in writing a *History of the World* and in making chemical experiments.[3] Thirteen years later, in 1616, he obtained his freedom in order to find a gold mine on the Orinoco River, of which he had heard on one of his journeys. But his expedition was disastrous. He had a bad crew, he lost his best officers by disease, and he was unable, owing to sickness, to go up the river himself. Worst luck of all, since his last journey a Spanish town on the river had been moved from a position above the mine to one below it. Consequently Ralegh's men had to pass the town on their way to the mine. The Spaniards attacked them, or they attacked the Spaniards—one or other was inevitable—and Spanish blood was shed. On Ralegh's return the Spanish ambassador clamoured for his punishment. James I was at that time engaged in the marriage negotiations of Charles and the Infanta. He yielded, therefore, and executed Ralegh on the old charge of treason, and in so doing was guilty of an act for which posterity has never forgiven him (1618).[4]

Sir Walter Ralegh.

[1] The Lady Arabella was, like James, descended from Margaret, the elder daughter of Henry VII; but, unlike James, she had been born in England, a fact which, in the eyes of some lawyers, gave her a better title to the throne.

[2] Ralegh's name has been spelt in seventy different ways. He himself signed his name variously in the course of his life, but he never signed it in the way it is often spelt now, i.e. Raleigh.

[3] Amongst other things he compounded drugs, and his "great cordial or elixir" had a wonderful reputation.

[4] Ralegh was warned, it is only fair to James to say, that any hostilities against the Spaniards would cost him his life; and in his over eagerness to get free from the Tower, Ralegh asserted that the mine was neither in nor near the King of Spain's territories, a statement which he must have known to be untrue.

The third plot was the famous *Gunpowder Plot.* The Roman Catholics had hoped much from a son of Mary Queen of Scots; and James, on his accession, was inclined to be tolerant, and excused the Roman Catholics from the fines which they paid for not going to their parish churches.[1] The immediate result of this concession was an invasion of Roman Catholic priests from abroad—no less than a hundred and forty in six months—and such signs of activity that James felt obliged to reimpose the fines and to banish the priests. It was this which prompted the Gunpowder Plot (1605). Its leader, Robert Catesby, was something of a hero—of great strength fascinating manners, and a real leader of men, with magnetic influence over others—but very wrongheaded, driven to desperation, almost to madness, by the persecution which the Roman Catholics had endured. Amongst the other conspirators was Guy Fawkes, who came of an old Yorkshire family, and had seen much warfare in the Netherlands. The plan of the plot was to blow up the House of Lords when the king and the members of both Houses of Parliament were assembled in it at the opening of the session; to capture James's son, Charles, and proclaim him king; and then to inform other Roman Catholics of the success of the plot at a hunting match which was to be arranged in the Midlands, and with their aid to organize a Roman Catholic Government.

The Gunpowder Plot, 1605.

The plotters first tried to dig a mine from an adjacent house through the foundations of the House of Lords; then they hired a cellar, or rather a room on the ground floor, underneath the House of Lords, and put in it two tons of gunpowder in barrels. Finally, however, one of the conspirators, appalled at the enormity of the crime, sent a letter of warning to a cousin of his who was a member of the House of Lords, and who gave the letter to the Government. Consequently, the night before Parliament met, the barrels were discovered, and Guy Fawkes with them; and subsequently he and the other conspirators were either killed in fighting or executed. The result of the plot was that laws of extreme severity were passed against the Roman

[1] They were extremely heavy—£20 a month, or else the confiscation of two-thirds of their property.

Catholics—laws, for instance, which excluded them from all professions, which forbade them to appear at Court or within ten miles of London unless employed in business there, and which made the fines against them even more severe. Parliament was always clamouring for these laws to be put into execution, though James occasionally, and Charles very often, failed to enforce them.[1]

2. The King's Ministers

We must now say a word as to James's advisers during his reign. The king, on his accession, retained in office, as chief minister, Robert Cecil, the son of Elizabeth's great minister, Lord Burleigh, and created him *Earl of Salisbury*.[2] "He was fit to prevent things going worse, not fit to make them better", was the judgment upon him of Bacon, his cousin. The remark was uncousinly and somewhat unjust. A man of vast industry and sound sense, a capable financier, a clever manager of the king's business in Parliament, Salisbury, up till his death in 1612, did good work at home and had a large share in directing England's foreign policy.

Lord Salisbury's ministry, 1603-12.

After 1612 James employed favourites to carry on his Government. This was not only because he enjoyed the society of a lively companion during his leisure, but because he desired to have a person who was wholly dependent upon himself, and who could be imbued with his ideas and could then carry them out; in fact, he thought that, through favourites, he might be an absolute ruler with little trouble to himself. His first choice was singularly unfortunate—a Scotsman named *Carr*, whom he created Lord Rochester, and afterwards Earl of Somerset. Lady Essex divorced her first husband in order to marry Carr, and she and her new husband were subsequently found responsible for the murder of a distinguished man, who happened to be her personal enemy.[3]

James and his favourites—Carr and Buckingham, 1612-25.

[1] An attempt has recently been made to show that there was really no Gunpowder Plot, and that the whole affair was contrived by Lord Salisbury, James I's minister, in order to discredit the Roman Catholics; but this is very unlikely.

[2] James used to call him familiarly his "pigmy", or his "little beagle", owing to his shortness of stature.

[3] His name was Overbury. He was something of a poet, and a great friend of Carr's. He had tried to prevent Carr marrying Lady Essex, and Lady Essex, in revenge, contrived to season with white arsenic the confectionery Overbury ate.

James consequently dismissed Carr from all his offices (1616), and kept him a prisoner in the Tower for the next six years.

The king's next choice was better. *George Villiers*, who eventually became *Duke of Buckingham*, had an attractive personality, with agreeable manners and a merry laugh.[1] He was the friend of some good people, such as Abbot and Laud, both Archbishops of Canterbury; of Bacon, who hoped through Villiers to carry out his political ideals; and even of the man who was eventually to impeach him, Sir John Eliot. Moreover, he proved himself a very fair soldier and an energetic Lord High Admiral. But his character was spoilt by his rapid rise. He was too impulsive and volatile to be a statesman; and "if it is only just", as has been said, "to class him among ministers rather than among favourites, he must rank amongst the most incapable ministers of this or any other century". At first, however, Villiers was only concerned with matters of patronage; not till towards the end of James's reign did he have much influence upon the king's policy.

Of all the people living at that time, *Francis Bacon*, the historian, essayist, and philosopher, possessed the greatest ability and the widest views. He was a strong supporter of the monarchy; but he loved it, it was said, because he expected great things from it. He saw the necessity for harmony between King and Parliament; the function of the Parliament was to keep the king informed of the wishes of his people, and of the king, through Parliament, to keep the nation informed of his policy. In the early part of James I's reign, Bacon's cousin, Lord Salisbury, prevented him having much influence, perhaps from personal jealousy or dislike. But, after Salisbury's death, Bacon became in 1613 Attorney-General, and from 1618–21 was Lord Chancellor. In those capacities he exercised much influence in the legal side of the struggle by upholding the theory that the Judges should support the king: "they shall be lions" he said, "but yet lions under the throne."

Francis Bacon (1561–1626).

[1] James used to call him "Steenie", from a fancied resemblance to a picture of St. Stephen.

3. The King and Protestant parties

We turn from the king's ministers to trace the king's policy. It was on questions of Religion that people in those days felt most acutely, and these were amongst the first to occupy James's attention on his accession. We have already noticed the upshot of his attempt to tolerate the Roman Catholics, and we must now see how he dealt with the Protestants. It may be convenient at this stage to say something of Protestant parties in seventeenth-century England. *First*, there was the *Anglican*, or, as it came to be called at the time, the *Arminian*[1] party, the strong party in the Church of England, of which Archbishop Laud was later to be the leader. In politics the members of this party were believers in the "divine right" of kings. In matters of Church government they were strong upholders of the power of the bishops; and they believed that the bishops, by succession from the Apostles, and the priests, through ordination by the bishops, had been given special powers. With them the Communion service was in a special sense a means of grace. Laud, by his extreme intolerance brought, in later years, much odium upon the Anglican party; and its members, partly because of their liking for vestments and a rather elaborate ritual, and partly because of the doctrines held by some of the more extreme amongst them, were suspected by their enemies of being in sympathy, if not in alliance, with the Church of Rome. But the Anglican party included among its members in the seventeenth century some singularly attractive characters, such as George Herbert, the poet, and Lancelot Andrewes, the Bishop of Winchester, and one of those chiefly responsible for the Authorized Version of the Bible; it had interests in the historic side of the English Church and in preserving its continuity from the Early Church; and it did much to improve the order and beauty of the church services throughout England.

Religion: The Anglican party.

And then, *secondly*, there were the various bodies of people we may group together under the name of *Puritan*.[2] In deal-

[1] After the name of Dr. Arminius, a Dutch divine, who died in 1609.

[2] These people would, however, have repudiated the name in the earlier part of the seventeenth century; indeed it was regarded as a nickname and term of reproach.

ing with the Puritans three things must be borne in mind. In the first place, many of the popular views held with regard to the Puritans are erroneous, being due to the caricatures drawn of the Puritans after the Restoration of 1660. **The Puritans.** The Puritans, for instance, were not all drawn from the inferior social class; on the contrary, many of the best type of English gentlemen of that day held Puritan opinions. They were not averse to all pleasure and amusement. They did not wear their hair short, and did not speak through their noses. Secondly, we must remember that the great majority of Puritans still belonged to the Church of England; the great and final division between Churchman and Nonconformist did not come till the reign of Charles II. Thirdly, the term Puritan includes a large variety of opinions—just after the Civil War it was estimated that there were a hundred and seventy different sects, nearly all belonging to what we now call the Puritan party. Some Puritans were disposed to acquiesce, for instance, in the rule of bishops, if moderately exercised, whilst others detested and made the most violent attacks upon them. Then, especially during and after the Civil War, the Presbyterians (see p. 364) became a great force, and wished to impose their system of government by elders and their doctrines on everyone else. The Independents, however, believed in the right of every man to think for himself, and in what they called "liberty for tender consciences", so long as those consciences were not those of Roman Catholics. And, finally, there were—as there are in every movement—various groups of extremists, who, we shall find, were a dangerous element at the time of the Commonwealth.

All classes of Puritans, however, were united on certain matters. They were all agreed, for instance, in their detestation of Roman Catholicism. It is difficult for us now to realize the intensity of the feeling of large numbers of Englishmen against the Roman Catholics, or to justify the severity of the laws against them. But we must remember that the persecutions of Queen Mary's reign were still fresh in men's minds,[1] that the Roman

[1] Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (first published in 1563) was regarded as a sort of second Bible at this time, and was chained to the desk in a great many Parish churches; its vivid accounts helped to keep alive the memory of the Marian persecutions.

Catholics had been concerned in various plots against Elizabeth, and that the Armada was looked upon as a Popish Armada. Moreover, the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 was regarded—quite wrongly—as a plot in which the Pope and the English Roman Catholics as a body were implicated. Then, again, the Roman Catholics were not aiming merely at toleration for themselves; they were a large and increasing body, and they wanted England to become a Roman Catholic country. Lastly, it must be borne in mind that the Puritans looked upon the Pope as Antichrist, upon the ceremonies of the church which he ruled as idolatrous, upon the doctrines—to quote the House of Commons—of Popery as "devilish", and upon its priests as "the corrupters of the people in religion and loyalty". They would, indeed, have regarded a return to Roman Catholicism as a moral and religious catastrophe for the nation.

Apart from their hatred of the Papacy, the various sections among the Puritans had other views in common. They all opposed the claims of bishops and priests to special powers, and they disliked ornaments and vestments and an elaborate ritual in church. They were all more or less followers of Calvin; that is to say, they believed in predestination, i.e. that some are foreordained to salvation and others are not; and they looked upon the Communion as a commemorative feast in memory of our Lord's death, and not as a special means of grace. Above all, they made the Bible their rule of faith and of conduct; they had an intense feeling of responsibility towards God for all that they did, and all the power which came from the conviction that He was on their side in their struggle against what they thought was wrong.

Dislike of toleration.

There is, perhaps, one more point to bear in mind in dealing with religious parties in England, and for that matter in Scotland as well. No religious party, whether Roman Catholic, or Arminian, or Presbyterian, desired merely toleration for itself; they all, except perhaps the Independents, desired to persecute those who disagreed with them. Toleration, "that hellish toleration", as a Scottish divine once called it, would satisfy few; each party wanted every other religious party exactly to conform with its own views and practices, or else to be suppressed.

It was inevitable that some of the religious opinions held by the Puritans should clash with those held by the Monarchy. Even in Elizabeth's day there was, at times, no little friction. In the early years of her reign had occurred what is known as the *Vestiarian Controversy*—clergymen with Puritan leanings objecting to wearing the surplice and to certain of the ceremonies enjoined in the Prayer Book. Then, later on, the more advanced Puritans, chiefly at Oxford and Cambridge, had advocated a Presbyterian form of government and had attacked the bishops, with the result that a dozen of them had been sent to jail. Others, again, had organized meetings, called *Prophesyings*, at which various religious subjects were discussed, and clergymen learnt how to preach sermons. But Elizabeth thought that theological discussion would provoke too much independence of thought; and she much preferred a clergyman to read to his congregation an extract from "the Book of Homilies" (which had been issued at the same time as the Prayer Book) rather than to preach to his congregation a sermon of his own composition—indeed, she thought one or two preachers quite a sufficient allowance for each county. She, therefore, disliked these clerical gatherings and sternly repressed them. And when the House of Commons, in which there was a strong Puritan element, ventured to discuss problems of ecclesiastical government or doctrine, the queen mercilessly snubbed them.

Elizabeth and the Puritans.

Finally, in 1583, *Whitgift* became Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a stern disciplinarian, and had the queen's complete confidence.[1] The Press was muzzled, no manuscript being allowed to be set up in type without the licence of the Archbishop or the Bishop of London. This regulation did not prevent, however, some gross libels on the bishops, known as the "Mar-Prelate Tracts", from being secretly printed, the authors of which were never discovered; but some other libellers were caught and were put to death. To the Court of High Commission was delegated by the queen the punishment of ecclesiastical offences, and, armed with tremendous powers, it persecuted the more advanced exponents of the Puritan

[1] The queen used to call him "her little black husband", and treated him as her confessor to whom she revealed "the very secrets of her soul".

doctrines. *The Brownists* (so called because of their leader Robert Browne), who held opinions then considered very extreme and had seceded from the Church, were especially attacked, and a large number took refuge in Holland, whence many returned to make the famous voyage in *The Mayflower* to America in 1620.

The Puritans, however, on James's accession were inclined to be well-disposed to him, for they expected much from him. James had been brought up in Presbyterian Scotland, and the Puritans believed that his attitude towards them would be sympathetic. They consequently lost no time in presenting him with a Millenary Petition—so called because it was supposed to be signed by a thousand ministers[1]—asking for certain reforms. A conference, which included the two archbishops and six bishops on the one side and four Puritans on the other, was held at *Hampton Court* to consider the situation (1604).

The Hampton Court Conference, 1604.

The king himself presided and behaved at first with admirable impartiality. Then, at the end of the second day, a Puritan mentioned the word "Presbytery". Now James, though the Puritans did not know it, hated the Presbyterian form of religion, with its outspokenness and its democratic government, as he had experienced it in Scotland. "A Scottish Presbytery," he said, "agreeth as well with a monarchy as God with the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council."[2] The Conference soon broke up, and its only result—though it was a very important result—was the preparation of the Authorized Version of the Bible (which appeared in 1611); the Puritans otherwise went away disappointed and empty-handed. James himself became a strong supporter of the extreme Anglican position, and a strong believer in the maxim "No bishop, no king"; if once the authority of the bishops was overthrown, that of the monarchy itself, he felt, would be threatened.

[1] As a matter of fact it was not signed at all, though it had received the support of eight hundred ministers.

[2] "Stay, I pray you," James went on, "for one seven years, and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken unto you; for let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath."

4. The King and Parliament

The Puritans, if they found no favour with the Monarchy, found plenty of support in the House of Commons. In every Parliament of James I and Charles I, and to an increasing extent as the years went on, there was a strong Puritan element in the Lower House, and eventually that element became supreme. It is this fact that largely accounts for the differences between the first two Stuart kings and their Parliaments. The Lower House was fanatically anti-Catholic; the two kings were inclined to be tolerant to the Catholics, James because he was naturally of a tolerant disposition and Charles because he had married a Roman Catholic wife. The Crown supported the Anglican or Arminian position in the English Church; the majority in the House of Commons was strongly opposed to the Arminian doctrines and regarded with considerable suspicion all the king's High Church appointments.

Puritanism and Parliament.

There were, however, many other causes besides religious differences for the struggle round which centres the chief interest of the seventeenth century, the struggle between King and Parliament. Of these we must say something before tracing the history of the struggle in detail. One cause of the struggle undoubtedly was the absence of external danger, already referred to in the last chapter. It is often said that an Englishman can only think of one thing at a time. For a great part of Elizabeth's reign his mind was taken up with dangers from abroad. When Elizabeth's life alone stood between her subjects and anarchy or a foreign domination, it was no time to discuss rights and privileges. But by 1603 these dangers were over. The defeat of the Armada in 1588 meant the destruction not only of Philip's ambitions, but also of the Tudor dictatorship—for it was no longer required. Englishmen might, therefore, safely devote themselves to criticizing and reforming their own government.

Causes of struggle between King and Parliament.

Another cause of the struggle was the development, during the sixteenth century, of the national character. That century, it has been said, saw the birth of the modern Englishman. He had realized his possibilities in enterprise, in seamanship, in

literature; the Reformation and the Renaissance had taught him to think and to reason for himself; he had become more self-reliant, more self-confident, perhaps more self-willed. He was, in a word, ready for a greater share in the government of his country. And more especially had come the development of the middle classes. The battle of English liberty in the seventeenth century was fought, not so much by the nobles or by the people, as by the squire, the merchant, and the lawyer; these were the classes which had developed in Tudor times, and it was from these classes that the members of the House of Commons were drawn. Very often they were ignorant, especially about foreign affairs; sometimes they did not realize the difficulties of the Government and brought absurd charges against the ministers. But they were men, for the most part, uncorrupted and incorruptible; independent and yet moderate; patient though very persistent. In the earlier stages of the struggle the lawyers chiefly fought the war of words in the House of Commons; they were, as Bacon said, the "vowels" of the House, the remaining members merely the "consonants". But when it came to the war of swords, it was the country gentlemen who made the best use of them.

Questions at issue.

England, then, was not distracted by foreign dangers; and she had developed a class of citizens who could think and act for themselves. Even during Elizabeth's reign the relations between the queen and her Parliaments were not always perfectly harmonious. It is true that only eleven Parliaments were called, and that hardly any outlived a single session of some six weeks' duration; and that Elizabeth, as she frankly stated on one occasion, called them "not to make new laws[1] or lose good hours in idle speeches", but to provide supplies for the expenses of her government. Nevertheless, on occasions the House of Commons had exhibited an independent and almost pugnacious temper, which indicated that the nation would not continue to look on quietly while the Crown and its ministers governed, and that it was time for a reconsideration of their respective rights and duties. With James I that reconsideration came, and it was significant that at the

[1] The queen was no believer in new laws, and in one year she vetoed no less than forty-eight out of the ninety-one bills which had been passed by both Houses of Parliament.

opening of his first Parliament there was a record attendance. The time had come, as the House of Commons declared in the very first year of James's reign, to "redress, restore, and rectify" those actions which in the reign of Elizabeth they had "passed over". Questions of government, plain and broad questions, pressed for an answer.

There were questions of theory which went to the foundation of all authority. By what title did the King hold his throne? By hereditary divine right, as the King and the bishops and many others believed, or by virtue of an Act of Parliament? If the King ruled by divine right, criticism either of his words or of his actions was obviously wrong; a subject must yield passive obedience to a divinely appointed ruler. Or again, what is meant by the King's *Prerogative*? The King's party held that it was a sort of reserve power residing in the King to do ultimately what he liked; to override, if he thought reasons of State demanded it, all the ordinary laws of the land. The Parliament party held, on the other hand, that law was the ground of all authority, and that the King possessed his powers by law, and must at all times be regulated by law. Where, again, did sovereignty reside? Did it rest with the King alone, or with the King and Parliament combined?

It is obvious that all the practical questions that arose, such as those concerning the power of the King to raise money without the consent of Parliament, and to imprison people without trial, or the power of the Parliament to call ministers to account for their actions, depended upon an answer to these questions. Nor were the answers at all clear. The powers of the monarchy were ill-defined, and the English Constitution was neither then nor at any other time of a rigid type. The King's party had just as decided opinions as the Parliamentary party; and both could bring strong arguments in support of their respective views. And as time went on, the differences between these views became irreconcilable; till at last the sword—and the sword alone—could settle them.

"I found Parliaments when I came here," said James once, "so I had to put up with them." One can sympathize with the king, for it is obvious that the Stuarts succeeded to an exceed-

ingly difficult situation in regard to their Parliaments. But James, instead of relieving the situation, merely aggravated it. A wise man once said that the rights of kings and peoples never agree so well together as in silence. James, however, was both loquacious and pedantic. He was always wanting to define matters of government which had much better be left undefined, and to theorise concerning powers which he might have exercised, in practice, without notice, but which, uncompromisingly enunciated, were bound to provoke opposition.

We have no space to enter into the details of James's relations with his Parliaments, but we may take, as an example of his tactlessness, an incident which occurred at the opening of his *first* Parliament (1604). The King's court had disallowed the election to the House of Commons of a man called Godwin, on the ground that he was an outlaw, and that James in a proclamation had said that no outlaws were to be elected. The House of Commons declared that it was their privilege to settle disputed elections. James answered that their privileges were his grant and ought not to be quoted against him, and a controversy at once ensued as to the origin of parliamentary privileges and the king's power to abrogate them. In the end James allowed the House of Commons to settle the matter of the election; but it was not an auspicious beginning.[1]

James and Godwin's case, 1604.

In the first Parliament of James I, also, an extremely important question of taxation was brought up. The ordinary revenue of the king was derived partly from independent sources, such as crown lands and feudal dues, bringing in about £250,000 a year; and partly from a duty on all imports called tunnage and poundage,[2] a duty which was granted to the king on his accession for the term of his life, and which brought in about £150,000 a year. Two or three years after his accession, James began to impose, on certain articles, extra duties over and above what he was allowed to impose by

Bate's case, 1606.

[1] "The state of monarchy", James said to his Parliament in 1611, "is the supremest thing upon earth; for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God Himself they are called Gods; as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power." This is another example of the king's loquacious tactlessness.

[2] So called because a certain sum was paid on every tun of wine and pound of merchandise imported.

tunnage and poundage. A merchant called *Bate* refused to pay the extra duty on currants, which was one of these articles. But the judges decided that he must pay not only because the ports—the gateways to the kingdom—belonged to the king, but also because it was the king's right and duty to regulate trade in what ways he thought desirable for the good of the State (1606). The result of this decision was that the Government imposed extra duties upon a whole mass of other articles as well, and the king's revenue was increased. These extra duties, known as "Impositions", were, of course, a constant source of contention, and were strenuously opposed by this and other Parliaments.

The king dissolved his first Parliament in 1611, and for the next ten years there was no Parliament except in 1614, when one sat for two months; it is known in history as the "Addled Parliament" because no laws resulted from it. But in *1621* the loss of the Palatinate by Frederick, and the possibility that England might be engaged in a war for its recovery, led James to call his *third Parliament*. This Parliament was very important. In the first place the House of Commons revived its right of impeachment, its right to prosecute the king's ministers or office holders before the House of Lords. This was a weapon of tremendous power which had not been used since 1459; and it was a weapon which later on was to be used with great frequency. The House of Commons began by impeaching some holders of monopolies. It went on to accuse the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, of receiving bribes. Suitors in those days often used to give presents to judges. But there is no doubt also that Bacon had in some cases, probably through carelessness, received presents before he had given his decision, and that these presents were given with a corrupt intention; there is no proof, however, that Bacon received them as bribes or that they in any way influenced his decision.[1] We may agree with Bacon's own judg-

The Parliament of 1621; revival of impeachment.

[1] In one case, a lady, who had a series of suits being heard before Bacon, drove down to York House, Bacon's residence, with £100 in her purse. "What is that," said Bacon on her entrance, "that you have in your hand?" "A purse of my own making," was the lady's reply, "which I hope your lordship will accept." "What Lord," replied Bacon, "could refuse a purse of so fair a lady's working?" But, as a matter of fact, though Bacon took the purse and the £100, his final decision was not at all in favour of this lady litigant.

ment: "I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years. But it was the justest censure in Parliament that was these two hundred years." Bacon was deprived of his chancellorship and died shortly afterwards.

In the second place, this House of Commons upheld its liberty of speech. The House of Commons was strongly, almost fanatically, anti-Catholic and anti-Spaniard, and it met at the time that James was proposing a marriage between Charles and a Spanish princess with a view to the restoration of the Palatinate. It accordingly drew up a petition to be presented to the king, in which it begged that Charles might marry one of "our own religion", and expressed with some bluntness its opinion of the Pope and his "dearest son" the King of Spain. Such a petition coming in the crisis of his negotiations with Spain was, from the king's point of view, exceedingly embarrassing; and James wrote an angry letter against the "fiery and popular spirits" in the House of Commons who had dared "to argue or debate publicly matters far above their reach and capacity", and forbade the House "henceforth to meddle with anything concerning our Government or deep matters of State". Fortunately for English liberty, the House of Commons maintained its courage; and in the candle light on a dark December day, it drew up a Protestation declaring its freedom of speech. The king thereupon dissolved the Parliament, imprisoned some of its members, and sending for the journal book of the House of Commons tore the Protestation out of it with his own hands (1622). But, nevertheless, the House of Commons had shown there was one place in the kingdom where an Englishman might say what he liked.

Liberty of speech.

In the *fourth* Parliament (1624) we pass into smooth waters, for Parliament had got the war with Spain which it desired. Moreover, Buckingham and Prince Charles supported the House of Commons in their impeachment of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer. Shortly afterwards James died (1625).

This brief summary will have shown that the rift had begun between the Crown and Parliament in the reign of King James. The House of Commons had made a decided advance; it had revived impeachment, upheld its privileges, and protested against

impositions. James's character, it must be admitted, had been peculiarly fitted to open dangerous questions; in the reign of his successor they would have to be answered.

XXVII. Charles I and Domestic Affairs, 1625–42

It will be apparent from what has been already said that Charles succeeded to no easy inheritance. He had been left an incompetent and impetuous minister in Buckingham, and unfortunately that minister had more influence in Charles's reign than he had enjoyed even in the later years of King James. At home there was an empty treasury and a Parliament which was beginning to feel its power; and abroad, things were going badly for the Protestants in the Thirty Years' War. Moreover, Charles's wife was to be of no assistance to him. Soon after his accession he married *Henrietta Maria*, daughter of the French king, a vivacious and attractive person; but, unfortunately, as time went on, she interfered more and more in affairs of State, and had more and more influence over her husband. The queen was quite ignorant of English customs and the English character. She was a Roman Catholic in a strongly Protestant country, and was always striving to obtain concessions for those of her own religion. She actively intrigued, in times of difficulty at home, for assistance from abroad; and she held the most extreme political opinions with regard to the king's authority and the wickedness of those who opposed it.[1]

Charles I and Henrietta Maria.

1. Charles and his first three Parliaments, 1625–9

Charles called three Parliaments during the first four years of his reign, and quarrelled with each one of them. Then for

[1] "Of the many women, good and bad," it has been said, "who have tried to take part in affairs of State, from Cleopatra, or the Queen of Sheba downward, nobody by character or training was ever worse fitted than the wife of Charles I for such a case as that in which she found herself."

eleven years he governed without a Parliament. Finally, a war with Scotland and the consequent need of money forced him in 1640 to call two Parliaments, the second of which reduced his powers, and eventually civil war broke out in 1642. Such is briefly the history of Charles's relations with his Parliaments. The subjects of dispute were many. There was, as in James's reign, the religious difficulty. Charles was an Anglican High Churchman, and because of his wife was inclined to tolerate the Roman Catholics; Parliament was Puritan and anti-Catholic. Parliament distrusted the king's ministers, Buckingham in the first four years, and Strafford and Laud in 1640; the king, on the contrary, thought these ministers able and efficient, and any parliamentary criticisms of them factious and impertinent. Parliament, in the early years of Charles's reign, was angry at the failure of the English foreign policy; and in later years, because of the Court intrigues with foreign powers.

Causes of dispute between Charles and his Parliaments.

But underlying all these disputes lay the questions indicated in the last chapter: Where did sovereignty reside? Who had the responsibility for the government of the country? The Parliament wanted, rightly or wrongly, a greater control of the government; Charles, rightly or wrongly, was unwilling to concede it—there lay the whole difficulty. We regard it now as an easy task to bring the powers of Crown and Parliament into harmony. But this dual control was not easy to arrange, and perhaps was impossible to obtain without friction. As a matter of fact, a Civil War occurred in 1642 and a Revolution in 1688 before an arrangement could be made—and even then it proved not to be permanent.

Charles's *first Parliament* met in *1625*,[1] just after the king had arranged to pay very large subsidies to the King of Denmark and to send a fleet to attack Spain. Obviously large sums would be required. But Charles's reticence and want of frankness proved a fatal impediment. There were no Bluebooks or Whitebooks and no daily newspapers in those days, and it was difficult for members of Parliament to know

Charles's first Parliament, 1625.

[1] Even an outbreak of the plague in London did not prevent an attendance at the opening of Charles's first Parliament which beat the record established when James I came to the throne.

what was going on. Though members knew, of course, that a great religious war was in progress in Germany, and were anxious that England should help the Protestants, they were yet unfamiliar with recent developments. But Charles would neither explain his policy, nor depute anyone else to do so. Consequently, as one member said, "They knew not their enemy", and the statement was literally true. Nor did Charles explain his needs; he made a definite demand for the navy, but only hinted at the largeness of the sums he really required. Consequently Charles only got one-seventh of the amount of money which he needed.

At the same time Parliament only granted tunnage and poundage to the king for one year, though for the last two centuries it had been granted the king for life. Here Parliament was wrong. The Monarchy could not get on without the money. It had to meet the ordinary expenses of government; moreover, the Court spent more money than in Elizabeth's day, whilst the great rise in prices, owing to the influx of silver from the New World, had made the king's revenue worth less than before. The decision, however, in Bate's case (p. 353) made it legal for Charles to go on levying the customs without Parliamentary sanction, and he accordingly did so. In this, as in the succeeding Parliaments, the Puritan majority had apprehensions about religion, for the king favoured Anglican High Churchmen such as Laud,[1] and also allowed the administration of the laws against the Roman Catholics to become somewhat lax.

Charles's *second Parliament* met in *1626*, after the loan of ships to the French king and the disaster to the Cadiz fleet had occurred. The House of Commons first demanded that an inquiry into the Cadiz disaster should precede any grant of supply, and wanted especially to investigate Buckingham's conduct. Charles held that he and not Parliament must be the judge of the capacity of his ministers: "I would not have the House to question my servants," he said, "much less one who is so near me." The House of Commons then went a step further, and under Eliot's leader-

The second Parliament, 1626; Buckingham's impeachment.

[1] Laud supplied the king with a list of clergy marked either O for Orthodox or P for Puritan, so that only those might receive promotion whom Laud considered Orthodox.

ship impeached Buckingham. *Sir John Eliot* was a Cornishman, a man of lofty nature, and a great orator, but apt—as those possessing the qualities of an orator often are—to exaggerate, and take either a better or a worse view of a man than he deserved. In 1625 he had expressed a hope to Buckingham that he might be "wholly devoted to the contemplation of his excellencies". But in the next year, when he saw, as he said, "our honour ruined, our ships sunk, our men perished, not by the sword, not by the enemy, not by chance, but by those we trust", his indignation knew no bounds. In a speech of wonderful power he applied to Buckingham the words in which Tacitus characterized Sejanus[1]: *Sui obtegens, in alios criminator; juxta adulatio et superbia.* "If he is Sejanus, I must be Tiberius," was Charles's comment on this comparison, and he never forgave Eliot as a consequence. Buckingham's impeachment led Charles to dissolve the second Parliament.

The *third Parliament* met two years later, in *1628*. Charles was needlessly rude in his first speech. If the Parliament did not supply his wants, he must, he said, use all means which God had put into his hands. "Take not this as a threat," he added, "for I scorn to threaten any but my equals." This was an unpromising beginning; but Parliament had more important causes of dissatisfaction than the king's speech. The Rhé expedition had failed. Parliament was still nervous about religion. Moreover, the king had recently levied a forced loan. But this was not all. Five knights had refused to pay the forced loan, and had been imprisoned. When brought up in a court of law, the justification for their imprisonment had been given as "the special command of the king". The Crown lawyers argued before the judges that the king must have, for the safety of the State, the power to commit people to, and to keep them in, prison without trial. That is true enough; but the danger was, as it has been well said, that the king was making the medicine of the constitution its daily food. Moreover, the knights' lawyers held that such a power as the king claimed was plainly contrary to an Englishman's liberty and to

The third Parliament, 1628.

[1] Sejanus was governor of the praetorian troops, and for many years controlled the policy of the Emperor Tiberius.

Magna Carta. The judges before whom the case was tried had given no definite ruling in such a difficult matter, though they had refused to release the knights from prison.

The third Parliament lost no time in trying to check what was held to be an abuse of the king's power, and drew up the *Petition of Right*. The first article declared that loans and taxes without consent of Parliament were illegal, and the second that all arbitrary imprisonment without cause shown was illegal. The third article of this petition forbade the billeting of soldiers in private houses;[1] and the fourth, the exercise, in time of peace, of martial law, which too often had meant no law at all. The king, after trying every means of evasion, finally gave his consent to this petition; and, though he violated every one of its articles, the Petition stands as a great landmark in the struggle.

The Petition of Right, 1628.

It was after the Petition was passed that Wentworth, who had been one of the chief leaders of the House of Commons, joined the King. The second session of the third Parliament met in 1629. Parliament maintained that the king had not kept his promises with regard to the Petition of Right, and dissensions between King and Parliament grew more bitter. Charles determined to dissolve Parliament, but before he could do so occurred the celebrated scene when, with the Speaker held down in the chair and the doors locked, three resolutions were passed, declaring that whoever proposed innovations in religion, and whoever either proposed or paid taxes without the consent of Parliament, was an enemy to the kingdom and a betrayer of its liberties. These three resolutions—combining the grievances which the House of Commons felt in religion and in politics—were the last that the third Parliament (1629) was to pass, for it was at once dissolved; and Eliot, the most noble-minded of all in that struggle, was put into the Tower and died there.[2]

The dissolution of Parliament, 1629.

[1] Soldiers, raised for an expedition abroad, were sometimes billeted in private houses, and were not infrequently an intolerable nuisance. Some people in Essex complained, for instance, that the Irish quartered there broke the furniture, and threw the meat into the fire if it did not win their approval.

[2] Eliot's son petitioned that the body might be buried at Port Eliot, the Cornish home of the family. But Charles was implacable. "Let Sir John Eliot", wrote the king on the petition, "be buried in the church of that parish where he died"; and accordingly he was buried in the Tower.

We have now come to the end of the first period of the conflict. On the whole, though Parliament was sometimes unduly suspicious, sometimes rather niggardly in its supplies, and always intolerant in matters of religion, it had shown itself more patient, more practical, more clear-headed than either the kings or their advisers, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it was in the right. But this must not blind us to the fact that Parliament was seeking to establish a control over the King and his advisers which had not been exercised in Tudor times, and it was not unnatural that the Crown should resist such attempts.

2. Arbitrary Government, 1629–40, and growing discontent in England and Scotland

The next eleven years saw no Parliament—the longest interval England has known in her history since Parliament began. They are usually called "*The Eleven Years' Tyranny*". We must, however, beware of regarding a year without a Parliament as anything exceptional; in Elizabeth's reign, for instance, Parliament on the average met only every third year. Nor must we regard Charles as a wicked despot, destroying the rights, the goods, and the lives of his people. The period, on the contrary, was one of prosperity for the nation at large; with the exception of Eliot, no political martyr lost his life; and the king, on the whole, kept within the letter of the law as it was interpreted for him by judges, who might, however, with reason be deemed somewhat accommodating.[1] Yet none the less they were dangerous and critical years for England; and when they were over, the people of England showed that they were determined that a repetition of such absolute rule should not occur.

Arbitrary government, 1629–40.

We must say something about the advisers of Charles during this period. No one succeeded to Buckingham's commanding position in Charles's councils. Yet amongst the king's advisers two figures stand out pre-eminent —*Thomas Wentworth*, eventually created *Earl of Strafford*, and *William Laud*. Wentworth, a member of an old

Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.

[1] The judges also would be likely to be on the side of the Crown, for lawyers go by the latest precedent, and would maintain that the Stuarts might well do as the Tudors had done.

family with large estates in Yorkshire, had supported the Crown when he first entered the House of Commons; but in the early Parliaments of Charles I he was one of the leading critics of the king's policy, and the Petition of Right in particular was largely due to his initiative. Then between the two sessions of the third Parliament he joined the king's side, and was made a peer (1628). For this change Wentworth has been unsparingly attacked, called a political apostate, the First of the Rats, and compared to Lucifer.[1] And, indeed, it is impossible to deny that Wentworth was inconsistent, that he did things when in authority which he would have been the first to condemn when in opposition, or that self-interest was probably one of the motives which influenced him.

Wentworth, however, was one of those strong, masterful, able people who have an unlimited confidence in their own capacity, and very little in that of anyone else. He had been with the Opposition because he distrusted Buckingham and specially disliked his foreign enterprises, and because of the arbitrary acts which the Government had committed. But he was never really of the Opposition; he had no sympathy with the Puritan leanings of the majority, and felt contempt for many of his fellow-members. Moreover, he was no believer in Parliamentary government—government, in his view, was to be for the people, but not by them. To him princes were, to use his own expression, the "indulgent nursing-fathers to their people", and the authority of a king "the keystone which closeth up the arch of order and government". And only by allying himself with the king could he show, it must be remembered, his capacity for administration. Wentworth therefore joined the king, and was made President of the North in 1628, which gave him the control of the northern counties. In 1632 he became Lord Deputy of Ireland, and it was in Ireland that he was to exhibit the strength and weakness of his statesmanship (see p. 426). Then in the summer of 1639 he became Charles I's principal adviser, and quickly made himself the most hated man in England.

Wentworth's great friend was *Laud*. He and Laud were alike in that energy and whole-hearted devotion to the king's

[1] See Lord Macaulay's *Essay on Hallam's History*.

service, and in that determination to get things done which was expressed in their letters to one another by their watchword "Thorough". Laud had been President of St. John's College, Oxford, then Bishop of St. David's; in 1628 he became Bishop of London, and five years later Archbishop of Canterbury. It was Laud who directed the ecclesiastical policy of the Government. In that policy there is much that can be praised. Large sums of money were spent in the erection and restoration of churches. Order and decency were enforced in the Church services. Laud made, through deputies, a visitation of all the dioceses in his archbishopric, and found much to amend: the chapter of a cathedral neglecting to preach and often absent; the aisle of one church being used by the bailiff of a local lord to melt the lead which had been stripped from the roof; the aisle of another being used for cock-fighting, the vicar himself being present.[1] Moreover, Laud was no respecter of persons, and attacked wrongdoing in however high quarters it might be discovered.

Laud.

But, with all his energy and goodness, Laud was unsympathetic and narrow-minded, a man who thought that everyone must believe in the High Church doctrines which he believed in, whether he be English, Irish, Scot, or even French or Spaniard. Through his control of the Press he tried to stop the publication of all views antagonistic to his own. But it was especially in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission that Laud made his evil reputation.[2] Laud, with his sharp tongue and irritable temper, always voted for the biggest punishment upon theological offenders, and it was chiefly due to him that such barbarous punishments were inflicted as flogging and branding and the cutting off of ears. If Laud saved the Church of England, as in Mr. Gladstone's judgment he did, from being bound in the fetters of an iron system of compulsory and Calvinistic belief, he was also responsible for driving the moderate Protestants into the arms of the Puritans.

[1] Laud also stopped St. Paul's Cathedral being used as a club for gossip by the men of fashion, or as a playground by those of more tender years, and he insisted that people should not come into church with their hats on.

[2] These courts had been established, the one in the reign of Henry VII and the other in that of Elizabeth; they tried a man in secret, without a jury, and made prisoners give evidence against themselves.

The difficulties of Charles were mainly financial, for his income from Crown lands and feudal dues, from tunnage and poundage and Impositions was insufficient. He had therefore to find other sources. Thus he caused all those who held lands by feudal tenure or of a certain value—over £40 a year—to become knights and to pay fees for the honour, or else to be fined for refusing it. He fined nobles and others whose ancestors had encroached—perhaps hundreds of years before—on the limits of the Crown forests. Various companies, on paying certain annual payments, were granted monopolies of the commonest articles of use, such as bricks, salt, and soap.[1] Then the Navy was very weak; Barbary corsairs had actually landed and wintered in Dorset in the winter of 1624–25. So, in 1634, Charles levied a tax called *ship-money* from the maritime towns and counties. For this tax there were many precedents in time of war, but now Charles imposed it in time of peace. A year later, he issued a "second writ of ship-money", as it was called, and levied it from the whole country—a very unpopular move.

Finance.

Up till *1637*, though there had been great dissatisfaction, there was little resistance to the king. With that year, however, the struggle began—it has been well called the first year of the Revolutionary Epoch. Popular feeling had the opportunity of showing itself in *June*. Prynne, a lawyer, Burton, a clergyman, and Bastwick, a doctor, were sentenced, for attacks on the bishops,[2] to lose their ears, to be fined £5000, and to be imprisoned for life. They suffered the first part of this sentence in Palace Yard. Prynne[3] had already lost part of his ears for an attack upon the stage four years previously, but his case had then aroused little interest. Now,

The beginning of the Crisis, 1637.

[1] In Tudor times it was the business of the State to regulate trade; and Charles I in much that he did merely carried out the Tudor system. Thus the Star Chamber was used to proceed against Corn Engrossers, and real attempts were made to find sensible work for the unemployed. So also the monopoly system was part of the scheme of Paternal economic government. The real difficulties were, first, that Charles from want of money abused the system; and, second, that the English people were becoming more and more Individualistic in outlook.

[2] The bishops, Bastwick had written, were the enemies of God and the king, and the Church which they governed was as full of ceremonies as a dog is full of fleas.

[3] During the course of his life he wrote two hundred books and pamphlets. He wrote all day, his servant bringing him every three hours a roll and a pot of ale "to refocillate his wasted spirits".

however, all London came to show its sympathy. His path and that of his fellow sufferers was strewn with flowers, many people wept, and there was an angry yell when Prynne's ears—or what remained of them—were sawn off. Then in *November*, 1637, came the famous trial of John Hampden. The king had issued a third writ of ship-money, and it looked as if he was going, without Parliamentary sanction, to make it a permanent tax. Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire of importance, refused to pay. The case was heard, and the judges decided by seven to five that ship-money was legal. The case aroused intense interest, and the arguments of Hampden's lawyers were circulated over the entire kingdom. In the same year the opinions of the greatest literary figure of the period on Laud's rule were shown in the writing by Milton of *Lycidas*.

In Scotland, however, even more than in England, the year 1637 is one of importance.

During the lifetime of *John Knox* (died 1572) it seemed as if the Scottish Church might ultimately accept a modified form of Episcopacy, but under *Andrew Melville*, who succeeded John Knox, the view prevailed that all ministers were of equal status, and *Presbyteries* were erected to perform the administrative duties formerly associated with bishops. The Scottish Church thus became definitely Presbyterian in its government. Under this system there are four Church Courts. Each congregation has its *Kirk Session* consisting of the minister and elders, both elected by the congregation. The congregations are grouped into sixty *Presbyteries*, each congregation being represented on the Presbyterial court by its minister and one elder. Three or more Presbyteries compose a *Provincial Synod*, twelve in number, meeting twice a year. The supreme court of the Church, the *General Assembly*, meets once a year. Its members are ministers and elders elected by the Presbyteries.

The Church of Scotland.

The Presbyterian Courts.

On to this Presbyterian system James Sixth of Scotland (First of England) sought to graft bishops.[1] He, and, after him,

[1] Bishops were popular neither in Scotland nor in England. Thus one English writer calls the bishops "not the pillars but the caterpillars of the Church"; another in a parody of the Litany says: "From plague, pestilence, and famine, from bishops, priests, and deacons, good

Charles I, believed in the Divine Right of Kings, while the people of Scotland believed no less ardently in the Divine Right of the General Assembly, and denied the right of the civil authority to interfere in any way in the affairs of the Church. The General Assembly had influence that extended beyond ecclesiastical affairs, and was, in fact, a representative body which was the centre of opposition to royal despotism. On the other hand the Scottish Parliament, or Council of Estates, was a feudal assembly whose business was controlled by the "*Lords of the Articles*", in the nomination of whom the king had a large say. Therefore conflict between Crown and Church was almost inevitable. King James showed much tenacity of purpose, and by 1612 he had fully established Episcopacy in Scotland, without, however, abolishing the Presbyterian Courts. He then sought to modify the forms of worship, and by diplomacy and intimidation the General Assembly was induced to pass, in 1618, what were called, from the place of meeting, the *Five Articles of Perth*. Of these Articles, perhaps the most unpopular was the enforcement of kneeling at Communion, which savoured to the Scottish mind of idolatry.

Policy of James VI.

Church and State.

Five Articles of Perth, 1618.

Charles came to the throne in 1625, and in twelve years had united the whole nation against him. To begin with, his marriage with a Roman Catholic met with much unfavourable comment. Then he frightened the nobles by an attempt to recover some of the lands which they had obtained from the Church at the Reformation. Finally he aroused the anger of the whole people by his determination to establish complete uniformity with the Church of England by doing away with the Presbyterian courts and by imposing a new Prayer Book similar to the English Prayer Book. The particulars in which it differed from the English Prayer Book were universally held to be due to the influence of Archbishop Laud, and to be in a Popish direction. "It was," said a contemporary, "a Popish-English-Scottish-Mass-Service-Book."

Charles I and the new Service Book, 1637.

Lord, deliver us". The Scots are not behindhand—one calls the bishops "beastlie bellie-gods" regardless of the fact that some bishops, at all events, lived ascetic lives and were decidedly spare of frame; and another characterizes them as "bunchy knobs of papist flesh".

Laud's Liturgy was used for the first time in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, on Sunday, July 23, 1637, and provoked a riot—traditionally stated to have been started by a woman called Jenny Geddes—which was really the beginning of a revolution. Charles might have retrieved the situation by withdrawing the Service Book, but this he refused to do. Then opposition to the Prayer Book grew into a demand for the abolition of Episcopacy, and a zealous Presbyterian organization known as "The Tables" was practically ruling Scotland in defiance of King and Council. Still Charles persisted, and in 1638 opposition to him culminated in the *National Covenant*. The National Covenant was first signed in Greyfriars Churchyard on March 1, 1638, and copies were sent all over Scotland. Everywhere it was signed with the utmost enthusiasm, the signatories pledging themselves "to adhere to and defend the true religion", by which they meant Protestantism in general, and the Presbyterian Church in particular.

Riot in St. Giles, 1637.

The National Covenant, 1638.

This at last awakened Charles to the seriousness of the situation. He offered to withdraw the Service Book and to permit a free General Assembly and a free Parliament to meet. But it was too late. When the General Assembly met in Glasgow in November, only Covenanters were admitted to membership, and Hamilton, the Royal Commissioner, seeing that the Assembly would demand his assent to Acts abolishing Episcopacy, dissolved it in the name of the King. But the Assembly continued to sit, though an unconstitutional body, and with great gusto annulled the Five Articles of Perth, cancelled the Service Book, deposed the bishops, abolished Episcopacy, and reintroduced strict Presbyterianism.

The Glasgow Assembly, 1638.

Naturally the King refused to sanction the Acts of this Assembly, and it was clear that war was inevitable. It broke out in 1639 and was known as the *First Bishops' War*. The Covenanters under David Leslie, "that old, little, crooked soldier", a veteran of many Continental campaigns, took up position on Duns Law, near Berwick. The king came north with a force, miserable in numbers and equipment, and could do nothing but agree, by the *Pacification of Berwick*, to

First Bishops' War, 1639.

the Scottish demands, the chief of which was that another General Assembly should meet. This did meet in August, and all the measures of the Glasgow Assembly were again passed. In addition, the Assembly passed a new Act making the signing of the Covenant compulsory on the whole nation. All these Acts of Assembly received the royal assent, but Charles, who was as determined as ever to have his own way, refused to sanction the parliamentary measures necessary to make them legally enforceable. The situation was, therefore, unchanged, and in 1640 the *Second Bishops' War* broke out. The meeting of the Short Parliament in England showed the Scots that they had no reason to fear that the English nation would support Charles, and they accordingly invaded England and marched to Newcastle-on-Tyne. Charles met Scottish representatives at Ripon, and had no alternative but to agree to the continued occupation of Newcastle till a settlement could be reached. In August, 1641, he granted all the Scottish demands, and paid the expenses of the army at Newcastle, which amounted to £850 a day, and the Scots went home. In September, Charles visited Edinburgh in the hope of obtaining Scottish help against the rapidly growing opposition of the English Parliament. He was most gracious, yielding to all Scottish demands, and lavishing honours and other signs of favour on the leading Covenanters, but he failed in his main purpose. His actions at this time, however, had this effect, that, when the Civil War did break out, Scotland had no quarrel with him, and had no call to support either side. Nevertheless, by this time the Covenanters were dreaming a new dream. They dreamed of uniformity of Church government in England and Scotland, not on the Episcopal model as Charles had hoped, but on the Presbyterian model; and they now worked to help bring about that consummation.

Second Bishops' War, 1640.

Charles in Scotland, 1641.

3. The Short and the Long Parliament, 1640–42

We must now trace the influence of Scottish affairs upon English politics. The Scottish rebellion, it has been said, gave back

to England her Parliamentary system. For eleven years Charles had done without Parliament. But the money he had was only just enough for current expenses; any extra strain would break down Charles's system and make a Parliament inevitable. After the First Bishops' War was over Strafford arrived in England, and, by his advice, in order to obtain funds to renew the war with Scotland, a Parliament was summoned. That Parliament—called the *Short Parliament*—met in *April, 1640*, and it lasted but three weeks. The king tried to bargain for subsidies in return for giving up ship-money, but he failed; and Parliament, when it proceeded to petition for a peaceful settlement with Scotland, was dissolved. This Parliament brought to the front a Somersetshire squire named *Pym*, who was to show himself a great Parliamentarian. He was a clear and cogent speaker, a clever tactician, and the possessor of unbounded energy. In a speech of two hours—an exceptionally long speech for that period—he attacked the misgovernment of the king, and summed up his political creed by declaring that "the powers of Parliament are to the body politic as the rational faculties of the soul to a man". And he quickly achieved for himself a position which led his enemies to call him, in the next Parliament, "King Pym".

English affairs; The Short Parliament, 1640.

The Second Bishops' War followed the dissolution of the Short Parliament. In the peace which ended it Charles, as we have seen, promised to pay £850 a day to the Scottish Army. But with this large sum of money required, he was compelled to summon another Parliament and, what is more, to listen to its demands.[1] The House of Commons was, at that time, an aristocratic and not what we should now consider a democratic assembly; and the Parliament which met in *November, 1640*—to be known in history as the *Long Parliament*—was composed, it has been said, of the very flower of the English gentry and educated laity.

The Long Parliament meets, Nov., 1640.

The work of this Parliament for the first nine months of its existence was the abolition of the arbitrary power of the Crown.

[1] As it was, Charles had to seize £130,000 of bullion from the Mint, and merchants could not meet the Bills of Exchange. This caused immense dislocation, and was one of the things which turned the merchant class against Charles.

Now at last, after nigh forty years, some of the questions at issue between King and Parliament were to be definitely settled. The House of Commons during these nine months worked with practical unanimity—a fact which shows how universal the dissatisfaction with the king's government had been. Under Pym's leadership laws were passed declaring that this particular Parliament was not to be adjourned or dissolved without its own consent, and that, in future, Parliaments must be summoned every three years (the *Triennial Act*). Arbitrary courts—such as the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission—were abolished; and taxes, such as ship-money, were declared illegal, and tunnage and poundage also without consent of Parliament. Only on a Bill for the abolition of Episcopacy—the Root and Branch Bill—was there great divergence of opinion.

Its Acts, Nov. 1640-Aug. 1641.

Along with these laws came the punishment of the king's former advisers. Some, however, had fled overseas, but others were imprisoned and impeached,[1] and amongst these were the two greatest, Laud and Strafford. Laud was not beheaded till 1645, but to the popular imagination "Black Tom Tyrant", as Strafford was called, was the embodiment of the arbitrary power of the king. In the words of a contemporary, "the whole kingdom was his accuser", and when he was impeached for treason it was felt that his trial would decide the question whether government was to be in future by the king's prerogative alone or by King and Parliament combined. But it was impossible to prove that Strafford had been guilty of treason: he might have been guilty of acts against the nation, but not of acts against the king. Of his government in Ireland, which was one point of attack, he made a very able defence. It was universally believed—possibly rightly—that Strafford had advised the king to utilize the Irish army to overawe English resistance. But the only evidence of this was found in a copy of the notes taken at a Privy Council meeting by one of its members, in which Strafford was reported to have said: "You have an army here you may employ to reduce this

The Trial of Strafford, 1641.

[1] In the whole course of English history there have been only seventy impeachments, and of this number a quarter took place between 1640 and 1642.

kingdom", and from the context it was impossible to judge whether "this kingdom" referred to England or Scotland.

Eventually the House of Commons gave up the impeachment and passed instead a Bill of Attainder, condemning him as guilty of treason.[1] The bill was sent up to the House of Lords, which, after some hesitation, passed it. The only hope of life left to Strafford lay in the king. But after two days of agonizing doubt Charles, with his palace surrounded by an angry crowd, afraid that if he held out his beloved queen herself would be impeached,[2] and advised to surrender by his Council, by the judges and by some of the bishops, and even by Strafford himself, eventually gave his consent to the bill. Strafford, brave and noble to the end, was executed on Tower Hill (May, 1641).[3] To the 200,000 who were present, as well as to the great majority of Englishmen, his execution was necessary for the safety of the nation.

Execution of Strafford, May, 1641.

At the end of the summer of 1641 Englishmen had come to the parting of the ways, and the work of the Long Parliament was to be no longer unanimous. The final split between the two parties came in the debates on the *Grand Remonstrance* (*November*). Previously to this Charles had made a journey to Scotland (*September*) with the hope, no doubt, of organizing a party favourable to his cause—a hope in which he was disappointed. It was whilst he was playing a game of golf in that country in *October* that he heard news of the Irish Catholic rebellion[4] (p. 428). That rebellion had important results in England. Even its horrors were exaggerated in the accounts received in England. Consequently Protestant feeling was inflamed and affected the king, because he was suspected of some complicity with the rebels. Moreover, to suppress the rebellion an army would be necessary. This aroused a fresh question of the very greatest

The Grand Remonstrance, Nov., 1641.

[1] Consequently they had not got to prove his guilt; they merely asserted that he was guilty and ought to be executed.

[2] The House of Commons intended to impeach the queen for her intrigues with foreign powers if the king had refused to pass the bill.

[3] "I thank God," he said, when he took off his doublet at the scaffold, "I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any discouragement rising from my fears, but do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed."

[4] According to tradition, Charles finished his game.

consequence—Who was to control the army, the king or the Parliament? Upon the answer hung the liberties of England.

It was now that Pym brought forward the document known as the *Grand Remonstrance*. This was, partly, a recapitulation of all the evil deeds of which Pym and the Puritan party held Charles to be guilty. But it also contained a scheme of reform for the future which was much too advanced for many at that period. It proposed, for instance, that only ministers should be appointed of whom the House of Commons should approve, and that a Synod of Divines should be summoned to make religious changes. Such proposals would, in the opinion of many, have shattered the power of king and bishop alike. The debates upon them were keen and protracted. Churchman was ranged against Puritan, and constitutional Royalists like Falkland and Hyde, who still wished the king to direct the Government, against those like Pym, who were grasping at sovereignty, and wished Parliament to exercise direct control over the ministers. The Remonstrance was finally carried, long after midnight, in the early morning of *November 23*, but only by eleven votes. In the excitement members clutched their swords. "I thought," said one, "we had all sat in the Valley of the Shadow of Death." The Civil War was not far off.

To attempt a *coup d'état* and to fail is fatal. Yet this was the fortune of Charles. On *January 4, 1642*, hearing that the House of Commons intended to impeach the queen, he decided to forestall such an action by accusing the five leading members of the House of high treason for intrigues with the Scots. Included in this number were Pym and Hampden. Charles determined to arrest the five members himself, and went down to the House of Commons accompanied by a guard of some 400 men.[1] But, through an indiscreet friend of the queen's, the five members had learnt the king's intention, and when Charles entered the House he found, to use his own words, that "the birds had flown". For the king to enter the House of Commons in this fashion was, of course,

The attempt on the five members, Jan., 1642.

[1] It is said that Charles hesitated on the morning of the 4th to carry out his design, but the queen urged him on. "Go, you coward," she cried, "and pull out these rogues by the ears, or never see my face more!"

a scandalous breach of its privileges, and when he left it there were loud and angry cries of "Privilege! Privilege!" There is no need to detail the history of the next seven months. Both sides tried to obtain control of the militia, and Parliament passed a bill with this object, which Charles vetoed. Both sides made preparations for war. In April Hotham, the Governor of Hull, went so far as to refuse the king admittance to that town. And on *August 22*, at Nottingham, the king's standard was set up.[1] The great Civil War had begun.

Aug., 1642, Civil War.

XXVIII. The Civil War, 1642-45

In the great Civil War the bulk of the nobility and the gentry and their tenants were on the side of the King, whilst the majority of the townsmen and yeomen fought for Parliament. Yet it would be a mistake to regard the war as one of class against class. Eighty peers fought for the King, thirty fought against him, and 175 members of the House of Commons belonged to the Royalist party. Geographically, a line drawn from the Humber to Southampton roughly divides the two parties: east of that line is, on the whole, Parliamentary; west of that line, with the important exceptions of Bristol, Gloucester, and Plymouth, is on the whole, Royalist. The real line of division is, however, political—as to whether King or Parliament shall be supreme—and perhaps, above all, religious, the Anglican against the Puritan.

Supporters of two parties.

Summing up the advantages possessed by either side, it should be noted that the Parliamentary party had possession of the city of London, and that its cause was probably supported by two-thirds of the population and three-quarters of the wealth of the country. Fewer troops also were employed by Parliament in the garrisoning of small detached forts and fortified country houses. Moreover, the navy was on the side of Parliament, and could be employed not only to ward

The chances of the war.

[1] According to Clarendon, it was blown down the same night by a very strong and unruly wind—an inauspicious beginning.

off foreign aid, but also to carry troops and to protect the coast towns. The Parliamentary forces undoubtedly contained the better infantry, but at that time the bayonet had not been invented. Consequently half the infantry were pikemen, and useless beyond the reach of their fifteen-feet pike, and half were musketeers, and therefore useless for hand-to-hand fighting. Moreover, the musketeer's task in those days was a harassing and laborious one, and he took a long time to fire his musket.[1] Therefore the infantry were greatly handicapped, and we find in the Civil War that the battles were won by the cavalry.

But it was in the cavalry in the opening stages of the war that the Royalists had such a great advantage, for they possessed better riders and better horses. Moreover, the Royalists had the king and the unity of aim and command which his presence should have given; they had at first more experienced and better leaders; and during the first two years of the war strategical ability was confined to the King's party. Above all, in *Prince Rupert*,[2] not yet twenty-three, the nephew of Charles, the Royalists had not only a born cavalry leader—brave, inspiring, energetic—but a general capable of planning a decisive campaign. Prince Rupert also was a leader who had profited by the new Swedish tactics to make his men charge hard and reserve their pistol fire till the charge had gone home.[3] Rupert and the other Royalist leaders should have proved more than a match for a general with so little initiative as the Parliament's first commander, Lord Essex, possessed, or for "sweet meeke" Lord Manchester, as he was called, both of whom, moreover, were "half-measures" men, "not wanting to beat the King too much". Rupert, however, was to exhibit a certain sharpness of temper in counsel which made him a difficult man to work with, and, above

[1] A musketeer had to extract powder from a flask and pour it into the muzzle of his musket, to put a bullet which he had previously deposited in his mouth into the muzzle, to ram the bullet home, to fit the musket into a rest (it was too heavy and too long to be without one), and finally to ignite the powder with a match (a twisted strand of tow), which had probably in the preceding operations been scorching the back of his hands.

[2] His mother was the Princess Elizabeth, who married the Elector Palatine. She had the reputation of being a very devoted mother; but according to one of her daughters, she much preferred the society of dogs and monkeys to that of her own children when they were young.

[3] The old tactics for cavalry were to advance slowly, to "caracole", as the expression went, up to the infantry, to discharge pistols, and then to retire.

all, an impetuousness in battle which was to ruin the King's cause.

The aim of the King in the *first* year of the war (*1642*) was to *march upon London with one army*. Starting from Shrewsbury, he outmarched Essex, who was also coming from the Midlands, but then turned to meet him at *Edgehill* (October).[1] Both wings of the Royalist cavalry were successful, but Rupert pursued too far, and in the excitement the reserve cavalry of Charles—called the "show-troop", for it consisted largely of well-dressed landed proprietors—joined the pursuit. Consequently the Royalist infantry was hard pressed, and Rupert after a lengthy absence only returned in time to make the battle a drawn one. The King was, however, able to continue his march, but when he got as close to London as Turnham Green he found his progress barred by 24,000 Londoners, and accordingly retired to Oxford. Military critics disagree as to whether Charles should have tried to force his way to London; but his army was never to get so near the capital again.

The campaign of 1642.

In the *second* year of the war (1643) the King designed a *triple advance upon London*. Lord Newcastle,[2] after subduing the north, was to march south; Hopton, after subduing the south-west, was to advance east; Charles was to keep Essex employed, and advance upon London when the others were ready. In the spring and summer the outlook was black for Parliament. Newcastle won *Atherton Moor* (June 1), and in consequence secured a large part of Yorkshire. In the west Bristol was taken by Rupert, and Hopton utterly defeated Waller, the rising general on the side of Parliament, at *Roundaway Down* in July. It was this battle which led Pym to begin serious negotiations with the Scots for the loan of an army, and which caused the few members

The campaign of 1643; the triple advance upon London.

[1] It was usual, in the Civil War, for the armies to wear "field signs" to distinguish them. Thus, at Edgehill, the Parliamentarians had orange scarves; at Newbury they wore green boughs; and at Marston Moor, white handkerchiefs or white pieces of paper in their hats. Later, in the New Model Army, the uniform was red—hence red became the colour of the British army.

[2] Newcastle once spent £20,000 in entertaining James I at Welbeck, Ben Jonson writing the masques on that occasion. Subsequently he became tutor to the Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II).


ENGLAND
as divided between the
King and the Parliament
at the end of 1643.
Districts held by the Parliament & the Scots shaded thus
Dunbar
Carlisle
Newcastle
Marston Moor
York
Tadcaster
Manchester
Chester
Newark
Shrewsbury
Tamworth
Worcester
Hereford
Gloucester
Edge Hill
Bristol
Lansdown
Roundway Down
Bridgwater
Taunton
Langport
Sherborne
Exeter
Lyme
Bradock Down
Plymouth

of the House of Lords left in London to propose to the House of Commons that most abject terms of peace should be made with the King—terms only rejected in the House of Commons by seven votes. In the centre, meanwhile, the King had lost Reading, but the Parliamentarians had been beaten in a skirmish at *Chalgrove*, near Oxford, a skirmish in which Hampden was killed.

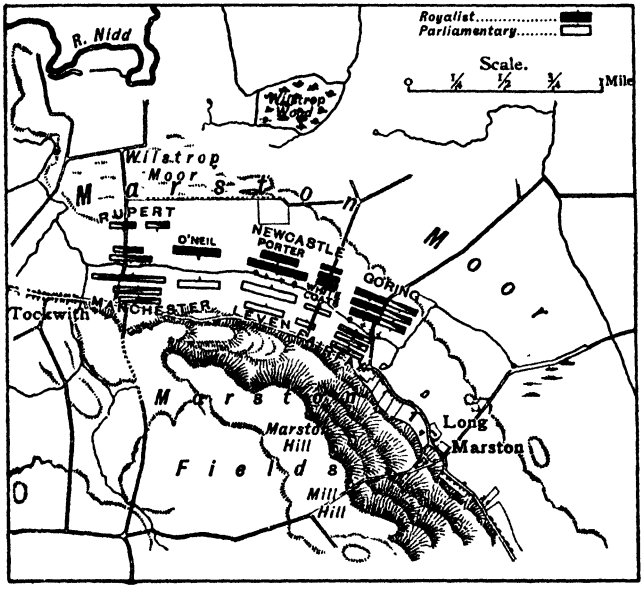
In *September, 1643*, however, the tide turned. "Hull and Plymouth", it has been said, "saved the Parliamentary cause." Newcastle's Northerners with Hull untaken refused to advance south, as they feared to leave their homes and property at the mercy of their foes in that town. Hopton, though he continued to advance east, found his army dwindling away because his Westerners had similar fears with regard to Plymouth. Meanwhile Charles, unable to advance on London unsupported, had advanced to besiege Gloucester early in August, and in September Essex successfully relieved it. Charles, however, intercepted the army of Essex on its return journey at *Newbury*, but he failed, after an indecisive battle, to prevent the return of Essex to London. In the battle Lord Falkland, one of the noblest figures in the war, was killed. In October, Hull, which Newcastle had besieged, was relieved as the result of a battle at *Winceby*, in which Cromwell, the future leader of the Puritans, was conspicuous. Only in the south did Hopton continue his victorious advance.

In the last month of the year the Parliament suffered a great loss in the death of Pym. Before his death, however, he had succeeded in negotiating an alliance with the Scots. Both sides had appealed to the Scots, but the Presbyterians, feeling that if the King triumphed over Parliament he would inevitably try to subdue them, determined to throw in their lot with Parliament. The Scottish terms were uncompromising—Presbyterianism must be the future religion of England. Parliament, in the *Solemn League and Covenant*, accepted the condition with qualifications,[1] and in return obtained from Scotland an army of 20,000 men—a force which enabled it to win the war.

[1] The Church of England was to be reformed "according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches". The second half of the sentence refers to the Scottish Church in particular, but the first half might be and was variously interpreted by Scots and English.

With *1644* the war took a somewhat different shape. Each side had secured an ally; the Scots had joined Parliament, and to balance them Charles brought a force over from Ireland. But the tide ran strongly for Parliament. The Scottish army was of immense assistance, whilst the Irish soldiers, who were worthless troops and hated as Catholics, merely

The campaign of 1644.



Marston Moor, July 2nd, 1644

Cromwell was on the left commanding the cavalry in Manchester's Division, and the Scottish cavalry was to the left of him.

alienated a large number of the king's supporters.[1] Moreover, the army of the Eastern Association—an association of Eastern Counties formed originally for defensive purposes only—left its own district, and under Lord Manchester prepared to take an active part in the war; and in March the defeat of Hopton meant

[1] The Irish rebels were regarded with horror by the English, and the use of them by Charles had the same effect in England then, it has been well pointed out, as the employment of Sepoys would have had if a similar crisis had arisen in England just after the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

the loss of all hope of a successful invasion of Sussex and Kent by the Royalists.

In July, 1644, came the great Royalist defeat at *Marston Moor*. Newcastle, who had been besieged in York by the Scots and by Fairfax and Manchester, was relieved by Rupert, and shortly afterwards a great battle was fought between the combined Royalists and the Parliamentary forces. The battle of Marston Moor was notable because of the large number of the men employed: the Royalists were seventeen thousand, and the supporters of Parliament were twenty-six thousand in number. But, above all, the battle was important in that Prince Rupert was to find his match. Oliver Cromwell, a Huntingdonshire squire, had trained for the Eastern Association a body of cavalry composed, as he said, of "men of religion", who could stand up to the "men of honour" serving in the Royalist cavalry. Moreover, Cromwell was a leader who could make his cavalry charge as hard as Prince Rupert, but who, unlike Rupert, could keep his men in hand for a further movement. At seven o'clock in the evening Cromwell charged.[1] He defeated, with the aid of the Scottish horse, Rupert's cavalry, then wheeled round and dispersed the Royalists cavalry who had been successful on the other wing. Meantime, the Scottish infantry in the centre were hard pressed. Cromwell, however, quite untiring, came to their assistance and then helped to annihilate the "Whitecoats", as Newcastle's own infantry regiments were called. It was Cromwell who won the battle—indeed, the three chief generals on his side were at one period fugitives from the field—and the result of the battle was not only that Newcastle retired abroad, but that the six northern counties were lost to the king.[2]

Marston Moor, July, 1644.

At the end of August Charles managed to surround *Essex's* army at *Lostwithiel*, in Cornwall, and though Essex himself escaped by sea, and his horse broke through the Royalist lines,

[1] The Royalist leaders thought there would be no fight that day. Newcastle had gone to his great coach, called for a pipe of tobacco, and settled down for the evening.

[2] Here is Cromwell's own description of the battle: "We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing, which I commanded, being our own force, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the prince's horse, and God made them stubble to our swords. We charged their regiments of foot and routed all we charged."

his infantry had to capitulate. Charles, however, on his return in October, found his way barred at *Newbury* by another army under Manchester and Essex. The battle which followed, like the first battle fought there, was indecisive, though, but for Manchester's want of enterprise, Charles would not have got through, as he succeeded in doing, to Oxford.

Second Battle of Newbury, 1644.

The second battle of Newbury brought to a head the dissatisfaction which Cromwell and others felt with the "half-measures" men and their lack of energy. This dissatisfaction led to the *Self-denying Ordinance* being carried in Parliament, under which members of Parliament resigned their commissions in the army. Accordingly Manchester and Essex retired, though Cromwell, who resigned because he was a member of the House of Commons, was reappointed to a command. Parliament also resolved to reorganize the army. As a consequence, the Parliament obtained just what it wanted. The *New Model* army, as it was called, was a force well-officered,[1] with regular pay, and especially strong in its cavalry and artillery. It was not bound by local ties, and it could "go anywhere and do anything". Above all, Fairfax[2] was made the commander and was given absolute control, without interference by Parliamentary commissions, whilst Cromwell was put in charge of the cavalry.

The Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model Army.

The result of the New Model was seen in *1645* at the battle of *Naseby* (June). Rupert beat the wing opposed to him, it is true, but pursued too far. Cromwell was successful on the other flank, then re-formed his cavalry, and, as at Marston Moor, charged the Royalist infantry who were pressing the Parliamentarians. Cromwell made one more charge at Rupert's returning cavalry, and the day was won. The battle was decisive. It cost Charles half his cavalry, all his infantry and artillery, and most of his best officers. Moreover,

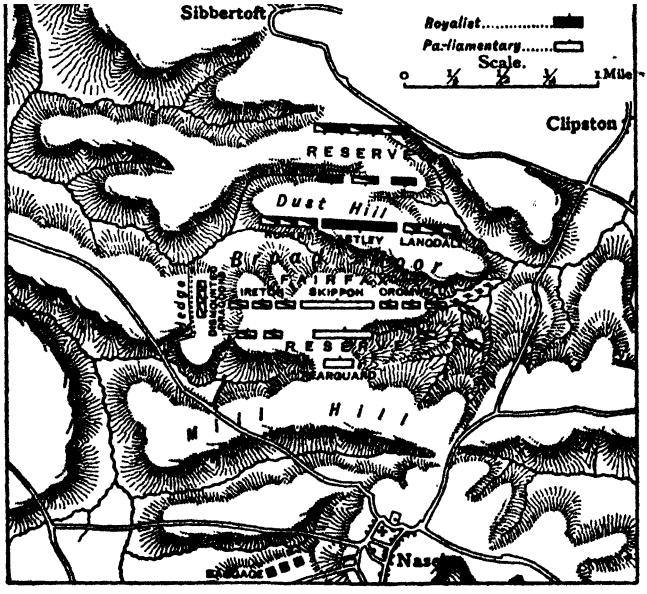
The Battle of Naseby, June, 1645.

[1] It is a mistake to suppose that the officers were not gentlemen—thirty out of thirty-seven colonels were of gentle birth.

[2] Fairfax was a very brave man, a vigorous commander, and an excellent disciplinarian, besides being conspicuous for generosity to his opponents. He was also a lover of learning, and when he captured Oxford in 1646 his first care was to send a strong guard to preserve the famous Bodleian Library.

it revealed to the nation his intrigues with foreign powers, for the cabinet containing much of his correspondence was captured. "The king and the kingdom", says Clarendon, the Royalist historian, "were lost at Naseby"; and after Naseby the war soon ended. To the south-west Fairfax was successful at *Langport*, and in September Bristol was retaken by Fairfax.

But, meantime, in Scotland a brilliant attempt had been made



Naseby, June 14th, 1645

to retrieve the king's fortunes. Some two months after the battle of Marston Moor in 1644, a Scottish nobleman, the Marquis of Montrose, the "Great Marquis", opened a campaign on behalf of Charles. He had signed the National Covenant in 1638, and had fought for the Covenanters, but he had always affirmed his devoted loyalty to the Crown. The alliance of the Covenanters with the English Parliament was to his mind an act of disloyalty to the sovereign, and he took the only course open to him as a royalist and a man of

Montrose's successes in Scotland, Sept., 1644–Aug., 1645.

honour—he offered his sword to the king. With forces which never exceeded four thousand foot and two hundred horse he won, within the space of twelve months, no less than six battles. His only permanent force was a contingent from Ireland of some sixteen hundred, consisting mainly of Scotsmen who had served in the Irish war; but he also got various clans to assist him.

The first victory was won on September 1, 1644, at *Tippermuir*, near Perth—won by a rush upon a newly levied army.[1] Then after a victory at *Aberdeen*—marred by the excesses of his troops in the town after the battle—Montrose turned upon Argyll. Joined by the Macdonalds, the mortal foes of the Campbells, he penetrated into the Campbell country and won a decisive battle at *Inverlochy*[2] over double his numbers. Finally, after two other successes, he won the battle of *Kilsyth*, near Glasgow (August 15, 1645), though here, it has been said, the mistakes of his enemy were so enormous that it would have been difficult not to beat him.

After the battle of Kilsyth, Glasgow submitted, and it seemed as if all Scotland might be recovered for the king; Montrose even hoped to cross the border with twenty thousand men. But his victories were at an end. The Macdonalds deserted him to go and renew their fighting with the Campbells. The Gordons went away for some reasons of personal pique. In the Lowlands, where Montrose now was, he obtained no support; the General Assembly had excommunicated him, and his Irish soldiers were regarded as "instruments of Satan". Moreover, two months before the last victory at Kilsyth, had come the fatal day at Naseby. Part of the Scottish forces in England were, therefore, free to operate against Montrose, and marched north. Consequently Montrose's depleted forces were overwhelmed at *Philiphaugh* (near Selkirk, September, 1645), and, after the battle, he himself, at the king's command, went to the Continent. The Civil War both in England and Scotland was now practically over, and finally completed when Charles in May,

Failure of Montrose, Sept., 1645.

[1] In their flight after the battle ten of the good citizens of Perth, it is said, "bursted with running".

[2] Argyll himself was on a barge in the loch during the fight, perhaps because he had dislocated his shoulder three weeks previously; but his enemies had another explanation of his conduct.

1646,[1] surrendered himself to the Scottish army, and when the city of Oxford capitulated in the following June.

XXIX. From the Civil War to the Restoration, 1645–60

The great Civil War was over, but the termination of the war still left great questions undecided. How was England in future to be governed? What form of Christian religion was to be the State religion, and how far was toleration to be extended to those who could not agree with it? These questions, difficult enough in themselves, were complicated by the number of parties who wished to share in their settlement. There was, *first* of all, *Charles I*; the king had been vanquished, but no one at first wished to abolish the monarchy. He played the part that might have been expected of him. Too high-minded and too high-spirited to give up either the Church of England and her bishops, or the control of the ministers and the army, he was not high-minded enough to avoid pretending that he would do so. Designing, as he said himself, to "set his opponents by the ears", he intrigued not only with each party in turn or even simultaneously, but also with the Catholics in Ireland and the great minister, Mazarin, in France.

Parties after the war; the king.

There was, *secondly*, the *Scottish army*, determined, as a matter of conscience, to see that Presbyterianism was permanently established in England as the Parliament had promised in the "Solemn League and Covenant". Then there was, *thirdly*, the *Long Parliament*—shorn, of course, of the hundred and seventy-five Royalists who had joined the king in the Civil War. The majority in this Parliament wished Charles to reign indeed, but not in any real sense to govern; on

The Scottish army and the Parliament.

[1] He left Oxford with his long locks cut and his beard altered; he journeyed to Harrow, surveyed London from that spot, and then by a circuitous route reached the Scottish army in Nottinghamshire.

the other hand, it was afraid of the New Model Army. In matters of religion it was anxious to impose Presbyterianism upon the whole people of England, and had already—with the aid of Scottish Commissioners and a body of people called the Westminster Assembly of Divines—taken steps to make it the established religion in England.

Fourthly, there gradually emerge—as in all big movements—various groups of *Extremists*: Democrats, who wanted annual parliaments and universal suffrage; Levellers, who wanted all men to be equal; and idealists, who thought the Fifth Monarchy[1] was about to be achieved under their own beneficent rule. *Lastly*, and above all, there was the *New Model Army*. In this army the Independents predominated; they were indifferent as to what form of established religion was set up, but were determined to secure toleration for "tender consciences", and to be free from the absolute control either of an Anglican bishop or of a Presbyterian elder. An army of forty to fifty thousand men, well trained, well officered, and well disciplined, was bound to be irresistible in politics if it chose to interfere.[2] Moreover, in Oliver Cromwell it possessed unquestionably the greatest man of this epoch.

The Extremists and the New Model Army.

Born at Huntingdon in 1599, of a good family, *Cromwell* became a member of Parliament at the age of twenty-nine. In 1642, at the age of forty-three, his military career began, and it was not to close till he was fifty-two. He had made his reputation in the cavalry during the Civil War, and to him was due the chief credit for organizing and training horsemen that could rival Prince Rupert's. In his cavalry tactics he, like Rupert, did not make the mistake of firing before charging, but, unlike Rupert, he did not rely, it has been said, so much upon the pace as upon the weight and solidarity of his charge.[3] In his campaigns, both during the Civil

Oliver Cromwell.

[1] The last of the great monarchies referred to in the prophecy of Daniel (*Dan.* ii. 44).

[2] Enemies as well as friends bear witness to its discipline. Punishments, when inflicted, were apt to be severe; for blasphemy or cursing, soldiers were sometimes bored through the tongue with a red-hot iron.

[3] His cavalry did not gallop, but charged in close order, to use Cromwell's own words, at "a pretty round trot".

War and later, he showed that, though not perhaps a great strategist, he possessed real genius in seeing the critical points of a battle, and untiring energy in following up a victory.

In politics, so far, he had not made much mark. As a member of the Long Parliament, however, he had shown himself greatly interested in religious questions, and a keen partisan; "if the Grand Remonstrance had not passed," he said, "I would have sold all I had the next morning, and never seen England more." In the years after the Civil War was over, his most striking characteristic, especially in his negotiations with king or Parliament, is the long hesitation and indecision he shows in making up his mind; and then, when a decision has at last been arrived at, the "swift, daring hammer-stroke", as it has been called, that follows.

The time has long gone by when Cromwell was regarded as a hypocrite, half knave, half fanatic. A man of intense religious feeling, who looked upon all he did as due to God's providence, he possessed at the same time strong practical common sense. "Trust in God and keep your powder dry" is said to have been the advice he gave to his soldiers—and the saying illustrates this double aspect of his character. His speeches are somewhat intricate and sometimes unintelligible, but they reveal a man of masterful energy who never lost sight of his ideals. Though a hater of the Roman Catholic religion and not very lenient to supporters of the Anglican bishops, he was large-hearted; and his ideas of toleration, inadequate as they seem to us to-day, were far more liberal than those generally prevalent during his own lifetime. If, when he came to supreme power, he showed himself anxious to put down undesirable amusements and to make life in England more serious, it must not be supposed that he was averse to all pleasure. On the contrary, he was fond of music and of writing verses; he loved good horses, and was a bold jumper and a skilful driver.[1] Cromwell, above all, was an Englishman. He was, in the words of the great historian of this epoch, "with all his physical and moral audacity, with all his tenderness and spiritual yearnings, in the world of action what

[1] A team of six horses did run away with him, however, in Hyde Park, while he was Protector, to the great joy of his enemies, who wrote numberless lampoons on the subject.

Shakespeare was in the world of thought, the greatest because the most typical Englishman of all time".

The history of the fourteen years that follow the Civil War can be briefly put. The New Model Army began to interfere in politics, and finally became supreme, with Cromwell as its leader. It then tried to base its authority upon the consent of the English people as expressed in Parliament—and in this it failed. But we must follow the stages in a little more detail.

The years 1646–60.

1. From the fall of Oxford till the execution of the King, 1646–49

In these fourteen years we may take, as a *First Period*, the two and a half years that elapse from the fall of the city of Oxford until the execution of the king (June, 1646–January, 1649). They are years of negotiations and intrigue, of which the merest outline must suffice. First of all, the king was with the Scottish army, which retired to Newcastle. He refused to accept the Solemn League and Covenant, as the Scots pressed him to do, and he refused to accept the terms which Parliament proposed—terms, indeed, that would have taken all power away from him. As he refused their terms, the Scottish army could not take him back to their own country; and they finally—having been promised by Parliament £400,000 for their expenses—handed the king over to Parliament, and then recrossed the Tweed[1] (February, 1647).

Period I: June, 1646–Jan., 1649. (a) Charles and the Scots.

The next step was that Parliament proceeded to quarrel with the army. The differences were partly religious. Parliament was a supporter of Presbyterianism. The army consisted largely of Independents, who objected just as much to the rule of the presbyter as to the rule of the priest, and who wanted liberty for "tender consciences". The Parliament—reasonably enough, now that the war was over—wished

(b) Parliament and the army.

[1] "The Scotch army", it was said, "sold their king as Judas sold his Master", and accepted the money as "blood money", to "their own eternal infamy"; but it is difficult to see what other policy they could have pursued.

to reduce the army by one-third, and proposed to transfer the bulk of what was left to Ireland, to finish the war in that country. But it revealed its jealousy of the army by proposing to break up its old organization. Moreover, it was foolish enough to think that the army would be satisfied with six weeks' pay, when in the case of the infantry eighteen weeks' and in the case of the cavalry forty-three weeks' pay was owing. The army naturally objected, and elected men called "agitators" (i.e. agents) to make known their grievances. Finally Cornet Joyce and a body of soldiers seized the king at Holmby House,[1] in Northamptonshire, where he was residing, and carried him off to the army headquarters at Newmarket (*June, 1647*);[2] whilst the army itself approached London, and insisted upon the retirement from the House of Commons of the eleven members most hostile to it. This was the first—but by no means the last—direct interference of the army with the Parliament. Cromwell had tried to mediate between them, but finally joined the army.

(c) The army and the king.

Then the next stage followed, negotiations between the army and the king. Drawn up by Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, the "Heads of the Proposals", as the army terms were called, recognized Episcopacy as the State religion, but allowed toleration for others. They set up a Council of State to manage foreign affairs and the army, and left for ten years the appointment of ministers with Parliament.[3] The king was perhaps unwise to refuse these terms.

(d) The king and the Scots again.

But Charles preferred to turn to the Scots, and this opens another stage in the tangled history of these negotiations. There had been in Scotland, especially amongst the nobles, a reaction in favour of the king, and the Scots were angry at the success of the Independents, and still hoped that Presbyterianism might be enforced upon England. At the suggestion of the Scottish Commissioners, the king, in

[1] At Holmby Charles was allowed to ride about the country with an escort, and to play bowls in the gardens of the neighbouring country houses.

[2] "Where is your commission?" said Charles to Joyce on his arrival. "Here;" answered Joyce, pointing to his soldiers. "It is as fair a commission," was Charles's answer, "and as well-written a commission as any I have seen written in my life."

[3] They also arranged for a redistribution of seats and a revised system of election closely resembling that finally adopted in the Reform Bill of 1832.

November, 1647, effected his escape, and fled to *Carisbrooke Castle*, in the Isle of Wight, the governor of which place, however, remained, contrary to the king's expectation, faithful to the army. Consequently he was kept a prisoner, but he managed, nevertheless, to complete his negotiations with the Scots. Two days after Christmas Day, 1647, Charles signed a treaty called "The Engagement",[1] by which, in return for his restoration to the throne of England, Charles promised to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years, and to suppress other sects.

As a result of "the Engagement" the Duke of Hamilton and a Scottish army invaded England in 1648; the Royalist risings also took place in Wales and in the south-east of England. But the Second Civil War, as it is called, was a half-hearted affair. Scotland was divided, the majority of the Presbyterian ministers, so potent in influence, being against the expedition to England. The Scottish army lacked enthusiasm, and was moreover ill equipped—only one man in five knew how to handle musket or pike, and there was not a single piece of artillery. Consequently, whilst Fairfax subdued the south-east and took Colchester, Cromwell, in a campaign of great energy, interposed his army between Hamilton and Scotland. He destroyed at *Preston* an English Royalist force attached to the Scottish army, and then, in a relentless pursuit of thirty miles, caused the Scottish army to capitulate, ten thousand prisoners falling into his hands *(August, 1648)*. Finally, Cromwell entered Scotland, and restored the influence of Argyll, the head of the Presbyterian party.

The Second Civil War, 1648.

Meantime, during the war, the king was again negotiating with Parliament, and was making concessions which he had no intention of keeping. But the end was near. Cromwell and his army had gone to the war with the intention of bringing that "man of blood", as they called the king, to account on their return. When they did return, to find Parliament carrying on negotiations with the king, they resorted to force. On *December 6, 1648*, Colonel *Pride* and a body of red-coated musketeers, standing at the door of

The execution of the king. Jan., 1649.

[1] The treaty was signed, wrapped in lead, and buried in the castle garden until it could be safely taken away.

the House of Commons, excluded a hundred and forty-three of its members from entering. "Pride's Purge" completed, the remaining members—now only about ninety in number—decided to set up a tribunal to try the king.[1]

The result of the trial was a foregone conclusion; and at four minutes past two in the afternoon of *January 30, 1649*, on a scaffold erected outside the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall, the king was beheaded.[2] Never had Charles shown himself to possess such nobility and kingliness of character as in his last days. There is a story that Cromwell, in the middle of the following night, visited the king's body, looked at it mournfully, and murmured the words, "Cruel necessity!"[3] The cruelty of the execution no one will deny; its necessity has been matter of controversy from that day to this. The deed, at all events, shocked public opinion at the time,[4] and the publication a few days after the execution of the *Eikon Basilike*, which purported to contain the king's last thoughts and meditations, led an ever-increasing number to regard him as a martyr.

2. The rule of the "Rump Parliament", 1649–53

So began the Commonwealth. We may take as a *Second Period* the *four* years between *January, 1649*, and *April, 1653*.

Period II: Jan., 1649–April, 1653. The "Rump" Parliament.

The Government during these years was in the hands of the House of Commons which had been returned to the Long Parliament in 1640; but by successive purgings it had been, out of an original total of four hundred and ninety members, "winnowed, sifted, and

[1] The trial took place in Westminster Hall, and the place where Charles stood is marked by a brass tablet. As the galleries were crowded with spectators, including ladies, the President of the Court took the precaution to wear a shot-proof hat, which can still be seen at Oxford.

[2] The king, it is said, wore two shirts in consequence of the cold, so that he might not shiver and appear to be afraid, and he walked so fast from St. James's to the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall, outside which he was executed, that his guards could scarcely keep up with him.

[3] The story is told by Lord Southampton, who had leave to watch by the body that night. The figure of the visitor was muffled; but from his voice and gait Lord Southampton took him to be Cromwell.

[4] When the executioner showed the king's head to the thousands gathered at Whitehall, "such a groan arose", writes an eyewitness, "as I never heard before and desire I may never hear again".

brought to a handful"[1] of some ninety members. This *Rump* Parliament, as it was called, governed England with an authority which no assembly in England, before or since, has possessed.[2] With no monarchy and no House of Lords to control it—they were both abolished after the king's execution—it could pass what laws it pleased, pursue whatever policy suited it, and it could not be legally dissolved except of its own free will. It entrusted the administration of the country to a council of State of forty-one, the great majority of which were members of the "Rump", and to various committees, on each of which sat persons with special knowledge of the particular branch of administration committed to it.

Cromwell, the Levellers, and Ireland.

The authority of the "Rump" Parliament really rested, of course, on the authority of Fairfax, Cromwell, and the New Model Army; and it was chiefly for that reason that it suppressed its enemies with such success. The Extremists first of all seemed formidable after the king's execution. But Cromwell was no Leveller or Fifth-Monarchy man, and he saw the danger of such opinions. "We must break them," he said, "or they will break us", and he suppressed with great energy a mutiny in the New Model Army. Ireland was the next scene of Cromwell's activity. Nearly all parties in that country had combined, after the execution of Charles I, to support his son; how Cromwell conquered Ireland, however, is described elsewhere (p. 429).

Scotland and Charles II.

Scotland was to be the next country visited by Cromwell. There were two parties in Scotland. On the one hand, Montrose wanted a rising of pure Royalists to be organized in the Highlands. On the other hand, Argyll wanted Charles II to adopt the Covenant, and to impose Presbyterianism upon all his three kingdoms. Montrose, publicly disowned but secretly encouraged by Charles, did attempt to raise the Highlands. But he was defeated, captured, and hanged in his "red scarlet coat" in the Grassmarket at Edinburgh (May,

[1] The words are Cromwell's.

[2] Of course the "Rump" had no claim whatsoever to be considered representative of the nation. Neither the towns nor country districts of four counties, of which Lancashire was one, had any representatives at all; Wales had only three, and London one.

1650).[1] Meantime, in the same month that Montrose was executed, Charles agreed to the terms of Argyll; Presbyterianism was to be imposed in the king's dominions, and in all Scottish affairs Charles was to refer to the General Assembly and the Scottish Parliament. Shortly afterwards Charles landed in Scotland.

There ensued a war between England and Scotland. Cromwell, on his return from Ireland, invaded Scotland,[2] but he was outmanœuvred by Leslie, the Scottish commander, and was cornered in the peninsula of *Dunbar*, with no base but his ships. With his army, in his own words, "poor, shattered, hungry, discouraged", and with Leslie secure on the hills and ready to attack if he tried to escape, the outlook for Cromwell was black. But then Leslie, instead of waiting, "shogged"[3] his right wing still further to the right on to the low ground, so that he might hold the road by which Cromwell could escape. In so doing, Leslie's left wing became isolated, whilst his centre, being still up in the hills, was unable to manœuvre easily. Cromwell saw this, and next morning attacked and rolled up the right wing, whilst the rest of the Scottish army, entangled between a hill and a ravine, was helpless. Cromwell lost only twenty men, but the Scots lost three thousand in the battle besides ten thousand prisoners[4] (*September 3, 1650*).

Battle of Dunbar, Sept. 3, 1650.

Cromwell then marched on to Edinburgh, and in 1651 took Perth. His departure, however, towards the north of Scotland, had left the way open to England, and Charles, entering England by Carlisle, reached *Worcester*. Here, however, Cromwell, who had returned south, caught him up, and blocked his way to London. On the anniversary of Dunbar, Cromwell attacked Charles from both sides of the river, and after "as stiff a contest", in Cromwell's

Battle of Worcester, Sept. 3, 1651.

[1] "The leader of warlike men," it has been said, "swift and secret in his onslaught, the poet, the cavalier, the soul of air and fire, the foremost to head a forlorn hope, at last the forsaken victim of a forsaken cause, Montrose is for ever dear to the imagination."

[2] Fairfax refused to command an army against the Scots.

[3] i.e. moved on; the word is Cromwell's.

[4] When the Scots were defeated "the Lord General", said one of Cromwell's captains, "made a halt and sang the hundred and seventeenth Psalm" till his horse could gather for the chase—another instance of his practical piety.

words, "for four or five hours, as ever I have seen", absolutely defeated him (September 3, 1651). Though Charles himself escaped and got eventually to the Continent,[1] yet not one troop of his cavalry or one company of his infantry succeeded in following his example. Worcester decided the Royalist cause up till the Restoration of 1660; though there were numberless Royalist plots, they were never really serious. The battle also destroyed the independence of Scotland. An English army invaded that country, took its strong places, and Monck, who was a general in the army, governed it for the rest of the Commonwealth.[2]

Cromwell and his victorious army were now free to take part in politics. The "Rump" Parliament made reforms too slowly to please them, and they wished it to dissolve, though for some months they allowed it to continue. But when Cromwell found that its members were arranging for a new Parliament, to which they should not only all belong, but should have the power of excluding other members, his patience was exhausted. He came down to the House, "clad in plain black clothes and grey worsted stockings", and lectured its members. Then, with the aid of his soldiers, he fetched the Speaker down from the chair, took away "the bauble", as he called the mace, evicted the members, and locked the doors. According to Cromwell, "there was not so much as the barking of a dog" at this forcible ejection; indeed, all were tired of the "Rump's" rule.

Cromwell and the "Rump" Parliament.

3. The rule of Cromwell, 1653–58

We now come to our *Third Period*, the five and a half years that elapse between the dissolution of the "Rump", in *April, 1653*, and the death of Cromwell, in *September, 1658*. The monarchy, the Extremists, the Irish, the Scottish army, and the

[1] Charles had six weeks' wandering in England, full of adventures, before he finally got across the Channel from Brighton. He had to hide in an oak at one place, and in a "priest's hole", up a chimney, in another. He witnessed in a village the rejoicings at the news which had been received of his own death. In another village the blacksmith said he had not heard that "that rogue Charles Stuart, had been taken". "If that rogue were taken," answered Charles, "he deserves to be hanged more than the rest for bringing in the Scots."

[2] For the later history of Scotland, see p. 418.

remnants of the Long Parliament had been in turn suppressed. Cromwell and the army were at last supreme. The problem before Cromwell was, however, a difficult one—so difficult indeed that he never solved it. On the one hand, he desired a State based on free elections with an efficient system of Law, not indeed democratic in the modern sense, but managed by the Middle Class. On the other hand, he desired a Godly State, which was to force men to be moral—in his sense of the word. How was he to combine those desires, if the English people did not agree with his ideas of what a Godly State should be? He and his army wished, as it has been humorously put, to fix a legal wig upon the point of the soldier's sword. Unfortunately for them, however, their rule was not based upon great popular support. Consequently the wig fell off, and the naked sword only was visible. Parliaments were frequently called, but they were bound, unless nominated by the army leaders or purged of hostile elements, to be unmanageable.

Period III: April, 1653–Sept., 1658.

The first experiment of the army was an assembly of persons selected by the Council of Army Officers. This Parliament, known as "the Little" or *Barebones' Parliament*—after the name of one of its members, known as "Praise-God Barebones"[1]—contained many notable Puritans, and it possessed, as the Speaker, the Provost of Eton. Moreover, it was the first Parliament of a "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland". But unfortunately it was too visionary and unpractical. It wished to reduce the law into the "bigness of a pocket book", and therefore angered the lawyers; it proposed to find money for the army in a way which the army thought made the chances of being paid exceedingly remote. Finally, its projects with regard to the religious system raised such a hornet's nest that Cromwell was only too thankful when the moderate element in the Assembly, by getting up early one morning, before their opponents were ready, carried a motion that the Assembly should surrender its power to Cromwell, and dissolve (December, 1653).

Barebones' Parliament, 1653.

The next experiment was a new Constitution, drawn up by

[1] He was a leather-seller of Fleet Street; after the Restoration his windows were on more than one occasion the subject of attention from the youth of that neighbourhood.

Ireton, who was Cromwell's son-in-law, and a distinguished officer. It was known as the *Instrument of Government.* Cromwell was to be called Protector, and to have the executive power and a fixed sum for the purposes of government. Parliament, consisting of one House, was to possess the legislative power. But Parliament was controlled by the Protector, because he alone could summon it, he could veto any of its acts which were contrary to the principles of the new Constitution, and could dissolve it after it had sat five months. Cromwell himself was to be controlled, to a certain extent, by a Council of State which was created under the Instrument, and by the fact that, if he wanted additional money over and above the fixed sum allowed him, Parliament alone could grant it.[1]

The Instrument of Government.

There now begins what is called *the Protectorate* in English history. The *First Protectorate Parliament* met in *1654*, and began by discussing the new Constitution. One hundred of its members had therefore to be excluded. The members that were left, however, evinced a desire to reduce the army and cut down its expenses. Moreover, they proposed to abolish toleration by drawing up a list of "damnable heresies", to which no one was to adhere, and of twenty "articles of faith", which no one was to dispute Cromwell had to wait for five months under the Constitution, but he interpreted the month to be "lunar" and not "calendar" and dissolved this intolerant Parliament as soon as he could.

First Protectorate Parliament, 1654.

After the dissolution Cromwell tried for a time a new experiment in local government. England was divided into eleven districts, each under an official called a "Major-general", whose business it was to supervise the militia, to prevent Royalist plots, and to stimulate the local authorities in enforcing the various laws relating to conduct and morality which had recently been passed. Nothing made the Puritan rule so unpopular as this "poor little invention", as Cromwell called it, for people resented it as the act of a military despotism.

The Major-generals.

[1] In some respects Cromwell's powers were very similar to those possessed by the President of the United States to-day.

Then, in the summer of *1656*, Cromwell called another Parliament—the *Second Protectorate Parliament*. One hundred of its members were excluded from taking their seats as a precautionary measure. The remainder showed their belief in Cromwell by presenting to him a new Constitution known as the *Humble Petition and Advice*, under which the Council of State was to be abolished, Cromwell was to be made king and given larger powers, and a second House was to be created. Cromwell hesitated long over his new title. It was, he said, to him personally "but a feather in his cap", but there were great practical advantages in it, if only because, as one member said, the kingship was bounded "like an acre of land", and people would understand its powers. The army was, however, opposed to the title, and Cromwell therefore refused it, whilst accepting the other changes.

Second Protectorate Parliament, 1656–8.

The Second Protectorate Parliament then met again in its reformed condition; but many of Cromwell's supporters in the Lower House had been transferred to the new upper one, whilst the hundred members who had been excluded returned to the Lower House. Hence difficulties at once recurred; the Lower House discussed the functions and composition of the Upper House, and even the powers of the Protector himself; and in February, *1658*, Parliament was dissolved. Seven months later, on September 3,[1] Cromwell died, with the problem of how to combine popular control with his own rule still unsolved.

Death of Cromwell, Sept. 3, 1658.

4. Events leading to Restoration, 1658–60

Then follows the *Fourth Period*—a year and a half of great complexity, between *1658* and *1660*. "There is not a dog that wags his tongue, so great a calm are we in", wrote one man, when Richard, Cromwell's son, was made Protector. The calm was not to continue for long. A new Parliament met; the officers of the army quarrelled with it; and Richard, after trying to mediate, threw in his lot with the officers, and dissolved it. A fortnight later

Period IV: Sept., 1658–May, 1660. The Army and Parliament.

[1] The anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester.

Richard resigned.[1] The army decided to recall the "Rump". The "Rump"—consisting now of some sixty or seventy members—wanted to limit the powers of the new commander-in-chief, and to provide that in future all commissions in the army should be signed by the Speaker, and therefore to a certain extent be controlled by him. Moreover, they threatened the freedom of conscience so dear to the army. Eventually "Honest John" Lambert, the darling of the soldiers, a brave and generous if unstable man, surrounded the House and stopped the entrance of members, and once again the army was triumphant.

But then another general appeared, determined, with the aid of a large army and £70,000 in his treasury, to put an end to what he called the "intolerable slavery of sword government", and to call a free Parliament. This was the commander-in-chief in Scotland, George Monck. On December 8, 1659, he reached Coldstream; Lambert, who had gone north to meet him, found his army dwindling away, and was unable to do anything. Marching to London, Monck restored the members of the Long Parliament, including those originally evicted by Pride's Purge, but only so that they might make arrangements for a new and free Parliament being called. When these arrangements were completed, the elections took place amid great excitement; and a vast majority came back in favour of the restoration of the Stuarts. Monck had already suggested to Charles what proposals it was advisable for him to make. Charles adopted them in a Declaration which he issued to the English people from Breda. The Declaration was received with enthusiasm, and on May 29, 1660, Charles re-entered London, "the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, and the fountains running with wine". The Commonwealth was at an end.

Monck and the Restoration.

The rule of Cromwell and the Commonwealth had certainly not been above criticism. It is quite arguable to say that individual liberty and the right of free speech were threatened to a greater degree under the Commonwealth than during the

[1] At the Restoration Cromwell had to fly to the Continent. He came back to England twenty years later, and died in 1712. "Gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness" is the verdict passed upon him by a contemporary.

reign of Charles I. Moreover, though taxation was three times heavier than it was during Charles I's reign, the Commonwealth had a deficit of half a million yearly. Again, if the Commonwealth showed toleration to Jews and Quakers, its treatment, if not of Anglicans, at all events of Roman Catholics, might be considered severe. And of course it is easy enough to scoff at the "rule of the saints by the sword", and ridicule their attempts to make men more virtuous by passing Acts against swearing and duelling, horse-racing, cock-fighting, and bear-baiting, and by trying to enforce more strictly the keeping of the Sabbath. Yet, for all that, there was much to admire. The Commonwealth government was, it has been said, a more tolerant one than any which had existed since the time of the Reformation. It maintained good order, and did, as a matter of fact, succeed in suppressing some amusements of a highly undesirable character. Its constitutional experiments were ingenious and interesting; and its attempts to reform the Court of Chancery and to reduce legal expenses wholly praiseworthy. Much of the work it attempted to do was, indeed, very modern in outlook—and that is, perhaps, why it failed at that time. Above all, its Foreign Policy raised England from the low position it had reached in the time of the Stuarts, whilst it has been said that no previous Government had such imperial instincts as Cromwell's.

The rule of the Commonwealth.

XXX. Foreign Policy, 1649–88; Greater Britain, 1603–88

England, it has been said, was more warlike during the period of the Commonwealth than she had been at any other time since the Hundred Years' War with France. But, as we have seen, till the end of 1651 the military energies of the Commonwealth Government were occupied in fighting its Royalist foes. Cromwell, on land, was winning Dunbar and Worcester; Blake, on sea, was sweeping Royalist privateers from the Channel and the Mediterranean, and forcing the colonies to recognize the rule of the Republic. In 1652, however, the Commonwealth was

free to interfere with its Continental neighbours; and with the best army in Europe, composed of some forty thousand men, and a fleet to which it added two hundred and seven ships, its interference proved to be of a decisive character.

Holland was England's first foe. It might have been expected that these two States, being both Republics and both Protestant, would have combined.[1] But England and Holland were keen commercial rivals. "We are fighting", said a member of the Long Parliament, "for the fairest mistress in the world—trade." Holland had, so far, been the conqueror. The Dutch had shut the English out from trade in the East Indies. They had almost acquired a monopoly of the carrying trade; they were, it was said, "the wagoners of all seas". In the autumn of 1651, however, the "Rump" Parliament passed a Navigation Act, by which goods coming to England were to be carried in English ships, or in ships belonging to the country from which the goods came.[2] If ever an Act, it has been said, did make a nation great, it was this one; and the enormous development of English shipping in the years that follow must be largely attributed to its influence. But in fostering English shipping this Act struck a heavy blow at the Dutch. Then other questions arose between the two nations. An informal "sort of a war" was going on between the English and French on sea, and England claimed to seize French goods on Dutch ships, a claim which the Dutch resisted. Finally, there was a question of honour; the English held that Dutch ships should lower their flag to English men-of-war in the Channel, and the Dutch were naturally averse to recognizing such a right. Over this point came a collision between the Dutch and English fleets near Dover, and then the war began (May, 1652).

The causes of Dutch War, 1652.

In the war that ensued the English had the advantage of more solidily built and more heavily armed ships, and, though they were without such a great tactician as the Dutch possessed in Tromp, they had in Blake a commander who combined great

[1] A suggestion, indeed, for a political union was actually put forward by England, but it came to nothing.

[2] This policy was not, however, a new one, for Navigation Acts of one sort or another had been passed ever since the reign of Richard II, but they had not been effectively carried out.

care in the organization of his fleet with brilliant daring in action. The war, which lasted from 1652-4, was crowded with sea battles. Tromp defeated Blake off Dungeness in November, 1652, and obtained command of the Channel.[1] But in the following February, 1653, Blake regained the command after a three days' battle off Portland. The English ships were able to inflict great damage upon Holland's extensive commerce. In the course of the war no less than one thousand four hundred Dutch ships were captured, including one hundred and twenty men-of-war, and towards its close no Dutch merchantman could show itself in the Channel.

Incidents of war, 1652–4.

Meanwhile, during the course of the war, Cromwell had become Protector (December, 1653). One great aim, of course, of Cromwell's foreign policy was to prevent the restoration of the Stuarts by foreign aid. His other two aims were to maintain and to extend, first, the Protestant religion, and then English commerce. Here Cromwell showed that intense religious feeling, combined with practical common sense, which has been noticed already. Cromwell at first pursued a policy of peace, and sought alliance with the Protestant powers. In April, 1654, the Dutch war came to an end. The Dutch agreed to salute our flag in British seas and to expel Royalists from their country, whilst they tacitly acquiesced in the Navigation Act. Treaties of alliance followed with Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal, which gave England important commercial concessions.

Cromwell's alliances, 1654.

Cromwell's energy soon found a fresh opportunity for action. The Thirty Years' War had ended in Germany in 1648, but war still lingered on between Spain and France. Each of these powers was anxious to secure his support. But Cromwell's terms were high. He proposed to Spain that Englishmen should have liberty for the exercise of their religion in the Spanish dominions, and freedom of trade with the Spanish West Indies. "This is to ask for my master's two eyes", was the reply of the astonished Spanish ambassador.

The expedition to the West Indies, 1655.

[1] It was after this battle that Tromp was said to have put a broom at his masthead to show that he had swept the English off the sea; but such a story of so modest a man as Tromp is probably untrue.

Then Cromwell determined upon a colonial war with Spain. An expedition was sent to capture Hispaniola in the Spanish West Indies (1655).[1] But the attack upon that island was a disastrous failure. Jamaica, however, was captured, and Cromwell proceeded to colonize it with characteristic vigour.

The expedition to the West Indies by no means exhausted Cromwell's activity in 1655. Blake was sent to the Mediterranean on a cruise; he made a fine attack on Tunis, whose Bey had refused to give up some English prisoners, but the voyage is chiefly interesting as marking the beginning of England's activity in the Mediterranean Sea. In the same year some horrible atrocities committed by the Duke of Savoy, with the connivance of the French, on the Protestants who lived in the Vaudois valleys in Savoy, aroused angry protests from Cromwell.[2] The French king, therefore, anxious to secure Cromwell's alliance, put pressure upon the duke to stop the massacres, and Cromwell was regarded throughout Europe as the saviour of the Protestants.

Shortly after this successful intervention Cromwell made a treaty with France, and war was formally declared between England and Spain in the beginning of 1656. The year 1657 saw a great naval success. The English fleet, under Blake, found the Spanish treasure fleet at Santa Cruz, protected by the forts. Entering the harbour with the flowing tide, Blake succeeded, before he retired with the ebb tide, in sinking, blowing up, or burning every Spanish ship.[3] The following year (1658) it was the turn of the soldiers. The French and English determined to besiege Dunkirk, the possession of which would give the English "a bridle for the Dutch and a door into the Continent". Six thousand of the New Model Army combined with the French. They took the chief part in a battle waged near the fort, and earned for themselves the nickname of "the Immortals". Shortly after this Dunkirk fell. But then Cromwell died, and in the

The attack at Santa Cruz, 1657, and capture of Dunkirk, 1658.

[1] Such an expedition would not necessarily in those days involve a formal war between England and Spain in Europe.

[2] See Milton's celebrated Sonnet on "The Late Massacre in Piedmont".

[3] Blake died on his homeward journey on board his ship at the very entrance of Plymouth Sound, August 7, 1657.

confusion which followed nothing more could be done. "Cromwell's greatness at home", said Clarendon, "was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad"; and with this admission from the great Royalist historian we may be content to leave the study of the Commonwealth's foreign policy. The Commonwealth had done something, at all events, to restore the prestige which England had lost in Europe under the first two Stuarts.

England in the period of the Commonwealth had secured a position of great influence in Europe. With the return of the Stuarts, in 1660, she was soon to lose it. Between the restoration of Charles II, in 1660, and the revolution which his brother, James II, brought upon himself, after three years of rule, in 1688, there elapse twenty-eight years. During those years the King of France, Louis XIV, who reigned from 1643–1715, is the central figure in European politics. With the aid of a large revenue, capable ministers, and wonderful generals, he had already secured for the Crown, before the Restoration, absolute power at home and a pre-eminent position in Europe. By the time of the Revolution of 1688 his ambitions and resources were, as we shall see, a menace to every state in Europe.

Position of France under Louis XIV, 1643–1715.

Charles returned to England in 1660 under obligations to no foreign power. But from the first he was attracted towards France. His mother was French; his cousin, Louis XIV, was such a king in France as he would have liked to be in England. Moreover, Charles wanted to foster the commercial welfare of England, and he looked upon Holland, not France, as the rival of the country over which he ruled. And so he married his sister, Henrietta, the only person whom he ever really loved, to the French Duke of Orleans, and he himself married Catherine of Braganza, the daughter of the King of Portugal, with whom Louis XIV was in alliance. Catherine, as her dowry, secured two useful possessions for England—Bombay, which Charles leased to the East India Company for the trivial rent of £10 a year, and Tangier, an important strategic port, which encouraged England to hope that "she might give the law to all the trade of the Mediterranean". Moreover, Charles sold Dunkirk to the French. The sale was un-

Charles II's policy towards France.

popular, but wise; for Dunkirk was expensive to keep up, useless strategically, and the king could not afford to maintain garrisons there as well as at Tangier.

Meantime the commercial ambitions of Holland and England, especially in Africa and the East Indies, led to continual disputes between the ships of the rival nations and to attacks upon each other's commerce.[1] The trade rivalry between the Dutch and the British was fierce, and the Government of Charles II was bombarded with petitions against the Dutch. Finally war was declared against Holland in 1665. In this war France was nominally in alliance with Holland, though she took no prominent part in the military operations, which were nearly all at sea. The battles were fiercely contested, and a large part was played in them by fire ships—the torpedo boats of that time. The king's brother, James, Duke of York, won a great battle off *Lowestoft*, in which, with the loss of one ship, he inflicted on the Dutch a loss of twelve ships.[2] In the next year (1666) Monck and Rupert, no longer generals on land but "generals at sea", unfortunately separated their fleets, and Monck was defeated in a battle lasting for four days, though his ships behaved well and "fought", it was said, "like a line of cavalry handled according to rule". In 1667 an indelible disgrace was inflicted upon England. Lack of money caused Charles to lay up his ships.[3] The Dutch, taking advantage of this, sailed up the Medway as far as Chatham, and captured or destroyed sixteen ships. England was lucky to be able, only six weeks later, to make a peace at *Breda*, by which she obtained, in North America, New Jersey and New Amsterdam—afterwards called, in honour of the duke, New York.

Second Dutch War, 1665–7.

Barely a year later (1668) the Peace of Breda developed into a Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, with the object of opposing Louis XIV. The Alliance was a popular one in England, but there is reason to suppose that Charles

[1] Two English companies—the Turkish Company and the East India Company—estimated their losses, in consequence of Dutch depredations, at £700,000.

[2] After the battle James went to bed, and, as a consequence of misunderstood orders, the Dutch fleet was not pursued.

[3] No doubt Charles's personal extravagance was partly responsible for the lack of money, but the chief reason was that the war cost much more than was anticipated, while the taxes which Parliament had voted brought in a good deal less.

had only consented to it in order later to bring upon the Dutch[1] the wrath of the French king. At all events, within a week of the formation of the Alliance, he was intriguing with Louis XIV, and long negotiations, in which the Duchess of Orleans took a prominent part, finally ended in the disgraceful *Treaty of Dover* (1670). By that treaty, first, Holland was to be partitioned, and Charles, in return for his military support, was to receive a subsidy; secondly, Charles was to declare himself a Roman Catholic "at a convenient opportunity", and, on making the declaration, was to receive from Louis an additional grant of money, and, if necessary, a force of soldiers, in order to be able to repress any disturbance that might occur. Of this latter portion of the treaty only two ministers[2] in England were informed; but, in order to deceive the other ministers and the nation, a "sham treaty" was drawn up, which had reference only to the proposed war with the Dutch. With the treaty of Dover the creditable portion of Charles's foreign policy terminates. In the war which followed in 1672 the Dutch made an heroic resistance. They cut their dykes and surrendered part of their land to the sea, in order to preserve it from the French; and their fleet, though defeated off *Southwold Bay*, more than held its own in the latter portion of the war. In 1674 England was glad to make peace. The power of Holland, however, was broken, and gradually a large portion of her trade fell into English hands.

The Treaty of Dover, 1670, and Third Dutch War, 1672–4.

From 1674 to 1688 England ceases to be of importance in foreign affairs. Occasionally the king showed some independence of France, as, in 1677, when the Princess Mary, the daughter of the Duke of York, married William of Orange, the ruler of Holland. But for the greater part of the time the English kings were the pensioners of Louis XIV. That monarch paid Charles II large sums of money for the prorogation of Parliament, and when he seemed to be too independent he bribed the Opposition in Parliament instead. Finally, Charles, a year before he died, gave up Tangier in order to please

Foreign policy, 1674–88.

[1] Charles disliked the Dutch: "stinking Dutchmen" he was once rude enough to call them.

[2] Clifford and Arlington, both Roman Catholics, and both members of the "Cabal" ministry (p. 412).

Louis XIV. When James II came to the throne, in 1685, the French ambassador was the chief supporter of his disastrous policy. Meantime Louis XIV's powers and ambitions were extending, and when the Revolution of 1688 came, his ascendancy was threatening all Europe.

From the history of English foreign policy we may turn to the history of the British Empire in the seventeenth century, for the two are not disconnected. The British Empire, when James I ascended the throne in 1603, was non-existent. Attempts had been made to colonize Virginia, but they had failed; the East India Company had been formed in 1600 for the promotion of trade with the East, but its first expedition had not returned from the East Indies when Elizabeth died.[1] With the Stuarts, however, the beginnings of Empire came, and the seventeenth century is, therefore, from an imperial as well as from a domestic point of view, a very important one. And it is worth pointing out that the successful development of this Empire in the seventeenth century was largely due to private enterprise.

Beginnings of Empire, 1603–88.

We may turn to affairs in the East first. It was under Portuguese auspices that the route to India and the Far East by the Cape of Good Hope had been discovered in 1502, and during the sixteenth century Portugal had been successful in preserving a monopoly of the Eastern trade for her own merchants.[2] But in the seventeenth century both the Dutch and English nations determined to secure some share in that trade. In the Far East the Dutch proved themselves persistent and intrepid traders. The Dutch East India Company conquered the Spice Islands from the Portuguese, and established their own supremacy. The English East India Company also endeavoured to trade in the Far East, but the Dutch Company was wealthier and stronger. Disputes between Dutch and English occurred, and culminated in the massacre at *Amboyna* (1623), when ten Englishmen were executed on a trumped-up charge of conspiring with some Japanese soldiers

Dutch supremacy in Far East.

[1] It returned six months after James's accession with one million pounds of pepper.

[2] A few Englishmen did, however, succeed in reaching India in the reign of Elizabeth. The first Englishman known to have visited India was a Jesuit, Stephens by name, in 1579.

against the Dutch governor of that place.[1] Soon after this the English practically gave up their attempts to compete with the Dutch for trade in the Far East, and they did not re-enter the contest till the close of the eighteenth century.

English "factories" in India.

On the mainland of India the English East India Company met with greater success. It had to encounter the hostility of the Portuguese, but, despite that, it managed to prosper. In 1612 it established its first depot for goods, or "factory", as it was called, at *Surat*, on the west coast of India.[2] Others followed at *Madras* (1639), *Bombay* (1661), and *Calcutta* (1690). At the close of the seventeenth century a rival company to the East India Company was started in England; but the two companies amalgamated in 1709, and the united company quickly developed trade. So far the object of the English in India had been merely the extension of trade; how the East India Company in later years obtained an empire in India which stretched from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas must be explained in a later chapter.

Foundation of Virginia, 1607.

Meantime, whilst the English merchants were developing a substantial trade in the East, English colonists had built up many settlements in the West. The first successful attempt was made in *Virginia*. In May, 1607, some hundred emigrants landed in Chesapeake Bay and founded the settlement of Jamestown. But the colony had great difficulties at first, though, when the adventurous Captain John Smith[3] was for a short time President in 1608, things progressed more favourably. The colony did not, however, really prosper until the arrival of Lord De la Warr in 1610. His short governorship

[1] No reparation was extracted from the Dutch for this flagrant injustice for thirty-one years; then Cromwell insisted on a large money indemnity being paid to the English company and to the relatives of the executed men.

[2] Leave would not have been obtained from the native ruler for this factory to be established but for the fact that Captain Thomas Best had won a great reputation for the English in that same year by defeating, on four successive occasions, an overwhelming force of Portuguese ships.

[3] If his autobiography may be believed, John Smith had fought against the Spaniards in the Low Countries and the Turks in Hungary. He had been thrown overboard by the crew of a French ship in a storm because he was considered a Huguenot. Saved by another ship, he had again fought against the Turks, and defeated three Turkish champions in single combat. Subsequently he was taken prisoner and sold as a slave; but he killed his master, a Turkish pasha, made his escape, and returned to England.

was the turning-point in the early history of Virginia, and the colonists soon received large reinforcements in numbers from the mother country.

Then, in 1620, came the foundation of the Puritan colonies farther north. Many Puritans had fled, during Elizabeth's reign, from England in consequence of persecution, and settled in Holland. One hundred of these men got leave from James to found an English colony in America. Returning to England, the "Pilgrim Fathers", as they came to be called, started from Plymouth on board the *Mayflower*, landed in Cape Cod Harbour, and founded the little settlement of New Plymouth. The misgovernment and intolerance of Charles led to their numbers being largely augmented before long; indeed, it is said that nearly twenty thousand colonists sailed from Old to New England, as the group of the more northern colonies was called, between the accession of Charles I and the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640.[1] And so the northern colonies, of which *Massachusetts* became far the most important, were gradually formed.

The Pilgrim Fathers, 1620.

The reign of Charles II proved an extremely important one in the history of our American colonies. For one thing, *North and South Carolina* were founded. But, above all, the territories of the English in America became continuous. The Dutch had colonized the territory which lay between the northern and southern settlements of the English. In the Dutch war of 1665, however, an expedition was sent, and these colonies were captured; and in the subsequent peace the Dutch formally relinquished them. New Amsterdam became *New York*, and the colonies of *New Jersey*, *Delaware*, and *Pennsylvania* were established.

Development of Colonies under Charles II.

Of the relations between England and her American colonies we shall have something to say later on; it is sufficient to say here that to most of them an English governor was sent out, and that the degree of independence enjoyed by each colony varied. But, like all

Condition of American Colonies.

[1] There is a story, though there is no reliable evidence to support it, that in 1636 Cromwell and John Hampden, despairing of their country, took their passage to America, but that the vessel was stopped by an order in Council.

mother countries at that time, England regarded her colonies as a source of wealth, and the colonial trade was carefully regulated for the benefit of English merchants. As to the character of the colonies themselves, there were striking differences between them. The "New England" colonists[1] were Puritans by religion, inclined to be democratic in government, and they were hard-working, keen, if somewhat austere men. The southern colonies[2] were more aristocratic, and in them the Church of England was established by law. Here the climate was hot, and the chief products were tobacco and rice, the cultivation of which was worked by slaves. The colonists were owners of plantations, many of them being very large plantations. The central colonies[3] were composed of somewhat heterogeneous elements, and every variety of race and religion might be found in one or other of them. With such differences between these various groups, it was not likely that the colonies would find combination an easy matter, and indeed there were continual disputes, chiefly about boundaries, between them. Unity was not to come till the oppression of the mother country—or what was considered by the colonists to be oppression—roused the colonies to common action in 1775; and less than a century after this the underlying differences between the North and the South were to produce the American Civil War of 1861.

Other parts of Empire.

Of the other parts of our Empire developed or acquired in the seventeenth century we must say little. In the West Indies the small island of Barbados was successfully colonized in 1626.[4] The resources of Jamaica, captured by Cromwell in 1655, were quickly developed, and this island was also the home of the Buccaneers[5] who preyed upon Spanish commerce in the Caribbean Sea. Meantime, settlements were made in Newfoundland and the Bahamas, whilst various points on the West African coast were secured, and in 1651 St. Helena was occupied by the East India Company.

[1] Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.

[2] i.e. Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, which was founded in 1732.

[3] i.e. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware.

[4] Barbados was stoutly Royalist, and held out against the Commonwealth until 1652.

[5] The most famous of these is perhaps Captain Dampier.

XXXI. Domestic Affairs, 1660–88, in England and Scotland

1. England

We must now trace the internal history of the twenty-eight years that elapse between the Restoration of 1660 and the Revolution of 1688. Something may be said first of the two kings, of Charles II, who reigned till 1685, and of his brother, James II, who reigned till 1688.

With the Restoration we are conscious of a lowering in the ideals of the nation. Both the rival parties in the previous troubles had produced fine personalities, men actuated by lofty motives, and exhibiting nobility of character. With the Restoration we begin, it has been said, the life of modern England, and the Age of Heroics gives way to the Age of Common Sense. Charles was a king in keeping with such an epoch. Since the age of fifteen he had been, but for the brief campaign in 1651, an exile from his country, and now he entered London as king, in 1660, on his thirtieth birthday. He had the Englishman's love of exercise—he was devoted to tennis[1] and hunting, and would often walk from Whitehall to Hampton Court. But in business he was sometimes indolent, and his frivolity was incurable. "Naturally I am more lazy than I ought to be", was his own frank confession; and he was engaged in chasing a poor moth, so it is said, whilst the Dutch guns were heard roaring in the Thames. He was thoroughly selfish and unprincipled, and prepared to sacrifice religion, friends, or ministers, if he found such a course the more convenient for his own interests. Moreover, his life in exile had been a very demoralizing one for him, and when he returned to England his Court was notorious for its licence and corruption, and for the evil influence exercised by women such as Lady Castlemaine and the Duchess of Portsmouth. Finally, he was at heart a Catholic, but was too prudent in politics, or too lukewarm in faith, to venture to declare himself.

Characters of Charles II and James II.

[1] He used to play in the summer at 5 o'clock in the morning.

James's own life was not above reproach, but in some respects he was a better man than Charles. In his brother's reign, James earned as a soldier the praise of a French general, and as a sailor he fought well at sea and administered the navy with tolerable efficiency at Whitehall. He possessed energy and sincerity, and he proved himself a kind master and father. Yet Charles had many more interests than James in Nature, in Science[1], and in Art. He was more good-humoured, and he had a gift of wit which was denied to James. Moreover, he was a far abler man. "The king", said one observer, "could see things if he would; the Duke (i.e. James, then Duke of York) would see things if he could." James was a bigot, a man given to extremes in all things. He was an ardent Roman Catholic, and those who did not agree with him must be heretics; he was a believer in absolute monarchy, and those who opposed him were rebels. Charles, though of the same opinions, and not without a certain persistency in endeavouring to support them, was more pliable, more tactful, content to bide his time, and determined above all things "not to go on his travels again". James, perhaps, succeeded to a more difficult situation, but the differences in their respective characters largely account for the fact that whilst Charles reigned for twenty-five years and found himself in a stronger position at the end of his rule than he was at its beginning, James's reign came to an abrupt conclusion in less than four years.

Settlement of the kingdom, 1660–1.

Charles had made four promises in his *Declaration* signed at *Breda* before his return to England, the performance of these promises, however, being conditional upon the consent of Parliament. *First, Arrears of pay* were promised to the soldiers. These were paid, and the new Model Army, with the exception of a regiment known as the Coldstream Guards, was disbanded. *Secondly*, Charles had promised a *general amnesty*. Charles himself was not revengeful, and was quite willing to forgive and to forget. Parliament, however, in the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion which it passed made many exceptions. Thirteen regicides (i.e. those that had signed the death warrant of Charles I) were executed and twenty-five persons were imprisoned for life, whilst Cromwell's body was

[1] The Royal Society was founded in Charles II's time.

barbarously dug up, hanged at Tyburn, and buried under the gallows.[1]

Thirdly, Charles had promised *security of tenure* to those who had obtained land under the Commonwealth. The land question proved a very complicated one. Eventually it was settled that all lands belonging to the Church and the Crown, and all lands which had been confiscated by the Commonwealth Government, should be returned to their previous owners, whilst the private sales of land held good, though they had been often made in order to pay the heavy fines inflicted upon recalcitrant Royalists by the Commonwealth. It was a compromise which pleased neither party and inflicted hardship on both; but perhaps this could hardly be avoided.

So far matters had been settled by the Convention Parliament, but this Parliament found itself unable to come to an agreement over the *fourth* promise of Charles—the *promise of liberty of conscience*. Charles had tried to effect a compromise through a conference between leading ecclesiastics; but the attempt was a failure, and it was left to a new Parliament to deal with the question. That Parliament is known in history as the Cavalier Parliament, and it lasted from 1661 to 1679. It was remarkable during the first few years of its existence for its exuberant Royalism; indeed, it was more Royalist, so the saying went, than the king himself.

The Cavalier Parliament, 1661–79.

On the religious question the Cavalier Parliament proved itself to be more Anglican than even the ordinary High Churchman, and between 1661 and 1665 four Acts were passed against the Puritans.

The Clarendon Code, 1661–5.

By the first of these Acts, the *Corporation Act*, no one could be a member of the municipal bodies which governed the towns and controlled the election of Members of Parliament unless he took an oath denying the lawfulness, under any pretext whatever, of taking up arms against the king, and received the Communion according to the rites of the Church of England. This Act sought to deprive the Puritans of their hold upon the towns and the House of Commons. By the *Act of Uniformity* every clergyman and schoolmaster was obliged to take

[1] The site is in Connaught Square.

a similar oath of non-resistance and declare his "unfeigned consent and assent" to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, in which six hundred alterations had just been made, of a trivial character mostly, it is true, but in an anti-Puritan direction. No less than two thousand clergymen refused to conform to this Act, and were deprived of their livings. By the *Five-Mile Act* these two thousand dispossessed clergymen were not allowed to come within five miles of their former livings or of any corporate town unless they took the non-resistance oath imposed by the Corporation Act, and promised not "to endeavour at any time any alteration of government either in church or state". By the *Conventicle Act* religious meetings —other than those of the Church of England—were forbidden, under penalty of imprisonment for the first, and transportation for the third, offence. These Acts helped to complete the severance between the Church of England and the more advanced Puritans. They are sometimes known as the *Clarendon Code.* But this is unjust, because, though Clarendon was the chief minister at the time, neither he nor the king was the instigator of those laws; and the king himself was no persecutor.

The Amnesty, the Land, and the Religious Questions had all been settled, at least temporarily, but one problem still remained which no party in the State had hitherto satisfactorily solved—how were the powers of the Monarchy and the Parliament to be harmonized?

Powers of the Crown after 1660.

It might appear, at first sight, that the Monarchy, at the Restoration, recovered all its old authority. The king, as before, chose his own ministers and conducted the home and foreign policy of the country. Though feudal dues were abolished, the king was granted by Parliament a revenue for life from customs and excise. In one respect, indeed, Charles was more powerful than his predecessors in that he had a small standing army of some five thousand men,[1] which was increased as the reign progressed.

[1] A regiment of foot (the Coldstream) and a regiment of horse (the Blues—so called from their uniforms) were made up of "New Model" soldiers; besides these there were the regiment of Grenadiers, composed chiefly of Cavaliers, and two troops of Life Guards, whilst a troop of horse and a regiment of foot, known later as the Royal Dragoons and the Queen's Regiment, were required for the defence of Tangier. The Royal Scots and the Buffs were

But, in reality, the king was not in his old position of power. The arbitrary courts, such as the Star Chamber, were no longer in existence. The Restoration, it has been said, was not only a restoration of the Monarchy but of the Parliament as well, and the wishes of that Parliament could no longer be ignored. "The King of France", said a shrewd observer, "can make his subjects march as he pleases; but the King of England must march with his people." Moreover, in 1667 the Parliament made a great advance; it secured that additional grants of money to the Crown should be appropriated for particular objects, and that a Parliamentary audit should be made to ensure that the money was so expended.

During the first seven years of Charles's reign *(1660–7)*, *Lord Clarendon*, the author of the famous *History of the Rebellion*, was the chief minister; indeed he had such influence that Charles, a contemporary said, was but "half a king" whilst he was in power. As Edward Hyde, Clarendon had been a member of the Long Parliament, and had approved of its measures until the Grand Remonstrance was brought forward. Though not responsible for the Clarendon Code, he was perhaps too intolerant a High Churchman; but he was moderate in politics, upright and hard-working, and his great object was to establish a balance of power as between King and Parliament. Partly in consequence of his very moderation, he became in time unpopular with all classes. The king got tired of his lectures; the courtiers sneered at his morality; the Royalists disliked him for his supposed leniency to the Puritans over the amnesty and the land questions; whilst the Nonconformists hated him for the Code. Moreover, the marriage of his daughter, Anne Hyde, with James, Duke of York, the king's brother, made him appear self-seeking; and the sale of Dunkirk to France, for which Louis XIV, the French king, was said to have bribed him,[1] caused him to be accused of corruption.

The Ministry of Clarendon, 1660–7.

also created in Charles II's reign, the one being recruited from Scotsmen who had fought for the King of France, and the other from those who had served under the banner of Holland. The Scots Greys were also formed in Charles II's reign.

[1] According to Pepys, the Diarist, the common people called the great house which Clarendon was building for himself, in Piccadilly, Dunkirk House, "from their opinion of his having a good bribe for the selling of that towne".

Clarendon's unpopularity was increased by two disasters for which he was in no way responsible. The Great Plague of 1665 killed one-fifth of the population of London,[1] besides raging in the provinces. The Great Fire in the following year swept away two-thirds of London's houses, and not far short of a hundred of its churches, including St. Paul's; it was indeed fortunate for England that she had Sir Christopher Wren to rebuild so many of them.[2] Finally, in 1667, the whole nation held Clarendon responsible for the appearance of the Dutch fleet up the Thames. And so Clarendon was dismissed by the king, was impeached by Parliament, and retired into exile.

With Clarendon's fall, Charles largely directed his own policy. For the next five years (*1667–73*) his chief ministers were five in number, and came to be known from the initial letters of their names as the *Cabal* Ministry. Two of them, Clifford and Arlington, were Roman Catholics. Buckingham, the third member of the group, was "everything by turns, and nothing long"; in the fickleness of his opinions, the changeableness of his occupations, and the immorality of his life he was highly characteristic of that epoch. The fourth, Ashley Cooper, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, was a person who was accused of changing sides always at the right moment for himself. He was undoubtedly a very able statesman. He was, in religious matters, in favour of toleration. He was keenly interested in colonial and trade development, and thus a supporter of the war against the Dutch. And he is regarded by some historians as the first great party leader in the modern sense, and as the founder of modern Parliamentary oratory. Lauderdale, the last of the five, and perhaps the wickedest, governed Scotland.

The Cabal Ministry, 1667–73.

The Cabal, however, was in no respect like a modern Cabinet. Its members were not of the same opinions; they had no leader; and they were not consulted together. It was during the existence of the Cabal that there came the Triple Alliance, the secret Treaty of Dover—of which only Clifford and Arlington knew—and the Third Dutch War (p. 402). Just before the Dutch War

[1] For four months previous to the arrival of the Plague there had been no rain, and this made the capital very insanitary.

[2] Wren built St. Paul's and fifty-two churches in London.

began, Charles, in accordance with his agreement with Louis XIV, tried to secure toleration for Roman Catholics, and incidentally for Dissenters as well, by issuing what was called a *Declaration of Indulgence*, suspending the penal laws against Roman Catholics and Dissenters (*1672*). But Parliament objected, and Charles had not only to withdraw the Declaration, but to agree to a *Test Act* by which no one was to hold any office of State who refused to take the sacrament according to the Church of England (1673). This Act caused the Duke of York to retire from the Admiralty, and Clifford and Arlington to retire from the Ministry. Charles then dismissed Shaftesbury, and the Cabal Ministry came to an end (1673).

The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672, and the Test Act, 1673.

For the next few years (*1673–8*) Charles's chief minister was *Danby*, who was an Anglican in religion, and the king gave up, for the time, his attempts to restore Roman Catholicism in England. These years are a maze of intrigues. The Cavalier Parliament was getting restive. Shaftesbury, on being dismissed by the king, had at once begun to organize an opposition in both Houses, which soon became formidable. Meantime the French king was at one time subsidizing Charles in order to get Parliament prorogued, and at another trying to bribe the Opposition to oppose the king. The nation was nervous and uneasy. Then an event happened which made it panic-stricken.

Ministry of Danby, 1673–8.

In the autumn of 1678 a man called Titus Oates made a statement to a London magistrate declaring the existence of a *Popish plot*, the objects of which were to murder the king, to put the Duke of York in his place and to bring a French army into England. Shortly afterwards the magistrate was found dead, having been obviously murdered. At once the nation, always in dread of Popish plots, took alarm, and a panic began. Every word of Titus Oates was believed, though he was really a thorough scoundrel.[1] Other informers sprang up in every direction; and Roman Catholics were tried and executed on the flimsiest evidence. Protestants carried flails

The Popish Plot, 1678.

[1] He had been expelled successively from his school, the Navy, and two Jesuit Colleges, besides having had writs issued against him on two occasions for perjury.

to protect themselves from imaginary Roman Catholic assaults, whilst the Houses of Parliament without one dissentient declared a "damnable and hellish plot" to be in existence. Of course there was in a sense a plot—in which Charles himself was implicated by the Treaty of Dover—to restore Catholicism in England, but the details of this particular plot were a pure fabrication. Shaftesbury and the Opposition, however, made unscrupulous use of the plot. For they were anxious to divert the succession from Charles II's brother James to an illegitimate son of the king's, known as the Duke of Monmouth; and they hoped that this proposal would, in consequence of the alleged plot, meet with much popular support.

In the same autumn (1678) some negotiations which Danby had, by Charles's command, undertaken for the supply of money from the French king were discovered, and Danby was impeached. Charles, to save him, dissolved the Cavalier Parliament, which had sat since 1661 (January, 1679). There followed in a space of two years three short Parliaments (1679–81). The first of these insisted upon committing Danby to the Tower despite the king's pardon, thereby developing the principle of the responsibility of ministers. It also passed, through Shaftesbury's influence, a very important *Habeas Corpus Act*, the object of which was to ensure that a man who was imprisoned should be brought up for trial as soon as possible.

Three short Parliaments, 1679–80.

In all three of these short Parliaments, however, the chief topic was the Bill for excluding James from the succession. Shaftesbury and the Opposition pressed for the succession of the Duke of Monmouth, who, they held, was a legitimate son of Charles, the marriage certificate of his mother with Charles being secreted (so it was alleged) in a certain "black box". Charles, however, said he would rather see his son hanged than legitimize him. It was during this time that Political Parties were first organized. At first they were known under the names of *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*, from the fact that one party petitioned for the calling of Parliament, whilst the other expressed their abhorrence of any encroachment on the king's Prerogative; later they came to be called by their respective opponents, *Whigs*

The Exclusion Bill.

after the name of certain fanatical Whig Covenanters, and *Tories* after some wild Irish Roman Catholic rebels; and the names are still in use to our own day. The last of the three Parliaments was summoned by the king to meet not in London, where the mob was fiercely hostile to the Court, but at Oxford in Christ Church Hall; and men came armed—so great was the excitement. But it had only lasted a week when Charles dissolved it, and the Exclusion Bill was still unpassed (1681).

A reaction in favour of the king followed the Oxford Parliament. The execution of Lord Stafford, a blameless Roman Catholic peer of over seventy years of age, for alleged complicity in the Popish Plot, made people realize the wildness of the exaggerations which they had hitherto believed. It was felt that the Opposition had gone too far, and there was no desire for another Civil War. Consequently, for the last four years of his reign (*1681–5*) Charles, with the aid of a congenial ministry nicknamed "the Chits", from their youth, was able to persecute his enemies, whilst lavish grants from Louis XIV enabled him to do without a Parliament. Shaftesbury had to flee to Holland and the Duke of Monmouth was banished. The *Ryehouse Plot*—a plot for murdering the king on his way from Newmarket—gave Charles an opportunity of executing, though quite unjustly, Russell and Sidney, both prominent Whigs (1683). The king, also, by means of a writ called *Quo Warranto*, "remodelled" the Charters of London and sixty-five provincial towns, the strongholds of the Whigs, and vested the right of electing Members of Parliament to represent these boroughs in governing bodies nominated by himself. Yet Charles had no wish to play the part of a tyrant; all he wanted was to get free from the control of any other authority, and in this apparently he had completely succeeded before his death, which occurred in February, 1685.

Supremacy of Charles, 1681–5.

James II succeeded without difficulty (*February, 1685*) on his brother's death. People felt that he had been treated hardly over the Exclusion Bill, and he had the support of all moderate people. Parliament, enthusiastically loyal, voted him a large income; and even when the fabricators of the Popish Plot were most barbarously treated—Oates received

Accession of James II, 1685.

three thousand four hundred lashes in three days[1]—it was felt that they had only got what they deserved.

Moreover, the successful crushing of two rebellions strengthened the king's position. *Argyll* in Scotland rose in support of Monmouth; but he could only get some of his own clan, the Campbells, to help him, and he was captured and beheaded. *Monmouth* himself landed in Dorset, and persuaded the country people of that county and of Somerset to join him in large numbers. He tried a night attack upon the king's forces at *Sedgemoor*, which might have been successful but for the fact that an unsuspected and impassable ditch stopped his advance. As it was, the attack failed, and Monmouth was subsequently captured and then executed (July, 1685). The Chief Justice, Jeffreys by name, accompanied by four other judges, was sent down to the West to try the rebels, and, in what is called "the Bloody Assize", hanged over three hundred and transported some eight hundred,[2] thus bringing upon himself a reputation for cruelty which will last as long as history is read.

Monmouth's Rebellion, 1685.

For the first nine months of his reign, till towards the close of 1685, James himself behaved with some moderation. The ease with which the two risings were quelled, however, encouraged him to a more extreme policy. He increased the numbers of the standing army, which was a very unpopular institution, to thirty thousand men. He began a systematic policy of officering it with Roman Catholics, by making use of the *dispensing power*, a power by which the judges held he was able to dispense, in the case of particular individuals, with the laws passed against the Roman Catholics. He changed his ministers, moderate men like Halifax or High Churchmen like Rochester giving way to Roman Catholics and recent converts to that religion like Sunderland; and in Ireland he made Tyrconnel, a bigoted Roman Catholic, viceroy. He showed his intention of converting the University of Oxford by appointing

James's tyranny, 1686–88.

[1] Oates subsequently joined the sect of Baptists, and used often to preach from the pulpit of Wapping Chapel; but he was finally expelled by the sect "as a disorderly person and a hypocrite".

[2] These eight hundred were presented to various courtiers, who sold them to slavery in the West Indian plantations.

a Roman Catholic to the Deanery of Christ Church and by substituting Roman Catholic for Protestant Fellows at Magdalen College; and therefore incurred the hostility of that University, which had always been the most loyal supporter of the House of Stuart. He re-established the High Commission Court and issued a *Declaration of Indulgence*, suspending the penal laws against the Roman Catholics and Dissenters. He prorogued and finally dissolved his first Parliament (July, 1687), and he then made preparations for "packing" another one by calling on the Lords-Lieutenant to provide him with a list of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists suitable as Members—a demand which led most of them to resign.

Such conduct on the part of James alienated not only those classes who had fought against his father but also the classes—the country gentlemen and the clergy—who had fought for him. In the early summer of 1688 the crisis came. In *May*, the king issued a *second Declaration of Indulgence*, and ordered it to be read in churches. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops drew up a protest, and James decided to try them for libel. On *June 10* a son was born to James by his second wife, Mary of Modena. People had so far been content to await the advent of a new reign, in the hope that James's Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange, the ruler of Holland and a strong Protestant, would succeed. But now James had a successor who would be educated as a Roman Catholic. Moreover, it was widely believed that the child was not really the child of James and his wife, but had been brought into the palace in a warming-pan. On *June 30* the Seven Bishops were acquitted, and on that night there was a scene of indescribable enthusiasm and rejoicing in London. On the same evening seven men of importance, representing different shades of opinion, met and drew up a letter inviting William to bring an army over to England and to restore to its people their liberties.[1]

The crisis, May–June 30, 1688.

At this moment Louis XIV offered James his assistance.

[1] The letter was signed in cipher and conveyed by Admiral Herbert (afterwards Lord Torrington), who, disguised as a common sailor, managed to reach the Dutch coast in safety.

James, not appreciating his danger, refused it. Fortunately for William, Louis then moved his troops from the Netherlands frontier to wage a campaign in Germany. With Holland no longer threatened by a French army, William felt himself justified in coming to England, especially as he had received assurances of help from leaders of the English army and navy. He landed at Torbay on *November 5, 1688*, and received support at once. Later he was joined by John Churchill (afterwards the famous Duke of Marlborough), the chief man in the army, whilst an insurrection, supported by Anne, James's second daughter, took place in Yorkshire. James tried conciliation, but it was already too late. He then tried flight, and was ignominiously brought back to London. Finally, William, having arrived in London, sent James to Rochester. There only lax guard was kept over him, and James again escaped—to William's great satisfaction—and at 3 a.m. on Christmas Day, 1688, landed in France. James's reign was over,[1] and so at last was the long struggle of King and Parliament. The Revolution of 1688 was, as we shall see, to produce wide-reaching changes in our system of government.

The Revolution of 1688.

2. Scotland under the Commonwealth and later Stuarts, 1651–88

At the Battle of Worcester, 1651, the Scottish army was destroyed as a fighting force, and Scotland was occupied by an English army and subjugated. Till the Restoration in 1660 she was governed, on the whole successfully, by George Monck and English Commissioners. Taxation, it is true, was heavy, but justice was done in civil and criminal cases far more effectively than ever before. The tyranny of the Presbyterian Church was broken, and some efforts in the direction of toleration were made. The Highlands were pacified and good order maintained throughout Scotland.[2] Above all,

Scotland under the Commonwealth, 1651–60.

[1] During his first flight, on December 11, James had thrown the "Great Seal" into the Thames at Vauxhall, the seal being the symbol of authority without which no deed of Government was valid. This date was subsequently taken as the legal date of James's "abdication".

[2] "A man may ride over all Scotland", said a contemporary, "with a switch in his hand and a hundred pounds in his pocket, which he could not have done these five hundred years."

Scotland secured Free Trade with England, and her prosperity was, as a consequence, greatly developed.

Then came the Restoration. One result of it was that Scotland lost her Free Trade with England, though she recovered her independence. Another was that the supreme authority of the king was restored. And along with his supremacy in political affairs Charles desired to have supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. So he restored Episcopacy in Scotland and determined to maintain it at all costs. The Presbyterians, who had had things their own way from 1638 to 1651, still pressed for the execution of the provisions of the Solemn League and Covenant (see p. 376). But the king in his zeal for Episcopacy was as extreme and intolerant as were they in their claims for Presbyterianism. All existing holders of livings had to be reinstituted by bishops and had to renounce the Covenants. Many ministers, especially in the South-west, refused, and they were, in consequence, "outed" from their charges, and their places were taken by others, often by uneducated and vicious men. People who refused to go to church were fined, and laws of ever increasing severity were passed against persons attending "Conventicles", as religious meetings held outside church were called. There was a good deal of persecution, particularly after a Covenanting rising in 1666. Lauderdale, who became Royal Commissioner in 1667, did attempt reconciliation, but there was little response, and the Covenanters began to hold their meetings in lonely and inaccessible moorlands. Consequently Government efforts to put them down increased in ferocity, dragoons being employed to hunt Covenanters, often with ruthless injustice, and in 1678 a horde of 8000 Highlanders was brought to the South-west, where it spoiled, murdered, and looted.

Scotland and the Restoration.

Episcopacy Restored, 1661–62.

The Covenanters.

Early in 1679 James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had deserted the Covenanters and had become one of the main persecutors, was done to death by some fanatics, and a few weeks later a body of Covenanters declared their defiance of all civil authority. At Drumclog, in Lanarkshire, they defeated Graham of Claverhouse, who had been sent to suppress Conventicles.

Murder of Sharp; Drumclog, and Bothwell Bridge, 1679.

Elated by their small victory, they marched on Glasgow, but were met at Bothwell Bridge on the river Clyde and defeated by Monmouth.

For a time after Bothwell Bridge Scotland was treated with more moderation, but when James, Duke of York, afterwards James VII, became Royal Commissioner in Scotland in 1681, the "Killing Time" began, and there was a fierce persecution of the Presbyterian zealots, or Cameronians as they were called from their leader Richard Cameron. Persecution reached its height with the accession of James to the throne in 1685, the increased intensity being perhaps a result of the futile rebellion of the Earl of Argyll in support of Monmouth (p. 416). In 1687, however, James granted an Indulgence to Presbyterians and Roman Catholics alike. This put an end to persecution, and gave the Presbyterians liberty "to serve God after their own way and manner", but it also paved the way for the introduction of Roman Catholicism which James so eagerly desired, and it was accompanied by the dismissal of Protestants from offices of State and their replacement by Roman Catholics, and by the handing over of Holyroodhouse to the Roman Catholics. Thus, when the Revolution came in 1688, Scotland was full of discontent.

The "Killing Time", 1680–1687.

James VII and II, 1685–1688.

XXXII. Ireland under Tudors and Stuarts, 1485–1688

1. Ireland under the Tudors

We turn from Scotland to survey the history of Ireland under the Tudors and Stuarts. When Henry VII ascended the English throne in 1485, Ireland was in a deplorably backward condition. The Renaissance and all the movements connected with it had left Ireland completely untouched. Learning had perished. Religion had no real hold upon the people. The country was covered with forests and bogs which made communication difficult, and roads were almost non-existent; and it is reckoned that of the three-quarters of a

Condition of Ireland, 1485.

million people inhabiting the land, at least two-thirds led a wild and uncivilized existence. "*The Pale*"—the district where English jurisdiction was actually established—had been gradually reduced till it only included a stretch of country, some thirty miles wide, from Dundalk to Dublin; outside this area Irish customs and the Irish language prevailed, and each Irish chieftain was supreme in his own district. The descendants of the Anglo-Normans who had conquered the country in Henry II's day had become *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*—more Irish than the Irish themselves. Of these the chief families were the *Butlers*, under the Earl of Ormonde in the south-east, and the *Fitz-Geralds* or *Geraldines*, under the headship of the Earl of Desmond in Munster, and under that of the Earl of Kildare in Leinster. Of the old Irish families perhaps the most important were the *O'Neills* and the *O'Donnells* in Ulster.

From the accession of Henry VII till the year 1534 there is little to record in Irish history. An Irish bishop, so runs the story, once told Henry VII that all Ireland could not rule the Earl of Kildare. "Then", said the king, "he must be the man to rule all Ireland." At all events, whether the story is true or false, Ireland was governed for the greater part of this period by two successive *earls of Kildare*, though their rule was tempered by occasional intervals of imprisonment in the Tower of London.[1] It was during one of these periods when the Earl of Kildare was under suspicion of treason that *Sir Edward Poynings* was sent out to Ireland as "Lord Deputy". Poynings managed to get two laws passed in the Irish Parliament which made that Parliament completely dependent upon England; for no Parliament was in future to be summoned without the consent of the king and his Privy Council —the King in Council, as it was called—nor could it discuss any bills without the consent of the same authority (1494).

The rule of the Earls of Kildare, 1485–1534.

With the year 1534, Henry VIII began to take a more active part in the affairs of Ireland. The Earl of Kildare, of whose government complaints had been made, was summoned

[1] The first of these two earls, called "the Great Earl", ruled the country for nearly thirty years before his death in 1513. He was a person of remarkable gifts; moreover, he collected an excellent library of Latin, English, French, and Irish books, and his praises were sung by the great Italian poet of the day, Ariosto.

to England, and, his answers not being considered satisfactory, he was put, not for the first time, into the Tower. His son, called "Silken Thomas" from the silken fringe on his helmet, who had heard that his father had been executed and that his family were to be exterminated, rose in rebellion. But the great stronghold of the Geraldines in Leinster, the Castle of *Maynooth*, was taken by the new English lord deputy, and the army which Silken Thomas—now Earl of Kildare, as his father had died in the Tower—was bringing to its relief "melted away like a snow-drift" on the news of its capture. Finally Thomas surrendered himself to the king's mercy and was sent to England, and, some months later, he and his five uncles, three of whom had been treacherously seized at a dinner party to which they had been invited, suffered the penalties of treason at Tyburn. So fell the great house of Kildare.[1]

The remainder of Henry VIII's reign saw a steady development of the king's power; and for the future, English lord deputies were appointed. The Irish Parliament recognized Henry as King of Ireland. Religious changes similar to those in England were made: the Papacy was repudiated and Henry declared "Head of the Irish Church"; the monasteries were dissolved and some of the images in the churches destroyed. Towards the Irish chieftains Henry pursued a policy of "sober ways, politic shifts, and amiable persuasions lest by extreme demands they should revolt to their former beastliness". He made arrangements with many of them by which, in return for acknowledging his sovereignty in Church and State, and surrendering the land of the tribes to him, they received English titles and the gift of some monastic lands, besides the re-grant to themselves and their heirs of the lands of their tribe. Henry's policy was successful during his lifetime, and it was said, just before his death, "that there lives not any in Ireland, even were he of the age of Nestor, who ever saw his country in a more peaceable state".

Changes in Ireland, 1535-47.

Moreover, in the reigns of Henry's successors there was little

[1] Of the male branch of the family only one child—the brother of "Silken Thomas" vived; but he was taken by his aunt to a place of safety in the wilds of Ireland, and eventually escaped to France. After fighting on behalf of the Knights of Rhodes against the Moors, he returned to Ireland, and was given back the Kildare lands in Mary's reign.

trouble. The advisers of Edward VI met with little opposition in making further changes in a Protestant direction, whilst the lord deputy had no difficulty in persuading the Irish Parliament to restore the authority of the Pope in Mary's reign and to repudiate it again on the accession of Elizabeth.

The reign of Elizabeth, however, was one long catalogue of rebellions. In the early years of her reign occurred the rising of *Shane O'Neill*. He claimed the headship of the O'Neill tribe and the earldom of Tyrone, bestowed on Shane's father by Henry VIII. There was a rival claimant whom the British Government at first supported, but eventually, after many changes, Elizabeth recognized Shane's rights.[1] But Shane had large ambitions. He wished to become supreme in Ulster; he had a large army at his disposal; and he intrigued with Mary, Queen of Scots, and with Charles IX, the King of France. Finally, the English Government proclaimed him a traitor. Shane was defeated and then killed, and his head, "pickled in a pipkin", was sent to the English lord deputy (1567).

Shane O'Neill's Rebellion.

But meanwhile came a great religious revival in Ireland. Outside "the Pale" little or no attempt had been made to enforce Protestantism. It is true in the course of Elizabeth's reign a law was passed forbidding the exercise of any religious worship except the Anglican, but it was impossible to enforce such an act against a whole nation, and the Irish Roman Catholics practically possessed liberty of worship. The reign of Elizabeth was contemporaneous with the great movement known as the Counter-Reformation, when the Roman Catholics recovered much ground that they had previously lost. Nowhere did the movement meet with more striking success than in Ireland. Soon after the accession of Elizabeth, Jesuit priests came over and obtained enormous influence, and on Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570 the Pope was regarded as the temporal ruler of Ireland. Moreover, there were expectations of assistance from Philip II of Spain.

Revival of Catholicism.

[1] Shane came over himself to England to Elizabeth's Court attended by bareheaded followers in saffron-coloured shirts and rough friezes, who made an immense sensation in London.

Hence, as a consequence, there were two rebellions headed by that branch of the FitzGeralds who lived in Munster. The first was unimportant, but the second, which broke out in 1579, led to a great and general rising under the *Earl of Desmond*. The rebels met with some success, and a Spanish and Italian force landed and occupied *Smerwick*.[1] But the foreigners very quickly surrendered and were all—to the number of six hundred—put to the sword as pirates because they could produce no mandate from Philip II. Finally, after a campaign of four years, Munster was quelled. The war had been one of the most appalling ferocity; no Irish soldier was promised quarter, it was said, unless he brought the head of another Irishman with him; Munster had been converted into a desert, and in the last six months of the war it was calculated that no less than thirty thousand people had died of starvation.[2] It was then determined to "plant" Munster with English colonists. Such an idea was not new—in Mary's reign arrangements had been made to "plant" part of the counties known up till 1921 as "King's County" and "Queen's County", arrangements carried out on Elizabeth's accession. But now it was to be done on a gigantic scale; nearly half a million acres were distributed to "undertakers" who undertook to introduce English settlers—an agreement which in many cases, however, was not carried out.[3]

The Desmond Rebellion, 1579–83.

The last and most formidable rebellion of all had its centre in the north of Ireland. Its leaders were *Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone*, and *Hugh Roe*, the *head of the O'Donnells*. Tyrone won a victory at the "Yellow Ford" on the Blackwater in 1598. Had he shown more enterprise he

Tyrone's Rebellion, 1595–1603.

[1] A nuncio from the Pope, Dr. Nicholas Sandars, also arrived with them, and showed great activity in directing the rebellion. He baffled all attempts at capture, but finally died of exposure and cold, his body being found in a wood "with his Breviary and his Bible under his arm".

[2] The poet Spenser's description of the condition of the people after the rebellion is well known: "Out of every corner of woods and glens they came creeping forth, for their legs would not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves, and a most populous and plentiful country was suddenly left void of man and beast."

[3] Amongst the "undertakers" were Sir Walter Ralegh and the poet Spenser. It was in Ireland that Spenser wrote a great part of the *Faerie Queene*. When Ralegh was his guest, Spenser showed him the first three books. Ralegh was delighted with them, and they came over to London together in 1589 to see about their publication.

might have succeeded in taking Dublin. As it was, his victory led to a fresh rising in Munster. Moreover, the Spaniards made an alliance with him and sent him arms and money; and the Pope presented him with a "peacock's feather" and promised indulgence to all who would rise in defence of the Church. The situation looked serious—never before had there been a rebellion which had united so many tribes in Ireland, or which partook more of a national rising. *Essex*, Elizabeth's favourite, was sent over in 1599, but he made a truce with Tyrone instead of fighting him, and then returned home. His successor, Lord *Mountjoy*, found, on his arrival in 1600, the rebels in control of all Ireland up to the walls of Dublin. But he was a man of great capacity. He compelled a Spanish force which had landed at Kinsale to surrender. Then, turning against Tyrone, he carried on a war rather, it has been said, "with the spade than the sword". He built forts at all the chief passes to stop communications, and by systematically ravaging each district starved it out. His methods were successful; and in 1603, just before the news of Elizabeth's death reached Ireland, Tyrone submitted on promise that his title and his lands should be restored to him.

At Elizabeth's death the conquest of Ireland was for the first time complete. Yet it had been carried out with excessive brutality, and Elizabeth was told, at the end of her life, that she reigned but over "ashes and dead carcases". We read of an English deputy attempting to send to Shane O'Neill a present of poisoned wine; of children in Desmond's rebellion being hoisted by the English soldiers on the point of their spears and whirled about in their agony; of Irish women so reduced by starvation during Mountjoy's campaign that they lit fires to attract children, whom they then seized and devoured. No doubt the brutalities were by no means confined to the English side. Moreover, the Irish were regarded, in Spenser's words, as "a savage nation", and they were in league with the two mortal foes of the English—the Pope and the King of Spain; and their chiefs were often very unreliable and treacherous in their dealings with the English lord deputy. Yet, making allowance for all these facts, it is difficult to excuse much that was done, and the Irish Protes-

Horrors of Irish warfare.

tants were to pay dearly in 1641 for the evil deeds perpetrated during the reign of the great queen.

2. Ireland under the Stuarts

Soon after James I came to the throne, an opportunity arose of developing the system of "plantation" begun in the reign of Elizabeth. In 1607 the *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, the heads of the two great Irish tribes in *Ulster*, fearing that they were about to be attainted for treason, fled from the country. The Government then proceeded to confiscate the lands of these two clans. It held that the lands belonged to the two earls, the heads of the tribes; but, by Irish theory and custom, these lands belonged to the tribe, and it is difficult to justify the course pursued by the English Government. Some of the lands—the worst part of them—were restored to the Irish; but over half a million acres were given to settlers from England and Scotland and to the City of London and its twelve City Companies. Nor was Ulster the only province affected. Adventurers flocked over to Ireland, inquired into the titles of land in various districts, and, where they were non-existent or defective, obtained the grant of them from the Government.

The Plantation of Ulster, 1607.

The next important stage in the history of Ireland is marked by the *rule of Strafford* (*1633–40*). In many ways his government was admirable. He made the officials attend to their business, and endeavoured, with some success, to put a stop to jobbery. He found an army half-clothed and half-armed, undrilled and unpaid; he transformed it into an efficient fighting force well disciplined, well officered, and well paid. The Irish Sea, before his rule, was full of pirates; but under Strafford piracy was sternly and successfully repressed.[1] To his initiative was due the development of the flax industry in Ireland with money which he himself subscribed. He improved the Protestant Church; restored order to the Services; and encouraged clergymen of ability in England to come over and

Strafford in Ireland, 1633–40.

[1] Strafford himself experienced the inconveniences of piracy, for a pirate ship, the *Pickpacket*, of Dover, captured linen belonging to him worth £500.

take benefices in Ireland.[1] Finally he summoned the Irish Parliament, and made it pass some excellent laws.

Strafford's rule was then, for many things, worthy of great

commendation. But his conduct was, in other ways, of an exceedingly arbitrary character, and his treatment of individuals

[1] The condition of the Protestant Church in Ireland had been deplorable. A few years before Strafford came to Ireland the Archbishop of Cashel had held, besides his archbishopric, three bishoprics and seventy-seven livings. Strafford found on his arrival that the Earl of Cork had appropriated the revenues of a bishopric worth £1000 a year for a rent of £20. The earl, however, did not keep them for long when Strafford heard of it, and had to disgorge.

was often very high-handed. It is, however, in his proceedings with regard to *Connaught* that he showed himself at his worst. He wished to "plant" that province, as Ulster had been "planted" a few years earlier. With this object he caused an inquiry to be made into the titles of the landholders, and intimidated and browbeat the juries into giving verdicts which would justify him in confiscating the lands. Before, however, he could bring over settlers the condition of affairs in England led him, as we have seen, in 1640 to leave Ireland.

Few will deny that Strafford's masterful energy had been of great service to the country; but his lack of sympathy with Irish hopes, his contempt and disregard for Irish customs and Irish sentiments, caused his rule to be regarded with a hatred which was almost universal. In Strafford's view the people ought not "to feed themselves with the vain flatteries of imaginary liberty"; their duty was merely "to attend upon the king's will with assurance in his parental affections". But in Ireland, as well as in England, the time for such sentiments was past. People no longer wished to be governed for their own good—they preferred to run the risk of misgoverning themselves.

Five months after Strafford's execution *the Irish Rebellion* broke out (*October, 1641*). That the Irish should have risen is not surprising. They had the memory of past injustice to stimulate them. The suppression of the Irish race in Elizabeth's reign had been carried out, it has been said, with a ferocity that was hardly exceeded by any page in the bloodstained annals of the Turks; whilst the confiscations of their land in Ulster during James I's reign, and the threatened confiscations in Connaught under Strafford, had appeared to the Irish to be monstrously unjust. But besides the memory of the past they had the fear of the future. The Scottish Covenanters and the Puritan majority in the Long Parliament now threatened to be supreme; and it was believed, not altogether without ground, that they would root out the Roman Catholic religion from Ireland.[1]

The Irish Rebellion, 1641.

[1] It was reported in Ireland that a member of the Long Parliament had said that the conversion of the Irish Papists could only be effected with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other, whilst Pym had prophesied that Parliament would not leave one priest in Ireland.

The rebellion broke out on the night of October 22, 1641, and for ten and a half years Ireland was to suffer from almost incessant warfare. The centre of the rebellion was at first Ulster, where the English and Scots were driven from their homes and endured the most fearful hardships, and from Ulster it spread to Wicklow. In a rebellion at such a period some massacres were perhaps inevitable; and modern historians estimate that about four thousand Protestants were killed and that double this number died of famine or exposure. These figures are horrible enough, but to the Puritan imagination in England the number of victims was far greater, and by some people was put at one hundred thousand, and by others even as high as three hundred thousand.[1] It was natural, therefore, that the Long Parliament should pass, in angry vengeance, two laws against the Irish Catholics, the one declaring that no toleration should be granted to the Catholic religion in Ireland, and the other confiscating two and a half million acres of land in that country for the benefit of those who subscribed towards the suppression of the rebellion. The chief result of such laws, again, was to embitter feeling in Ireland, and led to many Catholic gentlemen joining in the rising.

In 1642 the situation was complicated by the outbreak of the Civil War in England, and affairs in Ireland became so entangled, owing to the variety of parties, that a brief summary is hardly possible. It is sufficient to say that Charles, in the course of the Civil War, made attempts to secure aid from the Irish, and that a few did come over; but otherwise nothing definite was done. Then, in 1649, when Charles was executed, all parties in Ireland combined, for a brief period, in order to secure the recognition of his son as king, as the prospect of rule by the "Rump" Parliament was detested by all alike.

Irish affairs, 1642-9.

Consequently Cromwell was sent over to subdue Ireland. But before he arrived a Colonel Jones had defeated the combined army at *Rathmines*, and the Irish, till they could gather fresh forces, had to rely on their ability to hold out in their fortresses. Cromwell, however, quickly

Cromwell in Ireland, 1649-50.

[1] This number is a third more than the total estimated Protestant population in Ireland.

stormed *Drogheda* and *Wexford*,[1] and before he left Ireland had obtained possession of the whole coast except Waterford. The conquest which Cromwell had begun his son-in-law, Ireton, completed, and by April, 1652, the whole of Ireland was subdued.

The condition of Ireland at the end of this long period of warfare was pitiable. Over one-third of the population, it is estimated, died during these ten years of bloodshed and misery. Much of the land was out of cultivation, and a great deal of country depopulated. The inhabitants were further reduced, as thousands of Irishmen went to serve in foreign armies, and some hundreds of boys and girls were shipped to Barbados and sold to the planters.

The war was followed by fresh plantations. Enormous quantities of land were distributed to Cromwell's soldiers and other Protestant settlers, whilst some of the previous landholders were given compensation in Connaught. At the same time the exercise of the Catholic religion was rigidly suppressed. But, in Ireland as in Scotland, Cromwell's rule had some merits, and on the whole fair order was maintained.[2] Above all, Ireland enjoyed the benefits of free trade with England.

Rule of Commonwealth.

The Restoration in 1660 brought to Ireland the same difficulty over the land question as had occurred in England—what was to happen to the Cromwellian settlers? Eventually it was settled in this way: those landholders who could prove that they had no share in the rebellion of 1641 recovered their lands, whilst the Cromwellian holders of them received compensation elsewhere. But the arrangements

Ireland under Charles II.

[1] Cromwell put the whole garrison to death at Drogheda; "I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives," he wrote. By the rules of war at that time the garrison of a place which had refused to surrender and was then stormed was liable to this fate. Cromwell, however, defended his conduct on the ground that the garrison had been concerned in the massacres of 1641 and that severity on this occasion would lead other garrisons to surrender at once. It may be doubted whether this severity had this result, and, as a matter of fact, no member of the garrison had been concerned in the previous massacres. Both at Drogheda and Wexford Cromwell put to death all the priests he could find, by knocking them on the head, as he himself put it.

[2] Measures had to be undertaken for the extermination of two pests—wolves and Tories. The former had increased enormously during the war, and one man was allowed to lease an estate, only 9 miles from Dublin, at a very cheap rate, on condition that he kept a pack of wolfhounds and "a knowing huntsman". Tories were discontented Irish soldiers who had lost their holdings in the Cromwellian settlement, and had retaliated by murdering the new colonists and stealing their cattle. Five pounds was offered for the head of a wolf, and as much as twenty pounds for the head of a really bad Tory.

Summary of History by Reigns (1689–1760)

In the reign of *William III* (1689–1702) came the "War of the English Succession" against Louis XIV (1689–97), the first of the seven big wars in which Great Britain was engaged between 1689 and 1815; there was fighting in Scotland, Ireland, in the Netherlands, and at sea. The closing years of William's reign saw the attempt to settle the Spanish Succession problem through the Partition Treaties with France; but the death of the King of Spain and the ambitions of Louis XIV led to war in 1702, just before William's death (Ch. XXXIII). Constitutionally, the reign of William III was of considerable importance; the Declaration or Bill of Rights (1689) and the Act of Settlement (1701) limited the powers of the Crown, and, owing to the financial needs of the kingdom, Parliament had to meet every year. William's reign also witnessed the beginnings of some measure of toleration in religion and of liberty with regard to the Press; and the coinage was reformed (Ch. XXXIV). In Scotland the reign, when fighting was over, was one of advance; Presbyterianism was made the established religion, and schools were started in every parish (pp. 457–8). In Ireland, after the conquest by William III, came the severe Penal Laws against the Roman Catholics (p. 575).

The reign of *Anne* (1702–14) saw the second of the great wars against Louis XIV, the war of the Spanish Succession (1702–13), which was famous for Marlborough's great victories; by the Treaty of Utrecht, which ended it, Great Britain not only gained the objects for which she went to war, but kept Gibraltar and Minorca, which she won during the war, and acquired Nova Scotia and Newfoundland (pp. 438–45). In Domestic policy party spirit ran very high between the Whigs and Tories, and the connection between literature and politics was very close, Swift being the chief Tory and Addison the chief Whig writer. Anne's first minister, Godolphin, a Whig, was replaced in 1710 by two Tories, Harley (Earl of Oxford) and St. John (Lord Bolingbroke), who persecuted the Dissenters and made the Treaty of Utrecht; and Bolingbroke, at the close of Anne's reign, was probably scheming for the succession of the Old Pretender (pp. 451–6). But perhaps the most important event of the reign was the Union between England and Scotland in 1707, a Union not obtained without great difficulty, but which proved of inestimable value both to the two countries concerned and to the British Empire (p. 458).

The reign of *George I* (1714–27) began a period of peace which lasted till 1739, a peace only broken by Mar's rebellion of 1715 in

Scotland (p. 483) and a sea fight with the Spanish fleet in 1720 (p. 460). Constitutionally, the reign was of importance because the king ceased to attend the meetings of his ministers, owing to the fact that he could speak no English; at first there was no chief minister, but when Walpole was called to office in 1721 he quickly made his supremacy felt in the Cabinet of Ministers, and he is known in history as our first Prime Minister. Throughout this and the following reign the Whigs, whose leaders were the big landowners, were in office partly owing to their support of the Hanoverian dynasty and partly owing to their supremacy in both Houses of Parliament (Ch. XXXVI). The other chief matters of interest were the Septennial Act and the South Sea Bubble (p. 488); whilst in this and the following reign come some of the best-known writings of Swift and Pope.

The reign of *George II* (1727–60) saw the continuance of peace till 1739 and of Walpole's ministry till 1742 (pp. 490–3). With the closing years of Walpole's ministry, however, a new period of warfare opened. There was a war with Spain in 1739 over trading rights in Spanish America (p. 461). This was followed by the war of the Austrian Succession (1740–8), in which Great Britain upheld the rights of Maria Theresa, whilst Prussia, under Frederick the Great (who reigned from 1740–86) and France opposed them (pp. 461–3); during this war occurred the rising of the "Young Pretender" in Scotland in 1745 (p. 484). Eight years after peace had been made came the great Seven Years War (1756–63), due partly to the rivalry of Prussia and Austria in Germany and partly to the conflicting ambitions of Great Britain and France in India, where Clive by his defence of Arcot in 1751 spoilt the completion of Dupleix's schemes, and in North America, where the French hoped to join their territory in Canada and Louisiana. The war was famous in Europe for the campaigns of Frederick the Great, often against superior forces. So far as Great Britain was concerned, the war began unsuccessfully under the Duke of Newcastle, but it was continued brilliantly under the guidance of William Pitt (later Earl of Chatham), and in 1759 came the great year of victories (pp. 463–77). Apart from the wars, the most important feature perhaps of the reign was the great movement connected with the name of Wesley, whose influence in the religious life of the nation was equal to that exercised in political life by William Pitt (pp. 495–8). The other chief points of interest were the beginning of the inventions and new methods of the "Industrial Revolution" (pp. 584–6), and the alteration in 1751 of the Calendar (p. 494).

In the arrangement of the subjects in the period 1689 to 1760, Ch. XXXIII deals with Foreign policy, and Ch. XXXIV with Domestic affairs (including Scotland) during the reigns of William III and Anne (1689–1714). Ch. XXXV is concerned with Foreign and Imperial affairs, and Ch. XXXVI with Domestic affairs (including a survey of the Constitution, 1714–1832), during the reigns of George I and George II (1714–60). Irish affairs during the period are dealt with in the earlier part of Ch. XLII, and the beginnings of the "Industrial Revolution" in Ch. XLIII, Sec. 1.

For list of chief dates of period see end of volume.

were not satisfactory; a good many innocent Roman Catholics did not, as a matter of fact, recover all their lands, and some recovered none. The general result was this. In 1640 two-thirds of the landholders had been Roman Catholic. After 1665 one-third belonged to the *native* interest, including families of Anglo-Norman descent and mainly Catholic; one-third belonged to the *Irish* interest, i.e. the settlers of Elizabeth's and James I's days or their descendants, mainly Protestant; one-third to the *English* interest, i.e. the Cromwellian settlers.

The reign of Charles II was a period of peace for Ireland. For a great part of the time Ormonde was the ruler, and under him a discreet toleration was exercised, and the country enjoyed repose. In the reign of Charles II, however, Ireland not only lost her free trade with England, but began to suffer from the laws which the influence of jealous English merchants and farmers secured in the English Parliament. But of that we shall have something to say later on.

XXXIII. A Period of Foreign Wars, 1689–1714

The Revolution of 1688 ushered in a period of prolonged conflict for Great Britain. Between 1688 and 1815 she was engaged in a series of seven great wars, which occupied no less than fifty-six years. Of these wars five begin and the other two end as wars in which Great Britain's chief opponent is France, and we must try to understand the general causes of the hostility between these two countries before examining the particular causes of each war.

The conflict with France, 1689–1815.

First of all, there were the ambitions of France in Europe. France wanted to extend and to strengthen her eastern frontier with the ultimate object of making the River Rhine her boundary.[1] This could only be accomplished at the expense, in the south-east, of the German States and, in the

The Barrier Fortresses.

[1] The Rhine, the frontier of old Gaul, was the great object of French ambition. An old proverb ran—

Quand Paris boira le Rhin
Toute la Gaule aura sa fin.

north-east, of the Netherlands. The Netherlands were divided. Part of them, called Holland or the United Provinces, was independent: part of them, corresponding to the modern country of Belgium, belonged to the King of Spain up till 1713, when it came under the rule of Austria. The frontier between France and what is now Belgium was no natural boundary, such as a river or a range of mountains, but on each side of it had been built a great chain of forts known as the "Barrier Fortresses". Those on the Belgian side were slowly and steadily passing into the hands of France as she pushed her frontier forward. Once they were all, or nearly all, in her hands, France might be able to seize not only Belgium, but Holland as well. But with the independence of Holland, England's own fortunes were linked. The French, if they obtained outlets in the North Sea, would threaten our maritime position and consequently our national security. For that reason England insisted that the "Barrier Fortresses" should be fortified wholly or in part by soldiers from Holland. "No Holland, no Great Britain," might have been the motto of English statesmen.

France and Spain.

The ambitions of France were not only concerned with the acquisition of the Rhine frontier. At various times between 1689 and 1815 her rulers attempted, if not to annex the country, at all events to control the policy of Spain by means of a close family alliance or a treaty. Moreover, Louis XIV (1643–1715) at the beginning, and the French revolutionaries and Napoleon (1793–1815) at the end, of the period had achieved a position in Europe which threatened the independence of all other States.

World ambitions.

The causes of this constant warfare between England and France were not, however, solely European. The ambitions of France and of England clashed, as will be shown later, throughout the world. In India and in the West Indies, in North America and in North Africa, a great struggle had to be contested to decide between their competing ideals of expansion. And if contemporary statesmen, with rare exceptions, attached more importance to the European than to the Imperial aspect of the struggle, to us to-day it is the struggle for Empire that must always possess the greater interest.

We must now deal with the wars in detail. And first we will take the two wars that were fought between 1688 and 1713. The position of Louis XIV in 1688 was unique. His army, although it had been engaged in continual wars, had suffered no serious reverse in battle for over forty years, and his navy was equal to those of Holland and England combined. In Louvois the king possessed the best war minister, in Vauban the best engineer, and in Tourville the best admiral of the age; and though Condé and Turenne, his greatest generals, were dead by 1689, he still had Luxembourg and Villars. With such resources at his command, Louis, during his reign, had added to his dominions many of the frontier fortresses in the Netherlands already referred to, and, farther south, Alsace, Franche Comté, and the great fortress of Strasbourg. He was threatening further annexations at the expense of the Netherlands and of Germany. The English kings, Charles II and James II, had been his pensioners, and he had hopes of securing for his family the succession to the throne of Spain. The Revolution in England, however, ruined the plans of Louis XIV. To a king of England who was dependent upon Louis for money and upon his ambassador for advice succeeded William III, the ruler of Holland, one whose whole life had been devoted to resisting France. William had already in 1688 formed a League against France, and the support of England in 1689 was the coping stone to that alliance. "Without the concurrence of the realm and power of England", said William later, "it was impossible to put a stop to the ambitions and greatness of France."

The position of Louis XIV.

The war which followed is known in Continental history as the *War of the League of Augsburg* (*1689–97*). To us it is better known as the *War of the English Succession*, for Louis XIV was supporting James II, and therefore its issue decided whether William or James was to be king of England. For the first two years of the war (*1689–90*) English military operations were confined mainly to the British Isles and to the sea. In Scotland, John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, raised the Highlanders on behalf of James, and routed, in the space of two minutes, just beyond the Pass of *Killiecrankie*, William's forces

The War of the English Succession.

The war from 1689–90.

under the leadership of Mackay whilst the latter were trying to fix the lately invented bayonets into the muzzle of their muskets (June, 1689). In the battle, however, Dundee was mortally wounded, and with his death all the energy was taken out of the movement, which quickly subsided.

In Scotland.

Meantime, in Ireland, James II arrived with French money and troops. In Ireland the situation was far more serious than in Scotland, for, in addition to the bitter religious feeling, there was the racial hatred between the Irish inhabitants and the English and Scottish settlers. A war between Catholics and Protestants at once broke out. The Protestants in the North were attacked and the two Protestant strongholds, *Londonderry* and *Enniskillen*, besieged. But the Protestants in Londonderry held out heroically for one hundred and five days till they were relieved, whilst those in Enniskillen attacked their besiegers and won the Battle of *Newtown Butler*.

In Ireland.

Subsequently William himself came to Ireland, and won a victory at the *River Boyne* (July 1, 1690). The battle was notable for the variety of nations engaged in it. Of James's forces, over a third were French, and the commander-in-chief was a Frenchman. On William's side, about half were natives of England, and, of course, he had many Irish Protestants from the north of Ireland and some two thousand Dutchmen fighting for him; the rest of his force included Huguenots, Prussians, Danes, and Finlanders. William, contrary to the advice of his chief commanders, decided to cross a ford of the river on the other side of which was drawn up the army of James. He might have paid dearly for his rashness; but the French troops had been withdrawn to guard James's left flank, and the Irish infantry, untrained and ill-disciplined, were quickly repulsed, whole regiments in one part of the field flinging away "arms, colours, and cloaks, and scampering off to the hills without striking a blow or firing a shot".[1] Only the bravery of the French troops and the Irish cavalry in the subsequent operations saved the retreat from being a disastrous one. James shortly afterwards fled back to France, and in 1691 the war in Ireland came to an end. John Churchill,

[1] See the description in Macaulay's History.

the future Duke of Marlborough, had a brilliant campaign, and took Cork and Kinsale, whilst Ginckel, a Dutch general, won a desperate battle for William at *Aughrim*. A few months later *Limerick*, the last great Catholic fortress, surrendered, and with its capitulation William's position in Ireland was secure.

On the sea, in these two years, Louis XIV missed his chances. With a superior fleet, and with the best admiral of the day in Tourville,[1] he should, according to military historians, have isolated Ireland from England so as to give every assistance to James; instead of which William was allowed to pass over to Ireland unmolested, and his communications were never threatened even for an hour. Tourville, however, on June 30, 1690, the day before the Battle of the Boyne, met at *Beachy Head* a combined Dutch and English fleet under Lord Torrington. The latter, who was inferior in force, wished to refuse battle with his van and centre and to fight only a rearguard action.[2] But the impetuous Dutch van insisted on fighting, and were very severely handled; and had Tourville followed up his victory, the result might have been disastrous.

On the Sea.

During the rest of the war (*1691–7*) England obtained the supremacy at sea. In 1692 came the victory off *La Hogue*. Tourville, on this occasion vastly inferior in force, had fought with credit a rearguard action against the English admiral, Russell. But, after the battle, the French fleet had to retire in some disorder, and many ships retreated through the dangerous "Race of Alderney", which is between that island and the mainland. Thirteen of the French ships, however, were unable to get through, took refuge at La Hogue, and were burnt by Russell's fleet. That victory, received in England with tremendous and perhaps exaggerated enthusiasm, saved England from fear of invasion, and

The war from 1691–7.

On the Sea.

[1] Tourville had served in the French fleet for thirty years, and had seen service in the Anglo-Dutch wars and against the Barbary pirates. He was a practical seaman as well as a good tactician; indeed it was a saying at the time that he could act in any capacity from a ship's carpenter to an admiral.

[2] The Government had information that the enemy's ships-of-the-line numbered only sixty, and ordered Torrington with his fifty ships to engage them. Torrington counted with his own eyes—or rather with his one eye, as he had lost the other in an explosion—eighty ships of the enemy, and was unwilling to fight, but he had to obey orders.

gave to her the command of the Channel.[1] The French, however, then took to commerce-destroying and did considerable damage, especially when they captured one hundred out of four hundred ships of a convoy bound for Smyrna. In 1694 an interesting event occurred. William sent a fleet to the Mediterranean, where it saved Barcelona from capture and consequently Spain from French control, and by wintering at Cadiz and returning to the Mediterranean in the next year exerted considerable influence upon the course of the war.

On land during these years (1691–7) the English operations are confined to the Spanish Netherlands. The war was chiefly a war of sieges. William as a soldier was painstaking but mediocre; his opponent, Luxembourg, was brilliant but indolent. Consequently William generally lost the battles; but Luxembourg took no advantage of his victories. William's designs were excellent. Thus he tried to surprise Luxembourg at *Steinkirk* in 1692; but he wasted time by a preliminary cannonade of artillery which lasted one hour and a half, and by an elaborate deployment of infantry which was already late in arriving. Luxembourg, though genuinely surprised, marshalled his troops with great rapidity and won a victory. In the next year (1693) William was beaten at *Neerwinden*. But by sheer tenacity and strength of purpose he clung on, and two years later he won his first great success by recapturing the strong fortress of Namur.

In the Netherlands.

Finally, by 1697, France was exhausted, and at the *Treaty of Ryswick* she recognized William as King of England, and gave up all her conquests since 1678 except Strasbourg. The war had been an uninteresting one. The English had, however, done well. They had secured the supremacy at sea. They had learnt some valuable lessons under William's leadership, lessons whose effect was to be shown in the subsequent wars under Marlborough. They had secured an honourable treaty, and, above all, had helped to inflict the first decided check on the ambitions of Louis XIV.

The Treaty of Ryswick, 1697.

[1] "During several days", says Macaulay, "the bells of London pealed without ceasing. Flags were flying on all the steeples. Rows of candles were in all the windows. Bonfires were at all the corners of the streets. And three Lords took down with them £37,000 in coin to distribute among the sailors."

We turn now to the causes of the next war—*the War of the Spanish Succession.* That two monarchs should arrange for the distribution of the territories belonging to a third monarch in anticipation of his death and without consulting either him or his ministers seems an indefensible proceeding. Yet this is what happened in 1698. The circumstances were, it is true, peculiar. The Spanish dominions included not only Spain, but the Spanish Netherlands, Milan and Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, besides vast possessions in the West Indies and South America. Charles II, the King of Spain, had no children or brothers, but he had two sisters and two aunts. Of the two aunts, the elder had married the French king, and the younger the emperor. They were all dead, but their respective sons, Louis XIV and the Emperor Leopold, had married, the one the elder and the other the younger of the two sisters of the Spanish king.[1] Here was a difficult situation. It was quite obvious that neither Louis XIV nor Leopold nor their eldest sons could be allowed to add the enormous territories of Spain to those either of France or Austria. It was hopeless to deal with Charles II, who was sickly and half-witted, and consequently Louis XIV and William III proceeded to draw up Partition Treaties by which a baby, the grandson of Leopold and the heir to the Electorate of Bavaria, was to succeed to the greater part of the Spanish dominions (1698).

The Spanish Succession and the Partition Treaties, 1698–1702.

Unfortunately the Bavarian baby died of smallpox. Another treaty was accordingly drawn up (1700), under which the Archduke Charles, the *second* son of the emperor, was to obtain the bulk of the Spanish inheritance, but the Dauphin of France was to have Naples and Milan.[2] It is hardly a matter for surprise that the King of Spain, when he heard of these Partition Treaties, flew into a violent passion, and that his queen smashed some of the furniture in her room. The King of Spain subsequently sickened, and on his deathbed was persuaded to leave all his possessions to Philip, the *second* son of the Dauphin (1700). Louis XIV, after some hesitation, accepted the will and threw over the treaty. Philip was therefore declared King of Spain. A Bourbon had displaced a Habsburg, and Louis XIV might well have said—as

[1] See table on p. 329.

[2] Milan was to be exchanged for Lorraine.

he is wrongly reported to have said—"Henceforth there are no Pyrenees".

Louis XIV's acceptance of the will would not, in itself, however, have produced the war, for, after all, it was his second and not his eldest grandson that succeeded. Other actions of the French king made war inevitable. In the first place, he expelled the Dutch from the Barrier Fortresses, which they garrisoned, and substituted French troops, and thus showed his intention of making a further advance in the Netherlands. Secondly, he expressly reserved the rights of Philip to the French throne. Philip's elder brother was delicate and not expected to live long, and Philip might therefore succeed not only to Spain but to France as well. Thirdly, he showed by his policy that he was attempting to secure for France the commercial concessions which England had obtained for trade with Spanish America. Finally, on James II's death, in 1701, he recognized James's son—the "Old Pretender" as he is called—as James III, King of England. For Louis XIV, after recognizing William's title at the Peace of Ryswick, to support the Pretender four years later, was the one thing needed to make England as enthusiastic as William for renewed war. The war, therefore, broke out in 1702, but William died before he could take any part in the fighting.

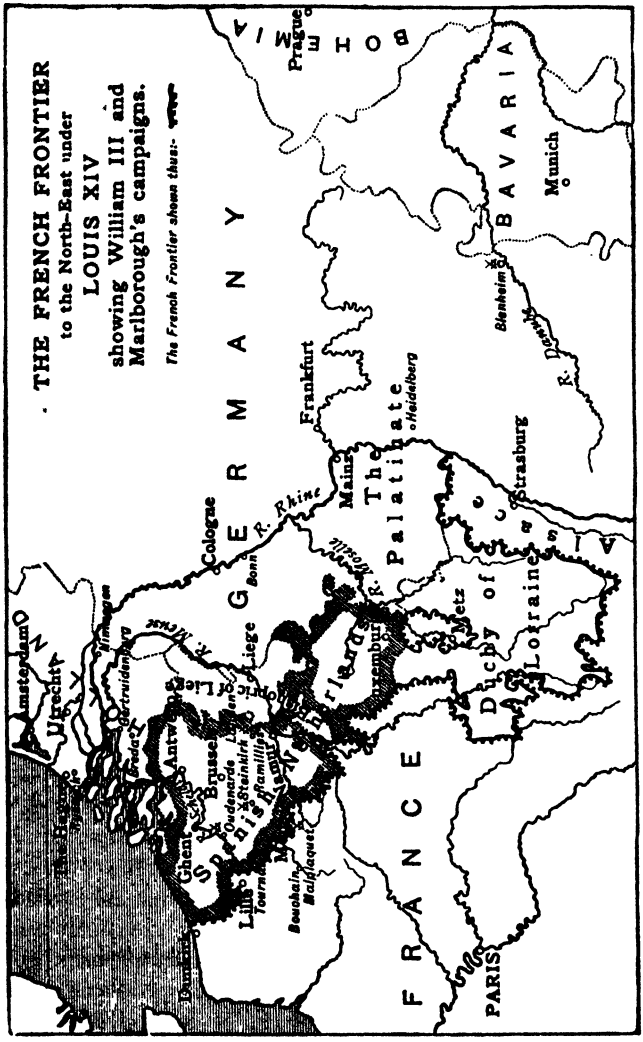
Causes of renewal of war.

To summarize a war which lasted for over ten years, and which was fought in Italy and Germany, in the Netherlands, and in Spain, is no easy task. At the opening of the war, England, Holland, Austria, and most of the German States were on one side, and they were joined later by Portugal and Savoy; on the other side were France, Spain, and Bavaria. The great figure in the war, so far as the Allies were concerned, was *John Churchill*, created *Duke of Marlborough*. Born in 1650, he had seen service in Holland as a colonel in the French service during Charles II's reign,[1] had subsequently by his coolness saved the situation at Sedgemoor in that of James II, and had undertaken some very

The War of the Spanish Succession, 1702–13.

Marlborough.

[1] Turenne, the French general, is said to have called him "the handsome Englishman", and to have won a bet that Churchill would recover a post with half the number of men who had failed to defend it.



successful operations in the south of Ireland under William III. No one can deny either his avarice or his faithlessness. He deserted James II twice. He betrayed, it is said, the secret of two

expeditions to Louis XIV in William III's reign, and in one year was concerned in two plots against him. He was consequently dismissed from his appointments, and he did not recover favour till towards the close of William's career. Yet, though faithless in his political principles, his military friendship with Prince Eugene, the most famous of the other allied generals, and his political friendship with Godolphin, the English minister at home, showed that in his relations with individuals no one could be a more loyal or more admirable colleague. Moreover, he was not only a great general, but a great diplomatist as well—the best of his age, according to Voltaire. Strikingly handsome, with a manner described by a contemporary as irresistible, he needed all his powers of negotiation during each winter, so that he might induce the allies to furnish him with adequate forces during the following summer.

His tactics.

As regards Marlborough's tactics, military critics agree in praising the effective use which he made of all arms. He insisted upon accuracy in infantry shooting, and taught all ranks to fire simultaneously and not, as the French did, consecutively. He made the cavalry, after the example set by Rupert and Cromwell, rely on the momentum of their charge rather than on their firing, and he showed great capacity in utilizing them at the critical moment with decisive effect. He handled the artillery with remarkable skill, more especially at Blenheim, where every gun was laid under his own eye. No less praiseworthy was the quickness with which he saw the weakness of an enemy's position; of this quickness the best example was perhaps at Ramillies. As a strategist, Marlborough was superb. Many of his schemes were upset because of the opposition of the Allies, and more especially of the Dutch; but those that he carried into execution show that Marlborough deserves the distinction of being called the greatest general that this country, or, if we may believe Bolingbroke, any other country, has produced. At all events, of hardly any other general can it be said, as it can be said of Marlborough, that he never fought a battle which he did not win, or besieged a place which he did not take.

In order to understand Marlborough's operations, it must be remembered that, at the opening of the war, the French were

in possession of the Spanish Netherlands. Marlborough's earlier campaigns, therefore—with the exception of the greatest of them all, that of Blenheim (1704)—had for their objective the expulsion of the French from the Spanish Netherlands. The later campaigns aimed at the conquest of the French barrier fortresses with a view, finally, to an advance into the interior of France, but the story will show that he was recalled before he could complete his task. The history of the campaigns will be more intelligible if it is realized that the rivers in the Netherlands run in three curves roughly parallel with one another. The outside curve is formed by the Moselle and the Rhine, into which the Moselle falls; then comes the curve formed by the Meuse, and, inside that, the curve of the Scheldt.

Marlborough's objects.

In the first two years of the war (1702–3) no big engagement was fought, but Marlborough succeeded in taking some fortresses and in weakening the position of the French in the valleys of two of these rivers—the Meuse and the Rhine. With 1704 came the first of Marlborough's great campaigns. The position of the Allies was extremely critical. Vienna, the capital of the Austrian dominions, was threatened not only by Hungarian rebels on the east, but by French and Bavarian armies on the west. Marlborough planned a great march from the Netherlands to save Vienna. But his task was complicated. He had to hoodwink the Dutch as to his intentions, for otherwise they would not let him go. He had to make a flank march over difficult country right across the French front. He had to effect a junction with Eugene whilst preventing the junction of all the French armies. And, finally, he had, in order to cross the Danube, to storm a strongly fortified position held by the Bavarians. But he accomplished all these things, and his army and that of Eugene's succeeded in getting between Vienna and the armies of the French.

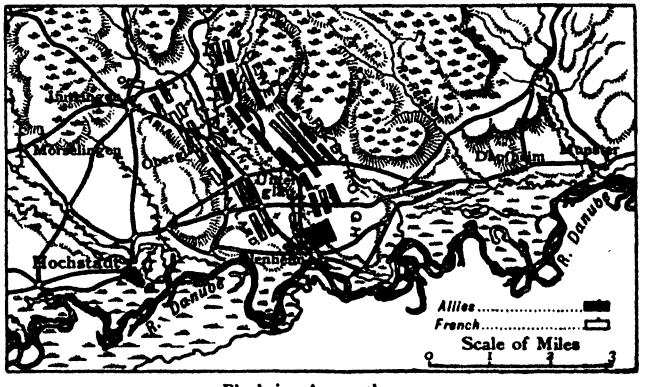
The war, 1702–3.

Blenheim, 1704.

Then followed the *battle of Blenheim*. The French and Bavarians held a strong position behind the River Nebel. Marlborough first sent Lord Cutts[1] to storm the village of Blenheim

[1] Cutts's bravery was famous, and at the siege of Namur in 1695 his coolness in the hottest fire of the French batteries won for him the nickname of "Salamander".

on the French right. But it was strongly held, and Cutts, received at thirty yards with a murderous fire, was repulsed. Meantime Marlborough, seeing the weakness of the French centre, which was held only by cavalry, and finding the marshes which protected the French front passable, began to cross the river with the intention of making his main attack on the centre, whilst Cutts kept up a feint attack on Blenheim, and Eugene attacked the left wing. Marlborough's attack was entirely suc-



Blenheim, Aug. 13th, 1704

cessful; the French centre was pierced, and their right wing then enveloped. By the end of the day Marlborough had one of the two chief French generals in his own coach, and had captured one hundred guns and some eleven thousand prisoners. The Blenheim campaign marks an epoch in history. It saved Vienna; it preserved Germany from a French occupation; it destroyed the impression of French invincibility on land; and it re-established our military prestige, a prestige which had been at times sadly tarnished since the days of Agincourt.

Yet the Blenheim campaign did not exhaust Marlborough's schemes for that year. Marlborough, like William, had realized the importance of the Mediterranean, and had planned a great attack on Toulon by land under the Duke of Savoy and by sea with the English fleet. Unfortunately the Duke of Savoy was unable to make the attack. Our fleet, however, under Rooke,

took *Gibraltar*—not, as it turned out, a matter of much difficulty—and fought a battle off Malaga which, though indecisive, led the French fleet to desist from challenging our position in the Mediterranean.

The next important year is *1706*. First, the French were evicted from Italy in consequence of a great battle won by Eugene near Turin. Then, in the Netherlands, Marlborough won the battle of *Ramillies*. He was threatening the strong fortress of Namur, and the French general had concentrated his forces to protect it. In the battle which ensued Marlborough saw that his troops could move from one flank to another more quickly than the French, as they had the shorter distance to traverse, and there were no marshes to hinder them. Accordingly, he made an attack on one flank, and then, leaving the conspicuous red-coated British on a hill to keep the enemy occupied on that flank, he transferred the more sober-hued Allies behind some hills to the other wing, and won a victory which he followed up with such rapidity, that by the end of the year the French had lost not only Antwerp and Brussels, but nearly the whole of the Spanish Netherlands.

Battle of Ramillies, 1706.

The third success of the Allies in 1706 was won in Spain. Two years previously the Allies had determined to attempt to put the Archduke Charles on the Spanish throne. At first not much was done, but in 1705 Peterborough captured *Barcelona*[1] by a brilliant feat of arms, and occupied Catalonia and Valencia. In 1706 the Allies under Galway marched from Portugal and occupied Madrid, whilst Peterborough and his army marched from the east and effected a junction. Later in the year, however, Madrid had to be evacuated, and the joint army retreated to Valencia. But the year had been so disastrous to Louis XIV, that he offered terms of peace that the Allies would have done well to accept.

The war in Spain, 1705-6.

The year *1707* was a set back to the Allies, as Eugene failed

[1] The evidence for this and other achievements of Peterborough depends upon the *Memoirs* of Captain Carleton, memoirs which were for long accepted as genuine by historians, and which were edited in 1809 by Sir Walter Scott. It has recently been proved, however, that these memoirs are fictitious, and that they were written probably either by Defoe or Swift, and there is good reason for thinking that the credit for the capture of Barcelona really belongs to Peterborough's subordinate officers.

in an attempt to invade France, Marlborough could do nothing in the Netherlands, and in Spain Galway was severely defeated at *Almanza* owing to the flight of the Portuguese contingent, which left the English to contend against a force three times their number. In the following year (*1708*), however, Marlborough won another great victory at *Oudenarde*, which led to the practical completion of the capture of the Spanish Netherlands and also to the capture of Lille, one of the most important of the French barrier fortresses. Moreover, the English captured *Minorca*, and by so doing secured what was most important—a harbour in the Mediterranean in which a fleet could winter; whilst stormy weather led to the failure of a French expedition which was sent up the Firth of Forth to capture Edinburgh. Louis again offered peace, and was prepared to preserve for Philip only Naples and Sicily. The Allies insisted that he should also, if necessary, assist them in expelling Philip from Spain by force. Such a proposal naturally not only infuriated the French king, but the French nation as well, and gave them both fresh energy for the war. And then, in *1709*, came the last and the most costly of Marlborough's victories, *Malplaquet*, and the capture of Mons.

British successes, 1708–9.

Our great series of successes ended with Malplaquet. French enthusiasm revived. The Allies became slack, and a Tory Ministry in favour of peace succeeded to power in Great Britain. This Ministry dismissed Marlborough in 1711, and Ormonde, his successor, was given instructions—which he was to keep secret from the Allies—not to undertake offensive operations.[1] In Spain the Allies, though they managed temporarily to occupy Madrid, were defeated in two battles in *1710*; and the accession in the following year of the Archduke Charles to the Austrian dominions, and his election as Emperor, altered the whole situation.

Recovery of France, 1710–13.

[1] This was perhaps the most dishonourable action ever done by a British Government. Ormonde, in obedience to instructions from home, finally withdrew his forces altogether, though there was a brilliant opportunity of defeating the French. "Then the British camp", wrote a contemporary, "resounded with curses against the Duke of Ormonde as a stupid tool and general of straw. The colonels, captains, and other brave officers were so overwhelmed with vexation that they sat apart in their tents, looking on the ground for very shame with downcast eyes, and for several days shrank from the sight even of their fellow soldiers."

Now that, in 1711, the Archduke Charles had succeeded to all the Austrian dominions, it was absurd for Great Britain to go on fighting in order that he might succeed to the Spanish dominions as well. But the difficulty was that our allies, the Dutch and the Austrians, would not agree to a peace. What then was Bolingbroke, the joint head of the Government, to do? He had already begun to open up negotiations with France behind the back of the Allies, and these were now continued. Eventually in 1713 a series of treaties was signed at *Utrecht*.[1] By these treaties Philip kept Spain and the New World, but was excluded from the succession to the French throne. The Emperor Charles was given the Spanish dominions in Italy and the Netherlands. The Dutch were allowed to garrison the Barrier Fortresses. With regard to Great Britain, the Protestant succession was recognized. She obtained from France Newfoundland (leaving to the French certain fishing rights which were the cause, later, of many difficulties) and Nova Scotia, and from Spain Gibraltar and Minorca, thereby establishing her position in that sea which has been called the "keyboard" of Europe. Spain also gave to Great Britain the monopoly of the slave trade with Spanish America—not then regarded as either inhuman or wicked—and the right to send one ship a year to Porto Bello in the Spanish Main.

The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

Great Britain had therefore gained her original objects in going to war. She had made, moreover, very important additions to her Empire; and there is some truth, if also some exaggeration, in the verdict of an historian that if at the Armada England entered the race for colonial expansion, she won it at the Treaty of Utrecht. Moreover, the peace, though it checked French ambitions, was not a vindictive one against France, and therefore that country did not, after it, harbour the desire for a future "war of revenge". Englishmen must remember, however, to their shame that the people of Catalonia, who had fought stanchly and bravely for the Allies throughout the war, were left to the vengeance of Philip—and a terrible vengeance it proved to be.

[1] Treaties were signed between France, Spain, Holland, and England at Utrecht in 1713, but the treaty between France and Austria was made in the following year at Rastadt.

XXXIV. Domestic Affairs, 1689–1714

1. England

Before proceeding with our review of foreign policy, we must turn to affairs at home, for in our domestic as well as in our foreign policy the Revolution of 1688 is very important. The great result of the Revolution upon our system of government was that henceforth the bulk of the king's revenue was obtained by *annual* grants from Parliament, and that Parliament had therefore to meet every year. As a consequence, Parliament acquired the complete control of finance, and, with that, an increasing control of the administration. Gradually, also, the relation between the two Houses of Parliament underwent alteration. The House of Commons has had, since 1407, the sole power to initiate Bills involving the grant of public money or the imposition of taxation, and in the reign of Charles II it denied the right of the House of Lords to amend such Bills. Consequently, with the increasing control of Parliament in financial affairs, the Lower House became the more important; though, as we shall see, individual members of the Upper House could, up till 1832, largely influence the composition of the House of Commons.

Parliament and the control of finance.

Moreover, as the result of the Revolution, two Acts were passed, the one at the beginning of William and Mary's and the other at the end of William's reign, which limited the power of the Crown. The *Declaration* or *Bill of Rights*, which was drawn up and passed through Parliament in 1689, completed the work which Magna Carta had begun. Its clauses may be briefly summarized. First, William and Mary were declared to be king and queen, and the succession to the throne was settled upon their children, and, failing them, upon James's other daughter, Anne; and a clause was added that no person who was a Roman Catholic or who married a Roman Catholic could succeed to the throne.[1] Secondly, it

The Bill of Rights, 1689.

[1] It has been calculated that this clause has taken away the eventual claims to the succession of nearly sixty persons.

declared to be illegal: (*a*) the "pretended power" of the Crown to suspend laws; (*b*) the power of dispensing with laws "as it hath been exercised of late" by the Crown; (*c*) the existence of the Court of High Commission and similar courts. Thirdly, Parliament was to be freely elected, to have freedom of speech and to meet frequently, and there was to be no taxation without its consent. Fourthly, a standing army was declared illegal. This clause is still in force, and the army is only made legal by an Act passed every year, called the Army (Annual) Act—and this is another reason why Parliament has to be called annually.

The second measure was the *Act of Settlement*, passed in 1701. The first question to be arranged was that of the succession, for William and Mary were childless and all the children of the Princess Anne had died.[1] The Protestant representative of the House of Stuart who had the best claim was Sophia, the granddaughter of James I (her mother was Elizabeth who married the Elector Palatine) and the wife of the Elector of Hanover. The crown was accordingly settled upon "the most excellent Princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants". With regard to the other clauses in the Act of Settlement, some were inserted because of William's personal unpopularity and because of the jealousy felt with regard to his foreign policy at that time. Thus the monarch was not to leave the kingdom without the consent of Parliament, and England was not to be obliged to engage in wars for the foreign possessions of the Crown. But these articles were soon modified or repealed. Two clauses are, however, of permanent importance. Henceforth judges could only be dismissed after being convicted in the Law Courts, or after an address by both Houses of Parliament—and the king, therefore, lost his power of dismissal which had been so useful in previous reigns. No pardon by the Crown could be pleaded to an impeachment by the House of Commons—a clause which finally established the responsibility of the king's ministers for all acts of state.

Act of Settlement, 1701.

Though the Crown still continued to select the ministers, and,

[1] The Duke of Gloucester, the only one to survive infancy, died in 1700 when nearly eleven years of age; eight months before his death he celebrated Queen Elizabeth's birthday in high spirits, "firing all his guns and making great rejoicing".

in William's reign at all events, to control the Home and Foreign politics of the country, the Revolution had secured, therefore, for the individual Englishman his political liberty and for the Parliament which represented him complete control of taxation and, subject to the king's veto, of legislation. In two other respects the Revolution had important effects. Hitherto all publications had, under an annual *Licensing Act*, been subject to a rigorous censorship.[1] In 1695 the House of Commons decided not to renew the Act, and thus was secured the Liberty of the Press for which half a century previously Milton had ardently pleaded—though that liberty was still somewhat curtailed by the severity of the laws of Libel[2] and by heavy stamp duties upon newspapers. Secondly, something was done to make religious restrictions less severe. By the *Toleration Act* (1689), liberty of worship was allowed to those who could subscribe to thirty-six of the thirty-nine Articles in the Book of Common Prayer, i.e. practically all except Roman Catholics and Unitarians. But the Nonconformists were still excluded from office under the Test and Corporation Acts passed in the reign of Charles II. The Toleration Act marked, nevertheless, a great advance, and from that time the feeling of tolerance steadily increased. After the accession of the House of Hanover in the eighteenth century an Act was annually passed excusing the Nonconformists from the penalties which they had incurred for holding any office. Complete toleration to all sects, including Roman Catholics, was not, however, to come till the nineteenth century.[3]

Liberty of the Press, 1695.

The Toleration Act, 1689.

We must now say something about the details of the domestic history. William and Mary established their position with greater ease than might have been expected. The death of Dundee

[1] In Charles II's reign printing was confined to London, York, and the two Universities, and the number of "master-printers" was only twenty. All new works had to be examined and licensed before they were published.

[2] These libel laws were mitigated by an Act passed in 1792.

[3] Though the Nonconformists obtained toleration, severe laws continued to be passed against the Roman Catholics. Thus in 1699 a law was passed rendering any priest liable to perpetual imprisonment for celebrating Mass; and a friar named Atkinson, who was convicted through the evidence of his serving-maid—she was rewarded with a gift of £100—was imprisoned for thirty years at Hurst Castle, finally dying there in 1729 at the age of seventy-three. But these vindictive laws were not as a rule enforced by the Government, and the Roman Catholics, as a whole, were allowed to have their worship undisturbed.

at the Battle of Killiecrankie (p. 433) and the flight of James to France after the Battle of the Boyne (p. 434) led to the submission of Scotland and Ireland. In England itself there was surprisingly little opposition. One of the Archbishops, four bishops and four hundred other clergymen, known as the Non-jurors, refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and consequently were deprived of their benefices—and that was all. Yet, though there was little opposition, there was also little loyalty to the new sovereigns. Statesmen and warriors were alike faithless. Danby, who was the chief minister for five years, Marlborough, the general, and Russell, the victor of the Battle of La Hogue, all intrigued with James whilst holding high office under William and Anne. Parliaments were often unfriendly, and there was one plot against William's life.[1]

Lack of loyalty to William and Mary.

No doubt Englishmen ought to have been grateful for the benefits of the Revolution, but perhaps their want of loyalty to William and Mary is not altogether surprising. The king himself was interested in foreign politics alone. England was to him merely a factor in his war with France; "he had", as a contemporary said, "to take England on his way to France". His individual opinions, moreover, were not likely to make him popular. In religion he was a Calvinist, and he was therefore distrusted by that very powerful party, the High Church party in the Church of England. In politics, though the Tory opposition to the war compelled him in 1695 to depend for a time upon a Whig ministry—the Whig Junto, as it was called—yet for the greater part of his reign he tried to ignore parties, and to rule with ministries drawn impartially from Whigs and Tories; as a consequence, he obtained the hearty support of neither party. Nor was William's personality an attractive one. Diminutive in stature, thin and fragile-looking, his appearance was only redeemed by the brightness and keenness of his eyes. His manner was cold and repellent, and his habits unsociable;[2] and the few friends that he possessed were all

Characters of William and Mary.

[1] The idea was to kill the king in a narrow lane near Turnham Green, as he was returning from his usual Saturday hunt; but the plot was discovered.

[2] "He spoke little and very shortly," said a contemporary, "and most commonly with a disgusting dryness." Long and solitary hunting expeditions in the New Forest were his only recreation, and he disliked conversation and all indoor games.

Dutchmen. Moreover, his health was wretched, and inclined to make him irascible and peevish. William had none of the outwardly attractive qualities which would have secured the affection of his English subjects; and they failed to do justice to the magnanimity which he showed in dealing with his enemies, his patience and calmness in times of crisis, or the unwearying industry which he displayed in public affairs. Mary, on the other hand, was an affable, kind-hearted, genial queen; it was a saying at the time that "she talked as much as William thought, or her sister, the Princess Anne, ate".[1] Mary's death, in 1694, was consequently a great blow to William's position, and after that his unpopularity steadily increased.

The Opposition to William after 1697.

After the conclusion of the war with France, in 1697, opposition to William's policy came to a head. A *Tory* Parliament attacked—with some reason—the enormous tracts of land which the king had granted to his Dutch favourites in Ireland. Moreover, a standing army was still very unpopular, and Parliament insisted—with great stupidity—upon reducing the armed forces in England to seven thousand men. Then, again, Parliament was jealous of his foreign policy, and consequently passed those clauses in the Act of Settlement to which reference has already been made. William, indeed, was so worried by the Opposition that he seriously thought of resigning his crown, and had even drafted a proclamation for that purpose. Englishmen, in truth, were somewhat ignorant of foreign politics; and the greatness of the work accomplished by William, not only for England, but for Europe, was never realized. The king, however, had the satisfaction before his death of feeling that the nation was strongly supporting him in the War of the Spanish Succession, the opening of which he just lived to see (1702).

Financial Features of Reign.

Two features in our National Finance make their appearance during the reigns of William and Mary. The first was the *National Debt*, which dates from 1693. By 1697 it had reached £20,000,000; by 1713, £78,000,000; and by 1815 it was to rise to the stupendous total of

[1] Pepys, the Diarist, saw Mary as "a little child in hanging sleeves dance most finely, so as almost to ravish one". When only fifteen and a half years old the announcement was made to her that she was to marry William, "whereupon she wept all that afternoon and the following day"; but she proved herself a most devoted wife.

£840,000,000.[1] The other was the *Bank of England*, which was founded in 1694, and which gave a solid foundation to England's commercial and imperial development in the next century. In 1695 occurred the *restoration of the currency*; the old money, which was much worn, and was often "clipped" round the edges, was called in, and a new coinage was issued, whose milled edges made clipping impossible in the future.

The Princess Anne succeeded to the throne, under the terms of the Bill of Rights, on William's death, in 1702. The story of the Great War of the Spanish Succession, which was waged during her reign, has been already told. The Union with Scotland (1707)—perhaps the most important result of her reign—will be discussed later. The history of the domestic politics whilst Anne was queen remains to be narrated. Two features deserve special notice. One is the fierceness of the party strife, especially towards the close of the reign, when it extended even to the ladies of the two parties, who, it is said, patched upon different sides of their faces, and had different designs upon their fans. It is to the struggle over the Exclusion Bill in Charles II's reign that these two great parties, known as Whigs and Tories—nicknames given to those parties by their respective opponents—owe their origin, and in Anne's reign the differences between them were sharply defined. The Whigs were in favour of Toleration, whilst the Tories were strong upholders of the Church of England, and were jealous even of the liberties which the Dissenters had recently acquired under the Toleration Act. The Whigs upheld the constitutional government that had developed as a result of the Revolution, but the Tories still had ideas of divine right and passive obedience. The Whigs supported the War of the Spanish Succession; the Tories, on the other hand, in the earlier stages of the war, wished it to be chiefly maritime, and in the later stages were opposed to it altogether. Finally, whilst all the Whigs were in favour of the succession, on

The reign of Queen Anne, 1702–14.

Whigs and Tories.

[1] The National Debt helped to rivet the Commercial Classes to the Revolution Settlement, because it was thought that if the Stuarts returned they would repudiate the Debt. It therefore helped to cause the alliance between the Whig aristocracy and the merchants, as both depended for their power or prosperity in the eighteenth century on the Hanoverian dynasty.

Anne's death, of the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her son George, many of the Tories favoured James II's son.

The other feature to be noticed in Anne's reign is the close connection between politics and literature. In those days the reporting of speeches in Parliament was forbidden, whilst the age of public meetings had not begun. But the increased interest that was being taken in public questions and the increased importance of Parliament made it necessary for the rival parties to influence the country; and this was done through the papers and pamphlets of the great literary men of the period. Thus *Addison*, a Whig and the editor of the *Spectator*, eventually became a Secretary of State, though he never opened his mouth in the House of Commons; whilst *Swift*, a Tory and a clergyman, composed pamphlets which had enormous political influence, and, when towards the end of Anne's reign the Tory party was in power, used to dine every week with the two leaders of the Government, in order to assist in formulating their policy.

Politics and literature.

There were two ministries during Anne's reign. The first was under the leadership of *Godolphin*, who was in close alliance with Marlborough. Of the latter something has been said already. Of the former Charles II once remarked that "little Sidney Godolphin was never in the way and never out of the way". He seems to have been a shrewd statesman, though his personality has left curiously little impression. At first the members of the Government were drawn from both parties, but the growing hostility of the Tories to the war led to the ministry becoming increasingly, and in 1708 completely, of a Whig complexion. Godolphin's ministry has justly been called "one of the most glorious in English history", for under its rule occurred the great achievements of Marlborough and of Peterborough, the captures of Gibraltar and Minorca, and the Union with Scotland.

Godolphin's ministry, 1702–1710.

Godolphin's Ministry came to an abrupt termination in 1710. The causes were many. The war was becoming unpopular, and it was urged with some force that Great Britain should have accepted the terms of peace offered by Louis XIV in 1706, and the still more favourable offers of 1709.

Causes of its fate.

Moreover, Marlborough was ambitious to be made Captain-General of the British forces for life—an ambition which frightened Englishmen into thinking that he wished to be a second Cromwell and which therefore brought unpopularity on the Whig ministers though they had not supported the proposal.

Then, again, the queen became hostile to the ministry. Though she was a person of no intellectual attainments, and appears to have had little influence in the actual administration of her Government, she was extremely popular with all classes for her kindness of heart, and because, as she said of herself, she was "perfectly English".[1] She disliked a purely Whig ministry, and she could not forgive the Whigs for their attacks upon her husband, Prince George of Denmark, whilst he was alive, or for their suggestion, soon after his death, that she should take thoughts of a second husband. Moreover, the queen was very subject to the influence of those of her own sex. For some time the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough had been supreme. The duchess was a very self-willed, masterful, and somewhat quarrelsome lady; about 1708 she quarrelled with the queen, as she did subsequently with her son-in-law, her granddaughter, and even her doctors.[2] Mrs. Masham, who had strong Tory connections, succeeded to the first place in the queen's affections, and the change was ominous for Godolphin's ministry.

Queen Anne.

Above all, Anne was a strong supporter of the Church of England; and it was the cry of "the Church in danger" that finally brought about the downfall of the Whigs. A certain Doctor Sacheverell, whose chief recommendations to favour were a fine presence and a good voice, preached a sermon before the Lord Mayor, in which he advocated Passive Obedience, said that the Church was in danger

The Sacheverell trial.

[1] The queen had no taste for literature and music, and for some years never heard even her own band play. But she was fond of hunting, and in her later years used to follow the stag-hunt in Windsor Forest in an open chaise drawn by one horse, "which she drives herself", wrote Swift, "and drives furiously, like Jehu".

[2] The duchess got a portrait of her granddaughter, blackened its face, and hung it up with the inscription: "She is much blacker within". In 1740 she had lain a great while ill, without speaking. Her physicians said: "She must be blistered, or she will die." She then called out: "I won't be blistered, and I won't die." And, as a matter of fact, she was not blistered, and she did not die—till four years later.

of schism, and attacked the ministers, calling them amongst other things "wiley Volpones", in allusion to a nickname of Godolphin. The Government was foolish enough to take notice of the sermon and impeached the doctor. There was great popular excitement. The queen, on her journey to the trial at Westminster Hall, was greeted with shouts of "We hope Your Majesty is for the Church and Doctor Sacheverell". Sacheverell became a popular hero and was acclaimed by cheering mobs, and after the trial was over—as a result of which he was sentenced to a light punishment[1]—he had a triumphal progress through the provinces on his way to Shropshire.[2] The queen then took action. The Whigs were dismissed and the Tories were called to office. Parliament was dissolved and in the new House of Commons there was a large Tory majority.

Tory ministry, 1710–14; Harley and St. John.

The Tory ministry lasted for the remainder of the queen's reign. Its leaders were *Harley*, who became *Earl of Oxford*, and *St. John*, who became *Viscount Bolingbroke*. Harley possessed personal courage and was a great patron of literature—his famous collection of manuscripts, now in possession of the British Museum, is priceless. In politics he was a moderate. Hence he was liable to be accused of being irresolute in his decisions and dilatory in their execution. This moderation led him also sometimes to be shifty in his dealings with his Tory colleagues, and not averse to negotiations with his political opponents. Hence he has been called the "mole" in the politics of that day, because he was always burrowing. Bolingbroke has been described as a "brilliant knave". No one will deny his brilliancy. Swift said that he was the greatest young man he knew. Pope went further and declared him to be the greatest man in the world, whilst Pitt said that he would rather recover one of his speeches than "all the

[1] He was forbidden to preach for three years—a possibly agreeable punishment.

[2] The Sacheverell case is interesting as being one of the earliest political movements in which ladies took an active share, and the ladies were enthusiastic admirers of the doctor. "Matters of government and affairs of State", wrote a contemporary, "are become the province of the ladies. They have hardly leisure to live, little time to eat and sleep, and none at all to say their prayers." The Duchess of Marlborough, however, did not agree with her own sex in the matter—she described Sacheverell as an "ignorant and impudent incendiary".

gaps in Greek and Roman lore". His style provided a model for Gibbon the historian, and his political ideas were not without their influence upon statesmen who lived so recently as Disraeli. His knavery is more open to doubt, but it is unquestionable that his actions and policy were not so disinterested and straightforward as he makes them out to be.[1] Bolingbroke was impetuous, and a strong party man; and he soon supplanted Harley in the affections of the Tories. "Members", said Bolingbroke of the House of Commons, "grow fond like hounds of the man who shows them sport, and by whose halloa they are wont to be encouraged." And Harley was too fond of running with the hare to be able to cheer on his followers.

The Tory ministers proceeded to secure the objects which their supporters had most at heart. They tried to strengthen the Church and to weaken the Nonconformists by passing the *Occasional Conformity* (1711) and the *Schism Acts* (1714). The first Act was directed against the habit of the Nonconformists of qualifying for office by taking the Communion every now and again in an Anglican Church, and thus evading the Test and Corporation Acts; the second Act tried to deprive the Nonconformists of their hold upon education by forbidding anyone to teach without a licence from a bishop. To make the war unpopular Swift's genius was employed in the composition of pamphlets such as "The Conduct of the Allies", and Marlborough himself was dismissed from his employments, accused of peculation, and attacked with such violence that he left the country. The war, conducted half-heartedly for a year or two, was terminated in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht.

Measures of ministry.

Then came the question of the *Succession to the throne*. The peaceful succession of the House of Hanover has been called the "greatest miracle in our history"; if it was not that, it was undoubtedly at one time unlikely. The majority of the people were probably Tory in sentiment, and would have preferred a Stuart, especially as the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her son George, if not unpopular, were

The succession question.

[1] "Ah, Harry," his father is reported to have said to him after he went to the House of Lords, "I always said you would be hanged, but now you are made a peer, I suppose you'll be beheaded."

completely unknown in England.[1] Men known to be supporters of the Stuart succession were put into positions of trust by the ministry, the Earl of Mar, for instance, being given control of Scotland, and the Duke of Ormonde being made Warden of the Cinque Ports. Two things, however, prevented the continuance of the House of Stuart on the throne of England. In the first place, the Old Pretender—and it was greatly to his credit—refused either to change or to dissemble his Roman Catholic religion. Consequently in England the Tories found themselves torn between their affection for the Anglican Church and their allegiance to the Stuart dynasty, while the Scottish nation was divided into those who had a passionate romantic loyalty to the Stuarts and those whose devotion to Protestantism made support of a Roman Catholic an impossibility.

In the second place, Anne died too soon. There were dissensions between the Tory leaders, but Bolingbroke managed to get rid of Harley, who was dismissed from the ministry. It is uncertain what Bolingbroke really intended, but it is probable that he was working for the succession of the Old Pretender. Events, however, moved too quickly for him. Two days after Harley's dismissal Anne fell very seriously ill. A council meeting was summoned to discuss the situation. Two Whig dukes who were Privy Councillors suddenly entered the meeting and, as they were legally entitled to do, took part in the discussion. As a result, it was resolved that the Treasurer's staff—the symbol of authority—should be given to Shrewsbury, a moderate Whig, and Anne, on her deathbed, gave it to him. On Anne's death, whilst the plans of Bolingbroke were still undeveloped, George I, through Shrewsbury's influence, was proclaimed king (the Electress Sophia being dead). "The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday, the Queen died on Sunday," wrote Bolingbroke. "What a world is this, and how does Fortune banter us!" Had the queen lived six months, or even six weeks, longer, our history might have been very different.

[1] Of course by the Act of Settlement the Princess Sophia was the successor to the throne, but Queen Anne, beyond inserting her name in the Liturgy, did nothing to recognize her claim, and never invited the princess to England or gave her a title.

2. Scotland

The condition of Scotland on William III's accession was deplorable. It was rent by religious feuds. There was little wealth and few industries, and every bad harvest produced a famine. The southern Lowlands were exposed to the anarchy of the border district between England and Scotland. And the northern Lowlands suffered from the depredations of the Highlanders—and even as late as 1747 it was reckoned that £5000 worth of cattle were annually "lifted", whilst another £5000 was paid by various owners to save their cattle from that fate. The Highlands were in a barbarous condition; the chief had almost supreme authority over the members of his clan;[1] and plunder, it has been said, was at once "the passion, the trade, and the romance of the Highlander".[2] In the more northern parts the rooms had no chimneys, the horses dragged carts by their tails, whilst candles, potatoes, and iron (except for weapons) were unknown luxuries.

Condition of Scotland in 1689.

The reigns of William and Mary and of Anne mark the beginning of a happier and more prosperous period for Scotland. One fearful atrocity, it is true, was committed. The Battle of Killiecrankie (p. 433) and the death of Dundee (1689) did not at once terminate hostilities, and some of the clans still refused to recognize the new sovereigns. At last a proclamation was issued, promising pardon to all who took an oath of allegiance to the new Government before the last day of 1691. Only two chiefs had not taken the oath by the appointed day, and of these, one, Macdonald of Glencoe, merely failed because he had made it a point of honour to delay till the last possible moment, and had then gone to the wrong place to take the oath. Sir John Dalrymple, the joint Secretary of State, was completely out of sympathy with the Highlanders, and deter-

The Glencoe massacre, 1692.

[1] Some chiefs had a private executioner of their own; and the town of Perth, in 1707, sent a request to Lord Drummond for the occasional use of his executioner—a request which was very courteously granted.

[2] To "lift" cattle, especially at Michaelmas time, when they were fat, was of course a very profitable enterprise; and Highlanders, according to a contemporary, before starting on an expedition, "prayed as earnestly to heaven as if they were engaged in the most laudable enterprise".

mined to make a signal example of the people of Glencoe. Troops were sent there commanded by their hereditary enemy, Campbell of Glenlyon, who, after being entertained by the Macdonalds for a fortnight, suddenly made an attack upon them and brutally murdered the chief and thirty-seven of his clan (1692).

The condition of Scotland, however, rapidly improved after the Revolution of 1688. The Bank of Scotland, founded in 1695, was an incentive to trade; the Habeas Corpus Act, passed in 1701, and similar to that passed in England thirty years before, protected the liberty of the individual. But to three things, above all, did Scotland owe her prosperity. In the first place, Presbyterianism, the religion of the great majority, was made, in 1689, the established religion, whilst the Episcopalians, who believed in the rule of bishops, obtained toleration. Hence Scotland obtained what she most needed—the cessation of religious strife—though a small sect of Presbyterian extremists refused to enter the establishment, and persisted in demanding the enforcing of the Solemn League and Covenant. Secondly, a law was passed in 1696 establishing schools in every parish, and the two centuries of education which Scotland has enjoyed account for the intellectual superiority of its inhabitants.

Causes of improvement.

Thirdly, the Union between England and Scotland was achieved in 1707. There had been great difficulties in the way. English merchants did not wish to give commercial concessions or English Churchmen to recognize Presbyterianism. Scotland was legitimately proud of her nationality and had no wish to have her individuality absorbed in that of England. And, moreover, Scotland attributed to English jealousy and deliberate obstruction the failure of an attempt made by her merchants in 1698 to develop a trading centre at the Isthmus of Darien (now Panama). It gradually became clear, however, that the slender monarchic union would have to be either broken, or very considerably strengthened. There was no end to the complications that might arise from having two absolutely independent parliaments in the island, particularly in regard to the delicate succession question that might develop when Anne died. After long negotiations the Union was at last completed. By its terms Scotland was allowed

The Union between England and Scotland, 1707.

forty-five members in the House of Commons and sixteen peers in the House of Lords; she contributed one-fortieth to the Land Tax and was paid nearly £400,000 for sharing in the English National Debt. Scotland was to preserve her own Law Courts, whilst a separate Act secured her Presbyterian religion. Above all, free trade was established between England and Scotland, and Scotland was allowed to trade with the colonies. Scotland was at last given her industrial opportunity. Scottish towns, and especially Glasgow, grew with amazing rapidity, whilst Scottish shipping and manufactures proved formidable rivals to the shippers and manufacturers of England. Moreover, no one can fail to realize the immense share Scotsmen have had in developing the trade and the prosperity of the British Empire.

Yet the Union was not popular for some time. In Scotland, during the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, one of the cries was for the abolition of the Union. In England the Scots were long unpopular, and at the beginning of George III's reign Bute's Scottish ancestry was one of the causes of his great unpopularity when Prime Minister. But gradually the national prejudices faded away, and the natives of both countries learnt to appreciate the immense advantages each derived from the Union. Henceforth the histories of England and Scotland are linked together.

TIME CHARTS

CHIEF EVENTS, 1400–1720

CHIEF EVENTS, 1400–1500

Dates.	Sovereign.	Foreign Politics.	Social and Religious.	Lancaster and York.	Scotland.
1400		Hundred Years War (2nd part: Lancaster). Burgundy and Armagnac.	De Haeretico Comburendo, 1401.	The Percy-Mortimer Plot.	Battle of Homildon, 1402.
		Murder of Duke of Orleans, 1407.		Battle of Shrewsbury, 1405.	James I, 1406.
	Henry V, 1413.	Battle of Agincourt, 1415. Murder of Duke of Burgundy, 1419.	Sir John Oldcastle, 1416.	The Cambridge Plot (Mortimer-York), 1415.	
		Treaty of Troyes, 1420.			
	Henry VI, 1422.				
1425		Joan of Arc. Second Period of Decline, 1428. Congress of Arras. End of Anglo-Burgundian Alliance, 1435.		Lancastrian quarrels: Bedford and Gloucester.	James II, 1437.
1450	Edward IV, 1461.	Battle of Châtillon, 1453. End of Hundred Years War.		Murder of Suffolk. Cade's Rebellion, 1450. Birth of King's Son, 1453. Battle of St. Albans, 1455. Battle of Wakefield, 1460. Battle of Towton, 1461. Quarrel of York and Neville. [1471. Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury,	Fall of Black Douglasses. Battle of Arkinholm, 1455. The Red Douglasses. James III, 1460.
1475	Edward V, 1483. Richard III, 1483. Henry VII, 1485.			Break-up of York's power. Battle of Bosworth, 1485. Battle of Stoke, 1487. Perkin Warbeck.	Battle of Sauchieburn, 1488. James IV, 1488.
		Charles VIII's Invasion of Italy, 1494.			
1500		"The House of Hapsburg."			

CHIEF EVENTS, 1500–1600

Dates.	Sovereign.	Foreign and Political.	Social and Religious.	Scotland.
1500	Henry VIII, 1509.	Marriage of Prince Henry with Katherine of Aragon.		Battle of Flodden, 1513. Accession of James V.
		Holy League, 1511.		
		Wolsey.		
		French Alliance, 1514.		
		Death of Louis XII, 1515.		
		Death of Ferdinand of Spain 1516.		
		Death of Maximilian, 1519.	Luther, 1517.	
		Charles V, Emperor.		
1525		Battle of Pavia, 1525.		
		Sack of Rome, 1527.		Darnick Field (Melrose), 1526.
		Fall of Wolsey, 1529.	Question of King's Divorce, 1528.	
			Reformation Parliament, 1529–35.	
			Act of Appeals, 1533.	
			Act of Supremacy, 1534.	
			Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536.	
			Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries.	
			The Six Articles, 1539. The Great Bible.	
			Death of Cromwell, 1540.	
			Somerset Protector.	Battle of Solway Moss, 1542. Death of James V.
			First Prayer Book. Rising in the West and Ket's Rebellion.	Mary Queen of Scots.
				Execution of Wishart, 1545.
				Murder of Beaton, 1546.
	Edward VI, 1547.			Battle of Pinkie, 1547.

Dates.	Sovereign.	Foreign and Political.	Social and Religious.	Scotland.
1550			Execution of Somerset. Northumberland in Power. Second Prayer Book, 1552.	
	Mary, 1553.		Wyatt's Rebellion. Reconciliation with Rome, 1554. The Persecution.	
		The Spanish Match, 1554.		
	Elizabeth, 1558.	Loss of Calais, 1558.	Burning of Cranmer, 1556.	Marriage of Mary and the Dauphin Francis, 1558.
		Treaty of Câteau Cambrésis, 1559.	The Religious Settlement, 1559.	Return of Knox. The Lords of the Congregation, 1559.
		Death of Henry II of France, 1560.		Treaty of Leith, 1560.
		Outbreak of Wars of Religion in France, 1562.		Return of Mary Queen of Scots, 1561.
		Rebellion in the Netherlands.		Marriage with Darnley, 1565.
				Murder of Rizzio, 1566.
				Murder of Darnley, 1567. Marriage of Mary and Bothwell.
				Battle of Langside, 1568. Mary's Flight to England.
		Period of Plots in England, 1568-87.	The Rising in the North, 1569.	
		Ridolfi, 1571.		
		St. Bartholomew, 1572.		
1575				
		Drake's Circumnavigation, 1577-81.		
		Campion's Plot, 1581.		
		Murder of William the Silent, 1584. Throckmorton's Plot.		
		Babington's Plot, 1586.		
		Cadiz, 1587. Execution of Mary.		Execution of Mary, 1587.
		The Armada, 1588.		
		Accession of Henry of Navarre, 1589.		
		Richard Grenville, 1590.		
		Edict of Nantes, 1598.		
1600				

CHIEF EVENTS, 1603–88

	England, Scotland, Ireland.	Dates.	Other Powers.	Dates.
James I.	Hampton Court Conference.	1604		
	Gunpowder Plot.	1605		
	Colonization of Virginia.	1607		
	Plantation of Ulster.	1608		
		1610	Murder of Henry IV of France; Accession of Louis XIII.	1610
	Dissolution of James I's First Parliament.	1611		
	Death of Cecil.	1612		
	Death of Shakespeare.	1616		
	The Five Articles of Perth; Execution of Ralegh.	1618		1618
	Sailing of the *Mayflower*.	1620		
	James's Third Parliament meets; fall of Bacon.	1621		
	Journey of Charles and Buckingham to Madrid.	1623		
		1624	Richelieu, Chief Minister of France (1624–42).	1624
	Marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria.	1625		
Charles I.				
	The Rhé Expedition.	1627		
	Petition of Right; Buckingham assassinated.	1628		
	Charles's Third Parliament dissolved; no Parliament for 11 yrs.	1629		
		1632	Death of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.	1632
	Wentworth goes to Ireland; Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.	1633		
	Hampden's Case; new Service Book in Scotland.	1637		
	First Bishops' War.	1639		
	Short Parliament; Second Bishops' War; Long Parliament.	1640		
	Execution of Strafford; Irish Rebellion; Grand Remonstrance.	1641		
	Beginning of Civil War.	1642		
		1643	Accession of Louis XIV; Mazarin, Chief Minister (1643–61).	1643
	Battle of Marston Moor.	1644		
	Battles of Naseby and Philiphaugh.	1645		

THIRTY YEARS WAR.

	Second Civil War.	1648	Treaty of Westphalia.	1648
Commonwealth.	Execution of Charles; Cromwell in Ireland.	1649		
	Battle of Dunbar.	1650		
	Battle of Worcester; Navigation Act.	1651		
	First Dutch War.	1652		
	First Protectorate Parliament.	1654		
	Capture of Jamaica.	1655		
	Second Protectorate Parliament.	1656		
	Blake at Santa Cruz.	1657		
	Capture of Dunkirk; Death of Cromwell.	1658		
Charles II.	Clarendon, Chief Minister.	1660		
	Corporation Act.	1661		
	Acquisition of Bombay and Tangier.	1662		
	Second Dutch War; the Plague.	1665		
	The Great Fire of London.	1666		
	The Cabal Ministry.	1667		
	Third Dutch War.	1672	William of Orange becomes Stadtholder in Holland.	1672
	Danby, Chief Minister.	1673		
	Death of Milton.	1674		
	The Popish Plot; fall of Danby.	1678	Treaty of Nimwegen.	1678
	Habeas Corpus Act.	1679		
	Dissolution of Oxford Parliament.	1681		
		1683	Death of Colbert.	1683
James II.	Monmouth's and Argyll's Risings.	1685	Revocation of Edict of Nantes.	1685
	James Edward born; Trial of Bishops; arrival of William III	1688	Louis XIV invades Germany.	1688

CHIEF EVENTS, 1689–1720

Sovereign.	Prime Minister.	Great Britain.		Dates.	Other Powers.		Dates.
William III and Mary II.		Bill of Rights. Toleration Act.	WAR OF ENGLISH SUCCESSION.	1689	OR WAR OF LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG.		
		Death of Mary. Bank of England started.		1694			
				1697			
		Partition Treaty.		1698			
						Charles II of Spain dies.	1700
		Act of Settlement. Death of James II.		1701		Prussia becomes a Kingdom, Frederick I.	1701
Anne.		Godolphin's Ministry.	WAR OF SPANISH SUCCESSION.	1702	SUCCESSION.		
		Union with Scotland.		1707		Death of Aurungzebe, Great Mogul.	1707
		Tory Ministry under Harley and St. John.		1710		Charles VI becomes Emperor.	1711
				1713			
George I.		Whig Ministry.		1714			
			MAR'S RISING.	1715		Accession of Louis XV.	1715
		Septennial Act.		1716			
				1717			
			CAPE	1718	PASSARO.	Death of Charles XII of Sweden.	1718
		South Sea Bubble.		1720			

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[The names of Battles, Wars, Rebellions, Plots, Treaties, Statutes, &c., are grouped under these headings respectively.]